THE

HISTORY

OF

HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM

THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES.

BY

THE REVEREND WILLIAM BELOE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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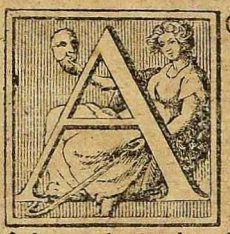
HERODOTUS.

BOOK III.

THALIA[1].

CHAP. I.



AGAINST this Amasis Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, led an army composed as well of his other subjects, as of the Ionic and Æolic Greeks. His inducements were these: by an ambassador whom he dispatched for this purpose into Ægypt, he demanded the daughter of Amasis, which

[1] *Thalia.*]—On the commencement of his observations on this book, M. Larcher remarks, that the names of the muses were only affixed to the books of Herodotus at a subsequent and later period. Porphyry does not distinguish the second book of our historian by the name of Euterpe, but is satisfied with calling it the book which treats of the affairs of Ægypt. Athenæus also says, the first or the second book of the histories of Herodotus.

I am nevertheless rather inclined to believe that these names were annexed to the books of Herodotus from the spontaneous impulse of admiration which was excited amongst the first hearers of them at the Olympic games.

which he did at the ſuggeſtion of a certain Ægyptian who had entertained an enmity againſt his maſter. This man was a phyſician, and when Cyrus had once requeſted of Amaſis the beſt medical advice which Ægypt could afford, for a diſorder in his eyes, the king had forced him, in preference to all others, from his wife and family, and ſent him into Perſia. In revenge for which treatment this Ægyptian inſtigated Cambyſes to require the daughter of Amaſis, that he might either ſuffer affliction from the loſs of his child, or by refuſing to ſend her, provoke the reſentment of

According to Pauſanias, there were originally no more than three muſes, whoſe names were Μελετη, Μνημη, and Αοιδη. Their number was afterwards encreaſed to nine, their reſidence confined to Parnaſſus, and the direction or patronage of them, if theſe be not improper terms, aſſigned to Apollo. Their conteſt for ſuperiority with the nine daughters of Evippe, and conſequent victory, is agreeably deſcribed by Ovid. Met. book v. Their order and influence ſeems in a great meaſure to have been arbitrary. The names of the books of Herodotus have been generally adopted as determinate with reſpect to their order. This was, however, without any aſſigned motive, perverted by Auſonius, in the ſubjoined epigram:

Clio geſta canens, tranſactis tempora reddit
Melpomene tragico proclamat mœſta boatu.
Comica laſcivo gaudet ſermone Thalia.
Dulciloquos calamos Euterpe flatibus urget.
Terpſichore affectus citharis movet, imperat, auget.
Plectra gerens Erato ſaltat pede, carmine vultu.
Carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat
Uranie cœli motus ſcrutatur et aſtra.
Signat cuncta manu loquitur Polyhymnia geſtu
Mentis Apollineæ vis has movet undique muſas
In medio reſidens complectitur omnia Phœbus.—T.

Cambyſes.

Cambyſes. Amaſis both dreaded and deteſted the power of Perſia, and was unwilling to accept, though fearful of refuſing the overture. But he well knew that his daughter was meant to be not the wife but the concubine of Cambyſes, and therefore he determined on this mode of conduct: Apries, the former king, had left an only daughter: her name was Nitetis [a], and ſhe was poſſeſſed of much elegance and beauty. The king, having decorated her with great ſplendour of dreſs, ſent her into Perſia as his own child. Not long after, when Cambyſes occaſionally addreſſed her as the daughter of Amaſis, "Sir," ſaid ſhe, "you are greatly miſtaken, and "Amaſis has deceived you; he has adorned my per- "ſon, and ſent me to you as his daughter, but Apries "was my father, whom he, with his other rebelli- "ous ſubjects, dethroned and put to death." This ſpeech and this occaſion immediately prompted Cambyſes in great wrath to commence hoſtilities

[a] *Nitetis.*]—Cambyſes had not long been king, ere he reſolved upon a war with the Ægyptians, by reaſon of ſome offence taken againſt Amaſis their king. Herodotus tells us it was becauſe Amaſis, when he deſired of him one of his daughters to wife, ſent him a daughter of Apries inſtead of his own. But this could not be true, becauſe Apries having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough to be acceptable to Cambyſes.—So far Prideaux; but Larcher endeavours to reconcile the apparent improbability, by ſaying that there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that Apries lived a priſoner many years after Amaſis dethroned him and ſucceeded to his power; and that there is no impoſſibility in the opinion that Nitetis might, therefore, be no more than twenty or twenty-two years of age when ſhe was ſent to Cambyſes.—*T.*

againſt Ægypt.—Such is the Perſian account of the ſtory.

II. The Ægyptians claim Cambyſes as their own, by aſſerting that this incident did not happen to him, but to Cyrus [3], from whom, and from this daughter of Apries, they ſay he was born [4]. This, however, is certainly not true. The Ægyptians are of all mankind the beſt converſant with the Perſian manners, and they muſt have known that a natural child could never ſucceed to the throne of Perſia, whilſt a legitimate one was alive. And it was equally certain that Cambyſes was not born of an Ægyptian woman, but was the ſon of Caſſandane, the daughter of Pharnaſpe, of the race of the Achæmenides. This ſtory, therefore, was invented by the Ægyptians, that they might from this pretence claim a connection with the houſe of Cyrus.

III. Another ſtory alſo is aſſerted, which to me

[3] *But to Cyrus*]—They ſpeak with more probability, who ſay it was Cyrus, and not Cambyſes, to whom this daughter of Apries was ſent.—*Prideaux.*

[4] *They ſay he was born.*]—Polyænus, in his Stratagemata, relates the affair in this manner:—Nitetis, who was in reality the daughter of Apries, cohabited a long time with Cyrus as the daughter of Amaſis. After having many children by Cyrus, ſhe diſcloſed to him who ſhe really was; for though Amaſis was dead, ſhe wiſhed to revenge herſelf on his ſon Pſammenitus. Cyrus acceded to her wiſhes, but died in the midſt of his preparations for an Ægyptian war. This, Cambyſes was perſuaded by his mother to undertake, and revenged on the Ægyptians the cauſe of the family of Apries.—*T.*

ſeems

ſeems improbable. They ſay that a Perſian lady once viſiting the wives of Cyrus, ſaw ſtanding near their mother the children of Caſſandane, whom ſhe complimented in high terms on their ſuperior excellence of form and perſon. "Me," replied Caſſandane, "who am the mother of theſe children, "Cyrus neglects and deſpiſes, all his kindneſs is "beſtowed on this Ægyptian female." This ſhe ſaid from reſentment againſt Nitetis. They add that Cambyſes, her eldeſt ſon, inſtantly exclaimed, "Mo-"ther, as ſoon as I am a man, I will effect the utter "deſtruction of Ægypt[5]". Theſe words, from a prince who was then only ten years of age, ſurprized and delighted the women; and as ſoon as he be-

[5] *I will effect the utter deſtruction of Ægypt.*]—Literally, I will turn Ægypt upſide down.

M. Larcher enumerates, from Athenæus, the various and deſtructive wars which had originated on account of women; he adds, what a number of illuſtrious families had, from a ſimilar cauſe, been utterly extinguiſhed. The impreſſion of this idea, added to the vexations which he had himſelf experienced in domeſtic life, probably extorted from our great poet, Milton, the following energetic lines:

> Oh why did God,
> Creator wiſe, that peopled higheſt heaven
> With ſpirits maſculine, create at laſt
> This novelty on earth, this fair defect
> Of nature, and not fill the world at once
> With men as angels, without feminine,
> Or find ſome other way to generate
> Mankind? This miſchief had not then befall'n,
> And more that ſhall befall, innumerable
> Diſturbances on earth through female ſnares.—*T.*

came a man, and ſucceeded to the throne, he remembered the incident, and commenced hoſtilities againſt Ægypt.

IV. He had another inducement to this undertaking. Among the auxiliaries of Amaſis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnaſſus, and greatly diſtinguiſhed by his mental as well as military accompliſhments. This perſon being, for I know not what reaſon, incenſed againſt Amaſis, fled in a veſſel from Ægypt, to have a conference with Cambyſes. As he poſſeſſed great influence among the auxiliaries, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Ægypt, Amaſis ordered him to be rigorouſly purſued, and for this purpoſe equipped, under the care of the moſt faithful of his eunuchs, a three-banked galley. The purſuit was ſucceſsful, and Phanes was taken in Lydia, but he was not caaried back to Ægypt, for he circumvented his guards, and by making them drunk effected his eſcape. He fled inſtantly to Perſia: Cambyſes was then meditating the expedition againſt Ægypt, but was deterred by the difficulty of marching an army over the deſerts, where ſo little water was to be procured. Phanes explained to the king all the concerns of Amaſis; and to obviate the above difficulty, adviſed him to ſend and aſk of the king of the Arabs a ſafe paſſage through his territories.

V. This is indeed the only avenue by which Ægypt can poſſibly be entered. The whole country,

ry, from Phœnicia to Cadytis, a city which belongs to the Syrians of Paleſtine, and in my opinion equal to Sardis, together with all the commercial towns as far as Jenyſus [6], belong to the Arabians. This is alſo the caſe with that ſpace of land which from the Syrian Jenyſus extends to the lake of Serbonis, from the vicinity of which mount Caſius [7] ſtretches to the ſea. At this lake, where, as was reported, Typhon was concealed, Ægypt commences. This tract, which comprehends the city Jenyſus, mount Caſius, and the lake of Serbonis, is of no trifling

[6] *Jenyſus.*]—Stephanus Byzantinus calls this city Inys, for that is manifeſtly the name he gives it, if we take away the Greek termination. But Herodotus, from whom he borrows, renders it Jenis. It would have been more truly rendered Doric Janis, for that was nearer to the real name. The hiſtorian, however, points it out plainly by ſaying, that it was three days journey from mount Caſius, and that the whole way was through the Arabian deſert.—*Bryant.*

Mr. Bryant is certainly miſtaken with reſpect to the ſituation of this place. It was an Arabian town, on this ſide lake Serbonis compared with Syria, on the other compared with Ægypt. When Herodotus ſays that this place was three days journey from mount Caſius, he muſt be underſtood as ſpeaking of the Syrian ſide; if otherwiſe, Cambyſes could not have been ſo embarraſſed from a want of water, &c.—See Larcher farther on this ſubject.

[7] *Mount Caſius.*]—This place is now called by ſeamen mount Tenere; here anciently was a temple ſacred to Jupiter Caſius; in this mountain alſo was Pompey the Great buried, as ſome affirm, being murdered at its foot. This, however, is not true, his body was burnt on the ſhore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fiſhing-boat, and his aſhes being conveyed to Rome, were depoſited privately by his wife Cornelia in a vault of his Alban villa.—*See Middleton's Life of Cicero.*—*T.*

extent; it is a three days journey over a very dry and parched desert.

VI. I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel into Ægypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece to Ægypt, and from Phœnicia in particular, wine secured in earthen jars, not one of which jars is afterwards to be seen. I shall describe to what purpose they are applied: the principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water [8], and afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels carried into Ægypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those already in Syria.

VII. Such are the means which the Persians have

[8] *With water.*]—The water of the Nile never becomes impure, whether reserved at home, or exported abroad. On board the vessels which pass from Ægypt to Italy, this water, which remains at the end of the voyage, is good, whilst what they happen to take in during their voyage corrupts. The Ægyptians are the only people we know who preserve this water in jars, as others do wine. They keep it three or four years, and sometimes longer, and the age of this water is with them an increase of its value, as the age of wine is elsewhere.—*Aristides Orat. Ægyptiac.*

Modern writers and travellers are agreed about the excellence of the water of the Nile; but the above assertion, with respect to its keeping, wants to be corroborated.—*T.*

constantly

conſtantly adopted to provide themſelves with water in theſe deſerts, from the time that they were firſt maſters of Ægypt. But as, at the time of which we ſpeak, they had not this reſource, Cambyſes liſtened to the advice of his Halicarnaſſian gueſt, and ſolicited of the Arabian prince a ſafe paſſage through his territories; which was granted, after mutual promiſes of friendſhip.

VIII. Theſe are the ceremonies which the Arabians obſerve when they make alliances, of which no people in the world are more tenacious[9]. On theſe occaſions ſome one connected with both parties ſtands betwixt them, and with a ſharp ſtone opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger, of thoſe who are about to contract. He then takes a piece of the veſt of each perſon, and dips it in their blood, with which he ſtains ſeveral ſtones purpoſely placed in the midſt of the aſſembly, invoking during the proceſs Bacchus and Urania. When this is finiſhed, he who ſolicits the compact to be made

[9] *Tenacious.*]—How faithful the Arabs are at this day, when they have pledged themſelves to be ſo, is a topic of admiration and of praiſe with all modern travellers. They who once put themſelves under their protection have nothing afterwards to fear, for their word is ſacred. Singular as the mode here deſcribed of forming alliances may appear to an Engliſh reader, that of taking an oath by putting the hand under the thigh, in uſe amongſt the patriarchs, was ſurely not leſs ſo.

"Abraham ſaid unto the eldeſt ſervant of his houſe that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh." Gen. xxiv. 2.—*T.*

pledges

pledges his friends for the ſincerity of his engagements to the ſtranger or citizen, or whoever it may happen to be; and all of them conceive an indiſpenſable neceſſity to exiſt of performing what they promiſe. Bacchus and Urania are the only deities whom they venerate. They cut off their hair round their temples, from the ſuppoſition that Bacchus wore his in that form; him they call Urotalt, Urania, Alilat [10].

IX. When the Arabian prince had made an alliance with the meſſengers of Cambyſes, he ordered all his camels to be laden with camel ſkins filled with water, and to be driven to the deſerts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyſes and his army. Of this incident the above ſeems to me the more probable narrative. There is alſo another, which, however I may diſbelieve, I think I ought not to omit. In Arabia is a large river called Corys, which loſes itſelf in the Red Sea: from this river the Arabian is ſaid to have formed a canal of the ſkins of oxen and other animals ſewed together, which was continued to the above-mentioned deſerts, where he alſo ſunk a number of ciſterns to receive the water ſo introduced. From the river to the deſert is a journey of twelve days; and they ſay that the water was conducted by three diſtinct canals into as many different places.

[10] *Alilat.*]—According to Selden, in his treatiſe de Diis Syris, the Mitra of the Perſians is the ſame with the Alitta or Alilat of the Arabians.—*T.*

X. At

X. At the Peluſian mouth of the Nile Pſammenitus, the ſon of Amaſis, was encamped, and expected Cambyſes in arms. Amaſis himſelf, after a reign of forty-four years, died before Cambyſes had advanced to Ægypt, and during the whole enjoyment of his power he experienced no extraordinary calamity. At his death his body was embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre which he had erected for himſelf in the temple of Minerva[11]. During the reign of his ſon Pſammenitus Ægypt beheld a moſt remarkable prodigy; there was rain at the Ægyptian Thebes, a circumſtance which never happened before, and which, as the Thebans themſelves aſſert, has never occurred ſince. In the higher parts of Ægypt it never rains, but at that period we read it rained at Thebes in diſtinct drops[12].

XI. The Perſians having paſſed the deſerts, fixed their camp oppoſite to the Ægyptians, as with the deſign of offering them battle. The Greeks and Carians, who were the confederates of the Ægyp-

[11] *Temple of Minerva.*]—This is not expreſſed in the original text, but it was evident that it is in the temple of Minerva, from chap. clxix. of the ſecond book.—*T.*

[12] *In diſtinct drops.*]—Herodotus is perhaps thus particular, to diſtinguiſh rain from miſt.

It is a little remarkable that all the mention which Herodotus makes of the ancient Thebes, is in this paſſage, and in this ſlight manner. In book ii. chap. xv. he informs us that all Ægypt was formerly called Thebes.—*T.*

tians,

tians, to ſhew their reſentment againſt Phanes, for introducing a foreign army againſt Ægypt, adopted this expedient: his ſons, whom he had left behind, they brought into the camp, and in a conſpicuous place, in the ſight of their father, they put them one by one to death upon a veſſel brought thither for that purpoſe. When they had done this, they filled the vaſe which had received the blood with wine and water; having drank which[13], all the auxiliaries immediately engaged the enemy. The battle was obſtinately diſputed, but after conſiderable loſs on both ſides, the Ægyptians fled.

XII. By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought a very ſurprizing thing was pointed out to my attention. The bones of thoſe who fell in the engagement were ſoon afterwards collected, and ſeparated into two diſtinct heaps. It was obſerved of the Perſians, that their heads were ſo extremely ſoft as to yield to the ſlight impreſſion even of a pebble; thoſe of the Ægyptians, on the contrary, were ſo firm, that the blow of a large ſtone could hardly break them. The reaſon which they

[13] *Having drank which.*]—They probably ſwore at the ſame time to avenge the treaſon of Phanes, or periſh. The blood of an human victim mixed with wine accompanied the moſt ſolemn forms of execration among the ancients. Catiline made uſe of this ſuperſtition to bind his adherents to ſecrecy: "He carried round," ſays Salluſt, "the blood of an human victim, mixed with wine; and when all had taſted it, after a ſet form of execration (ſicut in ſolennibus ſacris fieri conſuevit) he imparted his deſign."—*T.*

gave

gave for this was very ſatisfactory—the Ægyptians from a very early age ſhave their heads [14], which by being conſtantly expoſed to the actions of the ſun, become firm and hard; this treatment alſo prevents baldneſs, very few inſtances of which are ever to be ſeen in Ægypt. Why the ſkulls of the Perſians are ſo ſoft may be explained from their being from their infancy accuſtomed to ſhelter from the ſun, by their conſtant uſe of turbans. I ſaw the very ſame fact at Papremis, after examining the bones of thoſe who, under the conduct of Achæmenes [15], ſon of Darius, were defeated by Inaros the African.

XIII. The Ægyptians after their defeat fled in great diſorder to Memphis. Cambyſes diſpatched a Perſian up the river in a Mitylenian veſſel to treat with them; but as ſoon as they ſaw the veſſel enter Memphis, they ruſhed in a croud from the citadel, deſtroyed

[14] *Shave their heads.*]—The ſame cuſtom ſtill ſubſiſts: I have ſeen every where the children of the common people, whether running in the fields, aſſembled round the villages, or ſwimming in the waters, with their heads ſhaved and bare. Let us but imagine the hardneſs a ſkull muſt acquire thus expoſed to the ſcorching ſun, and we ſhall not be aſtoniſhed at the remark of Herodotus.—*Savary.*

[15] *Achæmenes.*]—Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus ſay, that it was Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the ſame who before had the government of Ægypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this war; but herein they were deceived by the ſimilitude of names; for it appears by Cteſias, that he was the ſon of Hameſtris, whom Artaxerxes ſent with his army into Ægypt.—*Prideaux.*

the

the veſſel, tore the crew in pieces [16], and afterwards carried them into the citadel. Siege was immediately laid to the place, and the Ægyptians were finally compelled to ſurrender. Thoſe Africans who lived neareſt to Ægypt, apprehenſive of a ſimilar fate, ſubmitted without conteſt, impoſing a tribute on themſelves, and ſending preſents to the Perſians. Their example was followed by the Cyreneans and Barceans, who were ſtruck with the like panic. The African preſents Cambyſes received very graciouſly, but he expreſſed much reſentment at thoſe of the Cyreneans, as I think, on account of their meanneſs. They ſent him five hundred minæ of ſilver, which, as ſoon as he received, with his own hands he threw amongſt his ſoldiers.

XIV. On the tenth day after the ſurrender of the citadel of Memphis, Pſammenitus, the Ægyptian king, who had reigned no more than ſix months, was by order of Cambyſes ignominiouſly conducted, with other Ægyptians, to the outſide of the walls, and by way of trial of his diſpoſition, thus treated: His daughter, in the habit of a ſlave, was ſent with a pitcher to draw water; ſhe was accompanied by a number of young women clothed in the ſame garb, and ſelected from families of the firſt diſtinction. They paſſed, with much and loud lamentation,

[16] *Tore the crew in pieces.*]—They were two hundred in number; this appears from a following paragraph, where we find that for every Mitylenian maſſacred on this occaſion ten Ægyptians were put to death, and that two thouſand Ægyptians thus periſhed.—*Larcher.*

before

before their parents, from whom their treatmen excited a correſpondent violence of grief. But when Pſammenitus beheld the ſpectacle, he merely declined his eyes upon the ground; when this train was gone by, the ſon of Pſammenitus, with two thouſand Ægyptians of the ſame age, were made to walk in proceſſion with ropes round their necks, and bridles in their mouths. Theſe were intended to avenge the death of thoſe Mitylenians who, with their veſſel, had been torn to pieces at Memphis. The king's counſellors had determined that for every one put to death on that occaſion ten of the firſt rank of the Ægyptians ſhould be ſacrificed. Pſammenitus obſerved theſe as they paſſed, but although he perceived that his ſon was going to be executed, and whilſt all the Ægyptians around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued unmoved as before. When this ſcene alſo diſappeared, he beheld a venerable perſonage, who had formerly partaken of the royal table, deprived of all he had poſſeſſed, and in the dreſs of a mendicant aſking charity through the different ranks of the army. This man ſtopped to beg an alms of Pſammenitus, the ſon of Amaſis, and the other noble Ægyptians who were ſitting with him; which, when Pſammenitus beheld, he could no longer ſuppreſs his emotions, but calling on his friend by name, wept aloud [17], and beat his head. This the ſpies, who were

[17] *Wept aloud.*]—A very ſtrange effect of grief is related by Mr. Gibbon, in the ſtory of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when after an obſtinate reſiſtance he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to Belisarius.

were placed near him to obſerve his conduct on each incident, reported to Cambyſes; who, in aſtoniſhment at ſuch behaviour, ſent a meſſenger, who was thus directed to addreſs him, "Your "lord and maſter, Cambyſes, is deſirous to know "why, after beholding with ſo much indifference "your daughter treated as a ſlave, and your ſon "conducted to death, you expreſſed ſo lively a con- "cern for that mendicant, who, as he has been in- "formed, is not at all related to you?" Pſammenitus made this reply: "Son of Cyrus, my domeſtic mis- "fortunes were too great to ſuffer me to ſhed tears [18]; "but

Beliſarius. "The firſt public interview," ſays our hiſtorian, "was in one of the ſuburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accoſted his conqueror, he burſt into a fit of laughter. The croud might naturally believe that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his ſenſes; but in this mournful ſtate unſeaſonable mirth inſinuated to more intelligent obſervers that the vain and tranſitory ſcenes of human greatneſs are unworthy of a ſerious thought."

[18] *Shed tears.*]—This idea of extreme affliction or anger tending to check the act of weeping, is expreſſed by Shakeſpeare with wonderful ſublimity and pathos. It is part of a ſpeech of Lear:

> You ſee me here, ye gods, a poor old man,
> As full of grief as age, wretched in both.
> If it be you that ſtir theſe daughters hearts
> Againſt their father, fool me not ſo much
> To bear it tamely: Touch me with noble anger,
> And let not women's weapons, water drops,
> Stain my man's cheeks. No, you unnatural hags,
> I will have ſuch revenges on you both
> That all the world ſhall——I will do ſuch things,

What

"but it was consistent that I should weep for my "friend, who, from a station of honour and of wealth, "is in the last stage of life reduced to penury." Cambyses heard and was satisfied with his answer. The Ægyptians say that Crœsus, who attended Cambyses in this Ægyptian expedition, wept at the incident. The Persians also who were present were exceedingly moved, and Cambyses himself yielded so far to compassion, that he ordered the son of Psammenitus to be preserved out of those who had been condemned to die, and Psammenitus himself to be conducted from the place where he was, to his presence.

XV. The emissaries employed for the purpose found the young prince had suffered first, and was already dead; the father they led to Cambyses, with whom he lived, and received no farther ill treatment; and, could he have refrained from ambitious attempts, would probably have been intrusted with the government of Ægypt. The Persians hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, and even if the fathers revolt they will permit the sons to succeed to their authority; that such is really their conduct may be proved by various examples.

What they are yet I know not, but they shall be
The terrors of the earth.——You think I'll weep—
No, I'll not weep. I have full cause of weeping;
But this heart shall break into a hundred thousand flaws
Or e'er I weep. T.

Thannyras the ſon of Inarus [19], received the kingdom which his father governed; Pauſiris alſo, the ſon of Amyrtæus, was permitted to reign after his father, although the Perſians had never met with more obſtinate enemies than both Inarus and Amyrtæus. Pſammenitus revolted, and ſuffered for his offence: he was detected in ſtirring up the Ægyptians to rebel; and being convicted by Cambyſes, was made to drink a quantity of bullock's blood [20], which immediately occaſioned his death.—Such was the end of Pſammenitus.

XVI. From Sais, Cambyſes proceeded to Memphis, to execute a purpoſe he had in view. As ſoon as he entered the palace of Amaſis, he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his

[19] *Inarus.*]—The revolt of Inarus happened in the firſt year of the 80th Olympiad, 460 before the Chriſtian æra. He rebelled againſt Artaxerxes Longimanus, and with the aſſiſtance of the Athenians defied the power of Perſia for nearly five years. After he was reduced, Amyrtæus held out for ſome time longer in the marſhy country.—The particulars may be found in the firſt book of Thucydides, chap. civ. &c.

[20] *Bullock's blood.*]—Bull's blood, taken freſh from the animal, was conſidered by the ancients as a powerful poiſon, and ſuppoſed to act by coagulating in the ſtomach. Themiſtocles, and ſeveral other perſonages of antiquity, were ſaid to have died by taking it.—See Plut. in Themiſt. and Pliny, book xxviii. ch. ix. Ariſtophanes, in the Ἱππεῖς, alludes to this account of the death of Themiſtocles.

Βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν
Ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρεῖ τοὺς.

tomb.

tomb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression; when therefore they were fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned. In this last act Cambyses paid no regard to the religion of his country, for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity [21]. The custom of burning the dead does not prevail in either of the two nations; for the reason above mentioned, the Persians do not use it, thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcases; and the Ægyptians abhor it, being fully persuaded that fire is a voracious animal, which devours whatever it can seize, and when saturated finally expires with what it has consumed. They hold it unlawful to expose the bodies of the dead [22] to

[21] *Venerate fire as a divinity.*]—This expression must not be understood in too rigorous a sense. Fire was certainly regarded by the Persians as something sacred, and perhaps they might render it some kind of religious worship, which in its origin referred only to the deity of which this element was an emblem. But it is certain that this nation did not believe fire to be a deity, otherwise how would they have dared to have extinguished it throughout Persia, on the death of the sovereign, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus?—See an epigram of Dioscorides, Brunk's Analecta, vol. i. 503.—*Larcher.*

[22] *Bodies of the dead.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that the interment of bodies was common in Greece; and Homer tells us that the custom of burning the dead was in use before the Trojan war. It is therefore probable that both customs were practised at the same time; this was also the case at Rome, as appears from

to any animals, for which reaſon they embalm them, fearing leſt, after interment, they might become the prey of worms. The Ægyptians aſſert, that the above indignities were not inflicted upon the body of Amaſis, but that the Perſians were deceived, and perpetrated theſe inſults on ſome other Ægyptian of the ſame age with that prince. Amaſis, they ſay, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended againſt his body, to prevent which he ordered the perſon who really ſuſtained them, to be buried at the entrance of his tomb, whilſt he himſelf, by his own directions given to his ſon, was placed in ſome ſecret and interior receſs of the ſepulchre. Theſe aſſertions I cannot altogether believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Ægyptians.

from many ancient monuments: the cuſtom, however, of interment, ſeems to have preceded that of burning. "At mihi quidem antiquiſſimum ſepulturæ genus id fuiſſe videtur quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus et ita locatum et ſitum quaſi operimento matris obducitur."—*Cicero de legibus*, lib. ii. 22.

"That ſeems to me to have been the moſt ancient kind of burial, which, according to Xenophon, was uſed by Cyrus. For the body is returned to the earth, and ſo placed as to be covered with the veil of its mother." The cuſtom of burning at Rome, according to Montfaucon, ceaſed about the time of Theodoſius the younger.

Sylla was the firſt of the Cornelian family whoſe body was burnt, whence ſome have erroneouſly advanced that he was the firſt Roman; but both methods were mentioned in the laws of the twelve tables, and appear to have been equally prevalent. After Sylla, burning became general.—*T.*

XVII.

XVII. Cambyſes afterwards determined to commence hoſtilities againſt three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian* Æthiopians, who inhabit that part of Lybia which lies towards the ſouthern ocean. He accordingly reſolved to ſend againſt the Carthaginians a naval armament; a detachment of his troops was to attack the Ammonians by land; and he ſent ſpies into Æthiopia, who, under pretence of carrying preſents to the prince, were to aſcertain the reality of the celebrated table of the ſun [23], and to examine the condition of the country.

XVIII. What they called the table of the ſun was this:—A plain in the vicinity of the city was filled to the height of four feet with the roaſted fleſh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inſpection of the magiſtrates; during the day whoever pleaſed was at liberty to go and ſatisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth ſpontaneouſly produces all theſe viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the ſun.

* *i. e.* long-lived.

[23] *Table of the ſun.*]—Solinus ſpeaks of this table of the ſun as ſomething marvellous, and Pomponius Mela ſeems to have had the ſame idea. Pauſanias conſiders what was reported of it as fabulous. "If," ſays he, "we credit all theſe marvels on the faith of the Greeks, we ought alſo to receive as true what the Æthiopians above Syene relate of the table of the ſun." In adhering to the recital of Herodotus, a conſiderable portion of the marvellous diſappears.—*Larcher.*

XIX. As ſoon as Cambyſes had reſolved on the meaſures he meant to purſue, with reſpect to the Æthiopians, he ſent to the city of Elephantine for ſome of the Ichthyophagi who were ſkilled in their language. In the mean time he directed his naval forces to proceed againſt the Carthaginians; but the Phœnicians refuſed to aſſiſt him in this purpoſe, pleading the ſolemnity of their engagements with that people, and the impiety of committing acts of violence againſt their own deſcendants.—Such was the conduct of the Phœnicians, and the other armaments were not powerful enough to proceed. Thus, therefore, the Carthaginians eſcaped being made tributary to Perſia, for Cambyſes did not chooſe to uſe compulſion with the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily become his dependants, and who conſtituted the moſt eſſential part of his naval power. The Cyprians had alſo ſubmitted without conteſt to the Perſians, and had ſerved in the Ægyptian expedition.

XX. As ſoon as the Ichthyophagi arrived from Elephantine, Cambyſes diſpatched them to Æthiopia. They were commiſſioned to deliver, with certain preſents, a particular meſſage to the prince. The preſents conſiſted of a purple veſt, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaſter box of perfumes [24], and a caſk of palm wine. The Æthiopians

[24] *Alabaſter box of perfumes.*]—It ſeems probable that perfumes in more ancient times were kept in ſhells. Arabia is the country of perfumes, and the Red Sea throws upon the coaſt a number

Æthiopians to whom Cambyſes ſent, are reported to be ſuperior to all other men in the perfections of ſize and beauty: their manners and cuſtoms, which differ alſo from thoſe of all other nations, have beſides this ſingular diſtinction; the ſupreme authority is given to him who excels all his fellow citizens [25] in ſize and proportionable ſtrength.

XXI.

number of large and beautiful ſhells, very convenient for ſuch a purpoſe.—See Horace:

Funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis.

That to make a preſent of perfumes was deemed a mark of reverence and honour in the remoteſt times amongſt the Orientals, appears from the following paſſage in Daniel.

"Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worſhipped Daniel, and commanded that they ſhould offer an oblation and ſweet odours to him."

See alſo St. Mark, xiv. 3:

"There came a woman having an alabaſter box of ointment of ſpikenard, very precious; and ſhe brake the box, and poured it on his head."

See alſo Matth. xxvi. 7.

To ſprinkle the apartments and the perſons of the gueſts with roſe-water, and other aromatics, ſtill continues in the Eaſt to be a mark of reſpectful attention.

Alabaſtron did not properly ſignify a veſſel made of the ſtone now called alabaſter, but one without handles, μη εχον λαβας.

Alabaſter obtained its name from being frequently uſed for this purpoſe; the ancient name for the ſtone was *alabaſtrites*, and perfumes were thought to keep better in it than in any other ſubſtance. Pliny has informed us of the ſhape of theſe veſſels, by comparing to them the pearls called elenchi, which are known to have been ſhaped like pears, or, as he expreſſes it, faſtigiatâ longitudine, alabaſtrorum figura, in pleniorem orbem deſinentes. lib. ix. cap. 35.—*T.*

[25] *Who excels all his fellow citizens, &c.*]—That the quality of

 ſtrength

XXI. The Ichthyophagi on their arrival offered the preſents, and thus addreſſed the king: "Cambyſes, ſovereign of Perſia, from his anxious deſire "of becoming your friend and ally, has ſent us to "communicate with you, and to deſire your acceptance of theſe preſents, from the uſe of which he "himſelf derives the greateſt pleaſure." The Æthiopian prince, who was aware of the object they had in view, made them this anſwer:—"The king of "Perſia has not ſent you with theſe preſents, from "any deſire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you "ſpeak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjuſt de"ſigns of your maſter, are come to examine the ſtate "of my dominions: if he were influenced by prin"ciples of integrity, he would be ſatisfied with his "own, and not covet the poſſeſſions of another; nor "would he attempt to reduce thoſe to ſervitude "from whom he has received no injury. Give him "therefore this bow, and in my name ſpeak to him "thus: The king of Æthiopia ſends this counſel to "the king of Perſia—when his ſubjects ſhall be "able to bend this bow with the ſame eaſe that I "do, then with a ſuperiority of numbers he may "venture to attack the Macrobian Æthiopians. In

ſtrength and accompliſhments of perſon were in the firſt inſtitution of ſociety the principal recommendations to honour, is thus repreſented by Lucretius:

Condere cæperunt urbeis, arcemque locare
Præſidium reges ipſi ſibi perfugiumque:
Et pecudes et agros diviſere atque dedere
Pro facie cujuſque, et viribus ingenioque
Nam facies multum valuit, viresque vigebant. F.

"the

"the mean time let him be thankful to the gods, that "the Æthiopians have not been inſpired with the "ſame ambitious views of extending their poſſeſ- "ſions."

XXII. When he had finiſhed, he unbent the bow and placed it in their hands; after which, taking the purple veſt, he enquired what it was, and how it was made: the Ichthyophagi properly explained to him the proceſs by which the purple tincture was communicated; but he told them that they and their veſts were alike deceitful. He then made ſimilar enquiries concerning the bracelets and the gold chain for the neck: upon their deſcribing the nature of thoſe ornaments, he laughed, and conceiving them to be chains [26], remarked, that the Æthiopians

[26] *Conceiving them to be chains.*]—We learn from a paſſage in Geneſis, xxiv. 22, that the bracelets of the Orientals were remarkably heavy; which ſeems in ſome meaſure to juſtify the ſentiment of the Æthiopian prince, who thought them chains ſimply becauſe they were made of gold, which was uſed for that purpoſe in his country.—See chap. xxiii.

"And it came to paſs as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear-ring of half a ſhekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten ſhekels weight of gold."

That the bracelet was formerly an enſign of royalty amongſt the Orientals, Mr. Harmer, in his Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture, infers from the circumſtance of the Amalekites bringing to David the bracelet which he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown. That it was a mark of dignity there can be little doubt; but it by no means follows that it was a mark of royalty, though the remark is certainly ingenious. If it was, there exiſted a peculiar propriety in making it the part of a preſent from one prince to another. By the Roman generals they were given to their ſoldiers, as a reward of bravery. Small

chains

Æthiopians poſſeſſed much ſtronger. He proceeded laſtly to aſk them the uſe of the perfumes; and when they informed him how they were made and applied, he made the ſame obſervation as he had before done of the purple robe [27]. When he came to the wine, and learned how it was made, he

chains were alſo in the remoteſt times worn round the neck, not only by women but by the men. That theſe were alſo worn by princes appears from Judges, viii. 26.

"And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requeſted, was a thouſand and ſeven hundred ſhekels of gold; beſide ornaments, and *collars*, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian; and beſide the chains that were about their camels necks." Which laſt circumſtance tends alſo to prove that they thus alſo decorated the animals they uſed, which faſhion is to this day obſerved by people of diſtinction in Ægypt.—*T.*

[27] *Purple robe.*]—It is a circumſtance well known at preſent, that on the coaſt of Guagaquil as well as on that of Guatima, are found thoſe ſnails which yield the purple dye ſo celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have ſuppoſed to have been loſt. The ſhell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the ſea; it is of the ſize of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways; ſome perſons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the ſhell, they then preſs it from the head to the tail with a knife, and ſeparating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the reſt. When this operation, repeated upon ſeveral of the ſnails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the buſineſs is done. The colour, which is at firſt as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been ſpeaking of, either in luſtre or in permanency.—*Raynal.*

Pliny deſcribes the *purpura* as a turbinated ſhell like the buccinum, but with ſpines upon it; which may lead us to ſuſpect the Abbé's account of the *ſnails* of a little inaccuracy.—*T.*

drank

drank it with particular ſatisfaction; and enquired upon what food the Perſian monarch ſubſiſted, and what was the longeſt period of a Perſian's life. The king, they told him, lived chiefly upon bread; and they then deſcribed to him the properties of corn: they added, that the longeſt period of life in Perſia was about eighty years. "I am not at all ſurprized," ſaid the Æthiopian prince, "that, ſubſiſting on "dung, the term of life is ſo ſhort among them; "and unleſs," he continued, pointing to the wine, "they mixed it with this liquor, they would not "live ſo long:" for in this he allowed that they excelled the Æthiopians.

XXIII. The Ichthyophagi in their turn queſtioned the prince concerning the duration of life in Æthiopia, and the kind of food there in uſe:—They were told, that the majority of the people lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years, but that ſome exceeded even that period; that their meat was baked fleſh, their drink milk. When the ſpies expreſſed aſtoniſhment at the length of life in Æthiopia, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which having bathed, they became ſhining as if anointed with oil, and diffuſed from their bodies the perfume of violets. But they aſſerted that the water of this fountain was of ſo inſubſtantial a nature, that neither wood, nor any thing ſtill lighter than wood, would float upon its ſurface, but every thing inſtantly ſunk to the bottom. If their repreſentation of this water was true, the conſtant uſe of it may probably explain the extreme length of life

which the Æthiopians attain. From the fountain they were conducted to the public priſon, where all that were confined were ſecured by chains of gold; for among theſe Æthiopians braſs is the rareſt of all the metals. After viſiting the priſon they ſaw alſo what is called the table of the ſun.

XXIV. Finally they were ſhewn their coffins [28], which are ſaid to be conſtructed of cryſtal, and in this manner:—After all the moiſture is exhauſted from

[28] *Coffins.*]—Coffins, though anciently uſed in the Eaſt, and conſidered as marks of diſtinction, are not now there applied to the dead either by Turks or Chriſtians.

"With us," ſays Mr. Harmer, in his Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture, "the pooreſt people have their coffins: if the relations cannot afford them, the pariſh is at the expence. In the Eaſt, on the contrary, they are not now at all made uſe of. Turks and Chriſtians, Thevenot aſſures us, agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the ſame manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it ſhould ſeem, put into a coffin, nor that of Eliſha, whoſe bones were touched by the corpſe that was let down a little after into his ſepulchre, 2 Kings, xiii. 21. That they, however, were anciently made uſe of in Ægypt, all agree; and antique coffins, of ſtone and ſycamore wood, are ſtill to be ſeen in that country, not to mention thoſe ſaid to be made of a kind of paſte-board, formed by folding and glewing cloth together a great number of times, which were curiouſly plaiſtered, and then painted with hieroglyphics. Its being an ancient Ægyptian cuſtom, and its not being uſed in the neighbouring countries, were doubtleſs the cauſe that the ſacred hiſtorian expreſsly obſerves of Joſeph, that he was not only embalmed, but put into a coffin too, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Ægyptians."—*Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture*, vol. ii. 154.

Mr. Harmer's obſervation in the foregoing note is not ſtrictly true,

from the body, by the Ægyptian or ſome other proceſs, they cover it totally with a kind of plaſter, which they decorate with various colours, and make it convey as near a reſemblance as may be of the perſon of the deceaſed. They then incloſe it in a hollow pillar of cryſtal [29], which is dug up in great abundance,

true. The uſe of coffins might very probably be unknown in Syria, from whence Joſeph came; but that they were uſed by all nations contiguous on one ſide at leaſt to Ægypt, the paſſage before us proves ſufficiently. I have not been able to aſcertain at what period the uſe of coffins was introduced in this country, but it appears from the following paſſage of our celebrated antiquary Mr. Strutt, that from very remote times our anceſtors were interred in ſome kind of coffin. "It was cuſtomary in the Chriſtian burials of the Anglo Saxons to leave the head and ſhoulders of the corpſe uncovered till the time of burial, that relations, &c. might take a laſt view of their deceaſed friend." We have alſo the following in Durant, "Corpus totum at ſudore obvolutum ac locuto conditum veteres in cœnaculis, ſeu tricliniis exponebant."

We learn from a paſſage in Strabo, that there was a temple at Alexandria, in which the body of Alexander was depoſited, in a coffin of gold; it was ſtolen by Seleucus Cybioſactes, who left a coffin of glaſs in its place. This is the only author, except Herodotus, in whom I can remember to have ſeen mention made of a coffin of glaſs. The urns of ancient Rome, in which the aſhes of the dead were depoſited, were indifferently made of gold, ſilver, braſs, alabaſter, porphyry, and marble; theſe were externally ornamented according to the rank of the deceaſed. A minute deſcription of theſe, with a multitude of ſpecimens, may be ſeen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

[29] *Pillar of cryſtal.*]—"Our glaſs," ſays M. Larcher, "is not the production of the earth, it muſt be manufactured with much trouble." According to Ludolf, they find in ſome parts of Æthiopia large quantities of foſſil ſalt, which is tranſparent, and

abundance, and of a kind that is eaſily worked. The deceaſed is very conſpicuous through the cryſtal, has no diſagreeable ſmell, nor any thing elſe that is offenſive. This coffin the neareſt relations keep for a twelvemonth in their houſes, offering before it different kinds of victims, and the firſt-fruits of their lands; theſe are afterwards removed and ſet up round the city.

XXV. The ſpies, after executing their commiſſion, returned; and Cambyſes was ſo exaſperated at their recital, that he determined inſtantly to proceed againſt the Æthiopians, without ever providing for the neceſſary ſuſtenance of his army, or reflecting that he was about to viſit the extremities of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, like one deprived of all the powers of reaſon, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but ſuch Greeks as had accompanied him to Ægypt. On his arrival at Thebes, he ſelected from his army about fifty thouſand men, whom he ordered to make an incurſion againſt the Ammonians, and to burn the place from whence the oracles of Jupiter were delivered: he himſelf, with the remainder of his

and which indurates in the air: this is perhaps what they took for glaſs.

We have the teſtimony of the Scholiaſt on Ariſtophanes, that ὑαλος, though afterwards uſed for glaſs, ſignified anciently cryſtal: as therefore Herodotus informs us that this ſubſtance was digged from the earth, why ſhould we heſitate to tranſlate it cryſtal?—T.

troops,

troops, marched againſt the Æthiopians. Before he had performed a fifth part of his intended expedition, the proviſions he had with him were totally conſumed. They proceeded to eat the beaſts which carried the baggage, till theſe alſo failed. If after theſe incidents Cambyſes had permitted his paſſions to cool, and had led his army back again, notwithſtanding his indiſcretion he ſtill might have deſerved praiſe. Inſtead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The ſoldiers, as long as the earth afforded them any ſuſtenance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as ſoon as they arrived among the ſands and the deſerts, ſome of them were prompted by famine to proceed to the moſt horrid extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was deſtined to ſatisfy the hunger of the reſt [30]. When Cambyſes received intelligence of this fact, alarmed at the idea of devouring one another, he abandoned his deſigns upon

[30] *Satisfy the hunger of the reſt.*]—The whole of this narrative is tranſcribed by Seneca, with ſome little variation, in his treatiſe *de Irâ*; who at the concluſion adds, though we know not from what authority, that notwithſtanding theſe dreadful ſufferings of his troops, the king's table was ſerved with abundance of delicacies. Servabantur interim illi generoſæ aves et inſtrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur.

Perhaps the moſt horrid example on record of ſuffering from famine, is the deſcription given by Joſephus of the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Eleven thouſand priſoners were ſtarved to death after the capture of the city, during the ſtorm. Whilſt the Romans were engaged in pillage, on entering ſeveral houſes they found whole families dead, and the houſes crammed with ſtarved carcaſes; but what is ſtill more ſhocking, it was a notorious fact, that a mother killed, dreſſed, and eat her own child.—*T.*

the

the Æthiopians, and returning homeward arrived at length at Thebes, after losing a considerable number of his men. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.—Such was the termination of the Æthiopian expedition.

XXVI. The troops who were dispatched against the Ammonians left Thebes with guides, and penetrated, as it should seem, as far as Oasis. This place is distant from Thebes about a seven days journey over the sands, and is said to be inhabited by Samians, of the Æschryonian tribe. The country is called in Greek, "The happy Islands." The army is reported to have proceeded thus far; but what afterwards became of them it is impossible to know, except from the Ammonians, or those whom the Ammonians have instructed on this head. It is certain that they never arrived among the Ammonians, and that they never returned[31]. The Ammonians affirm, that as they were marching forwards from Oasis through the sands, they halted at some place of middle distance, for the purpose of taking repast, which whilst they were doing, a strong south wind

[31] *Never returned.*]—The route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to this temple, or from the environs of Memphis. The Ægyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days journey from Abydus; and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Lybia, they no doubt abandoned them in the night, and delivered them over to death.—*Savary.*

arose,

aroſe, and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of ſand [32], ſo that they were ſeen no more.—Such, as the Ammonians relate, was the fate of this army.

XXVII. Soon after the return of Cambyſes to Memphis, the god Apis appeared, called by the Greeks Epaphus [33]. Upon this occaſion the Ægyptians clothed themſelves in their richeſt apparel, and made great rejoicings. Cambyſes took notice of this, and imagined it was done on account of his late unfortunate projects. He ordered, therefore, the magiſtrates of Memphis to attend him; and he aſked them why they had done nothing of this kind when he was formerly at Memphis, and had only made

[32] *Mountain of ſand.*]—What happens at preſent in performing this journey, proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from the fertile valley lying under the tropic, march ſeven days before they come to the firſt town in Æthiopia. They find their way in the day-time by looking at marks, and at night by obſerving the ſtars. The ſand-hills they had obſerved on the preceding journey having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and if they wander the leaſt out of the road, the camels, having paſſed five or ſix days without drinking, ſink under their burden, and die: the men are not long before they ſubmit to the ſame fate, and ſometimes, out of a great number, not a ſingle traveller eſcapes; at others the burning winds from the ſouth raiſe vortexes of duſt, which ſuffocate man and beaſt, and the next caravan ſees the ground ſtrewed with bodies totally parched up.—*Savary.*

[33] *Epaphus.*]—Epaphus was the ſon of Io, the daughter of Inachus. The Greeks pretended he was the ſame perſon as the god Apis; this the Ægyptians rejected as fabulous, and aſſerted that Epaphus was poſterior to Apis by many centuries.

rejoicings now that he had returned with the loſs of ſo many of his troops. They told him, that their deity [34] had appeared to them, which after a long abſence

[34] *Their deity.*]—It is probable that Apis was not always conſidered as a deity; perhaps they regarded him as a ſymbol of Oſiris, and it was from this that the Ægyptians were induced to pay him veneration. Others aſſert confidently that he was the ſame as Oſiris; and ſome have ſaid, that Oſiris having been killed by Typhon, Iſis incloſed his limbs in an heifer made of wood. Apis was ſacred to the moon, as was the bull Mnevis to the ſun. Others ſuppoſed, that both were ſacred to Oſiris, who is the ſame with the ſun. When he died there was an univerſal mourning in Ægypt. They ſought for another, and having found him, the mourning ended. The prieſts conducted him to Nilopolis, where they kept him forty days. They afterwards removed him in a magnificent veſſel to Memphis, where he had an apartment ornamented with gold. During the forty days above mentioned the women only were ſuffered to ſee him. They ſtood round him, and lifting up their garments, diſcovered to him what modeſty forbids us to name. Afterwards the ſight of the god was forbidden them.

Every year they brought him a heifer, which had alſo certain marks. According to the ſacred books, he was only permitted to live a ſtipulated time; when this came he was drowned in a ſacred fountain.—*Larcher.*

A few other particulars concerning this Apis may not be unacceptable to an Engliſh reader.

The homage paid him was not confined to Ægypt; many illuſtrious conquerors and princes of foreign nations, Alexander, Titus, and Adrian, bowed themſelves before him. Larcher ſays that he was conſidered as ſacred to the moon; but Porphyry expreſsly ſays, that he was ſacred to both ſun and moon. The following paſſage is from Plutarch: "The prieſts affirm that the moon ſheds a generative light, with which ſhould a cow wanting the bull be ſtruck, ſhe conceives Apis, who bears the ſign of that

abſence it was his cuſtom to do; and that when this happened, it was cuſtomary for all the Ægyptians to hold a ſolemn feſtival. Cambyſes diſbelieved what they told him, and condemned them to death, as guilty of falſhood.

XXVIII. As ſoon as they were executed, he ſent for the prieſts, from whom he received the ſame anſwer. "If," ſaid he, "any deity has ſhown "himſelf familiarly in Ægypt, I muſt ſee and "know him." He then commanded them to bring Apis before him, which they prepared to do. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Ægyptians ſay, that on this occaſion the cow is ſtruck with lightning, from which ſhe conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one ſo produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks: The ſkin is black, but on its forehead is a white ſtar of a triangular

that planet." Strabo ſays, that he was brought out from his apartment to gratify the curioſity of ſtrangers, and might always be ſeen through a window. Pliny relates with great ſolemnity that he refuſed food from the hand of Germanicus, who died ſoon after; and one ancient hiſtorian aſſerts, that during the ſeven days when the birth of Apis was celebrated, crocodiles forgot their natural ferocity, and became tame.

The biſhop of Avranches, M. Huet, endeavoured to prove that Apis was a ſymbol of the patriarch Joſeph.

It has been generally allowed, that Oſiris was reverenced in the homage paid to Apis. Oſiris introduced agriculture, in which the utility of the bull is obvious; and this appears to be the moſt rational explanation that can be given of this part of the Ægyptian ſuperſtition. *See Savary, Pococke, &c.*—*T.*

form. It has the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail [35] is divided, and under the tongue [36] it has an insect like a beetle.

XXIX. When the priests conducted Apis to his presence, Cambyses was transported with rage. He drew his dagger, and endeavouring to stab him in the belly, wounded him in the thigh; then turning to the priests with an insulting smile, "Wretches," he exclaimed, "think ye that gods are "formed of flesh and blood, and thus susceptible of "wounds? This, indeed, is a deity worthy of Ægyp-"tians: but you shall find that I am not to be mock-"ed with impunity." He then called the proper officers, and commanded the priests to be scourged: he directed also that whatever Ægyptian was found celebrating this festival should be put to death. The priests were thus punished, and no further solemnities observed. Apis himself languished and died in the temple, from the wound of his thigh,

[35] *The tail.*]—The Scholiast of Ptolemy says, but I know not on what authority, that the tail of the bull encreased or diminished according to the age of the moon.—*Larcher.*

[36] *Under the tongue.*]—In all the copies of Herodotus, it is επι δε τη γλωσσῃ, upon the tongue; but it is plain from Pliny and Eusebius that it ought to be ὑπο, under. The former explains what it was, Nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellant, "a knot under the tongue, which they call cantharus, or the beetle." viii. 46. The spot on the forehead is also changed by the commentators from quadrangular to triangular. Pliny mentions also a mark like a crescent on the right side, and is silent about the eagle. The beetle was considered as an emblem of the sun.—*T.*

and

and was buried[37] by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyses.

XXX. The Ægyptians affirm, that in consequence of this impiety Cambyses became immediately insane, who indeed did not before appear to have the proper use of his reason. The first impulse of his fury was directed against Smerdis, his own brother, who had become the object of his jealousy, because he was the only Persian who had been able to bend the bow which the Ichthyophagi brought from Æthiopia, the breadth of two fingers. He was therefore ordered to return to Persia, where as soon as he came Cambyses saw this vision: a messenger appeared to arrive from Persia, informing him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Cambyses was instantly struck with the apprehension that Smerdis would kill him, and seize his dominions; to prevent which he dispatched Prexaspes, a Persian, and one of his most faithful adherents, to put him to death. He arrived at Susa, and destroyed Smerdis, some say, by taking him aside whilst engaged in the diversion of the chace; others believe that he drowned him in the Red Sea; this, however, was the commencement of the calamities of Cambyses.

XXXI. The next victim of his fury was his

[37] *Buried by the priests.*]—This account is contradicted by Plutarch, who tells us, that Apis having been slain by Cambyses, was by his order exposed and devoured by dogs.—*T.*

ſiſter, who had accompanied him to Ægypt. She was alſo his wife, which thing he thus accompliſhed: before this prince, no Perſian had ever been known to marry his ſiſter [38]; but Cambyſes, being paſſionately fond of one of his, and knowing that there was no precedent to juſtify his making her his wife, aſſembled thoſe who were called the royal judges; of them he deſired to know whether there was any law which would permit a brother to marry his ſiſter, if he thought proper to do ſo. The royal judges in Perſia are men of the moſt approved integrity, who hold their places for life, or till they ſhall be convicted of ſome crime [39].

[38] *Marry his ſiſter.*]—Ingenious and learned men of all ages have amuſed themſelves with drawing a compariſon betwixt the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. The following particularity affords ample room for conjecture and diſcuſſion: At Athens a man was ſuffered to marry his ſiſter by the father, but forbidden to marry his ſiſter by the mother. At Lacedæmon things were totally reverſed, a man was allowed to marry his ſiſter by the mother, and forbidden to marry his ſiſter by the father.—See what Bayle ſays on the circumſtance of a man's marrying his ſiſter, article *Sarah*.—*T*.

[39] *Of ſome crime.*]—An appointment like this, manifeſtly leading to corruption, and the perverſion of juſtice, prevailed in this country with reſpect to judges, till the reign of George the Third, when a law was paſſed, the wiſdom of which cannot be ſufficiently admired, making the judges independent of the king, his miniſters, and ſucceſſors. Yet, however this proviſion may in appearance diminiſh the ſtrength of the executive power, the riot-act, combined with the aſſiſtance of the ſtanding army, which is always kept up in this country, add as much to the influence of the crown, as it may at firſt ſight ſeem to have loſt in prerogative. Such, however, was the opinion of judge Blackſtone.—*T*.

Every

Every thing is referred to their deciſion, they are the interpreters of the laws, and determine all private diſputes. In anſwer to the enquiry of Cambyſes, they replied ſhrewdly, though with truth, that although they could find no law which would permit a brother to marry his ſiſter, they had diſcovered one which enabled a monarch of Perſia to do what he pleaſed. In this anſwer the awe of Cambyſes prevented their adopting literally the ſpirit of the Perſian laws; and to ſecure their perſons, they took care to diſcover what would juſtify him who wiſhed to marry his ſiſter. Cambyſes, therefore, inſtantly married the ſiſter whom he loved [40], and not long afterwards a ſecond [41]. The younger of theſe, who accompanied him to Ægypt, he put to death.

XXXII. The manner of her death, like that of Smerdis, is differently related. The Greeks ſay that Cambyſes made the cub of a lioneſs and a young whelp engage each other, and that this princeſs was preſent at the combat; and when this latter was vanquiſhed, another whelp of the ſame litter broke what confined it, and flew to aſſiſt the other, and that both together were too much for the young lion. Cambyſes ſeeing this, expreſſed great ſatisfaction; but the princeſs burſt into tears. Camby-

[40] *Whom he loved.*]—Her name, according to the Scholiaſt of Lucian, was Atoſſa, who next married Smerdis, one of the magi, and afterwards Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes.—*Larcher.*

[41] *Afterwards a ſecond.*]—If Libanius may be credited, the name of this lady was Meroe.—*Weſſeling.*

ſes obſerved her weep, and enquired the reaſon; ſhe anſwered, that ſeeing one whelp aſſiſt another of the ſame brood, ſhe could not but remember Smerdis, whoſe death ſhe feared nobody would revenge. For which ſaying, the Greeks affirm, that Cambyſes put her to death. On the contrary, if we may believe the Ægyptians, this princeſs was ſitting at table with her huſband, and took a lettuce in her hand, dividing it leaf by leaf: "Which," ſaid ſhe, "ſeems in your eyes moſt agreeable, this lettuce "whole, or divided into leaves?" He replied, "When whole." "You," ſays ſhe, "reſemble this "lettuce, as I have divided it, for you have thus "torn in ſunder the houſe of Cyrus." Cambyſes was ſo greatly incenſed, that he threw her down, and leaped upon her; and being pregnant, ſhe was delivered before her time, and loſt her life.

XXXIII. To ſuch exceſſes in his own family was Cambyſes impelled, either on account of his impious treatment of Apis, or from ſome other of thoſe numerous calamities which afflict mankind. From the firſt hour of his birth he laboured under what by ſome is termed the ſacred diſeaſe. It is, therefore, by no means aſtoniſhing that ſo great a bodily infirmity ſhould at length injure the mind.

XXXIV. His phrenzy, however, extended to the other Perſians. He once made a remarkable ſpeech to Prexaſpes, for whom he profeſſed the greateſt regard, who received all petitions to the king, and whoſe ſon enjoyed the honourable office of

of royal cup-bearer. "What," ſays he, upon ſome occaſion, "do the Perſians think of me, or in what "terms do they ſpeak of me?" "Sir," he replied, "in all other reſpects they ſpeak of you with honour; "but it is the general opinion that you are too much "addicted to wine." "What!" returned the prince in anger, "I ſuppoſe they ſay that I drink to exceſs, and "am deprived of reaſon; their former praiſe, there- "fore, could not be ſincere." At ſome preceding period he had aſked of thoſe whom he uſed moſt familiarly, and of Crœſus among the reſt, whether they thought he had equalled the greatneſs of his father Cyrus. In reply they told him, that he was the greater of the two, for that to all which Cyrus had poſſeſſed, he had added the empire of Ægypt and of the ocean. Crœſus, who was preſent, did not aſſent to this. "Sir," ſaid he to Cambyſes, "in my opinion you are not equal to your father; "you have not ſuch a ſon as he left behind him." Which ſpeech of Crœſus was highly agreeable to Cambyſes.

XXXV. Remembering this, he turned with great anger to Prexaſpes: "You," ſaid he, "ſhall "preſently be witneſs of the truth or falſhood of "what the Perſians ſay. If I hit directly through "the heart[42] your ſon, who ſtands yonder, it will "be

[42] *Through the heart.*]—The ſtory of William Tell, the great deliverer of the Swiſs cantons from the yoke of the Germans, may be properly introduced in this place. Griſler governed Switzerland for the Emperor Albert. He ordered William Tell, a Swiſs

" be evident that they ſpeak of me maliciouſly; if " I miſs my aim, they will ſay true in affirming that " I am mad." No ſooner had he ſpoken, than he bent his bow, and ſtruck the young man. When he fell, the king ordered his body to be opened, and the wound to be examined. He was rejoiced to find that the arrow had penetrated his heart; and turning to the father with a malicious ſmile, " You " obſerve," ſaid he, " that it is not I that am mad, " but the Perſians who are fooliſh. Tell me," he continued, " if you ever ſaw a man ſend an arrow " ſurer to its mark?" Prexaſpes, ſeeing he was mad, and fearing for himſelf, replied, " I do not " think, Sir, that even a deity could have aimed " ſo well."—Such was his treatment of Prexaſpes. At another time, without the ſmalleſt provocation, he commanded twelve Perſians of diſtinction to be interred alive.

a Swiſs of ſome importance, for a pretended offence, to place an apple on the head of one of his children, and to hit it, on pain of death, with an arrow. He was dexterous enough to do ſo, without hurting his child. Griſler, when the affair was over, took notice that Tell had another arrow concealed under his cloak, and aſked him what it was for? " I intended," replied Tell, " to have ſhot you to the heart, if I had killed my child." The governor ordered Tell to be hanged; but the Swiſs, defending their countryman, flew to arms, deſtroyed their governor, and made themſelves independent. See this hiſtorical anecdote referred to by Smollet, in his ſublime Ode to Independence.

Who with the generous ruſtics ſate
On Uri's rock, in cloſe divan,
And wing'd that arrow, ſure as fate,
Which aſcertain'd the ſacred rights of man.—T.

XXXVI. Whilſt he was purſuing theſe extravagancies, Crœſus gave him this advice: "Do not, "Sir, yield thus intemperately to the warmth of your "age and of your temper. Reſtrain yourſelf, and "remember that moderation is the part of a wiſe "man, and it becomes every one to weigh the "conſequences of his actions. Without any adequate "offence you deſtroy your fellow-citizens, and put "even children to death. If you continue theſe "exceſſes, the Perſians may be induced to revolt "from you. In giving you theſe admonitions, I do "but fulfil the injunctions which the king your "father repeatedly laid upon me, to warn you of "whatever I thought neceſſary to your welfare." Kind as were the intentions of Crœſus, he received this anſwer from Cambyſes: "I am aſtoniſhed at "your preſumption in ſpeaking to me thus, as if "you had been remarkable either for the judicious "government of your own dominions, or for the "wiſe advice which you gave my father. I cannot "forget that, inſtead of waiting for the attack of the "Maſſagetæ, you counſelled him to advance and "encounter them in their own territories. By your "miſconduct you loſt your own dominions, and by "your ill advice were the cauſe of my father's ruin. "But do not expect to eſcape with impunity; in-"deed I have long wiſhed for an opportunity to "puniſh you." He then eagerly ſnatched his bow [43], intending to pierce Crœſus with an arrow, but

[43] *Snatched his bow.*]—The mental derangement under which Saul laboured, previous to the elevation of David, bears ſome reſemblance

but by an expeditious flight he escaped. Cambyses instantly ordered him to be seized and put to death; but as his officers were well acquainted with their prince's character, they concealed Crœsus, thinking that if at any future period he should express contrition, they might by producing him obtain a reward; but if no farther enquiries were made concerning him, they might then kill him. Not long afterwards Cambyses expressed regret for Crœsus, which when his attendants perceived, they told him that he was alive. He expressed particular satisfaction at the preservation of Crœsus, but he would not forgive the disobedience of his servants, who were accordingly executed.

XXXVII. Many things of this kind did he perpetrate against the Persians and his allies, whilst he stayed at Memphis: neither did he hesitate to violate the tombs, and examine the bodies of the dead. He once entered the temple of Vulcan, and treated the shrine of that deity with much contempt. The statue of this god exceedingly resembles the Pataici which the Phœnicians place at the prow of their triremes: they who have not seen them, may suppose them to resemble the figure of a pigmy. Cambyses also entered the temple of the Cabiri [44], to which access is denied to all but the priests. He

resemblance to the character here given of Cambyses; and the escape of the son of Jesse from the javelin of the king of Israel, will admit of a comparison with that of Crœsus from the arrow of Cambyses.—*T.*

[44] *Cabiri.*]—Concerning these see book ii. chap. li.

burned

burned their ſtatues, after exerciſing upon them his wit and raillery. Theſe ſtatues reſemble Vulcan, whoſe ſons the Cabiri are ſuppoſed to be.

XXXVIII. For my own part I am ſatisfied that Cambyſes was deprived of his reaſon; he would not otherwiſe have diſturbed the ſanctity of temples, or of eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. Whoever had the opportunity of chooſing for their own obſervance, from all the nations of the world, ſuch laws and cuſtoms as to them ſeemed the beſt, would, I am of opinion, after the moſt careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the moſt excellent; no one, therefore, but a madman, would treat ſuch prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own cuſtoms, appears from this, amongſt other inſtances: Darius once ſent for ſuch of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and aſked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceaſed parents; they replied that no ſum could prevail on them to commit ſuch a deed. In the preſence of the ſame Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what paſſed, he ſent alſo for the Callatiæ, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He aſked them for what ſum they would conſent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were diſguſted at the queſtion, and intreated him to forbear ſuch language.—Such is the force of cuſtom; and Pindar [45] ſeems to me to have ſpoken with peculiar

[45] *Pindar.*]—The paſſage in Pindar which is here referred to,

culiar propriety, when he obſerved that cuſtom [46] was the univerſal ſovereign.

XXXIX. Whilſt Cambyſes was engaged in his Ægyptian expedition, the Lacedæmonians were proſecuting a war againſt Polycrates, the ſon of Æaces, who had forcibly poſſeſſed himſelf of Samos. He had divided it into three parts, aſſigning one ſeverally to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloſon. He afterwards, having killed Pantagnotus, and baniſhed Syloſon, who was the younger, ſeized the whole. Whilſt he was thus circumſtanced, he

is preſerved in the Scholia ad Nem. ix. 35. It is this:—Νομος ὁ παντων βασιλευς θνατον τε κ αθανατων ανει δικαιῶν το βαιοτατον υπερτατῳ χειρί.—"Cuſtom is the ſovereign of mortals and of gods; with its powerful hand it regulates things the moſt violent."—*T.*

[46] *Cuſtom.*]—Many writers on this ſubject appear not to have diſcriminated accurately betwixt cuſtom and habit: the ſovereign power of both muſt be confeſſed; but it will be found, on due deliberation, that cuſtom has reference to the action, and habit to the actor. That the Athenians, the moſt refined and poliſhed nation of the world, could bear to ſee human ſacrifices repreſented on their theatres, could liſten with applauſe and with delight to the miſery of Œdipus, and the madneſs of Oreſtes, is to be accounted for alone from the powerful operation of their national cuſtoms. The equally forcible ſway of habit, referring to an individual, was never perhaps expreſſed with ſo much beauty as in the following lines of our favourite Shakeſpeare:

How uſe doth breed a habit in a man!
This ſhadowy deſert, unfrequented woods,
I better brook than flouriſhing peopled towns.
Here I can ſit alone, unſeen of any,
And to the nightingale's complaining notes
Tune my diſtreſſes, and record my woes. *T.*

made a treaty of alliance with Amaſis, king of Ægypt, which was cemented by various preſents on both ſides. His fame had ſo increaſed, that he was celebrated through Ionia and the reſt of Greece. Succeſs attended all his military undertakings; he had a hundred fifty-oared veſſels, and a thouſand archers. He made no diſcrimination in the objects of his attacks, thinking that he conferred a greater favour [47] even on a friend, by reſtoring what he had violently taken, than by not moleſting him at all. He took a great number of iſlands, and became maſter of ſeveral cities on the continent. The Leſbians, who with all their forces were proceeding to aſſiſt the Mileſians, he attacked and conquered in a great ſea-fight. Thoſe whom he made priſoners he put in chains, and compelled to ſink the trench [48] which ſurrounds the walls of Samos.

XL. The great proſperity of Polycrates excited both the attention and anxiety of Amaſis. As his

[47] *A greater favour.*]—This ſentiment is falſe, and Libanius ſeems to me to have ſpoken with truth, when, in a diſcourſe which is not come down to us, he ſays, "An inſtance of good fortune never gives a man ſo much ſatisfaction as the loſs of it does uneaſineſs."—*Larcher.*

[48] *Sink the trench.*]—It would be an intereſting labour to inveſtigate, from ages the moſt remote and nations the moſt barbarous, the various treatment which priſoners of war have experienced: from the period, and from thoſe who put in practice againſt their unfortunate captives every ſpecies of oppreſſion and of cruelty, to the preſent period, when the refinement of manners, and the progreſs of the milder virtues, ſoftens the aſperity, and takes much from the horrors of war.—*T.*

ſucceſs

ſucceſs continually encreaſed, he was induced to write and ſend this letter to Samos.

" AMASIS to POLYCRATES.

" THE ſucceſs of a friend and an ally fills me " with particular ſatisfaction; but as I know the " invidiouſneſs of fortune [49], your extraordinary " proſperity

[49] *Invidiouſneſs of fortune.*]—Three very diſtinct qualities of mind have been imputed to the three Greek hiſtorians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with reſpect to their manner of reflecting on the facts which they relate. Of the firſt it has been ſaid that he ſeems to have conſidered the deity as viewing man with a jealous eye, as only promoting his ſucceſſes to make the cataſtrophe of his fate the more calamitous. This is pointed out by Plutarch with the ſevereſt reprehenſion. Thucydides, on the contrary, admits of no divine interpoſition in human affairs, but makes the good or ill fortune of thoſe whoſe hiſtory he gives us depend on the wiſdom or folly of their own conduct. Xenophon, in diſtinction from both, invariably conſiders the kindneſs or the vengeance of heaven as influencing the event of human enterprizes. " That is," ſays the Abbé Barthelemy, " according to the firſt, all ſublunary things are governed by a fatality; according to the ſecond, by human prudence; according to the laſt, by the piety of the individual."—The inconſtancy of fortune is admirably deſcribed in the following paſſage from Horace, and with the ſentiment with which the lines conclude every ingenuous mind muſt deſire to be in uniſon.

Fortuna ſævo læta negotio
Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax
Tranſmutat incertos honores
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.
Laudo manentem: ſi celeres quatit
Pennas reſigno quæ dedit et meâ

Virtute

"prosperity excites my apprehensions. If I might "determine for myself, and for those whom I re- "gard, I would rather have my affairs sometimes "flattering, and sometimes perverse. I would wish "to pass through life with the alternate experience "of good and evil, rather than with uninterrupted "good fortune. I do not remember to have heard "of any man remarkable for a constant succession of "prosperous events, whose end has not been final- "ly calamitous. If, therefore, you value my coun- "sel, you will provide this remedy against the excess "of your prosperity:—Examine well what thing "it is which you deem of the highest consequence "to your happiness, and the loss of which would "most afflict you. When you shall have ascertained "this, banish it from you, so that there may be no "possibility of its return. If after this your good "fortune still continue, without diminution or "change, you will do well to repeat the remedy "I propose."

XLI. Polycrates received this letter, and seriously

Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.

It would be inexcusable not to insert Dryden's version, or rather paraphrase, of the above passage.

Fortune, that with malicious joy
Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
Is seldom pleas'd to bless:
Still various, and inconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,

ly deliberated on its contents. The advice of Amasis appeared sagacious, and he resolved to follow it. He accordingly searched among his treasures for something, the loss of which would most afflict him. He conceived this to be a seal-ring [50], which he occasionally wore; it was an emerald

Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind,
But when she dances in the wind,
And shakes the wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away:
The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd.
Content with poverty, my soul I arm,
And virtue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm. *T.*

[50] *A seal-ring.*]—This ring has been the subject of some controversy amongst the learned, both as to what it represented, and of what precious stone it was formed.

Clemens Alexandrinus says it represented a lyre. Pliny says it was a sardonyx; and that in his time there existed one in the temple of Concord, the gift of Augustus, affirmed to be this of Polycrates. Solinus asserts also, that it was a sardonyx; but Herodotus expressly tells us, it was an emerald. At this period the art of engraving precious stones must have been in its infancy, which might probably enhance the value of his ring to Polycrates. It is a little remarkable that the moderns have never been able to equal the ancients in the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their performances on precious stones. Perhaps it may not be too much to add, that we have never attained the perfection with which they executed all works in miniature. Pliny says, that Cicero once saw the Iliad of Homer written so very finely, that it might have been contained 'in nuce', in a nut-shell. Aulus Gellius mentions a pigeon made of wood, which imitated the motions of a living bird; and Ælian speaks of an artist, who wrote a distich in letters of gold, which he inclosed in the rind of a grain of corn. Other instances of a similar kind

are

emerald ſet in gold, and the workmanſhip of Theodorus the Samian, the ſon of Telecles. Of this determining to deprive himſelf, he embarked in a fifty-oared veſſel, with orders to be carried into the open ſea: when he was at ſome diſtance from the iſland, in the preſence of all his attendants, he took the ring from his finger and caſt it into the ſea; this done he ſailed back again.

XLII. Returning home he regretted his loſs, but in the courſe of five or ſix days this accident occurred:—A fiſherman caught a fiſh of ſuch ſize and beauty, that he deemed it a proper preſent for Polycrates. He went therefore to the palace, and demanded an audience; being admitted, he preſented his fiſh to Polycrates, with theſe words: "Although, ſir, I live by the produce of my induſtry, "I could not think of expoſing this fiſh which I "have taken, to ſale in the market-place, believing "it worthy of you to accept, which I hope you "will." The king was much gratified, and made him this reply: "My good friend, your preſent "and your ſpeech are equally acceptable to me; "and I beg that I may ſee you at ſupper[51]." The fiſherman,

are collected by the learned Mr. Dutens, in his Enquiry into the Origin of the Diſcoveries attributed to the Moderns.—*T.*

[51] *See you at ſupper.*]—The circumſtance of a ſovereign prince aſking a common fiſherman to ſup with him, ſeems at firſt ſight ſo entirely repugnant, not only to modern manners but alſo to conſiſtency, as to juſtify diſguſt and provoke ſuſpicion. But let it be remembered, that in ancient times the rites of hoſpitality were paid without any diſtinction of perſon; and the ſame ſimplicity of manners, which would allow an individual of the

fiſherman, delighted with his reception, returned to his houſe. The ſervants proceeding to open the fiſh, found in its paunch the ring of Polycrates; with great eagerneſs and joy they haſtened to carry it to the king, telling him where they had met with it. Polycrates concluded that this incident bore evident marks of divine interpoſition; he therefore wrote down every particular of what had happened, and tranſmitted it to Ægypt.

XLIII. Amaſis, after peruſing the letter of his friend, was convinced that it was impoſſible for one mortal to deliver another from the deſtiny which awaited him; he was ſatisfied that Polycrates could not terminate his days in tranquillity, whoſe good fortune had never ſuffered interruption, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to loſe. He ſent therefore a herald to Samos, to diſclaim all future connection [52]; his motive for doing which was the

meaneſt rank to ſolicit and obtain an audience of his prince, diminiſhes the act of condeſcenſion which is here recorded, and which to a modern reader may appear ridiculous.—*T.*

[52] *Future connection.*]—This may be adduced as one amongſt numerous other inſtances, to prove, that where the human mind has no ſolid hopes of the future, nor any firm baſis of religious faith, the conduct will ever be wayward and irregular; and although there may exiſt great qualities, capable of occaſionally ſplendid actions, there will alſo be extraordinary weakneſſes, irreconcileable to common ſenſe or common humanity. Diodorus Siculus, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and aſcribes the behaviour of Amaſis to a very different motive:—"The Ægyptian," ſays he, "was ſo diſguſted with

the apprehenſion, that in any future calamity which might befall Polycrates, he, as a friend and ally, might be obliged to bear a part.

XLIV. Againſt this Polycrates, in all things ſo proſperous, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition, to which they were induced by thoſe Samians who afterwards built the city of Cydon in Crete [53]. To counteract this blow, Polycrates ſent privately to Cambyſes, who was then preparing for hoſtilities againſt Ægypt, entreating him to demand ſupplies and aſſiſtance of the Samians. With this Cambyſes willingly complied, and ſent to ſolicit, in favour of Polycrates, ſome naval force to ſerve in his Ægyptian expedition. Thoſe whoſe principles and intentions he moſt ſuſpected the Samian prince ſelected from the reſt, and ſent in forty triremes to Cambyſes, requeſting him by all means to prevent their return.

XLV. There are ſome who aſſert that the Samians ſent by Polycrates, never arrived in Ægypt, but that as ſoon as they reached the Carpathian ſea they conſulted together, and determined to proceed

with the tyrannical behaviour of Polycrates, not only to his ſubjects but to ſtrangers, that he foreſaw his fate to be unavoidable, and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin."—*T.*

[53] *Cydon in Crete.*]—This place is now called Canea: ſome ſay it was at firſt called Apollonia, becauſe built by Cydon the ſon of Apollo. Pauſanias ſays, it was built by Cydon, ſon of Tegetes. It was once a place of great power, and the largeſt city in the iſland; for a deſcription of its preſent condition, ſee *Savary's Letters on Greece.*—*T.*

no further. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that they did arrive in Ægypt, but that they eſcaped from their guards, and returned to Samos: they add, that Polycrates met and engaged them at ſea, where he was defeated; but that landing afterwards on the iſland, they had a ſecond engagement by land, in which they were totally routed, and obliged to fly to Lacedæmon. They who aſſert that the Samians returned from Ægypt, and obtained a victory over Polycrates, are in my opinion miſtaken; for if their own force was ſufficient to overcome him, there was no neceſſity for their applying to the Lacedæmonians for aſſiſtance. Neither is it at all conſiſtent with probability, that a prince who had ſo many forces under his command, compoſed as well of foreign auxiliaries as of archers of his own, could poſſibly be overcome by the few Samians who were returning home. Polycrates, moreover, had in his power the wives and children of his Samian ſubjects: theſe were all aſſembled and confined in his different harbours; and he was determined to deſtroy them by fire, and the harbours along with them, in caſe of any treaſonable conjunction between the inhabitants and the Samians who were returning.

XLVI. The Samians who were expelled by Polycrates immediately on their arrival at Sparta obtained an audience of the magiſtrates, and in the language of ſuppliants ſpoke a great while. The anſwer which they firſt received informed them, that the commencement of their diſcourſe was not remembered, and the concluſion not underſtood.

At the ſecond interview they ſimply produced a bread-baſket, and complained that it contained no bread; even to this the Lacedæmonians replied, that their obſervation was unneceſſary [54];—they determined nevertheleſs to aſſiſt them.

XLVII. After the neceſſary preparations, the Lacedæmonians embarked with an army againſt Samos: if the Samians may be credited, the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this buſineſs was the effect of gratitude, they themſelves having formerly received a ſupply of ſhips againſt the Meſſenians. But the Lacedæmonians aſſert, that they engaged in this expedition not ſo much to ſatisfy the wiſhes of thoſe Samians who had ſought their aſſiſtance, as to obtain ſatisfaction for an injury which they had formerly received. The Samians had violently taken away a goblet which the Lacedæmonians

[54] *Obſervation was unneceſſary.*]—The Spartans were always remarkable for their contempt of oratory and eloquence. The following curious examples of this are recorded in Sextus Empiricus:—"A young Spartan went abroad, and endeavoured to accompliſh himſelf in the art of ſpeaking; on his return he was puniſhed by the Ephori, for having conceived the deſign of deluding his countrymen. Another Spartan was ſent to Tiſſaphernes, a Perſian ſatrap, to engage him to prefer the alliance of Sparta to that of Athens; he ſaid but little, but when he found the Athenians employed great pomp and profuſion of words, he drew two lines, both terminating in the ſame point, but one was ſtraight, the other very crooked; pointing theſe out to Tiſſaphernes, he merely ſaid, "Chooſe." The ſtory here related of the Samians, by Herodotus, is found alſo in Sextus Empiricus, but is by him applied on a different occaſion, and to a different people. —*T.*

were carrying to Crœsus, and a corselet [55], which was given them by Amasis king of Ægypt. This latter incident took place at the interval of a year after the former: the corselet was made of linen, but there were interwoven in the piece a great number of animals richly embroidered with cotton and gold; every part of it deserved admiration: it was composed of chains, each of which contained three hundred and sixty threads distinctly visible. Amasis presented another corselet, entirely resembling this, to the Minerva of Lindus.

XLVIII. To this expedition against Samos the Corinthians also contributed with considerable ardour. In the age which preceded, and about the time in which the goblet had been taken, they had been affronted by the Samians. Periander [56], the son

[55] *A corselet.*]—Some fragments of this were to be seen in the time of Pliny, who complains that so curious a piece of workmanship should be spoiled, by its being unravelled by different people, to gratify curiosity, or to ascertain the fact here asserted.—*T.*

[56] *Periander.*]—The life of Periander is given by Diogenes Laertius; from which I have extracted such particulars as seem most worthy the attention of the English reader.

He was of the family of the Heraclidæ; and the reason of his sending the young Corcyreans, with the purpose mentioned by Herodotus, was on account of their having killed his son, to whom he wished to resign his power. He was the first prince who used guards for the defence of his person. He was by some esteemed one of the seven wise men; Plato, however, does not admit him amongst them. His celebrated saying was, that "Perseverance may do every thing."

In

ſon of Cypſelus, had ſent to Alyattes, at Sardis, three hundred children of the principal families of the Corcyreans to be made eunuchs. They were entruſted to the care of certain Corinthians, who by diſtreſs of weather were compelled to touch at Samos. The Samians ſoon learned the purpoſe of the expedition, and accordingly inſtructed the children to fly for protection to the temple of Diana, from whence they would not ſuffer the Corinthians to take them. But as the Corinthians prevented their receiving any food, the Samians inſtituted a feſtival on the occaſion, which they yet obſerve. At the approach of night, as long as the children continued as ſuppliants in the temple, they introduced a company of youths and virgins, who in a kind of religious dance, were to carry cakes made of honey and flour[57] in their hands. This was done that the young Corcyreans, by ſnatching them away, might ſatisfy their hunger, and was repeated till the Corinthians who guarded the children de-

In an epigram inſerted in Stephens's Anthologia, and tranſlated by Auſonius, χολᾳ χρᾶεσθαι is the maxim attributed to Periander, "Reſtrain your anger:" of which rule he muſt have ſeverely felt the neceſſity, if, as Laertius relates, he killed his wife Meliſſa in a tranſport of paſſion, by kicking her or throwing a chair at her when pregnant. Her name, according to the ſame author, was Lyſide; Meliſſa was probably ſubſtituted through fondneſs, certain nymphs and departed human ſouls being called *Meliſſæ*.—*Menage*. *T.*

[57] *Honey and flour.*]—The cakes of Samos were very famous.—See *Athenæus*, book xiv. c. 13.

parted.

parted. The Samians afterwards ſent the children back to Corcyra [58].

XLIX. If after the death of Periander there had exiſted any friendſhip betwixt the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, it might be ſuppoſed that they would not have aſſiſted in this expedition againſt Samos. But notwithſtanding theſe people had the ſame origin (the Corinthians having built Corcyra) they had always lived in a ſtate of enmity. The Corinthians, therefore, did not forget the affront which they had received at Samos; and it was in reſentment of injuries formerly received from the Corcyreans, that Periander had ſent to Sardis theſe three hundred youths of the firſt families of Corcyra, with the intention of their being made eunuchs.

[58] *Back to Corcyra.*]—Plutarch, in his Treatiſe on the Malignity of Herodotus, ſays, "that the young Corcyreans were not preſerved by the Samians, but by the Cnidians."—This aſſertion is examined and refuted by Larcher.

Pliny ſays, that the fiſh called echines ſtopped the veſſel going ſwift before the wind, on board of which were meſſengers of Periander, having it in command to caſtrate the ſons of the Cnidian noblemen; for which reaſon theſe ſhells were highly reverenced in the temple of Venus at Cnidos. M. Larcher, avowedly giving the reader the above paſſage from Pliny, is guilty of a miſquotation: "theſe ſhells," ſays he, "arreterent le vaiſſeau où étoient ces enfans;" whereas the words of Pliny (ſee Gronovius's edition, vol. i. page 609) are theſe, "Quibus inhærentibus ſtetiſſe navem portantem nuncios a Periandro ut caſtrarentur nobiles pueri."—*T.*

L.

L. When Periander had put his wife Meliſſa to death, he was involved in an additional calamity. By Meliſſa he had two ſons, one of whom was ſeventeen, the other eighteen years old: Procles, their grandfather by the mother's ſide, had ſent for them to Epidaurus, of which place he was prince; and had treated them with all the kindneſs due to the children of his daughter. At the time appointed for their departure, he took them aſide, and aſked them if they knew who had killed their mother. To theſe words the elder brother paid no attention; but the younger, whoſe name was Lycophron, took it ſo exceedingly to heart, that at his return to Corinth he would neither ſalute his father, converſe with, nor anſwer him; in indignation at which behaviour Periander baniſhed him his houſe.

LI. After the above event Periander aſked his elder ſon, what their grandfather had ſaid to them. The youth informed him, that their grandfather had received them very affectionately, but as he did not remember, he could not relate the words he had uſed to them at parting. The father, however, continued to preſs him; ſaying, it was impoſſible that their grandfather ſhould diſmiſs them without ſome advice. This induced the young man more ſeriouſly to reflect on what had paſſed; and he afterwards informed his father of every particular. Upon this Periander was determined not at all to relax from his ſeverity, but immediately ſent to thoſe who had received his ſon under their protection,

protection, commanding them to diſmiſs him. Lycophron was thus driven from one place to another, and from thence to a third, and from this laſt alſo the ſeverity of Periander expelled him. Yet, fearful as people were to entertain him, he ſtill found an aſylum, from the conſideration of his being the ſon of Periander.

LII. Periander at length commanded it to be publickly proclaimed, that whoever harboured his ſon, or held any converſation with him, ſhould pay a ſtipulated fine for the uſe of Apollo's temple. After this no perſon preſumed either to receive or converſe with him, and Lycophron himſelf acquieſced in the injunction, by retiring to the public portico. On the fourth day Periander himſelf obſerved him in this ſituation, covered with rags and periſhing with hunger: his heart relenting, he approached, and thus addreſſed him: "My ſon, "which do you think preferable, your preſent ex"tremity of diſtreſs, or to return to your obedience, "and ſhare with me my authority and riches? You "who are my ſon, and a prince of the happy Co"rinth, chooſe the life of a mendicant, and perſe"vere in irritating him who has the ſtrongeſt claims "upon your duty. If the incident which induces "you to think unfavourably of my conduct has "any evil reſulting from it, the whole is fallen "upon myſelf; and I feel it the more ſenſibly, from "the reflection that I was myſelf the author of it. "Experience has taught you how much better it is

"to be envied than pitied [59], and how dangerous it "is to provoke a ſuperior and a parent—return "therefore to my houſe." To this ſpeech Periander received no other anſwer from his ſon, than that he himſelf, by converſing with him, had incurred the penalty which his edict had impoſed. The king, perceiving the perverſeneſs of his ſon to be immutable, determined to remove him from his ſight; he therefore ſent him in a veſſel to Corcyra, which place alſo belonged to him. After this, Periander made war upon his father-in-law Procles, whom he conſidered as the principal occaſion of what had happened. He made himſelf maſter of Epidaurus [60], and took Procles priſoner; whom nevertheleſs he preſerved alive.

LIII.

[59] *Envied than pitied.*]—Of this M. Larcher remarks, that it is a proverbial expreſſion in the French language: it is no leſs ſo in our own. The ſame ſentiment in Pindar is referred to by the learned Frenchman, which is thus beautifully tranſlated by Mr. Weſt.

Nor leſs diſtaſteful is exceſſive fame
To the ſour palate of the envious mind;
Who hears with grief his neighbour's goodly name,
And hates the fortune that he ne'er ſhall find;
Yet in thy virtue, Hiero, perſevere,
Since to be envied is a nobler fate
Than to be pitied, and let ſtrict juſtice ſteer
With equitable hand the helm of ſtate,
And arm thy tongue with truth: Oh king! beware
Of every ſtep, a prince can never lightly err. *T.*

[60] *Epidaurus.*—This was a city of the Peloponneſe, famous for a temple of Æſculapius. When the Romans were once afflicted by a grievous peſtilence, they were ordered by the oracle

LIII. In proceſs of time, as Periander advanced in years, he began to feel himſelf inadequate to the cares of government; he ſent therefore for Lycophron to Corcyra, to take upon him the adminiſtration of affairs: his eldeſt ſon appeared improper for ſuch a ſtation, and was indeed dull and ſtupid. Of the meſſenger who brought him this intelligence Lycophron diſdained to take the ſmalleſt notice. But Periander, as he felt his affection for the young man to be unalterable, ſent to him his ſiſter, thinking her interpoſition moſt likely to ſucceed. When ſhe ſaw him, "Brother," ſaid ſhe, "will you ſuffer "the ſovereign authority to paſs into other hands, "and the wealth of our family to be diſperſed, "rather than return to enjoy them yourſelf? Let

oracle to bring Æſculapius to Rome; they accordingly diſpatched ambaſſadors to Epidaurus to accompliſh this. The Epidaurians refuſing to part with their god, the Romans prepared to depart: as their veſſel was quitting the port, an immenſe ſerpent came ſwimming towards them, and finally wreathed itſelf round the prow; the crew, thinking it to be Æſculapius himſelf, carried him with much veneration to Rome. —His entrance is finely deſcribed by Ovid:—

Jamque caput rerum Romanam intraverat urbem
Erigitur ſerpens—ſummoque acclivia malo
Colla movet: ſedeſque ſibi circumſpicit aptas.

Which deſcription, fully conſidered, would perhaps afford no mean ſubject for an hiſtorical painting.

Epidaurus was alſo famous for its breed of horſes.—See *Virgil, Georgic* iii. 43, 4.

Vce at ingenti clamore Citharon
Taygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum.

The ſame is alſo mentioned by Strabo, book viii.—*T.*

"me

"me entreat you to puniſh yourſelf no more; re-
"turn to your country and your family: obſti-
"nacy like yours is but an unwelcome gueſt, it only
"adds one evil to another. Pity is by many pre-
"ferred to juſtice; and many, from their anxiety to
"fulfil their duty to a mother, have violated that
"which a father might expect. Power, which
"many ſo aſſiduouſly court, is in its nature preca-
"rious. Your father is growing old, do not there-
"fore reſign to others honours which are properly
"your own." Thus inſtructed by her father, ſhe uſed every argument likely to influence her brother; but he briefly anſwered, "that as long as his father "lived he would not return to Corinth." When ſhe had communicated this anſwer to Periander, he ſent a third meſſenger to his ſon, informing him, that it was his intention to retire to Corcyra; but that he might return to Corinth, and take poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority. This propoſition was accepted, and Periander prepared to depart for Corcyra, the young man for Corinth. But when the Corcyreans were informed of the buſineſs, to prevent the arrival of Periander among them they put his ſon to death.—This was what induced that prince to take vengeance of the Corcyreans.

LIV. The Lacedæmonians arriving with a powerful fleet, laid ſiege to Samos, and advancing towards the walls, they paſſed by a tower which ſtands in the ſuburbs, not far from the ſea. At this juncture Polycrates attacked them, at the head of a conſiderable force, and compelled them to retreat.

He

He was inſtantly ſeconded by a band of auxiliaries, and a great number of Samians, who falling upon the enemy from a fort which was behind the mountain, after a ſhort conflict effectually routed them, and continued the purſuit with great ſlaughter of the Lacedæmonians.

LV. If all the Lacedæmonians in this engagement had behaved like Archias and Lycopas, Samos muſt certainly have been taken; for theſe two alone entered the city, with thoſe Samians who ſought ſecurity within the walls, and having no means of retreat were there ſlain. I myſelf one day met with a perſon of the ſame name, who was the ſon of Samius, and grandſon of the Archias above-mentioned; I ſaw him at Pitane [61], of which place he was a native. This perſon paid more attention to Samians than to other foreigners; and he told me, that his father was called Samius, as being the

[61] *Pitane.*]—This proper name involves ſome perplexity, and has afforded exerciſe for much acute and ingenious criticiſm. Martiniere, from miſtaking a paſſage of Pauſanias, aſſerts that it was merely a quarter, or rather ſuburbs of Lacedæmon, and is conſequently often confounded with it. This miſtake is ably pointed out and refuted by Bellanger, in his Critique de quelques Articles du Dict. de M. la Martiniere. This word is found in Heſychius, as deſcriptive of a diſtinct tribe; in Thucydides of a ſmall town; and in Herodotus of a whole people:—See book ix. chap. 52, where he ſpeaks of the cohort of Pitane, which in the glorious battle of Platea was commanded by Amompharetus. It is certain that there were ſeveral places of this name; the one here ſpecified was doubtleſs on the banks of the Eurotas, in Laconia.—See *Eſſais de Critique, &c.* 316.—T.

immediate

immediate deſcendant of him, who with ſo much honour had loſt his life at Samos. The reaſon of his thus diſtinguiſhing the Samians, was becauſe they had honoured his grandfather by a public funeral [62].

LVI. The Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days before the place without any advantage, returned to the Peloponneſe. It is reported, though

[62] *Public funeral.*]—The manner in which the funerals of thoſe who had died in defence of their country were ſolemnized at Athens, cannot fail of giving the Engliſh reader an elevated idea of that poliſhed people.

On an appointed day a number of coffins made of cypreſs wood, and containing the bones of the deceaſed, were expoſed to view beneath a large tent erected for the purpoſe; they who had relations to deplore, aſſembled to weep over them, and pay the duties dictated by tenderneſs or enjoined by religion. Three days afterwards the coffins were placed upon as many cars as there were tribes, and were carried ſlowly through the town, to the Ceramicus, where funeral games were celebrated. The bodies were depoſited in the earth, and their relations and friends paid for the laſt time the tribute of their tears; an orator appointed by the republic from an elevated place pronounced a funeral oration over his valiant countrymen; each tribe raiſed over the graves ſome kind of column, upon which was inſcribed the names of the deceaſed, their age, and the place where they died.

The above ſolemnities were conducted under the inſpection of one of the principal magiſtrates.

The moſt magnificent public funeral of which we have any account, was that of Alexander the Great, when his body was brought from Babylon to Alexandria, a minute deſcription of which is given by Diodorus Siculus.

For a particular deſcription of the ceremonies obſerved at public and private funerals, amongſt the Romans, conſult Montfaucon.—T.

abſurdly enough, that Polycrates ſtruck off a great number of pieces of lead caſed with gold [63], like the coin of the country, and that with theſe he purchaſed their departure.—This was the firſt expedition of the Dorians of Lacedæmon into Aſia.

LVII. Thoſe Samians who had taken up arms againſt Polycrates, when they ſaw themſelves forſaken by the Lacedæmonians, and were diſtreſſed from want of money, embarked for Siphnos [64]. At this

[63] *Lead caſed with gold.*]—Similar to this artifice, was that practiſed on the people of Gortyna, in Crete, by Hannibal, as recorded by Juſtin. After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, Hannibal retired to Gortyna, carrying with him an immenſe treaſure. This circumſtance exciting an invidiouſneſs againſt him, he pretended to depoſit his riches in the temple of Diana, to which place he carried with much ceremony ſeveral veſſels filled with lead. He ſoon took an opportunity of paſſing over into Aſia with his real wealth, which he had concealed in the images of the gods he affected to worſhip.—*T.*

[64] *Siphnos.*]—This was one of thoſe ſmall iſlands lying oppoſite to Attica: They were ſeventeen in number, and called, from their ſituation with reſpect to each other, the Cyclades; they were all eminently beautiful, and ſeverally diſtinguiſhed by ſome appropriate excellence. The marble of Paros was of inimitable whiteneſs, and of the fineſt grain; Andros and Naxos produced the moſt exquiſite wine; Amorgos was famous for a die made from a lichen, growing there in vaſt abundance. The riches of Siphnos are extolled by many ancient writers; it is now called Siphanto.

The following account of the modern circumſtances of Siphnos, is extracted principally from Tournefort,

It is remarkable for the purity of its air; the water, fruit, and poultry are very excellent. Although covered with marble and granite, it is one of the moſt fertile iſlands of the Archipelago,

this time the power of the Siphnians was very conſiderable, and they were the richeſt of all the inhabitants of the iſlands. Their ſoil produced both the gold and ſilver metals in ſuch abundance, that from a tenth part of their revenues they had a treaſury at Delphi, equal in value to the richeſt which that temple poſſeſſed. Every year they made an equal diſtribution among themſelves, of the value of their mines: whilſt their wealth was thus accumulating, they conſulted the oracle, to know whether they ſhould long continue in the enjoyment of their preſent good fortune. From the Pythian they received this anſwer:

When Siphnos ſhall a milk-white ſenate ſhew,
And all her market wear a front of ſnow;
Him let her prize whoſe wit ſuſpects the moſt,
A ſcarlet envoy from a wooden hoſt.

At this period the prytaneum, and the forum of Siphnos, were adorned with Parian marble.

LVIII. This reply of the oracle the Siphnians were unable to comprehend, both before and after

lago. They have a famous manufactory of ſtraw hats, which are ſold all over the Archipelago, by the name of Siphanto caſtors: though once ſo famous for its mines, the inhabitants can now hardly tell you where they were. They have plenty of lead, which the rains diſcover. The ladies of Siphanto cover their faces with linen bandages ſo dexterouſly, that you can only ſee their mouth, noſe, and white of the eyes.—*T.*

the arrival of the Samians. As ſoon as the Samians touched at Siphnos, they diſpatched a meſſenger to the town, in one of their veſſels. According to the ancient cuſtom, all ſhips were painted of a red colour; and it was this which induced the Pythian to warn the Siphnians againſt a wooden ſnare, and a red ambaſſador. On their arrival, the Samian ambaſſadors entreated the inhabitants to lend them ten talents: on being refuſed, they plundered the country. The Siphnians hearing of this, collected their forces, and were defeated in a regular engagement; a great number were in the retreat cut off from the town, and the Samians afterwards exacted an hundred talents.

LIX. Inſtead of money the Samians had received of the Hermionians the iſland of Thyrea, adjacent to the Peloponneſe: this they afterwards gave as a pledge to the Træzenians. They afterwards made a voyage to Crete, where they built Cydonia, although their object in going there was to expel the Zacynthians. In this place they continued five years, during which period they were ſo exceedingly proſperous, that they not only erected all thoſe temples which are now ſeen in Cydonia, but built alſo the temple of Dictynna[65]. In the ſixth year, from a junction being made with the Cretans by the

[65] *Dictynna.*]—Diana was worſhipped in Crete, indifferently under the name of Dyctynna and of Britomartis. *Britu*, in the Cretan language, meant ſweet, and *martis*, a virgin. Britomartis

the Æginetæ, they were totally vanquiſhed in a ſea engagement, and reduced to ſervitude. The prows of their veſſels were taken away and defaced, and afterwards ſuſpended in the temple of Minerva at Ægina. To this conduct towards the Samians the Æginetæ were impelled in reſentment of a former injury. When Amphicrates reigned at Samos, he had carried on a war againſt the Æginetæ, by which they materially ſuffered; this, however, they ſeverely retaliated.

LX. I have been thus particular in my account of the Samians, becauſe this people produced the greateſt monuments [66] of art which are to be ſeen in Greece. They have a mountain which is one hundred and fifty orgyiæ in height; entirely through this they have made a paſſage, the length of which is ſeven ſtadia, it is moreover eight feet high, and

tomartis was the name of a virgin greatly beloved by Diana; and what is ſaid by Diodorus Siculus on the ſubject ſeems moſt worthy of attention. His ſtory is this:—Dictynna was born in Cæron; ſhe invented hunters toils and nets, and thence her name. She was the daughter of Jupiter, which renders it exceedingly improbable that ſhe ſhould be obliged to fly from Minos, and leap into the ſea, where ſhe was caught in ſome fiſhers nets. The Mons Dictynnæus of Pliny is now called Cape Spada.—*T.*

[66] *The greateſt monuments.*]—Of theſe monuments ſome veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen, conſult Tournefort, i. 314. Port Tigani is in form of a half moon, and regards the ſouth-eaſt; its left horn is that famous Jettee which Herodotus reckoned amongſt the three wonders of Samos. This work, at that time of day, is an evidence of the Samians application to maritime matters.

as many wide. By the ſide of this there is alſo an artificial canal, which in like manner goes quite through the mountain, and though only three feet in breadth, is twenty cubits deep. This, by the means of pipes, conveys to the city the waters of a copious ſpring [67]. This is their firſt work, and conſtructed by Eupalinus, the ſon of Nauſtrophus,

[67] *Copious ſpring.*]—On the left of the dale, near to the aqueduct which croſſes it, are certain caverns, the entrance of ſome of them artificially cut. In all appearance ſome of theſe artificial caverns were what Herodotus ſays were ranked among the moſt wonderful performances of the Greek nation. The beautiful ſpring which tempted them to go upon ſo great a work, is doubtleſs that of Metelinous, the beſt in the iſland, the diſpoſition of the place proving perfectly favourable, the moment they had conquered the difficulty of boring it; but in all probability they were not exact enough in levelling the ground, for they were obliged to dig a canal of twenty cubits deep for carrying the ſpring to the place deſigned. There muſt have been ſome miſtake in this paſſage of Herodotus.

Some five hundred paces from the ſea, and almoſt the like diſtance from the river Imbraſis to Cape Cera, are the ruins of the famous temple of the Samian Juno. But for Herodotus we ſhould never have known the name of the architect. He employed a very particular order of columns, as may be now ſeen. It is indeed neither better nor worſe than the Ionian order in its infancy, void of that beauty which it afterwards acquired. —Thus far Tournefort.

Its ancient names were Parthenias, Anthemus, and Melamphiſſus. It was the birth-place of Pythagoras, and the ſchool of Epicurus. Pococke ſays, that there are no remains which he could prevail upon himſelf to believe to belong to this canal. He adds, that the inhabitants are remarkably profligate and poor. Tournefort makes a ſimilar remark. There are no diſciples of Pythagoras, obſerves the Frenchman, now left in Samos; the modern Samians are no more fond of faſting, than they are lovers of ſilence.—*T.*

an

an inhabitant of Megara. Their second is a mole, which projects from the harbour into the sea, and is two stadia or more in length, and about twenty orgyiæ in height. Their last performance was a temple, which exceeds in grandeur all that I have seen. This structure was first commenced by a native of the country, whose name was Rhœcus [68], son of Phileus.

LXI. Whilst Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, passed his time in Ægypt, committing various excesses, two magi, who were brothers, and one of whom Cambyses had left in Persia the manager of his domestic concerns, excited a revolt against him. The death of Smerdis, which had been studiously kept secret, and was known to very few of the Persians, who in general believed that he was alive, was a circumstance to which the last-mentioned of these magi had been privy, and of which he determined to avail himself. His brother, who, as we have related, joined with him in this business, not only resembled

[68] *Rhœcus.*]—This Rhœcus was not only a skilful architect, but he farther invented, in conjunction with Theodorus of Samos, the art of making moulds with clay, long before the Bacchiades had been driven from Corinth; they were also the first who made casts in brass, of which they formed statues. Pausanias relates the same fact, with this addition, that upon a pedestal behind the altar of Diana, called Protothenia, there is a statue by Rhœcus: it is a woman in bronze, said by the Ephesians to be that of Night. He had two sons, Telecles and Theodorus, both ingenious statuaries.—*Larcher.*

in perſon[69] but had the very name of the young prince, the ſon of Cyrus, who had been put to death by the order of his brother Cambyſes. Him Patizithes, the other magus, publicly introduced and placed upon the royal throne, having previouſly inſtructed him in the part he was to perform. Having done this, he ſent meſſengers to different places, and one in particular to the Ægyptian army, ordering them to obey Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, alone.

LXII. Theſe orders were every where obeyed. The meſſenger who came to Ægypt found Cambyſes with the army at Ecbatana, in Syria. He entered into the midſt of the troops[70], and executed the

[69] *Reſembled in perſon.*]—Similar hiſtorical incidents will here occur to the moſt common reader, there having been no ſtate whoſe annals are come down to us, in which, from the ſimilitude of perſon, factious individuals have not excited commotions. In the Roman government a falſe Pompey and a falſe Druſus claim our attention, becauſe one exerciſed the political ſagacity of Cicero, the other employed the pen of Tacitus. Neither have we in our own country been without ſimilar impoſtors, the examples of which muſt be too familiar to require inſertion here. —*T.*

[70] *Into the midſt of the troops.*]—It may to an Engliſh reader at firſt ſight ſeem extraordinary that any perſon ſhould dare to execute ſuch a commiſſion as this, and ſhould venture himſelf on ſuch a buſineſs amongſt the troops of a man whoſe power had been ſo long eſtabliſhed, and whoſe cruelty muſt have been notorious. But the perſons of heralds, as the functions they were to perform were the moſt important poſſible, were on all occaſions ſacred. Homer more than once calls them the ſacred miniſters of gods and men; they denounced war, and proclaimed peace,

the commiſſion which had been given him. When Cambyſes heard this, he was not aware of any fallacy, but imagined that Prexaſpes, whom he had ſent to put Smerdis to death, had neglected to obey his commands. "Prexaſpes," ſaid the king, "thou "haſt not fulfilled my orders." "Sir," he replied, "you are certainly deceived; it is impoſſible that "your brother ſhould rebel againſt you, or occaſion "you the ſmalleſt trouble. I not only executed "your orders concerning Smerdis, but I buried "him with my own hands. If the dead can riſe "again, you may expect alſo a rebellion from Aſty-"ages the Mede; but if things go on in their uſual "courſe, you can have nothing to apprehend from "your brother. I would recommend, therefore, "that you ſend for this herald, and demand by "what authority he claims our allegiance to Smer-"dis."

peace. It has been a matter of diſpute amongſt the learned from whence this ſanctity was conferred on them; they were ſaid to be deſcended from Cenyx, the ſon of Mercury, and under the protection of that god. This office, in Athens and Sparta, was hereditary. In Athens, as I have obſerved, the heralds were ſaid to be derived from Cenyx; in Sparta from Talthybius, the celebrated herald of Agamemnon. They uſually carried a ſtaff of laurel in their hands, ſometimes of olive, round this two ſerpents were twiſted. To what an extreme this reverence for the perſons of ambaſſadors or heralds was carried, will appear from the book Polymnia, chap. 134. It is almoſt unneceſſary to add, that in modern times the perſons of ambaſſadors are in like manner deemed ſacred, unleſs the treatment which in caſe of war they receive at Conſtantinople be deemed an exception. The moment that war is declared againſt any foreign power, the repreſentative of that power is ſeized, and ſent as a priſoner to the Black Tower.—*T.*

LXIII. This advice was agreeable to Cambyſes: the perſon of the herald was accordingly ſeized, and he was thus addreſſed by Prexaſpes: "You "ſay," my friend, "that you come from Smerdis, the "ſon of Cyrus; but I would adviſe you to be cau- "tious, as your ſafety will depend upon your ſpeak- "ing the truth; tell me, therefore, did Smerdis "himſelf entruſt you with this commiſſion, or did "you receive it from ſome one of his officers?" "I "muſt confeſs," replied the herald, "that ſince the "departure of Cambyſes on this Ægyptian expedi- "tion, I have never ſeen Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus. "I received my preſent commiſſion from the ma- "gus to whom Cambyſes entruſted the manage- "ment of his domeſtic affairs; he it was who told "me that Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, commanded "me to execute this buſineſs." This was the ſin- cere anſwer of the herald; upon which Cambyſes thus addreſſed Prexaſpes: "I perceive that, like a "man of integrity, you performed my commands, "and have been guilty of no crime: but what Per- "ſian, aſſuming the name of Smerdis, has revolted "againſt me?" "Sir," anſwered Prexaſpes, "I be- "lieve I comprehend the whole of this buſineſs: "the magi have excited this rebellion againſt you, "namely, Patizithes, to whom you entruſted the "management of your houſhold, and Smerdis, his "brother."

LXIV. As ſoon as Cambyſes heard the name of Smerdis, he was impreſſed with conviction of the truth;

truth; and he immediately perceived the real ſignification of the dream in which he had ſeen Smerdis ſeated on the royal throne, and touching the firmament with his head. Acknowledging that without any juſt cauſe he had deſtroyed his brother, he lamented him with tears. After indulging for a while in the extremeſt ſorrow, which a ſenſe of his misfortunes prompted, he leaped haſtily upon his horſe, determining to lead his army inſtantly to Suſa againſt the rebels. In doing this the ſheath fell from his ſword[71], which, being thus naked, wounded him in the thigh. The wound was in the very place in which he had before ſtruck Apis, the deity of the Ægyptians. As ſoon as the blow appeared to be mortal, Cambyſes anxiouſly enquired the name of the place where he was: they told him it was called Ecbatana. An oracle from Butos had warned him

[71] *The ſheath fell from the ſword.*]—The firſt ſwords were probably made of braſs; for, as Lucretius obſerves,

Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus uſus.

It has been remarked, on the following paſſage of Virgil,

Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æneus enſis,

that the poet only uſes braſs poetically inſtead of iron; this, however, ſeems forced and improbable. More anciently, which indeed appears from Homer, the ſword was worn over the ſhoulder; if, therefore, the attitude of Cambyſes in the act of mounting his horſe be conſidered, his receiving the wound here deſcribed does not appear at all unlikely. In contradiction to modern cuſtom, the Romans ſometimes wore two ſwords, one on each ſide; when they wore but one it was uſually, though not always, on the right ſide. On this ſubject, ſee Montfaucon, where different ſpecimens of ancient ſwords may be ſeen. The Perſian ſwords were called acinaces, or ſcymetars.—*T.*

that

that he ſhould end his life at Ecbatana; this he underſtood of Ecbatana [72] of the Medes, where all his treaſures were depoſited, and where he conceived he was in his old age to die. The oracle, however, ſpoke of the Syrian Ecbatana. When he learned the name of the town, the vexation ariſing from the rebellion of the magus, and the pain of his wound, reſtored him to his proper ſenſes. "This," he exclaimed, conſidering the oracle, "is doubtleſs the place in which Cambyſes, ſon of Cyrus, "is deſtined to die."

LXV. On the twentieth day after the above event he convened the more illuſtrious of the Perſians who were with him, and thus addreſſed them: "What has happened to me, compels me to diſcloſe to you what I anxiouſly deſired to conceal. "Whilſt I was in Ægypt, I beheld in my ſleep a

[72] *Ecbatana.*]—Cteſias makes this prince die at Babylon; but this is not the only place in which he contradicts Herodotus. —*Larcher.*

It appears by the context, that this Ecbatana was in Syria; an obſcure place, probably, and unheard of by Cambyſes till this moment. A ſimilar fiction of a prophecy occurs in our own hiſtory. Henry the Fourth had been told he was to die in Jeruſalem, but died in the Jeruſalem chamber at Weſtminſter. Which tale Shakeſpeare has immortalized by noticing it.

It hath been propheſy'd to me many years
I ſhould not die but in Jeruſalem,
Which vainly I ſuppos'd the Holy Land.
But bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie,
In that Jeruſalem ſhall Harry die.

Batanæa in Paleſtine marks the place of this Syrian Ecbatana. —*See d'Anville.* T.

"viſion,

" viſion, which I could wiſh had never appeared to
" me. A meſſenger ſeemed to arrive from home,
" informing me that Smerdis, ſitting on the royal
" throne, touched the heavens with his head. It
" is not in the power of men to counteract deſtiny;
" but fearing that my brother would deprive me of
" my kingdom, I yielded to paſſion rather than to
" prudence. Infatuated as I was, I diſpatched Prex-
" aſpes to Suſa, to put Smerdis to death. After
" this great crime, I lived with more confidence,
" believing that Smerdis being dead, no one elſe
" would riſe up againſt me. But my ideas of the
" future were fallacious; I have murdered my bro-
" ther, a crime equally unneceſſary and atrocious,
" and am nevertheleſs deprived of my power. It
" was Smerdis the magus[73] whom the divinity
" pointed

[73] *Smerdis the magus.*]—Mr. Richardſon, in his Diſſertation on the Language, &c. of Eaſtern nations, ſpeaking of the diſagreement between the Grecian and Aſiatic hiſtory of Perſia, makes the following remarks.

From this period (610 before Chriſt) till the Macedonian conqueſt, we have the hiſtory of the Perſians as given us by the Greeks, and the hiſtory of the Perſians as written by themſelves. Between theſe claſſes of writers we might naturally expect ſome difference of facts, but we ſhould as naturally look for a few great lines which might mark ſome ſimilarity of ſtory: yet from every reſearch which I have had an opportunity to make, there ſeems to be nearly as much reſemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Aſiatic relations of the ſame empire. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the moſt ſplendid facts of the Greek hiſtorians, the Perſians are entirely ſilent. We have no mention of the great Cyrus, nor of any king of Perſia who in

" pointed out to me in my dream, and who has " now taken arms againſt me. Things being " thus circumſtanced, it becomes you to remember " that Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, is actually dead, " and that the two magi, one with whom I left the " care of my houſhold, and Smerdis his brother, are " the men who now claim your obedience. He " whoſe office it would have been to have revenged " on theſe magi any injuries done to me, has un- " worthily periſhed by thoſe who were neareſt to " him: but ſince he is no more, I muſt now tell " you, oh Perſians! what I would have you do " when I am dead—I intreat you all, by thoſe gods " who watch over kings, and chiefly you who are

in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a ſimilitude. We have no Crœſus, king of Lydia; not a ſyllable of Cambyſes, or of his frantic expedition againſt the Æthiopians. Smerdis Magus, and the ſucceſſion of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, by the neighing of his horſe, are to the Perſians circumſtances equally unknown, as the numerous aſſaſſinations recorded by the Greeks, &c.

To do away, at leaſt in part, any impreſſion to the prejudice of Grecian hiſtory, which may be made by peruſing the above remarks of Mr. Richardſon, the reader is preſented with the following ſentiments of Mr. Gibbon.

" So little has been preſerved of Eaſtern hiſtory before Mahomet, that the modern Perſians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event ſo glorious to their nation."

The incident here mentioned is the victory of Sapor over Valerian the Roman emperor, who was defeated, taken priſoner, and died in captivity. This happened in the year 260 of the Chriſtian æra. Mahomet was born in the year 571 of the ſame æra; if, therefore, Mr. Gibbon's obſervation be well founded, which it appears to be, Mr. Richardſon's objections fall to the ground.—*T.*

" of

" of the race of the Achæmenides, that you will " never permit this empire to revert to the Medes " If by any ſtratagem they ſhall have ſeized it, by " ſtratagem do you recover it. If they have by " force obtained it, do you by force wreſt it from " them. If you ſhall obey my advice, may the " earth give you its fruits in abundance; may you " ever be free, and your wives and your flocks pro- " lific! If you do not obey me, if you neither " recover nor attempt to recover the empire, may " the reverſe of my wiſhes befal you, and may " every Perſian meet a fate like mine!"

LXVI. Cambyſes having thus ſpoken, bewailed his misfortunes. When the Perſians ſaw the king thus involved in ſorrow, they tore their garments, and expreſſed their grief aloud. After a very ſhort interval the bone became infected, the whole of the thigh mortified, and death enſued. Thus died Cambyſes, ſon of Cyrus, after a reign of ſeven years and five months[74], leaving no offſpring, male or female. The Perſians who were preſent could not be perſuaded that the magi had aſſumed the ſupreme authority, but rather believed that what Cambyſes had aſſerted concerning the death of Smerdis was prompted by his hatred of that prince, and his wiſh to excite the general animoſity of the Perſians againſt him. They were, therefore, generally ſatisfied that it was really Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, who had aſſumed

[74] *Seven years and five months.*]—Clemens Alexandrinus makes him reign ten years.—*Larcher.*

the ſovereignty. To which they were the more inclined, becauſe Prexaſpes afterwards poſitively denied that he had put Smerdis to death. When Cambyſes was dead he could not ſafely have confeſſed that he had killed the ſon of Cyrus.

LXVII. After the death of Cambyſes, the magus, by the favour of his name, pretending to be Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, reigned in ſecurity during the ſeven months which completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyſes. In this period he diſtinguiſhed the various dependents on his power by his great munificence, ſo that after his death he was ſeriouſly regretted by all the inhabitants of Aſia, except the Perſians. He commenced his reign by publiſhing every where an edict which exempted his ſubjects for the ſpace of three years both from tribute and military ſervice.

LXVIII. In the eighth month he was detected in the following manner: Otanes, ſon of Pharnaſpes, was of the firſt rank of the Perſians, both with regard to birth and affluence. This nobleman was the firſt who ſuſpected that this was not Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus; and was induced to ſuppoſe who he really was, from his never quitting the citadel, and from his not inviting any of the nobles to his preſence. Suſpicious of the impoſture, he took theſe meaſures:—He had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyſes, and whom, with the other wives of the late king, the uſurper had taken to himſelf. Otanes ſent a meſſage to her,

her, to know whether she cohabited with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or with any other person. She returned for answer, "that she could not tell, as she "had never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, nor did "she know the person with whom she cohabited." Otanes sent a second time to his daughter: "If," says he, "you do not know the person of Smerdis, the "son of Cyrus, enquire of Atossa who it is with "whom you and she cohabit, for she must necessarily "know her brother." To which she thus replied, "I can neither speak to Atossa, nor indeed see any "of the women that live with him. Since this "person, whoever he is, came to the throne, the "women have all been kept separate[75]."

LXIX.

[75] *Kept separate.*]—Chardin, speaking of the death of a king of Persia, and the intemperate grief of his wives, says, that the reason why the women upon such occasions are so deeply afflicted, is not only for the loss of the king their husband, but for the loss of that shadow of liberty which they enjoyed during his life; for no sooner is the prince laid in his tomb, but they are all shut up in particular houses. Tournefort tells us, that after the death of the sultan at Constantinople, the women whom he honoured with his embraces, and their eldest daughters, are removed into the old seraglio of Constantinople; the younger are sometimes left for the new emperor, or are married to the bashas.

It appears that in the East from the remotest times females have been jealously secluded from the other sex. Nevertheless, we learn from modern travellers, that this is done with some restrictions, and that they are not only suffered to communicate with each other, but on certain days to leave the haram or seraglio, and take their amusements abroad.

Where a plurality of wives is allowed, each, it should seem from Tournefort, has a distinct and separate apartment. "I was

LXIX. This reply more and more juſtified the ſuſpicions of Otanes; he ſent, therefore, a third time to his daughter: "My daughter," he obſerved, "it becomes you, who are nobly born, to "engage in a dangerous enterprize, when your "father commands you. If this Smerdis [76] be not "the ſon of Cyrus, but the man whom I ſuſpect, he "ought not, poſſeſſing your perſon, and the ſove-"reignty of Perſia, to eſcape with impunity. Do "this, therefore—when next you ſhall be admitted "to his bed, and ſhall obſerve that he is aſleep, "examine whether he has any ears; if he has, you

extremely at a loſs," ſays he, "how to behave to the great men of the Eaſt, when I was called in, and viſited, as a phyſician, the apartments of their wives. Theſe apartments are juſt like the dormitories of our religious, and at every door I found an arm covered with gauze, thruſt out through a ſmall loop-hole, made on purpoſe: at firſt I fancied they were arms of wood or braſs, to ſerve for ſconces to light up candles in at night; but it ſurprized me when I was told I muſt cure the perſons to whom theſe arms belonged." The Eaſterns liſten with much aſtoniſhment to the familiarity prevailing betwixt the ſexes in Europe. When told that no evil reſults from this, they anſwer with a proverb, "Bring butter too near the fire, and you will hardly keep it from melting."—*T.*

[76] *If this Smerdis.*]—That Cambyſes was the Ahaſuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obſtructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are ſaid in Scripture to be the kings of Perſia that reigned between the time of Cyrus and the time of that Darius by whoſe decree the temple was finiſhed; but that Darius being Darius Hyſtaſpes, and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Perſia, but Cambyſes and Smerdis, it muſt follow from hence, that none but Cambyſes and Smerdis could be the Ahaſuerus and Artaxerxes, who are ſaid in Ezra to have put a ſtop to this work.—*Prideaux.*

"may

"may be ſecure you are with Smerdis, the ſon of "Cyrus; but if he has not, it can be no other than "Smerdis, one of the magi." To this Phædyma replied, "That ſhe would obey him, notwithſtanding the danger ſhe incurred; being well aſſured, "that if he had no ears, and ſhould diſcover her in "endeavouring to know this, ſhe ſhould be inſtantly "put to death." Cyrus had in his life-time deprived this Smerdis of his ears [77] for ſome atrocious crime.

Phædyma complied in all reſpects with the injunctions of her father. The wives of the Perſians ſleep with their huſbands by turns [78]. When this lady

[77] *This Smerdis of his ears.*]—The diſcovery of this impoſture was long celebrated in Perſia as an annual feſtival. By reaſon of the great ſlaughter of the magians then made, it was called magophonia. It was alſo from this time that they firſt had the name of magians, which ſignified the cropt-eared, which was then given them on account of this impoſtor, who was thus cropt. Mige-guſh ſignified, in the language of the country then in uſe, one that had his ears cropt; and from a ringleader of that ſect who was thus cropt, the author of the famous Arabic lexicon called Camus, tells us they had all this name given them; and what Herodotus and Juſtin, and other authors, write of this Smerdis, plainly ſhews that he was the man.—*Prideaux.*

[78] *The wives of the Perſians ſleep with their huſbands by turns.*]—By the Mahometan law, the Perſians, Turks, and indeed all true believers, are permitted to have wives of three different deſcriptions; thoſe whom they eſpouſe, thoſe whom they hire, and thoſe whom they purchaſe. Of the firſt kind they are limited to four, of the two laſt they may have as many as they pleaſe or can afford. Amongſt the ſingularities ſanctified by the Alcoran, the following is not the leaſt: a woman legally eſpouſed may inſiſt on a divorce from her huſband, if he is impotent, if he is given to unnatural enjoyment, or, to uſe Tournefort's expreſſion,

lady next ſlept with the magus, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him in a profound ſleep, ſhe tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly ſatisfied that he had none, as ſoon as it was day ſhe communicated the intelligence to her father.

LXX. Otanes inſtantly revealed the ſecret to Aſpathines and Gobryas, two of the nobleſt of the Perſians, upon whoſe fidelity he could depend, and who had themſelves ſuſpected the impoſture. It was agreed that each ſhould diſcloſe the buſineſs to the friend in whom he moſt confided. Otanes therefore choſe Intaphernes, Gobryas Megabyzus, and Aſpathines, Hydarnes. The conſpirators being thus ſix in number, Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, arrived at Suſa, from Perſia, where his father was governor, when they inſtantly agreed to make him alſo an aſſociate.

LXXI. Theſe ſeven met [79], and after mutual vows of fidelity conſulted together. As ſoon as Darius was to ſpeak, he thus addreſſed his confederates: "I was of opinion that the death of Smerdis, "ſon of Cyrus, and the uſurpation of the magus, "were circumſtances known only to myſelf; and my "immediate purpoſe in coming here, was to accom-

preſſion, if he does not pay his tribute upon Thurſday and Friday night, which are the times conſecrated to the conjugal duties. —*T.*

[79] *Theſe ſeven met.*]—Mithridates, king of Pontus, who afterwards gave ſo much trouble to the Romans, was deſcended from one of theſe conſpirators: ſee book vii. chap. ii.—*Larcher.*

† "pliſh

"pliſh the uſurper's death. But ſince you are alſo "acquainted with the matter, I think that all delay "will be dangerous, and that we ſhould inſtantly "execute our intentions." "Son of Hyſtaſpes," replied Otanes, "born of a noble parent, you ſeem "the inheritor of your father's virtue; nevertheleſs, "be not precipitate, but let us enter on this buſineſs "with caution: for my own part, I am averſe to "undertake any thing, till we ſhall have ſtrengthen-"ed our party." "My friends," reſumed Darius, "if you follow the advice of Otanes, your ruin is "inevitable. The hope of reward will induce ſome "one to betray your deſigns to the magus. An "enterprize like this ſhould be accompliſhed by "yourſelves, diſdaining all aſſiſtance. But ſince "you have diffuſed the ſecret, and added me to "your party, let us this very day put our deſigns "in execution; for I declare, if this day paſs with-"out our fulfilling our intentions, no one ſhall to-"morrow betray me; I will myſelf diſcloſe the con-"ſpiracy to the magus."

LXXII. When Otanes obſerved the ardour of Darius; "Since," he replied, "you will not ſuffer "us to defer, but precipitate us to the termination "of our purpoſe, explain how we ſhall obtain en-"trance into the palace, and attack the uſurpers. "That there are guards regularly ſtationed, if you "have not ſeen them yourſelf, you muſt have known "from others; how ſhall we elude theſe?" "There "are many circumſtances, Otanes," returned Darius, "which we cannot ſo well explain by our

" words as by our actions. There are others which " may be made very plauſible by words, but are ca- " pable of no ſplendour in the execution. You can- " not ſuppoſe that it will be difficult for us to paſs " the guards; who amongſt them will not be im- " pelled by reverence of our perſons, or fear of our " authority, to admit us? Beſides this, I am fur- " niſhed with an undeniable excuſe; I can ſay that " I am juſt arrived from Perſia, and have buſineſs " from my father with the king. If a falſhood muſt " be ſpoken [80], let it be ſo. They who are ſincere, " and they who are not, have the ſame object in " view. Falſhood is prompted by views of intereſt,

[80] *If a falſhood muſt be ſpoken.*]—This morality, ſays Larcher, is not very rigid; but it ought, he continues, to be remembered, that Herodotus is here ſpeaking of falſhood which operates to no one's injury. Bryant, on the contrary, remarks, that we may reſt aſſured theſe are the author's own ſentiments, though attributed to another perſon; hence, he adds, we muſt not wonder if his veracity be ſometimes called in queſtion. But when we remember that one of the firſt rudiments of Perſian education was to ſpeak the truth, the little ſcruple with which Darius here adopts a falſhood, muſt appear very remarkable. Upon this ſubject of ſincerity, Lord Shafteſbury has ſome very curious remarks. "The chief of ancient critics," ſays he, " extols Homer above all things for underſtanding how to lye in perfection. His lyes, according to that maſter's opinion, and the judgment of the graveſt and moſt venerable writers, were in themſelves the juſteſt moral truths, and exhibitive of the beſt doctrine and inſtruction in life and manners." It is well remarked by one of the ancients, though I do not remember which, that a violation of truth implies a contempt of God, and fear of man. Yet the graveſt of our moraliſts and divines have allowed that there may be occaſions in which a deviation from ſtrict truth is venial.—*T*.

" and

" and the language of truth is dictated by ſome pro-
" miſed benefit, or the hope of inſpiring confidence.
" So that, in fact, theſe are only two different paths
" to the ſame end: if no emolument were propoſed,
" the ſincere man would be falſe, and the falſe man
" ſincere. As to the guards, he who ſuffers us to
" paſs ſhall hereafter be remembered to his advan-
" tage; he who oppoſes us ſhall be deemed an ene-
" my: let us, therefore, now haſten to the palace,
" and execute our purpoſe."

LXXIII. When he had finiſhed, Gobryas ſpake as follows: " My friends, to recover the empire " will indeed be glorious; but if we fail, it will be " nobler to die, than for Perſians to live in ſubjection " to a Mede, and he too deprived of his ears. You " who were preſent at the laſt hours of Cambyſes, " cannot but remember the imprecations which he " uttered againſt the Perſians if they did not attempt " the recovery of the empire. We then refuſed him " attention, thinking him influenced by malignity " and reſentment; but now I at leaſt ſecond the " propoſal of Darius, nor would I have this aſſem-
" bly break up, but to proceed inſtantly againſt the " magus." The ſentiments of Gobryas gave univerſal ſatisfaction.

LXXIV. During the interval of this conſultation, the two magi had together determined to make a friend of Prexaſpes: they were aware that he had been injured by Cambyſes, who had ſlain his ſon with an arrow; and that he alone was privy to the

death of Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, having been his executioner; they were conſcious alſo that he was highly eſteemed by the Perſians. They accordingly ſent for him, and made him the moſt liberal promiſes; they made him ſwear that he would on no account diſcloſe the fallacy which they practiſed on the Perſians; and they promiſed him, in reward of his fidelity, rewards without number. Prexaſpes engaged to comply with their wiſhes; they then told him of their intention to aſſemble the Perſians beneath the tower[81] which was the royal reſidence, from whence they deſired him to declare aloud that he who then ſate on the throne of Perſia was Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, and no other. They were induced to this meaſure, from a conſideration of the great authority of Prexaſpes, and becauſe he had frequently declared that he had never put Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, to death, but that he was ſtill alive.

LXXV. Prexaſpes agreed to comply with all that they propoſed; the magi accordingly aſſembled the Perſians, and leading Prexaſpes to the top of the tower, commanded him to make an oration. He, without paying the leaſt attention to the promiſes he had made, recited the genealogy of the

[81] *Beneath the tower.*]—This was the citadel. Anciently the kings lodged here for ſecurity. In chap. lxviii. Herodotus obſerves that the magus would not ſtir from the citadel, and in chap. lxxix. he ſays that the conſpirators left behind in the citadel ſuch of their friends as were wounded in attacking the magi.—*Larcher.*

family

family of Cyrus, beginning with Achæmenes. When he came to Cyrus himſelf, he enumerated the ſervices which that prince had rendered the Perſians. He then made a full diſcovery of the truth, excuſing himſelf for concealing it ſo long, from the danger which the revealing it would have incurred, but that it was now forced from him. He aſſured them that he actually had killed Smerdis, by the order of Cambyſes, and that the magi now exerciſed the ſovereign authority. When he had imprecated many curſes [81] upon the Perſians, if they did

[81] *Imprecated many curſes.*]—In ancient times, and amongſt the Orientals in particular, theſe kind of imprecations were very frequent, and ſuppoſed to have an extraordinary influence. The curſe of a father was believed to be particularly fatal; and the furies were always thought to execute the imprecations of parents upon diſobedient children: ſee the ſtories of Œdipus and Theſeus. When Joſhua deſtroyed Jericho, he imprecated a ſevere curſe upon whoever ſhould attempt to rebuild it. This was, however, at a diſtant period of time accompliſhed. We have two examples of ſolemn imprecations on record, which have always been deemed worthy of attention. The one occurred in ancient Rome: When Craſſus, in defiance of the auſpices, prepared to make an expedition againſt the Parthians. The tribune Ateius waited for him at the gates of the city, with an altar, a fire, and a ſacrifice ready prepared, and with the moſt horrid ſolemnity devoted him to deſtruction. The other example is more modern, it is the imprecation which Averroes, the famous Arabian philoſopher, uttered againſt his ſon. As it is leſs generally known, I ſhall recite it at length: Averroes was one day ſeriouſly converſing with ſome grave friends, when his ſon, in a riotous manner, intruded himſelf, accompanied by ſome diſſolute companions. The old man, viewing him with great indignation, ſpoke two verſes to the following effect; "Thy own beauties could not content thee, thou haſt ſtript

did not attempt the recovery of their rights, and to take vengeance upon the uſurpers, he threw himſelf from the tower.—Such was the end of Prexaſpes, a man who through every period of his life merited eſteem [83].

LXXVI. The ſeven Perſians having determined inſtantly to attack the magi, proceeded, after imploring the aid of the gods, to execute their purpoſe. They were at firſt ignorant of what related to the fate of Prexaſpes, but they learned it as they went along. They withdrew for a while to deliberate together; they who ſided with Otanes, thought that their enterprize ſhould be deferred, at leaſt during the preſent tumult of affairs. The friends of Darius, on the contrary, were averſe to any delay, and were anxious to execute what they had reſolved immediately. Whilſt they remained in this ſuſpence, they obſerved ſeven pair of hawks [84], which,

ſtript the wild goat of his beauties; and they who are as beautiful as thyſelf admire thee. Thou haſt got his wanton heart, his lecherous eyes, and his ſenſeleſs head; but to-morrow thou ſhalt find thy father will have his puſhing horns. Curſed be all extravagancies: when I was young I ſometimes puniſhed my father, now I am old I cannot puniſh my ſon; but I beg of God to deprive him rather of life, than ſuffer him to be diſobedient." It is related that the young man died within ten months.—*T.*

[83] *Merited eſteem.*]—Upon this incident M. Larcher remarks, that this laſt noble action of his life but ill correſponds with the mean and daſtardly behaviour which Prexaſpes had before exhibited to the murderer of his ſon.

[84] *Seven pair of hawks.*]—The ſuperſtition of the ancients, with reſpect to the ſight or flight of birds, has often exerciſed the

which, purſuing two pair of vultures, beat and ſeverely tore them. At this ſight the conſpirators came immediately into the deſigns of Darius; and, relying on the omen of the birds, advanced boldly to the palace.

LXXVII. On their arrival at the gates, it happened as Darius had foreſeen. The guards, unſuſpicious of what was intended, and awed by their dignity [85] of rank, who, in this inſtance, ſeemed to

the ſagacity and acuteneſs of philoſophers and ſcholars. Some birds furniſhed omens from their chattering, as crows, owls, &c. others from the direction in which they flew, as eagles, vultures, hawks, &c. An eagle ſeen to the right was fortunate.—See Homer. The ſight of an eagle was ſuppoſed to foretel to Tarquinius Priſcus, that he ſhould obtain the crown; it predicted alſo, the conqueſts of Alexander; and the loſs of their dominions to Tarquin the Proud, and Dionyſius tyrant of Syracuſe; innumerable other examples muſt here occur to the moſt common reader. A raven ſeen on the left hand was unfortunate.

Sæpe ſiniſtra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.—*Virgil.*

Upon the ſubject of the auſpicia, the moſt ſatisfactory intelligence is to be obtained from the treatiſe of Cicero de Divinatione. From the Latin word *auſpicia*, from *aves inſpicere*, comes our Engliſh word *auſpicious*.—*T.*

[85] *Awed by their dignity.*]—The moſt memorable inſtance in hiſtory, of the effects of this kind of impreſſion, is that of the ſoldier ſent into the priſon to kill Caius Marius:—The ſtory is related at length by Plutarch. When the man entered the priſon with his ſword drawn, "Fellow," exclaimed the ſtern Roman, "dareſt thou kill Caius Marius?" Upon which the ſoldier dropt his ſword, and ruſhed out of doors. This fact, however, being no where mentioned by Cicero, who ſpeaks very largely on the ſubject of Marius, has given Dr. Middleton reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the whole is a fabulous narration.—*T.*

act

act from a divine impulse, without any questions permitted them to enter. As soon as they came to the interior part of the palace, they met with the eunuchs, who were employed as the royal messengers; these asked their business, and at the same time threatened the guards for suffering them to enter. On their opposing their farther entrance, the conspirators drew their swords, and encouraging each other, put the eunuchs to death; from hence they instantly rushed to the inner apartments,

LXXVIII. Here the two magi happened to be, in consultation about what was to be done in consequence of the conduct of Prexaspes. As soon as they perceived the tumult, and heard the cries of the eunuchs, they ran towards them, and preparing in a manly manner to defend themselves, the one seized a bow and the other a lance. As the conspirators drew near to the attack, the bow became useless; but the other magus, who was armed with the lance, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, though the blow was not fatal. The magus who found his bow of no service retreated to an adjoining apartment, into which he was followed by Darius and Gobryas. This latter seized the magus round the waist[86], but as this happened in the dark, Darius stood in

[86] *Round the waist.*]—Not unlike to this was the manner in which David Rizio, the favourite of the unfortunate Mary queen

in hesitation, fearing to strike, lest he should wound Gobryas. When Gobryas perceived this, he enquired why he was thus inactive: when Darius replied, "that it was from his fear of wounding his friend," "Strike," exclaimed Gobryas, "though you shall "pierce both."—Darius instantly complied, and ran his sword through the magus.

LXXIX. Having thus slain the magi [87], they instantly

queen of Scots, was murdered. Rizio was at supper with his mistress, attended by a few domestics, when the king, who had chosen this place and opportunity to satisfy his vengeance, entered the apartment with Ruthven and his accomplices. The wretched favourite, conceiving himself the victim whose death was required, flew for protection to the queen, whom he seized round the waist. This attitude did not save him from the dagger of Ruthven; and before he could be dragged to the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.—See the account in *Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. 359.—*T.*

[87] *The magi.*]—It may not in this place be impertinent, to give a succinct account of the magi or magians, as selected from various writers on the subject. This sect originating in the East, abominating all images, worshipped God only by fire. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles, one of which was the cause of all good, the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, the other by darkness, and that from these two all things in the world were made. The good god they named Yazdan or Ormund; the evil god, Ahraman: the former is by the Greeks named Oramasdes, the latter Arimanius. Concerning these two gods, some held both of them to have been from eternity; others contended the good being only to be eternal, the other created: both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world, when the good god shall overcome the evil

inſtantly cut off their heads. Their two friends who were wounded were left behind, as well to guard the

evil god; and that afterwards each ſhall have his world to himſelf, the good god have all good men with him, the evil god all wicked men. Of this ſyſtem Zoroaſter was the firſt founder, whom Hyde and Prideaux make cotemporary with Darius Hyſtaſpes, but whoſe æra, as appears from Moyle, the Greek writers of the age of Darius make many hundred years before their own time. After giving a conciſe but animated account of the theology of Zoroaſter, Mr. Gibbon has this remark: "Every mode of religion, to make a deep and laſting impreſſion on the human mind, muſt exerciſe our obedience, by enjoining practices of devotion for which we can aſſign no reaſon; and muſt acquire our eſteem by inculcating moral duties, analogous to the dictates of our own hearts." The religion of Zoroaſter was abundantly provided with the former, and poſſeſſed a ſufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty the faithful Perſian was inveſted with a myſterious girdle, from which moment the moſt indifferent action of his life was ſanctified by prayers, ejaculations, and genuflexions, the omiſſion of which was a grievous ſin. The moral duties, however, were required of the diſciple of Zoroaſter, who wiſhed to eſcape the perſecution of Arimanius, or as Mr. Gibbon writes it, Ahriman, and to live with Ormund or Ormuſd in a bliſsful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety. In the time of Theodoſius the younger, the Chriſtians enjoyed a full toleration in Perſia; but Abdas indiſcreetly pulling down a temple, in which the Perſians worſhipped fire, a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians was excited, and proſecuted with unrelenting cruelty. The magi are ſtill known in Perſia, under the name of parſi or parſes; their ſuperſtition is contained in three books, named Zend, Pazend, and Veſtna, ſaid by themſelves to be compoſed by Zerdaſcht, whom they confound with the patriarch Abraham. The Oriental Chriſtians pretend, that the magi who adored Jeſus Chriſt, were diſciples of Zoroaſter, who predicted to them the coming of the Meſſiah, and

the citadel, as on account of their inability to follow them. The remaining five ran out into the public ſtreet, having the heads of the magi in their hands, and making violent outcries. They called aloud to the Perſians, explaining what had happened, and expoſing the heads of the uſurpers; at the ſame time, whoever of the magi appeared was inſtantly put to death. The Perſians hearing what theſe ſeven noblemen had effected, and learning the impoſture practiſed on them by the magi, were ſeized with the deſire of imitating their conduct. Sallying forth with drawn ſwords, they killed every magus whom they met; and if night had not checked their rage, not one would have eſcaped. The anniverſary of this day the Perſians celebrate with great ſolemnity; the feſtival they obſerve is called the magophonia, or the ſlaughter of the magi. On this occaſion no magus is permitted to be ſeen in public, they are obliged to confine themſelves at home.

LXXX. When the tumult had ſubſided, and an interval of five days were elapſed, the conſpirators

and the new ſtar which appeared at his birth. Upon this latter ſubject a modern writer has ingeniouſly remarked, that the preſents which the magi made to Chriſt, indicated their eſteeming him a royal child, notwithſtanding his mean ſituation and appearance: they gave him gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh, ſuch as the queen of Sheba preſented to Solomon in his glory.

It ſeems almoſt unneceſſary to add, that from theſe magi or magians the Engliſh word *magic* is derived:—See Prideaux, Gibbon, Bayle, Bibliotheque Orientale, and Harmer's Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture.—*T.*

met

met to deliberate on the ſituation of affairs. Their ſentiments, as delivered on this occaſion, however they may want credit with many of the Greeks, were in fact as follows.—Otanes recommended a republican form of government: "It does not," ſays he, "ſeem to me adviſeable, that the govern-"ment of Perſia[88] ſhould hereafter be entruſted "to any individual perſon, this being neither po-"pular nor wiſe. We all know the extreme lengths "to which the arrogance of Cambyſes proceeded, "and ſome of us have felt its influence. How can "that form of government poſſibly be good, in "which an individual with impunity may indulge "his paſſions, and which is apt to tranſport even "the beſt of men beyond the bounds of reaſon? "When a man, naturally envious, attains great-"neſs, he inſtantly becomes inſolent: Inſolence "and jealouſy are the diſtinguiſhing vices of ty-"rants, and when combined lead to the moſt enor-"mous crimes. He who is placed at the ſummit

[88] *Government of Perſia.*]—Machiavel, reaſoning upon the conqueſts of Alexander the Great, and upon the unreſiſting ſubmiſſion which his ſucceſſors experienced from the Perſians, takes it for granted, that amongſt the ancient Perſians there was no diſtinction of nobility. This, however, was by no means the caſe; and what Mr. Hume remarks of the Florentine ſecretary was undoubtedly true, that he was far better acquainted with Roman than with Greek authors:—See the Eſſay of Mr. Hume, where he aſſerts that "Politics may be reduced to a ſcience;" with his note at the end of the volume, which contains an enumeration of various Perſian noblemen of different periods, as well as a refutation of Machiavel's abſurd poſition above ſtated. —*T.*

"of

" of power, ought indeed to be a ſtranger to envy;
" but we know, by fatal experience, that the con-
" trary happens. We know alſo, that the wor-
" thieſt citizens excite the jealouſy of tyrants, who
" are pleaſed only with the moſt abandoned: they
" are ever prompt to liſten to the voice of calumny.
" If we pay them temperate reſpect, they take um-
" brage that we are not more profuſe in our atten-
" tions: if the reſpect with which they are treated
" ſeem immoderate, they call it adulation. The
" ſevereſt misfortune of all is, that they pervert the
" inſtitutions of their country, offer violence to
" our females, and put thoſe whom they diſlike to
" death, without the formalities of juſtice. But a
" democracy in the firſt place bears the honourable
" name of an equality [89]; the diſorders which pre-
" vail in a monarchy cannot there take place.
" The magiſtrate is appointed by lot, he is ac-
" countable for his adminiſtration, and whatever is
" done, muſt be with the general conſent. I am,

[89] *Equality.*]—The word in the original is ισονομιαν, which means equality of laws. M. Larcher tranſlates it literally iſo-nomie; but in Engliſh, as we have no authority for the uſe of it, iſonomy would perhaps ſeem pedantic. The following paſſage from lord Shaftſbury fully explains the word in queſtion.—Speaking of the influence of tyranny on the arts, "The high ſpirit of tragedy," ſays he, "can ill ſubſiſt where the ſpirit of liberty is wanting." The genius of this poetry conſiſts in the lively repreſentation of the diſorders and miſery of the great; to the end that the people, and thoſe of a lower condition, may be taught the better to content themſelves with privacy, enjoy their ſafer ſtate, and prize the *equality* and juſtice of their guardian laws.—T.

" therefore, of opinion, that monarchy ſhould be " aboliſhed, and that, as every thing depends on " the people[90], a popular government ſhould be " eſtabliſhed."—Such were the ſentiments of Otanes.

LXXXI. Megabyzus, however, was inclined to an oligarchy; in favour of which he thus expreſſed himſelf: " All that Otanes has urged, concerning " the extirpation of tyranny, meets with my entire " approbation; but when he recommends the ſu- " preme authority to be entruſted to the people, " he ſeems to me to err in the extreme. Tumul- " tuous aſſemblies of the people are never diſtin- " guiſhed by wiſdom, always by inſolence; nei- " ther can any thing be poſſibly more prepoſte- " rous, than to fly from the tyranny of an indivi- " dual to the intemperate caprice of the vulgar. " Whatever a tyrant undertakes, has the merit of " previous concert and deſign; but the people are " always raſh and ignorant. And how can they " be otherwiſe, who are uninſtructed, and with no

[90] *Every thing depends on the people.*]—In this place the favourite adage of Vox populi vox Dei, muſt occur to every reader; the truth of which, as far as power is concerned, is certainly indiſputable; but with reſpect to political ſagacity, the ſentiment of Horace may be more ſecurely vindicated:

Interdum vulgus rectum videt, eſt ubi peccat.

Which Pope happily renders,

The people's voice is odd;
It is, and it is not, the voice of God. T.

" internal

" internal ſenſe[91] of what is good and right? Deſ-
" titute of judgment, their actions reſemble the vio-
" lence of a torrent[92]. To me, a democracy ſeems
" to involve the ruin of our country: let us, there-

[91] *No internal ſenſe.*]—The original is ſomewhat perplexed; but the acute Valcnaer, by reading οικοθεν for οικηιον, at once removes all difficulty.—*T.*

[92] *Their actions reſemble the violence of a torrent.*]—Upon the ſubject of popular aſſemblies, the following remarks of M. de Lolme ſeem very ingenious, as well as juſt.

" Thoſe who compoſe a popular aſſembly are not actuated, in the courſe of their deliberations, by any clear or preciſe view of any preſent or poſitive perſonal intereſt. As they ſee themſelves loſt as it were in the crowd of thoſe who are called upon to exerciſe the ſame function with themſelves; as they know that their individual vote will make no change in the public reſolution, and that to whatever ſide they may incline, the general reſult will nevertheleſs be the ſame, they do not undertake to enquire how far the things propoſed to them agree with the whole of the laws already in being, or with the preſent circumſtances of the ſtate. As few among them have previouſly conſidered the ſubjects on which they are called upon to determine, very few carry along with them any opinion or inclination of their own, and to which they are reſolved to adhere. As, however, it is neceſſary at laſt to come to ſome reſolution, the major part of them are determined, by reaſons which they would bluſh to pay any regard to on much leſs ſerious occaſions: an unuſual ſight, a change of the ordinary place of aſſembly, a ſudden diſturbance, a rumour, are, amidſt the general want of a ſpirit of deciſion, the *ſufficiens ratio* of the determination of the greateſt part; and from this aſſemblage of ſeparate wills, thus formed, haſtily and without reflection, a general will reſults, which is alſo without reflection."—*Conſtitution of England*, 250, 251.

Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus tantas et tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum quantas perturbationes et quantos æſtus habet ratio comitiorum.—*Cicero Orat. pro Muræna.*

" fore, entruſt the government to a few individu-
" als, ſelected for their talents and their virtues.
" Let us conſtitute a part of theſe ourſelves, and
" from the exerciſe of authority ſo depoſited,
" we may be juſtified in expecting the happieſt
" events."

LXXXII. Darius was the third who delivered his opinion. " The ſentiments of Megabyzus," he obſerved, " as they relate to a popular govern-
" ment, are unqueſtionably wiſe and juſt; but
" from his opinion of an oligarchy, I totally diſ-
" ſent. Suppoſing the three different forms of
" government, monarchy, democracy, and an oligar-
" chy, ſeverally to prevail in the greateſt perfec-
" tion, I am of opinion that monarchy has great-
" ly the advantage. Indeed nothing can be bet-
" ter than the government of an individual emi-
" nent for his virtue. He will not only have re-
" gard to the general welfare of his ſubjects, but
" his reſolutions will be cautiouſly concealed from
" the public enemies of the ſtate. In an oligar-
" chy, the majority who have the care of the ſtate,
" though employed in the exerciſe of virtue for the
" public good, will be the objects of mutual envy
" and diſlike. Every individual will be anxious
" to extend his own perſonal importance, from
" which will proceed faction, ſedition, and blood-
" ſhed. The ſovereign power coming by theſe
" means to the hands of a ſingle perſon, conſtitutes
" the ſtrongeſt argument to prove what form of
" government is beſt. Whenever the people poſ-
" ſeſs

" ſeſs the ſupreme authority, diſorders in the ſtate " are unavoidable: ſuch diſorders introduced in a " republic do not ſeparate the bad and the profligate " from each other, they unite them in the cloſeſt " bonds of connection. They who mutually injure " the ſtate, mutually ſupport each other; this " evil exiſts till ſome individual, aſſuming autho- " rity, ſuppreſſes the ſedition; he of courſe ob- " tains popular admiration, which ends in his be- " coming the ſovereign[93]; and this again tends to " prove, that a monarchy is of all governments the " moſt excellent. To comprehend all that can be " ſaid at once, to what are we indebted for our " liberty; did we derive it from the people, an " oligarchy, or an individual? For my own part, " as we were certainly indebted to one man for " freedom, I think that to one alone the govern- " ment ſhould be intruſted. Neither can we with- " out danger change the cuſtoms of our coun- " try."

LXXXIII. Such were the three different opinions delivered, the latter of which was approved by four out of the ſeven[94]. When Otanes ſaw his deſire

[93] *Ends in his becoming the ſovereign.*]—It is probable that the aſcendant of one man over multitudes began during a ſtate of war, where the ſuperiority of courage and of genius diſcovers itſelf moſt viſibly, where unanimity and concert are moſt requiſite, and where the pernicious effects of diſorder are moſt ſenſibly felt.—*Hume.*

[94] *Four out of the ſeven.*]—This majority certainly decided in favour of that ſpecies of government which is moſt ſimple and

deſire to eſtabliſh an equality in Perſia, rejected, he ſpoke thus: "As it ſeems determined that Perſia "ſhall be governed by one perſon, whether choſen "among ourſelves by lot, or by the ſuffrages of the "people, or by ſome other method, you ſhall have "no oppoſition from me: I am equally averſe to "govern or obey. I therefore yield, on condition "that no one of you ſhall ever reign over me, or "any of my poſterity." The reſt of the conſpirators aſſenting to this, he made no farther oppoſition, but retired from the aſſembly. At the preſent period this is the only family in Perſia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to tranſgreſs the laws of their country.

LXXXIV. The remaining ſix noblemen continued to conſult about the moſt equitable mode of electing a king; and they ſeverally determined,

natural; and which would be, if always veſted in proper hands, the beſt: but the abuſe of abſolute power is ſo probable, and ſo deſtructive, that it is neceſſary by all means to guard againſt it. Ariſtotle inclines to the opinion of thoſe, who eſteem a mixed government the beſt that can be deviſed. Of this they conſidered the Lacedæmonian conſtitution a good ſpecimen; the kings connecting it with monarchy, the ſenate with oligarchy, and the ephori and ſyſſytia with democracy.—*Ariſt. Pol.* l. ii. cap. 4. Modern ſpeculators on this ſubject, with one accord allow the conſtitution of Great Britain, as it ſtands at preſent, to be a much more judicious and perfect mixture of the three powers, which are ſo contrived as to check and counterbalance each other, without impeding that action of the whole machine, which is neceſſary to the well-being of the people. The ſixth book of Polybius opens with a diſſertation on the different forms of government, which deſerves attention.—*T.*

that

that if the choice ſhould fall upon any of themſelves, Otanes himſelf and all his poſterity ſhould be annually preſented with a Median habit [95], as well

[95] *Preſented with a Median habit.*]—The cuſtom of giving veſts or robes in Oriental countries, as a mark of honour and diſtinction, may be traced to the remoteſt antiquity, and ſtill prevails. On this ſubject the following paſſage is given, from a manuſcript of Sir John Chardin, by Mr. Harmer, in his Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture.

"The kings of Perſia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits, ready deſigned for preſents, and ſorted. They pay great attention to the quality or merit of thoſe to whom theſe veſtments or habits are given: thoſe that are given to the great men have as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they poſſeſs in the ſtate."

All modern travellers to the Eaſt ſpeak of the ſame cuſtom. We find alſo in the Old Teſtament various examples of a ſimilar kind. Chardin alſo, in his account of the coronation of Solyman the Third, king of Perſia, has the following paſſage:

"His majeſty, as every grandee had paid him his ſubmiſſions, honoured him with a calate or royal veſt. This Perſian word, according to its etymology, ſignifies entire, perfect, accompliſhed, to ſignify either the excellency of the habit, or the dignity of him that wears it; for it is an infallible mark of the particular eſteem which the ſovereign has for the perſon to whom he ſends it, and that he has free liberty to approach his perſon; for when the kingdom has changed its lord and maſter, the grandees who have not received this veſt dare not preſume to appear before the king without hazard of their lives."

This Median habit was made of ſilk; it was indeed, among the elder Greeks, only another name for a ſilken robe, as we learn from Procopius, την εσθητα—ην παλαι μεν Ἑλληνες Μηδικην σκαλην, νυν δε Σηρικην ονομαζουσιν. The remainder of this paſſage, literally tranſlated, is, "and all that preſent which in Perſia is moſt honourable." This gift is fully explained by Xenophon in the

 firſt

well as with every other diſtinction magnificent in itſelf, and deemed honourable in Perſia. They decreed him this tribute of reſpect, as he had firſt agitated the matter, and called them together. Theſe were their determinations reſpecting Otanes; as to themſelves, they mutually agreed that acceſs to the royal palace ſhould be permitted to each of them, without the ceremony of a previous meſſenger [96], except when the king ſhould happen to be in bed with his wife. They alſo reſolved, that the king ſhould marry no woman but from the family of one the conſpirators. The mode they adopted to elect a king was this:—They agreed to meet on horſeback at ſun-riſe, in the vicinity of the city, and to make him king whoſe horſe ſhould neigh the firſt.

LXXXV. Darius had a groom, whoſe name was Œbares, a man of conſiderable ingenuity, for whom on his return home he immediately ſent. "Œbares," ſaid he, "it is determined that we are to "meet at ſun-riſe on horſeback, and that he among-

firſt book of the Anabaſis; it conſiſted of a horſe with a gilt bridle, a golden collar, bracelets, and a ſword of the kind peculiar to Media, called acinaces, beſides the ſilken veſt. His expreſſions are ſo ſimilar to thoſe of Herodotus, as to ſatisfy us that theſe ſpecific articles properly made up the gift of honour.—*T.*

[96] *Previous meſſenger.*]—Viſits to the great in Eaſtern countries are always preceded by meſſengers, who carry preſents, differing in value according to the dignity of the perſon who is to receive them. Without ſome preſent or other no viſit muſt be made, nor favour expected.—*T.*

"us

" us ſhall be king, whoſe horſe ſhall firſt neigh. " Whatever acuteneſs you have, exert it on this " occaſion, that no one but myſelf may attain this " honour." " Sir," replied Œbares, " if your be- " ing a king or not depend on what you ſay, be " not afraid; I have a kind of charm, which will " prevent any one's being preferred to yourſelf." " Whatever," replied Darius, " this charm may " be, it muſt be applied without delay, as the " morning will decide the matter." Œbares, therefore, as ſoon as evening came, conducted to the place before the city a mare, to which he knew the horſe of Darius was particularly inclined: he afterwards brought the horſe there, and after carrying him ſeveral times round and near the mare, he finally permitted him to cover her.

LXXXVI. The next morning as ſoon as it was light the ſix Perſians aſſembled, as had been agreed, on horſeback. After riding up and down at the place appointed, they came at length to the ſpot where the preceding evening the mare had been brought; here the horſe of Darius inſtantly began to neigh, which, though the ſky was remarkably clear, was inſtantly ſucceeded by thunder and lightning. The heavens thus ſeemed to favour, and indeed to act in concert with Darius. Immediately the other noblemen diſmounted, and falling at his feet hailed him king [97].

LXXXVII.

97 *Hailed him king.*]—Darius was about twenty years old when

LXXXVII. Such, according to ſome, was the ſtratagem of Œbares; others, however, relate the matter differently, and both accounts prevail in Perſia. Theſe laſt affirm, that the groom having rubbed his hand againſt the private parts of the mare, afterwards folded it up in his veſt, and that in the morning, as the horſes were about to depart, he drew it out from his garment, and touched the noſtrils of the horſe of Darius, and that this ſcent inſtantly made him ſnort and neigh.

LXXXVIII. Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes[98]

when Cyrus died. Cambyſes reigned ſeven years and five months; Smerdis Magus was only ſeven months on the throne; thus Darius was about twenty-nine years old when he came to the crown.—*Larcher.*

This circumſtance of thunder and lightning from a cloudleſs ſky, is often mentioned by the ancients, and was conſidered by them as the higheſt omen. Horace has left an ode upon it, as a circumſtance which ſtaggered his Epicurean notions, and impreſſed him with awe and veneration, l. i. Od. 34; and the commentators give us inſtances enough of ſimilar accounts. With us there is no thunder without clouds, except ſuch as is too diſtant to have much effect; it may be otherwiſe in hot climates, where the ſtate of the air is much more electrical.—*T.*

[98] *Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes.*]—Archbiſhop Uſher holdeth that it was Darius Hyſtaſpes that was the king Ahaſuerus, who married Eſther; and that Atoſſa was the Vaſhti, and Antyſtone the Eſther of the holy ſcriptures. But Herodotus poſitively tells us, that Antyſtone was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore ſhe could not be Eſther: and that Atoſſa had four ſons by Darius, beſides daughters, all born to him after he was king; and therefore ſhe could not be that queen Vaſhti, who was divorced from the king her huſband in the third year of his reign, nor he that Ahaſuerus that divorced her.—*Prideaux.*

was

was thus proclaimed king; and, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia who had been subdued first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyses, acknowledged his authority. The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia [99], but were in its alliance: they afforded Cambyses the means of penetrating into Ægypt, without which he could never have accomplished his purpose. Darius first of all married two women of Persia, both of them daughters of Cyrus, Atossa who had first been married to Cambyses, and afterwards to

[99] *Never reduced to the subjection of Persia.*]—The independence of the Arabs has always been a theme of praise and admiration, from the remotest ages to the present. Upon this subject the following animated apostrophe from Mr. Gibbon, includes all that need be said. "The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never atchieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to sollicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs; the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity; and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front, and in the rear the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror: the secret waters of the desart elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely repose in the heart of the burning solitude."

the magus, and Antyſtone a virgin. He then married Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, ſon of Cyrus, and that daughter of Otanes who had been the inſtrument in diſcovering the magus. Being firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, his firſt work was the erection of an equeſtrian ſtatue, with this inſcription: "Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, obtained the "ſovereignty of Perſia by the ſagacity of his horſe, "and the ingenuity of Œbares his groom." The name of the horſe was alſo inſerted.

LXXXIX. The next act of his authority was to divide Perſia into twenty provinces, which they call ſatrapies, to each of which a governor was appointed. He then aſcertained the tribute they were ſeverally to pay, connecting ſometimes many nations together, which were near each other, under one diſtrict; and ſometimes he paſſed over many which were adjacent, forming one government of various remote and ſcattered nations. His particular diviſion of the provinces, and the mode fixed for the payment of their annual tribute, was this: They whoſe payment was to be made in ſilver, were to take the Babylonian talent [100] for their ſtandard;

[100] *Babylonian talent.*]—What follows on the ſubject of the talent, is extracted principally from Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins.

The word *talent* in Homer, is uſed to ſignify a balance, and in general it was applied either to a weight or a ſum of money, differing in value according to the ages and countries in which it was uſed. Every talent conſiſts of 60 minæ, and every mina of

ſtandard; the Euboic talent was to regulate thoſe who made their payment in gold; the Babylonian talent, it is to be obſerved, is equal to ſeventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and indeed of Cambyſes, there were no ſpecific tributes [101], but preſents were made to the ſovereign. On account of theſe and ſimilar innovations, the Perſians call Darius a merchant, Cambyſes a deſpot, but Cyrus a parent. Darius ſeemed to have no other object in view but the acquiſition of gain; Cambyſes was negligent and ſevere; whilſt Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever ſtudious of the good of his ſubjects.

XC. The Ionians and Magneſians of Aſia, the

of 100 drachmæ, but the talents differed in weight according to the minæ and drachmæ of which they were compoſed.

What Herodotus here affirms of the Babylonian talent, is confirmed by Pollux and by Ælian.

The Euboic talent was ſo called from the iſland Eubœa; it was generally thought to be the ſame with the Attic talent, becauſe both theſe countries uſed the ſame weights; the mina Euboica, and the mina Attica, each conſiſted of 100 drachmæ.

According to the above, the Babylonian talent would amount, in Engliſh money, to about £. 226; the Euboic or Attic talent to £. 193. 15 s.—*T.*

[101] *No ſpecific tributes.*]—This ſeemingly contradicts what was ſaid above, that the magus exempted the Perſians for three years from every kind of impoſt. It muſt be obſerved that theſe impoſts were not for a conſtancy, they only ſubſiſted in time of war, and were rather a gratuity than an impoſt. Thoſe impoſed by Darius were perpetual; thus Herodotus does not appear at all to contradict himſelf.—*Larcher.*

Æolians,

Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans[102], and Pamphylians, were comprehended under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents of silver; they formed the first satrapy. The second, which paid five hundred talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians[103]. A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those who inhabit the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians[104], and Syrians; and these nations constituted the third satrapy. The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a white horse, that is to say, three hundred and sixty annually, with five hundred talents of silver; of these one hundred and forty were appointed for the payment of the cavalry stationed for the guard of the country; the remaining three

[102] *Melyeans.*]—These people are in all probability the same with the Milyans of whom Herodotus speaks, book i. c. clxxiii. and book vii. c. clxxvii. They were sometimes called Minyans, from Minos, king of Crete.—*T.*

[103] *Hygennians.*]—For Hygennians Wesseling proposes to read Obigenians.—*T.*

[104] *Mariandynians.*]—These were on the coast of Bithynia, where was said to be the Acherusian cave, through which Hercules dragged up Cerberus to light, whose foam then produced aconite. Thus Dionysius Periegetes, l. 788.

> That sacred plain where erst, as fablers tell,
> The deep-voic'd dog of Pluto, struggling hard
> Against the potent grasp of Hercules,
> With foamy drops impregnating the earth,
> Produc'd dire poison to destroy mankind.

hundred

hundred and ſixty were received by Darius: theſe formed the fourth ſatrapy.

XCI. The tribute levied from the fifth ſatrapy was three hundred and fifty talents. Under this diſtrict was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city Poſideium, built on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, by Amphilochus, ſon of Amphiaraus [105], as far as Ægypt, part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute. The ſame ſatrapy, moreover, included all Phœnicia, the Syrian Paleſtine, and the iſle of Cyprus. Seven hundred talents were exacted from Ægypt, from the Africans which border upon Ægypt, from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Ægyptian diſtrict. The produce of the fiſhery of the lake Mœris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of ſeven hundred talents more; one hundred and twenty thouſand meaſures of which were applied to the maintenance of the

[105] *Amphilochus, ſon of Amphiaraus.*]—For an account of Amphiaraus, ſee book the firſt, chap. xlvi. The name of the mother of Amphilochus, according to Pauſanias, was Eriphyle. He appears to have obtained an eſteem and veneration equal to that which was paid to his father. He had an oracle at Mallus, in Cilicia, which place he built; he had alſo an altar erected to his honour at Athens. His oracle continued in the time of Plutarch, and the mode of conſulting it was this:—The perſon who wiſhed an anſwer to ſome enquiry paſſed a night in the temple, and was ſure to have a viſion, which was to be conſidered as the reply. There is an example in Dion Caſſius, of a picture which was painted in the time of Commodus, deſcriptive of an anſwer communicated by this oracle.—*T.*

Perſians

Perſians and their auxiliary troops garriſoned within the white caſtle of Memphis: this was the ſixth ſatrapy. The ſeventh was compoſed of the Sattagydæ, the Gandarii, the Dadicæ and Aparytæ, who together paid one hundred and ſeventy talents. The eighth ſatrapy furniſhed three hundred talents, and conſiſted of Suſa and the reſt of the Ciſſians.

XCII. Babylon and the other parts of Aſſyria conſtituted the ninth ſatrapy, and paid a thouſand talents of ſilver, with five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth ſatrapy furniſhed four hundred and fifty talents, and conſiſted of Ecbatana, the reſt of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes. The Caſpians, the Pauſicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed amongſt them two hundred talents, and formed the eleventh ſatrapy. The twelfth produced three hundred and ſixty talents, and was compoſed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Æglos.

XCIII. From the thirteenth ſatrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyïca, the Armenians, with the contiguous nations, as far as the Euxine. The fourteenth ſatrapy conſiſted of the Sangatians, the Sarangæans, the Thamanæans, Utians, and Menci, with thoſe who inhabit the iſlands of the Red Sea, where the king ſends thoſe whom he baniſhes [106]; theſe jointly contributed ſix hundred talents.

[106] *Whom he baniſhes.*]—Baniſhment ſeems to have been adopted

talents. The Sacæ and Caſpii formed the fifteenth ſatrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Choraſmians, Sogdians, and Arians, who were the ſixteenth ſatrapy.

XCIV. The Paricanii and Æthiopians of Aſia paid four hundred talents, and formed the ſeventeenth ſatrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was compoſed of the Matieni, the Saſpires, and Alarodians. The Moſchi,

adopted as a puniſhment at a very early period of the world; and it may be ſuppoſed that, in the infancy of ſociety, men, reluctant to ſanguinary meaſures, would have recourſe to the expulſion of miſchievous or unworthy members, as the ſimpler and leſs odious remedy. When we conſider the effect which exile has had upon the minds of the greateſt and wiſeſt of mankind, and reflect on that attractive ſweetneſs of the natal ſoil, which whilſt we admire in poetic deſcription we ſtill feel to be *ratione valentior omni*, it ſeems wonderful that baniſhment ſhould not more frequently ſuperſede the neceſſity of ſanguinary puniſhments. That Ovid, whoſe mind was enervated by licentious habits, ſhould deplore, in ſtrains the moſt melancholy, the abſence of what alone could make life ſupportable, may not perhaps be thought wonderful; but that Cicero, whoſe whole life was a life of philoſophic diſcipline, ſhould ſo entirely loſe his firmneſs, and forget his dignity, may juſtify our concluding of the puniſhment of exile, that human vengeance need not inflict a more ſevere calamity. In oppoſition to what I have aſſerted above, ſome reader will perhaps be inclined to cite the example of Lord Bolingbroke, his conduct, and his reflections upon exile; but I think I can diſcern through that laboured apology, a ſecret chagrin and uneaſineſs, which convinces me at leaſt, that whilſt he acted the philoſopher and the ſtoic, he had the common feelings and infirmities of man.—*T.*

Tibareni, Macrones, Moſynœci, and Mardians, provided three hundred talents, and were the nineteenth ſatrapy. The Indians, the moſt numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionally taxed; they formed the twentieth ſatrapy, and furniſhed ſix hundred talents in golden ingots.

XCV. If the Babylonian money be reduced to the ſtandard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate ſum will be found to be nine thouſand eight hundred and eighty talents in ſilver; and, eſtimating the gold at thirteen times [107] the value of ſilver, there will be found, according to the Euboic talent, four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty of theſe talents. The whole being eſtimated together, it will appear that the annual tribute [108] paid to Darius was fourteen thouſand

[107] *Thirteen times the value of ſilver.*]—The proportion of gold to ſilver varied at different times, according to the abundance of theſe two metals. In the time of Darius it was thirteen to one; in the time of Plato, twelve; and in the time of Menander, the comic poet, it was ten.—*Larcher.*

In the time of Julius Cæſar the proportion of gold to ſilver at Rome was no more than nine to one. This aroſe from the prodigious quantity of gold which Cæſar had obtained from the plunder of cities and temples. It is generally ſuppoſed amongſt the learned, that in the gold coin of the ancients one-fiftieth part was alloy.—*T.*

[108] *The annual tribute.*]—The compariſon of two paſſages in Herodotus (book i. chap. cxcii. and book iii. chaps. lxxxix. xcvi.) reveals an important difference between the *groſs* and the *net* revenue of Perſia, the ſums paid by the provinces, and the gold or ſilver depoſited in the royal treaſury. The monarch might

thouſand five hundred and ſixty talents, omitting many trifling ſums not deſerving our attention.

XCVI. Such was the ſum which Aſia principally, and Africa in ſome ſmall proportion, paid to Darius. In proceſs of time the iſlands alſo were taxed, as was that part of Europe which extends to Theſſaly. The manner in which the king depoſited theſe riches in his treaſury, was this:—The gold and ſilver was melted and poured into earthen veſſels; the veſſel, when full, was removed, leaving the metal in a maſs. When any was wanted, ſuch a piece was broken off as the contingence required.

XCVII. We have thus deſcribed the different ſatrapies, and the impoſt on each. Perſia is the only province which I have not mentioned as tributary. The Perſians are not compelled to pay any ſpecific taxes, but they preſent a regular gratuity. The Æthiopians who border upon Ægypt, ſubdued by Cambyſes in his expedition againſt the Æthiopian Macrobians, are ſimilarly circumſtanced, as are alſo the inhabitants of the ſacred town of Nyſſa, who have feſtivals in honour of Bacchus. Theſe Æthiopians, with their neighbours, reſemble in their cuſtoms the Calantian Indians: they have the ſame rites of ſepulture [109], and their dwellings are

might annually ſave three millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds of the ſeventeen or eighteen millions raiſed upon the people.—*Gibbon.*

[109] *The ſame rites of ſepulture.*]—The word in the text is σπερματι,

are ſubterraneous. Once in every three years theſe two nations preſent to the king two chœnices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twenty large elephants teeth, and five Æthiopian youths, which cuſtom has been continued to my time. The people of Colchos [110] and their neighbours, as far as mount Caucaſus, impoſed upon themſelves the payment of a gratuity. To this latter place the Perſian authority extends; northward of this their name inſpires no regard. Every five years the nations above-mentioned preſent the king with an hundred youths and an hundred virgins [111], which alſo has been continued within my remembrance. The Arabians contribute every year frankincenſe to the

σπερματι, which means grains: to ſay of two different nations that they uſe the ſame grain, ſeems ridiculous enough. Valcnaer propoſes to read σηματι, which ſeems obvious and ſatisfactory. —*T.*

[110] *The people of Colchos.*]—It was the boaſt of the Colchians, that their anceſtors had checked the victories of Seſoſtris, but they ſunk without any memorable effort under the arms of Cyrus, followed in diſtant wars the ſtandard of the great king, and preſented him every fifth year with a hundred boys and as many virgins, the faireſt produce of the land. Yet he accepted this *gift* like the gold and ebony of India, the frankincenſe of the Arabs, and the negroes and ivory of Æthiopia: The Colchians were not ſubject to the dominion of a ſatrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as ſubſtance of national independence.—*Gibbon.*

[111] *Hundred virgins.*]—The native race of Perſians is ſmall and ugly, but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circaſſian blood. This remark Mr. Gibbon applies to the Perſian women in the time of Julian. Amongſt modern travellers, the beauty of the Perſian ladies is a conſtant theme of praiſe and admiration.—*T.*

amount

amount of a thouſand talents.—Independent of the tributes before ſpecified, theſe were the preſents which the king received.

XCVIII. The Indians procure the great number of golden ingots, which, as I have obſerved, they preſent as a donative to the king, in this manner:—That part of India which lies towards the eaſt is very ſandy; and indeed, of all nations concerning whom we have any authentic accounts, the Indians are the people of Aſia who are neareſt the eaſt, and the place of the riſing ſun. The part moſt eaſtward, is a perfect deſert, from the ſand. Under the name of Indians many nations are comprehended, uſing different languages; of theſe ſome attend principally to the care of cattle, others not: ſome inhabit the marſhes, and live on raw fiſh, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint [112] makes one canoe. Theſe Indians have a dreſs made of ruſhes [113], which having

[112] *Every joint.*]—This aſſertion ſeems wonderful; but Pliny, book xvi. chap. 36, treating of reeds, canes, and aquatic ſhrubs, affirms the ſame, with this precaution indeed, "if it may be credited." His expreſſion is this:—Harundini quidem Indicæ arborea amplitudo, quales vulgo in templis videmus.—Spiſſius mari corpus, fœminæ capacius. Navigiorumque etiam vicem præſtant (ſi credimus) *ſingula internodia.*—*T.*

[113] *Cloaths made of ruſhes.*]—To trace the modern dreſs back to the ſimplicity of the firſt ſkins, and leaves, and feathers, that were worn by mankind in the primitive ages, if it were poſſible, would be almoſt endleſs; the faſhion has been often changed, while the materials remained the ſame: the materials have been different

having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuiraſs.

XCIX. To the eaſt of theſe are other Indians, called Padæi [114], who lead a paſtoral life, live on raw fleſh [115], and

different as they were gradually produced by ſucceſſive arts, that converted a raw hide into leather, the wool of the ſheep into cloth, the web of the worm into ſilk, and flax and cotton into linen of various kinds. One garment alſo has been added to another, and ornaments have been multiplied on ornaments, with a variety almoſt infinite, produced by the caprice of human vanity, or the new neceſſities to which man rendered himſelf ſubject by thoſe many inventions which took place after he ceaſed to be, as God had created him, upright.—See hiſtorical remarks on dreſs, prefixed to a collection of the dreſſes of different nations, ancient and modern.

The canoes and dreſſes here deſcribed, will ſtrike the reader as much reſembling thoſe ſeen and deſcribed by modern voyagers to the South Seas.—*T.*

[114] *Padæi.*]—

Impia nec ſævis celebrans convivia menſis
Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva Padæus.

Tibull. l. iv. 144.

[115] *On raw fleſh.*]—Not at all more incredible is the cuſtom ſaid to be prevalent among the Abyſſinians, of eating a ſlice of meat raw from the living ox, and eſteeming it one of the greateſt delicacies. The aſſertion of this fact by Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, has excited a clamour againſt him, and by calling his veracity in queſtion, has probably operated, amongſt other cauſes, to the delay of a publication much and eagerly expected. This very fact, however, is alſo aſſerted of the Abyſſinians by Lobo and Poncet. If it be allowed without reſerve, an argument is deducible from it, to prove that bullock's blood, in contradiction to what is aſſerted by our hiſtorian, in ch. 15. of this book, is not a poiſon; unleſs we ſuppoſe that the quantity thus taken

and are ſaid to obſerve theſe cuſtoms:—If any man among them be diſeaſed, his neareſt connections put him to death, alledging in excuſe that ſickneſs would waſte and injure his fleſh. They pay no regard to his aſſertions that he is not really ill, but without the ſmalleſt compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connections treat her in the ſame manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but to old age there are very few who arrive, for in caſe of ſickneſs they put every one to death.

C. There are other Indians, who, differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death [116], ſow no grain, have no fixed habitations, and live ſolely upon vegetables. They have a particular grain, nearly of the ſize of millet, which the ſoil ſpontaneouſly produces, which is protected by a calyx, the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of theſe be taken ſick, they retire to ſome ſolitude, and there remain, no one expreſſing the leaſt concern about them during their illneſs, or after their death.

CI. Among all theſe Indians whom I have ſpecified, the communication between the ſexes is like

taken into the ſtomach would be too ſmall to produce the effect. Lobo, as well as Mr. Bruce, affirms, that the Abyſſinians eat beef, not only in a raw ſtate, but reeking from the ox.—*T.*

[116] *Put no animal to death.*]—Nicolas Damaſcenus has preſerved the name of this people. He calls them Aritonians. —*Larcher.*

that of the beaſts, open and unreſtrained. They are all of the ſame complexion, and much reſembling the Æthiopians. The ſemen which their males emit is not, like that of other men, white, but black like their bodies [117], which is alſo the caſe with the Æthiopians. Theſe Indians are very remote from Perſia towards the ſouth, and were never in ſubjection to Darius.

CII. There are ſtill other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of Caſpatyrum, and the country of Pactyïca. Of all the Indians theſe in their manners moſt reſemble the Bactrians; they are diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by their bravery, and are thoſe who are employed in ſearching for the gold. In the vicinity of this diſtrict there are vaſt deſerts of ſand, in which a ſpecies of ants [118] is produced, not

[117] *Black like their bodies.*]—Semen ſi probe concoctum fuerit, colore album et ſplendens eſſe oportet, ut vel hinc pateat quam parum vere Herodotus ſcribat ſemen nigrum Æthiopes promere. *Rodericus a Caſtro de univerſa mulierum medicina.*—Ariſtotle had before ſaid the ſame thing, in his hiſtory of animals.—*Larcher.*

[118] *Species of ants.*]—Of theſe ants Pliny alſo makes mention, in the following terms:

"In the temple of Hercules, at Erythræ, the horns of an Indian ant were to be ſeen, an aſtoniſhing object. In the country of the northern Indians, named Dandæ, theſe ants caſt up gold from holes within the earth. In colour they reſemble cats, and are as large as the wolves of Ægypt. This gold, which they throw up in the winter, the Indians contrive to ſteal in the ſummer, when the ants, on account of the heat, hide themſelves under ground. But if they happen to ſmell them, the ants ruſh from

not ſo large as a dog, but bigger than a fox. Some of theſe, taken by hunting, are preſerved in the palace of the Perſian monarch. Like the ants common in Greece, which in form alſo they nearly reſemble, they make themſelves habitations in the ground, by digging under the ſand. The ſand thus thrown up is mixed with gold duſt, to collect which the Indians are diſpatched into the deſerts. To this expedition they proceed each with three camels faſtened together, a female being ſecured between two males, and upon her the Indian is mounted, taking particular care to have one which recently has foaled. The females of this deſcription are in all reſpects as

from their holes, and will often tear them in pieces, though mounted on their ſwifteſt camels, ſuch is the ſwiftneſs and fierceneſs they diſplay from the love of their gold."

Upon the above Larcher has this remark:—The little communication which the Greeks had with the Indians, prevented their inveſtigating the truth with reſpect to this animal; and their love of the marvellous inclined them to aſſent to this deſcription of Herodotus. Demetrius Triclinius ſays, on the Antigone of Sophocles, doubtleſs from ſome ancient Scholiaſt which he copies, that there are in India winged animals, named ants, which dig up gold. Herodotus and Pliny ſay nothing of their having wings. Moſt of our readers will be induced to conſider the deſcription of theſe ants as fabulous; nevertheleſs, de Thou, an author of great credit, tells us, that Shah Thomas, ſophi of Perſia, ſent, in the year 1559, to Soliman an ant like theſe here deſcribed.

They who had ſeen the vaſt neſts of the termites, or white ants, might eaſily be perſuaded that the animals which formed them were as large as foxes. The diſproportion between the inſect, though large, and its habitation, is very extraodinary. —*T.*

ſwift

ſwift as horſes, and capable of bearing much greater burdens [119].

CIII.

[119] *Greater burdens.*]—Of all the deſcriptions I have met with of this wonderful animal, the following, from Volney, ſeems the moſt animated and intereſting:—

No creature ſeems ſo peculiarly fitted to the climate in which it exiſts, as the camel. Deſigning the camel to dwell in a country where he can find little nouriſhment, nature has been ſparing of her materials in the whole of his formation. She has not beſtowed upon him the fleſhineſs of the ox, horſe, or elephant, but limiting herſelf to what is ſtrictly neceſſary, ſhe has given him a ſmall head without ears, at the end of a long neck without fleſh. She has taken from his legs and thighs every muſcle not immediately requiſite for motion, and in ſhort has beſtowed on his withered body only the veſſels and tendons neceſſary to connect its frame together. She has furniſhed him with a ſtrong jaw, that he may grind the hardeſt aliments; but, leſt he ſhould conſume too much, ſhe has ſtraitened his ſtomach, and obliged him to chew the cud. She has lined his foot with a lump of fleſh, which, ſliding in the mud, and being no way adapted to climbing, fits him only for a dry, level, and ſandy ſoil, like that of Arabia: ſhe has evidently deſtined him likewiſe for ſlavery, by refuſing him every ſort of defence againſt his enemies. So great, in ſhort, is the importance of the camel to the deſert, that were it deprived of that uſeful animal, it muſt infallibly loſe every inhabitant.—*Volney.*

With reſpect to the burdens which camels are capable of carrying, Ruſſel tells us, that the Arab camel will carry one hundred rotoloes, or five hundred pounds weight; but the Turcomans camel's common load is one hundred and ſixty rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds weight. Their ordinary pace is very ſlow, Volney ſays, not more than thirty-ſix hundred yards in an hour; it is needleſs to preſs them, they will go no quicker. Raynal ſays, that the Arabs qualify the camels for expedition by matches, in which the horſe runs againſt him; the camel, leſs active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long courſe. There is one peculiarity with reſpect to camels, which not being generally

CIII. As my countrymen of Greece are well acquainted with the form of the camel, I ſhall not here deſcribe it; I ſhall only mention thoſe particulars concerning it with which I conceive them to be leſs acquainted [120]. Behind, the camel has four thighs, and as many knee joints; the member of generation falls from between the hinder legs, and is turned towards the tail.

CIV. Having thus connected their camels, the Indians proceed in ſearch of the gold, chooſing the hotteſt time of the day as moſt proper for their purpoſe, for then it is that the ants conceal themſelves under the ground. In diſtinction from all other nations, the heat with theſe people is greateſt, not

rally known, I give the reader, as tranſlated from the Latin of Father Strope, a learned German miſſionary. "The camels which have had the honour to bear preſents to Mecca and Medina are not to be treated afterwards as common animals; they are conſidered as conſecrated to Mahomet, which exempts them from all labour and ſervice. They have cottages built for their abodes, where they live at eaſe, and receive plenty of food, with the moſt careful attention."—*T.*

[120] *To be leſs acquainted.*]—Theſe farther particulars concerning the camel, are taken from Mr. Pennant.

The one-bunched camel, is the Arabian camel, the two-bunched, the Bactrian. The Arabian has ſix calloſities on the legs, will kneel down to be loaded, but riſes the moment he finds the burden equal to his ſtrength. They are gentle always, except when in heat, when they are ſeized with a ſort of madneſs, which makes it unſafe to approach them. The Bactrian camel is larger and more generous than the domeſticated race. The Chineſe have a ſwift variety of this, which they call by the expreſſive name of Fong Kyo Fo, or camels with feet of the wind.

at

at mid-day, but in the morning. They have a vertical ſun till about the time when with us people withdraw from the forum [121]; during which period the warmth is more exceſſive than the mid-day ſun in Greece, ſo that the inhabitants are then ſaid to go into the water for refreſhment. Their mid-day is nearly of the ſame temperature as in other places; after which the warmth of the air becomes like the morning elſewhere; it then progreſſively grows

[121] *People withdraw from the forum.*]—The times of the forum were ſo exactly aſcertained, as to ſerve for a notation of time. The time of full forum is mentioned by many authors, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, and others, and is ſaid by Suidas to have been the third hour in the morning that is, nine o'clock; and Dio Chryſoſtom places it as an intermediate point between morning, or ſun-riſe, and noon, which agrees alſo with nine o'clock. One paſſage in Suidas ſpeaks alſo of the fourth, fifth, and ſixth hours; but either they were fora of different kinds, or the author is there miſtaken, or the paſſage is corrupt. See Ælian, xii. 30. and Athenæus, xiv. 1. the time of breaking up the forum, αλοεης διαλυσις, is not, I believe, mentioned, except here, by Herodotus; but by this paſſage it appears that it muſt have been alſo a ſtated time, and before noon; probably ten or eleven o'clock. This account of a ſun, hotter and more vertical in the morning than at noon, is ſo perfectly unphiloſophical, that it proves deciſively, what the hypotheſis of our author concerning the overflowing of the Nile gave ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect, that Herodotus was perfectly uninformed on ſubjects of this kind. Mid-day, or noon, can be only, at all places, when the ſun is higheſt and conſequently hotteſt, unleſs any clouds or periodical winds had been aſſigned as cauſes of this ſingular effect. Whoever fabricated the account he here repeats thought it neceſſary to give an appearance of novelty even to the celeſtial phenomena of the place.

Herodotus himſelf uſes the term of πληθωρα αγορης in book ii. ch. 173, and vii. 223.—*T.*

milder,

milder, till at the ſetting ſun it becomes very cool.

CV. As ſoon as they arrive at the ſpot, the Indians precipitately fill their bags with ſand, and return as expeditiouſly as poſſible. The Perſians ſay that theſe ants know and purſue the Indians by their ſmell, with inconceivable ſwiftneſs. They affirm, that if the Indians did not make conſiderable progreſs whilſt the ants were collecting themſelves together, it would be impoſſible for any of them to eſcape. For this reaſon, at different intervals [122], they ſeparate one of the male camels from the female, which are always fleeter than the males, and are at this time additionally incited by the remembrance of their young whom they had left. Thus, according to the Perſians, the Indians obtain their greateſt quantity of gold; what they procure by digging is of much inferior importance.

CVI. Thus it appears that the extreme parts of the habitable world are diſtinguiſhed by the poſſeſſion of many beautiful things, as Greece is for its agreeable and temperate ſeaſons. India, as I have already remarked, is the laſt inhabited country

[122] *At different intervals.*]—This paſſage is ſomewhat perplexing. The reader muſt remember that the Indian rode upon the female camel, which was betwixt two males. This being the ſwifteſt, he truſted to it for his own perſonal ſecurity; and it may be ſuppoſed that he untied one or both of the male camels, as the enemy approached, or as his fears got the better of his avarice.—*T.*

towards the eaſt, where every ſpecies of birds and of quadrupeds, horſes excepted [123], are much larger than in any other part of the world. Their horſes are not ſo large as the Niſæan horſes of Media. They have alſo a great abundance of gold, which

[123] *Horſes excepted.*]—Every thing of moment which is involved in the natural hiſtory of the horſe, may be found in M. Buffon. But, as Mr. Pennant obſerves, we may in this country boaſt a variety which no other ſingle kingdom poſſeſſes. Moſt other countries produce but one kind, while ours, by a judicious mixture of the ſeveral ſpecies, by the happy difference of our ſoil, and by our ſuperior ſkill in management, may triumph over the reſt of Europe in having brought each quality of this noble animal to the higheſt perfection. The ſame author tells us, that the horſe is in ſome places found wild; that theſe are leſs than the domeſtic kinds, of a mouſe colour, have greater heads than the tame, their foreheads remarkably arched, go in great herds, will often ſurround the horſes of the Mongals and Kalkas while they are grazing, and carry them away. Theſe are exceſſively vigilant: a centinel placed on an eminence gives notice to the herd of any approaching danger, by neighing aloud, when they all run off with amazing ſwiftneſs. Theſe are ſometimes taken by the means of hawks, which fix on their heads, and diſtreſs them ſo as to give the purſuers time to overtake them. In the interior parts of Ceylon is a ſmall variety of the horſe, not exceeding thirty inches in height, which is ſometimes brought to Europe as a rarity. It may not, in this place, be impertinent to inform the reader, that in the Eaſt the riding on a horſe is deemed very honourable, ſince Europeans are very ſeldom permitted to do it. In the book of Eccleſiaſtes, chap. x. ver. 7. we meet with this expreſſion, "I have ſeen ſervants on horſes," which we may of courſe underſtand to be ſpoken of a thing very unuſual and improper.

To conclude this ſubject, I have only to obſerve, that the Arabian horſes are juſtly allowed to be the fineſt in the world in point of beauty and of ſwiftneſs, and are ſent into all parts to improve the breed of this animal.—*T.*

they procure partly by digging, partly from the rivers, but principally by the method above deſcribed. They poſſeſs likewiſe a kind of plant, which, inſtead of fruit, produces wool [124], of a finer and better quality than that of ſheep: of this the natives make their cloaths.

CVII. The laſt inhabited country towards the ſouth, is Arabia, the only region of the earth which produces frankincenſe [125], myrrh, cinnamon [126],

[124] *Produces wool.*]—This was doubtleſs the cotton ſhrub, called by the ancients byſſus. This plant grows to the height of about four feet: it has a yellow flower, ſtreaked with red, not unlike that of the mallow; the piſtil becomes a pod of the ſize of a ſmall egg; in this are from three to four cells, each of which, on burſting, is found to contain ſeeds involved in a whitiſh ſubſtance, which is the cotton. The time of gathering the cotton is when the fruit burſts, which happens in the months of March and April. The ſcientific name of this plant is goſſypium.—*T.*

[125] *Frankincenſe.*]—This, of all perfumes, was the moſt eſteemed by the ancients; it was uſed in divine worſhip, and was in a manner appropriated to princes and great men. Thoſe employed in preparing it were naked, they had only a girdle about their loins, which their maſter had the precaution to ſecure with his own ſeal.—*T.*

[126] *Cinnamon*]—is a ſpecies of laurel, the bark of which conſtitutes its valuable part. This is taken off in the months of September and February. When cut into ſmall ſlices, it is expoſed to the ſun, the heat of which curls it up in the form in which we receive and uſe it. The berry, when boiled in water, yields, according to Raynal, an oil, which, ſuffered to congeal, acquires a whiteneſs. Of this candles are made, of a very aromatic ſmell, which are reſerved for the ſole uſe of the king of Ceylon, in which place it is principally found.—*T.*

caſia,

caſia [127], and ledanum [128]. Except the myrrh, the Arabians obtain all theſe aromatics without any conſiderable trouble. To collect the frankincenſe, they burn under the tree which produces it a quantity of the ſtyrax [129], which the Phœnicians export into Greece; for theſe trees are each of them guarded by a prodigious number of flying ſerpents, ſmall of body, and of different colours, which are diſperſed by the ſmoke of the gum. It is this ſpecies of ſerpent which in an immenſe body infeſts Ægypt.

CVIII. The Arabians, moreover, affirm, that their whole country would be filled with theſe ſerpents, if the ſame thing were not to happen with reſpect to them which we know happens, and, as it ſhould ſeem, providentially, to the vipers. Thoſe animals, which are more timid, and which ſerve for the purpoſe of food, to prevent their total conſumption are always remarkably proli-

[127] *Caſia.*]—This is, I believe, a baſtard kind of cinnamon, called in Europe caſſia lignea; the merchants mix it with true cinnamon, which is four times its value; it is to be diſtinguiſhed by a kind of viſcidity perceived in chewing it.—*T.*

[128] *Ledanum.*]—Ledanum, or ladanum, according to Pliny, was a gum made of the dew which was gathered from a ſhrub called lada.—*T.*

[129] *Styrax.*]—This is the gum of the ſtorax tree, is very aromatic, and brought to this country in conſiderable quantities from the Archipelago. It is obtained by making inciſions in the tree. The Turks adulterate it with ſaw-duſt. Another ſpecies of ſtorax is imported to Europe from America, and is procured from the liquid amber-tree.—*T.*

fic,

ſic [130]; which is not the caſe with thoſe which are fierce and venomous. The hare, for inſtance, the prey of every beaſt and bird, as well as of man, produces young abundantly. It is the ſingular property of this animal [131], that it conceives a ſecond time, when it is already pregnant, and at the ſame time carries in its womb young ones covered with down, others not yet formed, others juſt beginning to be formed, whilſt the mother herſelf is again ready to conceive. But the lioneſs, of all animals the ſtrongeſt and moſt ferocious, produces but one young one [132] in her life, for at the birth of her cub ſhe loſes her matrix. The reaſon of this ſeems to be, that as the claws of the lion are ſharper by much than thoſe of any other animal, the cub, as ſoon as it begins to ſtir in the womb, injures and tears the matrix, which it does ſtill more and more

[130] *Remarkably prolific.*]—See Derham's chapter on the balance of animals, *Phyſico-Theology*, b. iv. ch. x. and ch. xiv. §. 3.

[131] *The ſingular property of this animal.*]—With reſpect to the ſuperfœtation of this animal, Pliny makes the ſame remark, aſſigning the ſame reaſon. Lepus omnium prædæ naſcens, ſolus præter Daſypodem ſuperfœtat; aliud educans, aliud in utero pilis veſtitum, aliud implume, aliud inchoatum gerens pariter. This doctrine of ſuperfœtation is ſtrenuouſly defended by Sir T. Brown, in his Vulgar Errors; and, as far as it reſpects the animal in queſtion, is credited by Larcher: but Mr. Pennant very ſenſibly remarks, that as the hare breeds very frequently in the courſe of the year, there is no *neceſſity* of having recourſe to this doctrine to account for their numbers.—*T.*

[132] *But one young one.*]—This aſſertion is perfectly abſurd and falſe. The lioneſs has from two to ſix young ones, and the ſame lioneſs has been known to litter four or five times.—*T.*

as it grows bigger, ſo that at the time of its birth no part of the womb remains whole.

CIX. Thus, therefore, if vipers and thoſe winged ſerpents of Arabia were to generate in the ordinary courſe of nature, the natives could not live. But it happens, that when they are incited by luſt to copulate, at the very inſtant of emiſſion the female ſeizes the male by the neck, and does not quit her hold till ſhe has quite devoured it [33]. The male thus periſhes, but the female is alſo puniſhed; for whilſt the young are ſtill within the womb, as the time of birth approaches, to make themſelves a paſſage they tear in pieces the matrix, thus avenging their father's death. Thoſe ſerpents which are not injurious to mankind lay eggs, and produce a great quantity of young. There are vipers in every part of the world, but winged ſerpents are found only in Arabia, where there are great numbers.

CX. We have deſcribed how the Arabians procure their frankincenſe; their mode of obtaining the caſſia is this:—The whole of their body, and the face, except the eyes, they cover with ſkins of different kinds; they thus proceed to the place where it grows, which is in a marſh not very deep, but infeſted by a winged ſpecies of animal much reſembling a bat, very ſtrong, and making a hideous noiſe; they protect their eyes from theſe, and then gather the caſſia.

[33] *Quite devoured it.*]—This narrative muſt alſo be conſidered as entirely fabulous.—*T.*

CXI.

CXI. Their manner of collecting the cinnamon [134] is ſtill more extraordinary. In what particular ſpot it is produced, they themſelves are unable to certify. There are ſome who aſſert that it grows in the region where Bacchus was educated, and their mode of reaſoning is by no means improbable. Theſe affirm that the vegetable ſubſtance, which we, as inſtructed by the Phœnicians [135], call cinnamon,

[134] *Cinnamon.*]—The ſubſtance of Larcher's very long and learned note on this ſubject, may, if I miſtake not, be compriſed in very few words: by cinnamomum the ancients underſtood a branch of that tree, bark and all, of which the caſſia was the bark only. The cutting of theſe branches is now prohibited, becauſe found deſtructive of the tree. I have before obſerved, that of cinnamon there are different kinds; the caſſia of Herodotus was, doubtleſs, what we in general underſtand to be cinnamon, of which our caſſia, or caſſia lignea, is an inferior kind. —*T.*

[135] *As inſtructed by the Phœnicians.*]—I cannot reſiſt the pleaſure of giving at full length the note of Larcher on this paſſage, which detects and explains two of the moſt ſingular and unaccountable errors ever committed in literature.

"The above is the true ſenſe of the paſſage, which Pliny has miſtaken. He makes Herodotus ſay that the cinnamon and caſia are found in the neſts of certain birds, and *in particular of the phœnix.* Cinnamomum et caſias, fabuloſe narravit antiquitas, princepſve Herodotus, avium nidis et privatim phœnicis, in quo ſitu Liber Pater educatus eſſet, ex inviis rupibus arboribuſque decuti. The above paſſage from Pliny, Dupin has tranſlated, moſt ridiculouſly, 'l'antiquité fabuleuſe, et *le prince des menteurs*, Herodote, diſent,' &c. He ſhould have ſaid Herodotus firſt of all, for princeps, in this place, does not mean prince, and menteur cannot poſſibly be implied from the text of Pliny. Pliny had reaſon to conſider the circumſtance as fabulous, but he ought not to have imputed it to our hiſtorian, who

 ſays

mon, is by certain large birds carried to their nests constructed of clay, and placed in the cavities of inaccessible rocks. To procure it thence the Arabians have contrived this stratagem:—they cut in very large pieces the dead bodies of oxen, asses, or other beasts of burden, and carry them near these nests: they then retire to some distance; the birds soon fly to the spot, and carry these pieces of flesh to their nests, which not being able to support the weight, fall in pieces to the ground. The Arabians take this opportunity of gathering the cinnamon, which they afterwards dispose of to different countries.

CXII. The ledanum [136], or, as the natives term it,

says no such thing. But the authority of Pliny has imposed not only on Statius,

Phariæque exempta volucri
Cinnama,

where Pharia volucris means the phœnix; and on Avienus,

Internis etiam procul undique ab oris
Ales amica deo largum congessit amomum;

but also on Van Stapel, in his Commentaries on Theophrastus. Pliny had, doubtless, read too hastily this passage of Herodotus, which is sufficiently clear. Suidas and the Etymologicum Magnum, are right in the word κιναμωμον."

[136] *Ledanum.*]—The following further particulars concerning this aromatic are taken from Tournefort.

It is gathered by the means of whips, which have long handles, and two rows of straps; with these they brush the plants, and to these will stick the odoriferous glue which hangs on the leaves; when the whips are sufficiently laden with this glue, they take a knife and scrape it clean off the straps.

In

it, ladanum, is gathered in a more remarkable manner than even the cinnamon. In itſelf it is particularly fragant, though gathered from a place as much the contrary. It is found ſticking to the beards of he-goats, like the mucus of trees. It is mixed by the Arabians in various aromatics, and indeed it is with this that they perfume themſelves in common.

CXIII. I have thought it proper to be thus minute on the ſubject of the Arabian perfumes; and we may add, that the whole of Arabia exhales a moſt delicious fragrance. There are alſo in this country two ſpecies of ſheep, well deſerving admiration, and to be found no where elſe. One of them is remarkable for an enormous length of tail [137], extending to three cubits, if not more.

In the time of Dioſcorides, and before, they uſed to gather the ledanum not only with whips, but they alſo were careful in combing off ſuch of it as was found ſticking to the beards and thighs of the goats, which fed upon nothing but the leaves of the ciſtus.

The ledum is a ſpecies of ciſtus.

[137] *Enormous length of tail.*]—The following deſcription of the broad-tailed ſheep, from Pennant, takes away from the ſeeming improbability of this account.

"This ſpecies," ſays Mr. Pennant, "is common in Syria, Barbary, and Æthiopia. Some of their tails end in a point, but are oftener ſquare or round. They are ſo long as to trail on the ground, and the ſhepherds are obliged to put boards with ſmall wheels under the tails, to keep them from galling. Theſe tails are eſteemed a great delicacy, are of a ſubſtance between fat and marrow, and are eaten with the lean of the mutton. Some of theſe tails weigh 50 lb. each."

If they were permitted to trail them along the ground, they would certainly ulcerate from the friction. But the ſhepherds of the country are ſkilful enough to make little carriages, upon which they ſecure the tails of the ſheep: the tails of the other ſpecies are of the ſize of one cubit.

CXIV. Æthiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the ſouth-weſt. This produces gold in great quantities, elephants with their prodigious teeth, trees and ſhrubs of every kind, as well as ebony; its inhabitants are alſo remarkable for their ſize, their beauty, and their length of life.

CXV. The above are the two extremes of Aſia and Africa. Of that part of Europe neareſt to the weſt, I am not able to ſpeak with deciſion. I by no means believe that the Barbarians give the name of Eridanus[138] to a river which empties itſelf into the Northern Sea, whence, as it is ſaid, our amber comes. Neither am I better ac-

[138] *Eridanus.*]—Bellanger was of opinion, that Herodotus intended here to ſpeak of the Eridanus, a river in Italy; Pliny thought ſo too, and expreſſes his ſurprize that Herodotus ſhould be unable to meet with a perſon who had ſeen this river, although part of his life was ſpent at Thuria, in Magna Græcia.

But this very reflection ought to have convinced both Pliny and Bellanger, that Herodotus had another Eridanus in view.

The Eridanus here alluded to, could not poſſibly be any other than the Rho-daune, which empties itſelf into the Viſtula, near Dantzic, and on the banks of which amber is now found in large quantities.—*Larcher.*

quainted

quainted with the iſlands called the Caſſiterides [139], from which we are ſaid to have our tin. The name Eridanus is certainly not barbarous, it is of

[139] *Caſſiterides.*]—Pliny ſays theſe iſlands were thus called from their yielding abundance of lead; Strabo ſays, that they were known only to the Phœnicians; Larcher is of opinion that Great Britain was in the number of theſe.

The Phœnicians, who were exceedingly jealous of their commerce, ſtudiouſly concealed the ſituation of the Caſſiterides, as long as they were able; which fully accounts for the ignorance ſo honeſtly avowed by Herodotus. Camden and d'Anville agree in conſidering the Scilly Iſles as undoubtedly the Caſſiterides of the ancients. Strabo makes them ten in number, lying to the north of Spain; and the principal of the Scilly iſles are ten, the reſt being very inconſiderable. Dionyſius Periegetes expreſsly diſtinguiſhes them from the Britiſh iſles;

Νησες θ' Εσπεριδας τοθι κασσιτεροιο γενεθλη—
* * * * * * * *
Αλλαι δ' ωκεανοιο παραι Βορεωτιδας ακλας
Δισσαι νησοι εασι Βρεταννιδες.—v. 563.

Yet it is not an improbable conjecture of his commentator Hill, that the promontory of Cornwall might perhaps at firſt be conſidered as another iſland. Diodorus Siculus deſcribes the carrying of tin from the Caſſiterides, and from Britain, to the northern coaſt of France, and thence on horſes to Marſeilles, thirty days journey; this muſt be a new trade eſtabliſhed by the Romans, who employed great perſeverance to learn the ſecret from the Phœnicians. Strabo tells us of one Phœnician captain, who finding himſelf followed by a Roman veſſel, purpoſely ſteered into the ſhallows, and thus deſtroyed both his own ſhip and the other; his life, however, was ſaved, and he was rewarded by his countrymen for his patriotic reſolution.

Euſtathius, in his comment on Dionyſius, reckons alſo ten Caſſiterides; but his account affords no new proof, as it is manifeſtly copied from Strabo, to the text of which author it affords a remarkable correction.—*T.*

Greek derivation, and, as I ſhould conceive, introduced by one of our poets. I have endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to meet with ſome one who from ocular obſervation might deſcribe to me the ſea which lies in that part of Europe. It is nevertheleſs certain, that both our tin and our amber [140] are brought from thoſe extreme regions.

CXVI. It is certain that in the north of Europe there is a prodigious quantity of gold; but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty. It is affirmed indeed, that the Arimaſpi, a people who have but one eye, take this gold away violently from the griffins; but I can never perſuade myſelf that there are any men who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other reſpects the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much ſeems unqueſtionable, that theſe extreme parts of the world contain within themſelves things the moſt beautiful as well as rare.

CXVII. There is in Aſia a large plain, ſur-

[140] *Amber.*]—Amber takes its name from *ambra*, the Arabian name for this ſubſtance; the ſcience of electricity is ſo called from *electrum*, the Greek word for amber. This term of electricity is now applied not only to the power of attracting lighter bodies, which amber poſſeſſes, but to many other powers of a ſimilar nature. Amber is certainly not of the uſe, and conſequently not of the value, which it has been, but it is ſtill given in medicine, and is, as I am informed, the baſis of all varniſhes. It is found in various places, but Pruſſia is ſaid to produce the moſt and the beſt.—*T.*

rounded

rounded on every part by a ridge of hills, through which there are five different apertures. It formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, who inhabit those hills in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangensians, and Thomaneans; but after the subjection of these nations to Persia, it became the property of the great king. From these surrounding hills there issues a large river called Aces: this formerly, being conducted through the openings of the mountain, watered the several countries above mentioned. But when these regions came under the power of the Persians, the apertures were closed, and gates placed at each of them, to prevent the passage of the river. Thus on the inner side, from the waters having no issue, this plain became a sea, and the neighbouring nations, deprived of their accustomed resource, were reduced to the extremest distress from the want of water. In winter they, in common with other nations, had the benefit of the rains, but in summer, after sowing their millet and sesamum, they required water but in vain. Not being assisted in their distress, the inhabitants of both sexes hastened to Persia, and presenting themselves before the palace of the king, made loud complaints. In consequence of this, the monarch directed the gates to be opened towards those parts where water was most immediately wanted; ordering them again to be closed after the lands had been sufficiently refreshed: the same was done with respect to them all, beginning where moisture was wanted the most. I have, however, been informed, that this is only granted in consideration

conſideration of a large donative above the uſual tribute.

CXVIII. Intaphernes, one of the ſeven who had conſpired againſt the magus, loſt his life from the following act of inſolence. Soon after the death of the uſurpers, he went to the palace, with the view of having a conference with the king; for the conſpirators had mutually agreed, that, except the king ſhould happen to be in bed with his wife, they might any of them have acceſs to the royal preſence, without ſending a previous meſſenger. Intaphernes, not thinking any introduction neceſſary, was about to enter, but the porter and the introducing officer prevented him, pretending that the king was retired with one of his wives. He, not believing their aſſertion, drew his ſword, and cut off their ears and noſes; then taking the bridle from his horſe, he tied them together, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

CXIX. In this condition they preſented themſelves before the king, telling him why they had been thus treated. Darius, thinking that this might have been done with the conſent of the other conſpirators, ſent for them ſeparately, and deſired to know whether they approved of what had happened. As ſoon as he was convinced that Intaphernes had perpetrated this without any communication with the reſt, he ordered him, his ſon, and all his family, to be taken into cuſtody; having many reaſons to ſuſpect, that in concert with his friends he might

might excite a ſedition: he afterwards commanded them all to be bound, and prepared for execution. The wife of Intaphernes then preſented herſelf before the royal palace, exhibiting every demonſtration of grief. As ſhe regularly continued this conduct, her frequent appearance at length excited the compaſſion of Darius; who thus addreſſed her by a meſſenger: "Woman, king Darius offers you the "liberty of any individual of your family, whom you "may moſt deſire to preſerve." After ſome deliberation with herſelf, ſhe made this reply: "If the "king will grant me the life of any one of my fami-"ly, I chooſe my brother in preference to the reſt." Her determination greatly aſtoniſhed the king; he ſent to her therefore a ſecond meſſage to this effect: "The king deſires to know why you have "thought proper to paſs over your children and "your huſband, and to preſerve your brother; who "is certainly a more remote connection than your "children, and cannot be ſo dear to you as your "huſband?" She anſwered thus: "Oh king! if "it pleaſe the deity, I may have another huſband; "and if I be deprived of theſe, may have other "children; but as my parents are both of them "dead, it is certain that I can have no other bro-"ther [141]." The anſwer appeared to Darius very judicious;

[141] *I can have no other brother.*]—This very ſingular, and I do not ſcruple to add prepoſterous ſentiment, is imitated very minutely by Sophocles, in the Antigone. That the reader may the better underſtand, by comparing the different application of theſe words, in the hiſtorian and the poet, I ſhall ſubjoin a part of the argument of the Antigone.

Eteocles

judicious; indeed he was so well pleased with it, that he not only gave the woman the life of her brother, but also pardoned her eldest son: the rest were all of them put to death. Thus, at no great

Eteocles and Polynices were the sons of Œdipus, and successors of his power; they had agreed to reign year by year alternately; but Eteocles breaking the contract, the brothers determined to decide the dispute in a single combat: they fought and mutually slew each other. The first act of their uncle Creon, who succeeded to the throne, was to forbid the rites of sepulture to Polynices, denouncing immediate death upon whoever should dare to bury him. Antigone transgressed this ordinance, and was detected in the fact of burying her brother; she was commanded to be interred alive, and what follows is part of what is suggested by her situation and danger.

> And thus, my Polynices, for my care
> Of thee, am I rewarded, and the good
> Alone shall praise me: for a husband dead,
> Nor, had I been a mother, for my children
> Would I have dar'd to violate the laws.—
> Another husband and another child
> Might sooth affliction; but, my parents dead,
> A brother's loss could never be repair'd.
>
> *Franklin's Sophocles.*

The reader will not forget to observe, that the piety of Antigone is directed to a lifeless corpse, but that of the wife of Intaphernes to her living brother, which is surely less repugnant to reason, and the common feelings of the human heart, not to speak of the superior claims of duty.

There is an incident similar to this in Lucian:—See the tract called Toxaris, or Amicitia, where a Scythian is described to neglect his wife and children, whilst he incurs the greatest danger to preserve his friend from the flames. "Other children," says he, "I may easily have, and they are at best but a precarious blessing, but such a friend I could no where obtain."—T.

interval

interval of time, perished one of the seven conspirators.

CXX. About the time of the last illness of Cambyses, the following accident happened. The governor of Sardis was a Persian, named Orœtes, who had been promoted by Cyrus. This man conceived the atrocious design of accomplishing the death of Polycrates of Samos, by whom he had never in word or deed been injured, and whose person he never had beheld. His assigned motive was commonly reported to be this: Orœtes one day sitting at the gates of the palace [142] with another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, entered into a conversation with him, which at length terminated in dispute. The subject about which they contended was military virtue: "Can "you," says Mitrobates to Orœtes, "have any pre- "tensions to valour, who have never added Samos "to the dominions of your master, contiguous as it

[142] *At the gates of the palace.*]—In the Greek it is at the king's gate. The grandees waited at the gate of the Persian kings:—This custom, established by Cyrus, continued as long as the monarchy, and at this day, in Turkey, we say the Ottoman port, for the Ottoman court.—*Larcher.*

Ignorance of this custom has caused several mistakes, particularly in the history of Mordecai, in the book of Esther, who is by many authors, and even by Prideaux, represented as meanly situated when placed there. Many traces of this custom may be found in Xenophon's Cyropædia. Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, uses the expression of *those at the king's gate*, των επι θυραις βασιλεως, as a general designation for nobles and state officers.—See *Brisson, de Regno Persarum*, lib. i.—*T.*

"is

" is to your province; and which indeed may ſo " eaſily be taken, that one of its own citizens made " himſelf maſter of it, with the help of fifteen men " in arms, and ſtill retains the ſupreme authority?" This made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of Orœtes; but without meditating revenge againſt the perſon who had affronted him, he determined to effect the death of Polycrates, on whoſe account he had been reproached.

CXXI. There are ſome, but not many, who affirm that Orœtes ſent a meſſenger to Samos, to propoſe ſome queſtion to Polycrates, but of what nature is unknown; and that he found Polycrates in the men's apartment, reclining on a couch, with Anacreon of Teos[143] by his ſide. The man advanced to deliver his

[143] *Anacreon of Teos.*]—It is by no means aſtoniſhing to find, in the court of a tyrant, a poet who is eternally ſinging in praiſe of wine and love; his verſes are full of the encomiums of Polycrates. How different was the conduct of Pythagoras! That philoſopher, perceiving that tyranny was eſtabliſhed in Samos, went to Ægypt, and from thence to Babylon, for the ſake of improvement: returning to his country, he found that tyranny ſtill ſubſiſted; he went therefore to Italy, and there finiſhed his days.—*Larcher.*

This poet was not only beloved by Polycrates, he was the favourite alſo of Hipparchus the Athenian tyrant. And, notwithſtanding the inference which Larcher ſeems inclined to draw, from contraſting his conduct with that of Pythagoras, he was called σοφος by Socrates himſelf; and the terms ηφος και αγαθος, are applied to him by Athenæus. By the way, much as has been ſaid on the compoſitions of Anacreon by H. Stevens, Scaliger, M. Dacier, and others, many of the learned are in doubt whether

his meſſage; but Polycrates, either by accident, or to demonſtrate the contempt [144] in which he held Orœtes, continued all the time he was ſpeaking with his face towards to the wall, and did not vouchſafe any reply.

CXXII. Theſe are the two aſſigned motives for the deſtruction of Polycrates: every one will prefer that which ſeems moſt probable. Orœtes, who lived at Magneſia, which is on the banks of the Mæander [145], ſent Myrſus the Lydian, ſon of Gyges, with a meſſage to Polycrates at Samos. With the character of Polycrates Orœtes was well acquainted; for, except Minos [146] the Cnoſſian, or whoever before him accompliſhed it, he was the firſt Greek

ther the works aſcribed to him by the moderns are genuine. Anacreontic verſe is ſo called, from its being much uſed by Anacreon; it conſiſts of three Iambic feet and a half, of which there is no inſtance in the Lyrics of Horace.—See the Prolegomena to *Barnes's Anacreon*, §. 12.

144 *Demonſtrate the contempt.*]—This behaviour of Polycrates, which was doubtleſs intended to be expreſſive of contempt, brings to mind the ſtory of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who at an interview with the Grand Vizier, expreſſed his contempt and indignation by tearing the miniſter's robe with his ſpur, and afterwards leaving the apartment without ſaying a word.

145 *On the banks of the Mæander.*]—This is added in order to diſtinguiſh that city from the Magneſia on the Sipylus, lying between Sardes and Phocæa.

146 *Except Minos.*]—What Herodotus ſays of the maritime power of Minos, is confirmed by Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus. His teſtimony concerning Polycrates is ſupported alſo by Thucydides and Strabo.—*Larcher.*

who

who formed the design of making himself master of the sea. But as far as historical tradition may be depended upon, Polycrates is the only individual who projected the subjection of Ionia and the islands. Perfectly aware of these circumstances, Orœtes sent this message.

"OROETES to POLYCRATES.

" I understand that you are revolving some vast " project in your mind, but have not money respon- " sible to your views. Be advised by me, and you " will at the same time promote your own advan- " tage and preserve me. I am informed, and I be- " lieve it to be true, that king Cambyses has de- " termined on my death. Receive, therefore, me " with my wealth, part of which shall be at your " disposal, part at mine: with the assistance of this " you may easily obtain the sovereignty of Greece. " If you have any suspicions, send to me some one " who is in your intimate confidence, and he shall " be convinced by demonstration."

CXXIII. With these overtures Polycrates was so exceedingly delighted, that he was eager to comply with them immediately, for his love of money was excessive. He sent first of all, to examine into the truth of the affair, Mæandrius his secretary, called so after his father. This Mæandrius, not long afterwards, placed as a sacred donative in the temple of Juno, the rich furniture of the apartment of Polycrates. Orœtes, knowing the motive for which this

this man came, contrived and executed the following artifice: He filled eight chests nearly to the top with stones, then covering over the surface with gold, they were tied together [147], as if ready to be removed. Mæandrius on his arrival saw the above chests, and returned to make his report to Polycrates.

CXXIV. Polycrates, notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, and the remonstrances of his friends, was preparing to meet Orœtes, when his daughter in a dream saw this vision: She beheld her father aloft in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Terrified by this incident, she used every means in her power to prevent his going

[147] *Tied together.*]—Before the use of locks, it was the custom in more ancient times to secure things with knots: of these some were so difficult, that he alone who possessed the secret was able to unravel them. The famous Gordian knot must be known to every one; this usage is often also alluded to by Homer:

> Then bending with full force, around he roll'd
> A labyrinth of bands in fold on fold,
> Clos'd with Circæan art.

According to Eustathius, keys were a more modern invention, for which the Lacedæmonians are to be thanked.

Upon the above passage from Eustathius, Larcher remarks, that it is somewhat singular, that the Lacedæmonians, whose property was in common, should be the inventors of keys.

The version of Pope which I have given in the foregoing lines is very defective, and certainly inadequate to the expression of

> Αυτικ' επηρτυε πωμα θοως δειπι δ' εσμον ιηλει
> Ποικιλον, ον ποτε μιν δεδαε φρεσι ποτνια Κιρκη.—T.

to meet Orœtes; and as he was about to embark for this purpoſe, on board a fifty-oared galley, ſhe perſiſted in auguring unfavourably of his expedition. At this he was ſo incenſed, as to declare, that if he returned ſafe ſhe ſhould remain long unmarried. To this ſhe expreſſed herſelf very deſirous to ſubmit; being willing to continue long a virgin [148], rather than be deprived of her father.

CXXV. Polycrates, diſregarding all that had been ſaid to him, ſet ſail to meet Orœtes. He was accompanied by many of his friends, and amongſt the reſt by Democedes [149], the ſon of Calliphon; he was a phyſician of Crotona, and the moſt ſkilful practitioner of his time. As ſoon as Polycrates arrived at Magneſia, he was put to a miſerable death, unworthy of his rank and ſuperior endowments. Of all the princes who ever reigned in Greece, thoſe

[148] *Long a virgin.*]—To die a virgin, and without having any children, was amongſt the ancients eſteemed a very ſerious calamity. Electra in Sophocles enumerates this in the catalogue of her misfortunes:

Α τεκνος
Ταλαιν', ανεμφευτος αιεν οιχυῶ.—166.

Electra makes a ſimilar complaint in the Oreſtes of Euripides; as does alſo Polyxena at the point of death, in the Hecuba of Euripides.—*T.*

[149] *Democedes.*]—Of this perſonage a farther account is given in the fourth book. He is mentioned alſo by Ælian, in his Various Hiſtory, book viii. chap. 17; and alſo by Athenæus, book xii. chap. 4. which laſt author informs us, that the phyſicians of Crotona were, on account of Democedes, eſteemed the firſt in Greece.—See alſo chap. 131. of this book.—*T.*

of

of Syracuſe alone excepted, none equalled Polycrates in magnificence. Orœtes having baſely put him to death[150], fixed his body to a croſs; his attendant he ſent back to Samos, telling them, "They ought "to be thankful, that he had not made them ſlaves." The ſtrangers, and the ſervants of thoſe who had accompanied Polycrates, he detained in ſervitude. The circumſtance of his being ſuſpended on a croſs, fulfilled the viſion of the daughter of Polycrates: for he was waſhed by Jupiter, that is to ſay by the rain, and he was anointed by the ſun, for it extracted the moiſture from his body. The great proſperity of Polycrates terminated in this unfortunate death, which indeed had been foretold him by Amaſis king of Ægypt.

CXXVI. But it was not long before Orœtes paid ample vengeance to the manes of Polycrates. After the death of Cambyſes, and the uſurpation of the magi, Orœtes, who had never deſerved well of the Perſians, whom the Medes had fraudulently deprived of the ſupreme authority, took the advan-

[150] *Put him to death*]—The Perſians generally beheaded or flead thoſe whom they crucified: ſee an account of their treatment of Hiſtiæus, book vi. chap. 30. and of Leonidas, book vii. 238.—*T.*

The beautiful and energetic lines which Juvenal applied to Sejanus, are remarkably appoſite to the circumſtances and fate of Polycrates.

Quî nimios optabat honores,
Et nimias poſcebat opes, numeroſa parabat
Excelſæ turris tabulata, unde altior eſſet
Caſus, et impulſæ præceps immane ruinæ.—*T.*

tage of the diſorder of the times [151], to put to death Mitrobates, the governor of Daſcylium, and his ſon Cranapes. Mitrobates, was the perſon who had formerly reproached Orœtes; and both he and his ſon were highly eſteemed in Perſia. In addition to his other numerous and atrocious crimes, he compaſſed the death of a meſſenger, ſent to him from Darius, for no other reaſon but becauſe the purport of the meſſage was not agreeable to him. He ordered the man to be way-laid in his return, and both he and his horſe were ſlain, and their bodies concealed.

CXXVII. As ſoon as Darius aſcended the throne, he determined to puniſh Orœtes for his various enormities, but more particularly for the murder of Mitrobates and his ſon. He did not think it prudent to ſend an armed force openly againſt him, as the ſtate was ſtill unſettled, and as his own authority had been ſo recently obtained; he was informed, moreover, that Orœtes poſſeſſed conſiderable ſtrength: his government extended over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and he was regularly attended by a guard of a thouſand men. Darius was, therefore, induced to adopt this mode of proceeding: He aſſembled the nobleſt of the Perſians, and thus addreſſed them: "Which of "you, Oh Perſians! will undertake for me the "accompliſhment of a project which requires

[151] *Diſorder of the times.*]—For ἐν ταυτῃ τῃ ἀρχῃ, which prevailed in preceding editions, Weſſeling propoſes to read ἐν ταυτῃ ταραχῃ, which removes all perplexity.—*T.*

" ſagacity alone, without military aid, or any kind
" of violence; for where wiſdom is required force
" is of little avail? Which of you will bring me
" the body of Orœtes, alive or dead? He has never
" deſerved well of the Perſians; and, in addition to
" his numerous crimes, he has killed two of our
" countrymen, Mitrobates and his ſon. He has
" alſo, with intolerable inſolence, put a meſſenger
" of mine to death: we muſt prevent, therefore,
" his perpetrating any greater evils againſt us, by
" putting him to death."

CXXVIII. When Darius had thus ſpoken, thirty Perſians offered to accompliſh what he wiſhed. As they were diſputing on the ſubject, the king ordered the deciſion to made by lot, which fell upon Bagæus, the ſon of Artontes. To attain the end which he propoſed, he cauſed a number of letters to be written on a variety of ſubjects, and prefixing to them the ſeal of Darius, he proceed with them to Sardis. As ſoon as he came to the preſence of Orœtes, he delivered the letters one by one to the king's ſecretary; one of whom is regularly attendant upon the governors of provinces. The motive of Bagæus in delivering the letters ſeparately was to obſerve the diſpoſition of the guards, and how far they might be inclined to revolt from Orœtes. When he ſaw that they treated the letters with great reſpect [152], and their contents with ſtill

[152] *Treated the letters with great reſpect.*]—At the preſent period

ſtill greater, he delivered one to this effect: "Perſians, king Darius forbids your ſerving any longer "Orœtes as guards:" in a moment they threw down their arms. Bagæus, obſerving their prompt obedience in this inſtance, aſſumed ſtill greater confidence, he delivered the laſt of his letters, of which theſe were the contents: "King Darius commands "the Perſians who are at Sardis to put Orœtes to "death:" without heſitation they drew their ſwords and killed him. In this manner was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Orœtes the Perſian.

CXXIX. Upon the death of Orœtes, his effects were all of them removed to Suſa. Not long after which Darius, as he was engaged in the chace, in leaping from his horſe twiſted his foot with ſo much violence, that the ancle-bone was quite diſlocated. Having at his court ſome Ægyptians, ſuppoſed to be the moſt ſkilful of the medical profeſſion, he truſted to their aſſiſtance. They, however, encreaſed the evil, by twiſting and otherwiſe violently handling the part affected: from the extreme pain which he endured, the king paſſed ſeven days and as many nights without ſleep. In this ſituation, on the eighth day, ſome one ventured to recommend Democedes of Crotona, having before heard of his reputation at Sardis. Darius immediately ſent

rod the diſtinction obſerved with regard to letters in the Eaſt is this: thoſe ſent to common perſons are rolled up, and not ſealed; thoſe ſent to noblemen and princes are ſealed up, and enclоſed in rich bags of ſilk or ſattin curiouſly embroidered.—T.

for

for him: he was diſcovered amongſt the ſlaves of Orœtes, where he had continued in neglect, and was brought to the king juſt as he was found, in chains and in rags.

CXXX. As ſoon as he appeared, Darius aſked him if he had any knowledge of medicine? In the apprehenſion that if he diſcovered his art, he ſhould never have the power of returning to Greece, Democedes for a while diſſembled; which Darius perceiving, he ordered thoſe who had brought him to produce the inſtruments of puniſhment and torture. Democedes began then to be more explicit, and confeſſed that, although he poſſeſſed no great knowledge of the art, yet by his communication with a phyſician he had obtained ſome little proficiency. The management of the caſe was then entruſted to him; he accordingly applied ſuch medicines and ſtrong fomentations as were cuſtomary in Greece, by which means Darius, who began to deſpair of ever recovering the entire uſe of his foot, was not only enabled to ſleep, but in a ſhort time perfectly reſtored to health. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius preſented him with two pair of fetters of gold: upon which Democedes ventured to aſk the king, whether, in return for his reſtoring him to health, he wiſhed to double his calamity[153]? The king,

[153] *Double his calamity.*]—The ancients were very fond of this play upon words:—See in the Septem contra Thebas of Æſchylus, a play on the word Polynices:

king, delighted with the reply, ſent the man to the apartments of his women; the eunuchs who conducted him informed them, that this was the man who had reſtored the king to life; accordingly, every one of them taking out a vaſe of gold [154], gave it to Democedes with the caſe. The preſent was ſo very valuable, that a ſervant who followed him behind, whoſe name was Sciton, by gathering up the ſtaters which fell to the ground, obtained a prodigious ſum of money.

Οἳ δὴ τ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίην
Καὶ πολυνείκεις
Ὤλοντ' ἀτεβεῖ διανοίᾳ.—v. 835.

The particular point in this paſſage is omitted by Mr. Potter, probably becauſe he did not find it ſuited to the genius of the Engliſh language.

See alſo Ovid's deſcription of the flower:

Ipſe ſuos gemitus foliis inſcribit et ai ai
Flos habet inſcriptum. T.

[154] *Taking out a vaſe of gold.*]—This is one of the moſt perplexed paſſages in Herodotus; and the conjectures of the critics are proportionably numerous. The great difficulty conſiſts in aſcertaining what is deſigned by ὑποδυπλώσα and θηκη. The φιαλη appears to have been a jar or vaſe, probably itſelf of gold. Few have doubted that the paſſage is corrupt: the beſt conjectural reading gives this ſenſe, "that each, taking gold out of a cheſt in a vaſe, (φιαλη) gave it, vaſe and all, to Democedes. Ὑποδυπλώσα is thus made to ſignify plunging the vaſe among the gold to fill it, as a pitcher into water, which ſenſe is confirmed by good authorities. The idea more immediately excited by the word, is, that they ſtruck the bottom of the vaſe to ſhake out all the gold; but according to this interpretation, the vaſe itſelf is the θηκη, or caſe.—T.

CXXXI.

CXXXI. The following was what induced Democedes to forſake Crotona, and attach himſelf to Polycrates. At Crotona he ſuffered continual reſtraint from the auſtere temper of his father; this becoming inſupportable he left him, and went to Ægina. In the firſt year of his reſidence at this place he excelled the moſt ſkilful of the medical profeſſion, without having had any regular education, and indeed without the common inſtruments of the art. His reputation, however, was ſo great, that in the ſecond year the inhabitants of Ægina, by general conſent, engaged his ſervices at the price of one talent. In the third year the Athenians retained him, at a ſalary of one hundred minæ [155];

[155] *One hundred minæ.*]—Valcnaer ſuſpects that this place has been altered by ſome copyiſts. Athens, in the time of its greateſt ſplendor, allowed their ambaſſadors but two drachmæ a day, and a hundred drachmæ make but one mina. If when the Athenians were rich they gave no more to an ambaſſador, how is it likely that, when they were exceedingly poor, they ſhould give a penſion of a hundred minæ to a phyſician? Thus far Valcnaer. From this and other paſſages in the ancient writers, it appears that in remoter times it was uſual to hire phyſicians for the aſſiſtance of a whole city by the year. The fees which were given phyſicians for a ſingle incidental viſit, was very inconſiderable, as appears from the famous verſes of Crates, preſerved by Diogenes Laertius.

Τίθει μαγείρῳ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμὴν
Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβόλῳ καπνὸν
Πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

"To a cook 30*l.*; to a phyſician two groats; to a flatterer 900 *l.*; to a counſellor nothing; to a whore 180 *l.*; to a philoſopher a groat." The above is ſuppoſed to deſcribe part of the accounts of a man of fortune.—*T.*

and

and in the fourth year Polycrates engaged to give him two talents. His reſidence was then fixed at Samos; and to this man the phyſicians of Crotona are conſiderably indebted for the reputation which they enjoy; for at this period, in point of medical celebrity, the phyſicians of Crotona held the firſt, and thoſe of Cyrene the next place. At this time alſo the Argives had the credit of being the moſt ſkilful muſicians [156] of Greece.

CXXXII. Democedes having in this manner reſtored the king to health, had a ſumptuous houſe provided him at Suſa, was entertained at the king's own table, and, except the reſtriction of not being able to return to Greece, enjoyed all that he could wiſh. The Ægyptian phyſicians, who had before the care of the king's health, were on account of their inferiority to Democedes, a Greek, condemned to the croſs, but he obtained their pardon. He alſo procured the liberty of an Elean ſoothſayer, who having followed Polycrates was detained and neglected amongſt his other ſlaves. It may be added, that Democedes remained in the higheſt eſtimation with the king.

CXXXIII. It happened not long afterwards, that Atoſſa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Darius,

[156] *Muſicians.*]—Muſic was an important part of Grecian education. Boys till they were ten years old were taught to read by the grammatiſtes; they were then taught muſic three years by the citharistes; after their thirteenth year they learned the gymnaſtic exerciſes, under the care of the paidotades.—*T.*

had

had an ulcer upon her breaſt, which finally breaking ſpread itſelf conſiderably. As long as it was ſmall, ſhe was induced by delicacy to conceal it; but when it grew more troubleſome ſhe ſent for Democedes, and ſhewed it to him. He told her he was able to cure it; but exacted of her an oath, that in return ſhe ſhould ſerve him in what he might require, which he aſſured her ſhould be nothing to diſgrace her.

CXXXIV. Atoſſa was cured by his ſkill, and, obſervant of her own promiſe and his inſtructions, ſhe took the opportunity of thus addreſſing Darius, whilſt ſhe was in bed with him: "It is wonderful, "my lord, that having ſuch a numerous army at "command, you have neither encreaſed the power "of Perſia, nor at all extended your dominions. "It becomes a man like you, in the vigour of "your age, and maſter of ſo many and ſuch pow-"erful reſources, to perform ſome act which may "ſatisfy the Perſians of the ſpirit and virtue of "their prince. There are two reaſons which give "importance to what I recommend:—The one, "that your ſubjects may venerate the manly ac-"compliſhments of their maſter; the other, that "you may prevent the indolence of peace excit-"ing them to tumult and ſedition. Do not there-"fore conſume your youth in inactivity, for the "powers of the mind[157] increaſe and improve "with

[157] *Powers of the mind.*]—This opinion is thus expreſſed by

" with thoſe of the body; and in like manner as " old age comes on they become weaker and " weaker, till they are finally blunted to every " thing." " What you ſay[258]," anſwered Darius, " coincides with what was paſſing in my mind. I " had intended to make war againſt Scythia, and " to conſtruct a bridge to unite our continent with " the other, which things ſhall ſoon be executed." " Will it not, Sir," returned Atoſſa, " be better to " defer your intentions againſt the Scythians, who " will at any time afford you an eaſy conqueſt? " Rather make an expedition againſt Greece: I " wiſh much to have for my attendants ſome

by Lucretius, which I give the reader from the verſion of Creech.

> Beſides, 'tis plain that ſouls are born and grow,
> And all by age decay as bodies do:
> To prove this truth, in infants minds appear
> Infirm and tender, as their bodies are;
> In man the mind is ſtrong; when age prevails,
> And the quick vigour of each member fails,
> The mind's pow'rs too decreaſe and waſte apace,
> And grave and reverend folly takes the place. *T.*

[258] *What you ſay.*]—I have not tranſlated Ω γυναι, which is in the original, becauſe I do not think we have any correſpondent word in our language. Oh woman! would be vulgar; and according to our *norma loquendi*, Oh wife! would not be adequate. In the Ajax of Sophocles, v. 293, γυναι is uſed to expreſs contempt; but in the paſſage before us it certainly denotes tenderneſs. The addreſs of our Saviour to his mother proves this moſt ſatisfactorily:—See alſo Homer:

Και εμοι ταυτ' παντα μελει γυναι. —*T.*

" women

" women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Co-
" rinth, of whom I have heard ſo much. You
" have, moreover, in the man who healed the
" wound of your foot, the propereſt perſon in the
" world to deſcribe and explain to you every
" thing which relates to Greece." " If it be your
" wiſh," replied Darius, " that I ſhould firſt make a
" military excurſion againſt Greece, it will be pro-
" per to ſend thither previouſly ſome Perſians as
" ſpies, in company with the man to whom you
" allude. As ſoon as they return, and have in-
" formed me of the reſult of their obſervations,
" I will proceed againſt Greece."

CXXXV. Darius having delivered his ſenti-
ments, no time was loſt in fulfilling them. As ſoon
as the morning appeared he ſent for fifteen Perſians
of approved reputation, and commanded them, in
company with Democedes, to examine every part
of the ſea-coaſt of Greece, enjoining them to be
very watchful of Democedes, and by all means to
bring him back with them. When he had done
this, he next ſent for Democedes himſelf, and after
deſiring him to examine and explain to the Per-
ſians every thing which related to Greece, he en-
treated him to return in their company. All the
valuables which he poſſeſſed he recommended him
to take, as preſents to his father and his brethren,
aſſuring him that he ſhould be provided with a
greater number on his return. He moreover informed
him, that he had directed a veſſel to accompany him,
which

which was to be furniſhed with various things of value. In theſe profeſſions Darius, as I am of opinion, was perfectly ſincere; but Democedes, apprehending that the king meant to make trial of his fidelity, accepted theſe propoſals without much acknowledgment. He deſired, however, to leave his own effects, that they might be ready for his uſe at his return; but he accepted the veſſel which was to carry the preſents for his family. Darius, after giving theſe injunctions to Democedes, diſmiſſed the party to proſecute their voyage.

CXXXVI. As ſoon as they arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and loaded a large tranſport with different articles of wealth; after this they proceeded to Greece, examining the ſea-coaſts with the moſt careful attention. When they had informed themſelves of the particulars relating to the moſt important places in Greece, they paſſed over to Tarentum [159] in Italy. Here Ariſtophilides, prince of Tarentum, and a native of Crotona, took away the helms of the Median veſſels, and detained the Perſians as ſpies. Whilſt his companions were in this predicament, Democedes himſelf went to Crotona. Upon his arrival at his native place, Ariſtophilides gave the Perſians their

[159] *Tarentum.*]—Theſe places, with the ſlighteſt variation poſſible, retain their ancient names. We now ſay the gulph of Tarento, and Crotona is now called Cottrone.—*T.*

liberty,

liberty, and reſtored what he had taken from them.

CXXXVII. The Perſians, as ſoon as they recovered their liberty, ſailed to Crotona, in purſuit of Democedes, and meeting with him in the forum, ſeized his perſon. Some of the inhabitants, through fear of the Perſian power, were willing to deliver him up; others, on the contrary, beat the Perſians with clubs; who exclaimed, "Men of Crotona, "conſider what ye do, in taking away from us a "fugitive from our king. Do you imagine that "you will derive any advantage from this inſult to "Darius; will not rather your city be the firſt ob-"ject of our hoſtilities, the firſt that we ſhall plunder "and reduce to ſervitude?" Theſe menaces had but little effect upon the people of Crotona, for they not only aſſiſted Democedes to eſcape, but alſo deprived the Perſians of the veſſel which accompanied them. They were, therefore, under the neceſſity of returning to Aſia, without exploring any more of Greece, being thus deprived of their conductor. On their departure Democedes commiſſioned them to inform Darius, that he was married to a daughter of Milo, the name of Milo the wreſtler being well known to the Perſian monarch. To me it ſeems that he accelerated his marriage, and expended a vaſt ſum of money on the occaſion, to convince Darius that he enjoyed in his own country no mean reputation.

CXXXVIII. The Perſians, leaving Crotona, were

were driven by contrary winds to Japygia [160], where they were made ſlaves. Gillus, an exile of Tarentum, ranſomed them, and ſent them home to Darius. For this ſervice the king declared himſelf willing to perform whatever Gillus ſhould require, who accordingly explaining the circumſtances of his misfortune, requeſted to be reſtored to his country. But Darius thinking that if, for the purpoſe of effecting the reſtoration of this man, a large fleet ſhould be fitted out, all Greece would take alarm; he ſaid that the Cnidians would of themſelves be able to accompliſh it: imagining that as this people were in alliance with the Tarentines, it might be effected without difficulty. Darius acceded to his wiſhes, and ſent a meſſenger to Cnidos [161], requiring them to reſtore Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians were deſirous to ſatisfy Darius; but their ſolicitations had no effect on the Tarentines, and they were not in a ſituation to employ force.—Of theſe particulars the above is a faithful relation, and theſe were the firſt Perſians who, with the view

[160] *Japygia.*]—This place is now called Cape de Leuca. —*T.*

[161] *Cnidos.*]—At this remote period, when navigation was certainly in its infancy, it ſeems not a little ſingular that there ſhould be any communication or alliance between the people of Tarentum and of Cnidos. The diſtance is not inconſiderable, and the paſſage certainly intricate. Cteſias, the hiſtorian, was a native of Cnidos; here alſo was the beautiful ſtatue of Venus, by Praxiteles; here alſo was Venus worſhipped: Oh Venus regina Cnidi Paphique, &c.

It is now a very miſerable place, and called Cape Chio or Cnio.—*T.*

of

of examining the ſtate of Greece, paſſed over thither from Aſia.

CXXXIX. Not long afterwards Darius beſieged and took Samos. This was the firſt city, either of Greeks or barbarians, which felt the force of his arms, and for theſe reaſons: Cambyſes, in his expedition againſt Ægypt, was accompanied by a great number of Greeks. Some, as it is probable, attended him from commercial views, others as ſoldiers, and many from no other motive than curioſity. Among theſe laſt was Syloſon, an exile of Samos, ſon of Æaces, and brother of Polycrates. It happened one day very fortunately for this Syloſon, that he was walking in the great ſquare of Memphis with a red cloak folded about him. Darius, who was then in the king's guards, and of no particular conſideration, ſaw him, and was ſo delighted with his cloak, that he went up to him with the view of purchaſing it. Syloſon, obſerving that Darius was very ſolicitous to have the cloak, happily, as it proved for him, expreſſed himſelf thus:—"I "would not part with this cloak for any pecuniary "conſideration whatever; but if it muſt be ſo, I will "make you a preſent of it." Darius praiſed his generoſity, and accepted the cloak.

CXL. Syloſon for a while thought he had fooliſhly loſt his cloak, but afterwards when Cambyſes died, and the ſeven conſpirators had deſtroyed the Magus, he learned that Darius, one of theſe ſeven, had obtained the kingdom, and was the very man

to whom formerly at his requeſt, in Ægypt, he had given his cloak. He went, therefore, to Suſa, and preſenting himſelf before the royal palace, ſaid that he had once done a ſervice to the king. Of this circumſtance the porter informed the king; who was much aſtoniſhed, and exclaimed, "To what "Greek can I poſſibly be obliged for any ſervices? "I have not long been in poſſeſſion of my authority, "and ſince this time no Greek has been admitted "to my preſence, nor can I at all remember being "indebted to one of that nation. Introduce him, "however, that I may know what he has to ſay." Syloſon was accordingly admitted to the royal preſence; and being interrogated by interpreters who he was, and in what circumſtance he had rendered ſervice to the king, he told the ſtory of the cloak, and ſaid that he was the perſon who had given it. In reply, Darius exclaimed, "Are you then that ge- "nerous man, who, at a time when I was poſſeſ- "ſed of no authority, made me a preſent, which, "though ſmall, was as valuable to me then, as any "thing of importance would be to me now? I "will give you in return, that you may never re- "pent of your kindneſs to Darius, the ſon of Hyſ- "taſpes, abundance of gold and ſilver." "Sir," replied Syloſon, "I would have neither gold nor "ſilver; give me Samos my country, and deliver "it from ſervitude. Since the death of Polycrates "my brother, whom Orœtes ſlew, it has been in "the hands of one of our ſlaves. Give me this, Sir, "without any effuſion of blood, or reducing my "countrymen to ſervitude."

CXLI.

CXLI. On hearing this Darius ſent an army, commanded by Otanes, one of the ſeven, with orders to accompliſh all that Syloſon had deſired. Otanes proceeded to the ſea, and embarked with his troops.

CXLII. The ſupreme authority at Samos was then poſſeſſed by Mæandrius, ſon of Mæandrius, to whom it had been confided by Polycrates himſelf. He was deſirous of proving himſelf a very honeſt man, but the times would not allow him. As ſoon as he was informed of the death of Polycrates, the firſt thing he did was to erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator, tracing round it the ſacred ground, which may now be ſeen in the neighbourhood of the city. Having done this, he aſſembled the citizens of Samos, and thus addreſſed them: "You are well acquainted that Polycrates confided "to me his ſceptre and his power, which if I think "proper I may retain; but I ſhall certainly avoid "doing that myſelf which I deemed reprehenſible "in another. The ambition of Polycrates to rule "over men who were his equals, always ſeemed to "me unjuſt; nor can I approve of a like conduct in "any man. Polycrates has yielded to his deſtiny; and "for my part, I lay down the ſupreme authority, and "reſtore you all to an equality of power. I only "claim, which I think I reaſonably may, ſix talents "to be given me from the wealth of Polycrates, as "well as the appointment in perpetuity to me and "my poſterity of the prieſthood of Jupiter Libera-"tor, whoſe temple I have traced out; and then I re-

" ſtore you to liberty." When Mæandrius had thus ſpoken, a Samian exclaimed from the midſt of the aſſembly, " You are not worthy to rule over us, your " principles are bad, and your conduct reproachable. " Rather let us make you give an account of the " wealth which has paſſed through your hands." The name of this perſon was Teleſarchus, a man much reſpected by his fellow-citizens.

CXLIII. Mæandrius revolved this circumſtance in his mind; and being convinced that if he reſigned his power ſome other would aſſume it, he determined to continue as he was. Returning to the citadel, he ſent for the citizens, as if to give them an account of the monies which had been alluded to, inſtead of which he ſeized and confined them. Whilſt they remained in impriſonment Mæandrius was taken ill; his brother Lycaretus, not thinking he would recover, that he might the more eaſily ſucceed in his views upon Samos put the citizens who were confined to death; indeed it did not appear that they were deſirous of life under the government of a tyrant [162].

CXLIV. When, therefore, the Perſians arrived at Samos, with the view of reſtoring Syloſon, they had no reſiſtance to encounter. The Mæandrian faction expreſſed themſelves on certain conditions ready to ſubmit; and Mæandrius himſelf conſented

[162] *The government of a tyrant.*]—See Weſſeling's note and Paw's conjecture upon this paſſage.—*T.*

to leave the island. Their propositions were accepted by Otanes; and whilst they were employed in ratifying them, the principal men of the Persians had seats brought, on which they placed themselves in front of the citadel.

CXLV. Mæandrius had a brother, whose name was Charileus, who was of an untoward disposition, and for some offence was kept chained in a dungeon. As soon as he heard what was doing, and beheld from his place of confinement the Persians sitting at their ease, he clamorously requested to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius, hearing this, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him. As soon as he came into his presence, he began to reproach and abuse him, earnestly importuning him to attack the Persians. "Me," he exclaimed, "who am your brother, and who have "done nothing worthy of chains, you have most "basely kept bound in a dungeon; but on the "Persians, who would afford you an easy victory, "and who mean to drive you into exile, you dare "not take revenge. If your fears prevent you, give "me your auxiliary troops, who am equally disposed "to punish them for coming here, and to expel "you yourself from our island."

CXLVI. To this discourse Mæandrius gave a favourable ear, not, I believe, that he was absurd enough to imagine himself equal to a contest with the forces of the king, but from a spirit of envy

againſt Syloſon, and to prevent his receiving the government of Samos without trouble or exertion. He wiſhed, by irritating the Perſians, to debilitate the power of Samos, and then to deliver it into their hands; for he well knew that the Perſians would reſent whatever inſults they might receive upon the Samians, and as to himſelf he was cetain that whenever he pleaſed he could depart unmoleſted, for he had provided a ſecret path, which led immediately from the citadel to the ſea, by which he afterwards eſcaped. In the mean while Charileus, having armed the auxiliaries, opened the gates, and ſallied forth to attack the Perſians, who ſo far from expecting any thing of the kind, believed that a truce had been agreed upon, and was then in force. Upon theſe Perſians, who were ſitting at their eaſe, and who were perſons of diſtinction, the Samians ſallied, and put them to death; the reſt of the troops, however, ſoon came to their aſſiſtance, by whom the party of Charileus was repulſed, and obliged again to ſeek ſhelter in the citadel.

CXLVII. Otanes, the commander in chief, had hitherto obſerved the orders of Darius, not to put any Samian to death, or to take any priſoners, but to deliver the iſland to Syloſon, ſecure and without injury; but ſeeing ſo great a ſlaughter of his countrymen, his indignation prevailed, and he ordered his ſoldiers to put every Samian they could meet with to death, without any diſtinction of age. Immediately part of his forces blockaded the citadel, whilſt

whilſt another part were putting the inhabitants to the ſword, not ſuffering the ſacred places to afford any protection.

CXLVIII. Mæandrius leaving Samos, ſailed to Lacedæmon. On his arrival there with his wealth, he ſet in order his goblets of gold and ſilver, and directed his ſervants to clean them. Having entered into converſation with Cleomenes [163], ſon of Anaxandrides, the king of Sparta, he invited him to his houſe. Cleomenes ſaw his plate, and was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. Mæandrius deſired him to accept of what he pleaſed [164]; but Cleomenes was

[163] *Cleomenes,*]—Of this Cleomenes a memorable ſaying is preſerved in the Apophthegms of Plutarch. It relates to Homer and Heſiod, the former he called the poet of the Lacedæmonians, the latter the poet of the Helots, or the ſlaves; becauſe Homer gave directions for military conduct, Heſiod about the cultivation of the earth.—*T.*

[164] *To accept of what he pleaſed.*]—This ſelf-denial will appear leſs extraordinary to an Engliſh reader, when he is informed, that according to the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, it was a capital offence for a Spartan to have any gold or ſilver in his poſſeſſion. This we learn from Xenophon; and it is alſo aſcertained by the following paſſage from Athenæus, ſee the ſixth book of the Deipnoſoph: "The divine Plato and Lycurgus of Sparta would not ſuffer in their republics either gold or ſilver, thinking that of all the metals iron and braſs were ſufficient." Plutarch, in the life of Lyſander, tells us of a man named Therax, who, though the friend and colleague of Lyſander, was put to death by the ephori, becauſe ſome ſilver was found in his houſe. The ſelf-denial, therefore, or rather forbearance of the ancient Romans, amongſt whom no ſuch interdiction exiſted, ſeems better entitled to our praiſe. This ſumptuary law with reſpect

was a man of the ſtricteſt probity, and although Mæandrius perſiſted in importuning him to take ſomething, he would by no means conſent; but hearing that ſome of his fellow-citizens had received preſents from Mæandrius, he went to the ephori, and gave it as his opinion, that it would be better for the intereſts of Sparta to expel this Samian from the Peloponneſe, leſt either he himſelf, or any other Spartan, ſhould be corrupted by him. The advice of Cleomenes was generally approved, and Mæandrius received a public order to depart.

CXLIX. When the Perſians had taken the Samians as in a net[165], they delivered the iſland to Syloſon almoſt without an inhabitant[166]. After a certain interval, however, Otanes, the Perſian general, re-peopled it, on account of ſome viſion which he had, as well as from a diſorder which ſeized his privities.

CL. Whilſt the expedition againſt Samos was on foot, the Babylonians, being very well pre-

to gold and ſilver, took its riſe from an oracle, which affirmed that the deſtruction of Sparta would be owing to its avarice:—it was this,

Α' φιλοχρηματια Σπαρταν ὀλεῖ. *T.*

[165] *As in a net.*]—The Greek is σαγηνευσαντες, which was the cuſtom of the Perſians, and was alſo done with reſpect to the iſlands of Chios, Leſbos, and Tenedos, ſee book vi. chap. 31, where their manner of doing it is deſcribed.—*T.*

[166] *Without an inhabitant.*]—Strabo imputes this want of inhabitants to the cruelty of Syloſon, and not to the ſeverity of the Perſians.—*Larcher.*

pared,

pared, revolted. During the reign of the Magus, and whilſt the ſeven were engaged in their conſpiracy againſt him, they had taken advantage of the confuſion of the times to provide againſt a ſiege, and their exertions had never been diſcovered. When they had once reſolved on the recovery of their liberties, they took this meaſure:—Excepting their mothers, every man choſe from his family the female whom he liked beſt, the remainder were all of them aſſembled together, and ſtrangled [167]. Their reſerve of one woman was to bake their bread [168]; the reſt were deſtroyed to prevent a famine.

CLI. On the firſt intelligence of this event, Darius aſſembled his forces, and marched againſt them: on his arrival before the city, he beſieged it in form. This, however, made ſo little impreſſion upon them, that they aſſembled upon the ramparts, amuſed themſelves with dancing, and treated Darius and his army with the extremeſt contempt. One amongſt them exclaimed, "Perſians, why do

[167] *Aſſembled together and ſtrangled.*]—Prideaux, making mention of this ſtrange and unnatural action, omits informing his readers that the Babylonians made an exception in favour of their mothers; but by this barbarous action the prophecy of Iſaiah againſt this people was very ſignally fulfilled:—

"But theſe two things ſhall come to thee in a moment, in one day, the loſs of children and widowhood; they ſhall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy ſorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments." Iſaiah, xlvii. 9.—*T.*

[168] *Bake their bread.*]—This anciently was the employment of the women, ſee book vii. chap. 187.—*T.*

"you

"you loſe your time? if you be wiſe, depart. When "mules produce young[169] you ſhall take Baby-"lon." This was the ſpeech of a Babylonian, not believing ſuch a thing poſſible.

CLII. A whole year and ſeven months having been conſumed before the place, Darius and his army began to be hopeleſs with reſpect to the event. They had applied all the offenſive engines, and every ſtratagem, particularly thoſe which Cyrus had before ſucceſsfully uſed againſt the Babylonians; but every attempt proved ineffectual, from the unremitting vigilance of the beſieged.

CLIII. In the twentieth month of the ſiege, the following remarkable prodigy happened to Zopyrus,

[169] *Mules produce young.*]—Upon this paſſage M. Larcher remarks, that mules but ſeldom engender. As I have never ſeen nor heard of any well-authenticated account of ſuch a circumſtance, I give the reader the following paſſage from Pennant, with ſome confidence of its being invariably the caſe. "Neither mules, nor the ſpurious offſpring of any other animal, generate any farther: all theſe productions may be looked upon as monſters; therefore, nature, to preſerve the original ſpecies of animals entire and pure, wiſely ſtops, in inſtances of deviation, the powers of propagation."

What Theophraſtus or Pliny may have aſſerted, in contradiction to the above, will weigh but very little againſt the unqualified aſſertion of ſo able a naturaliſt as Mr. Pennant. The circumſtance was ever conſidered as a prodigy, as appears from the following lines of Juvenal:

Egregium, ſanctumque virum ſi cerno, bimembri
Hoc monſtrum puero, vel miranti ſub aratro
Piſcibus inventis et *fœtæ* comparo *mulæ*.—*T.*

ſon

ſon of Megabyzus, who was one of the ſeven that dethroned the Magus: one of the mules employed to carry his proviſions produced a young one; which, when it was firſt told him, he diſbelieved, and deſired to ſee it; forbidding thoſe who had witneſſed the fact to diſcloſe it, he revolved it ſeriouſly in his mind; and remembering the words of the Babylonian, who had ſaid the city ſhould be taken when a mule brought forth, he from this conceived that Babylon was not impregnable. The ſaying itſelf, and the mule's having a young one, ſeemed to indicate ſomething preternatural.

CLIV. Having ſatisfied himſelf that Babylon might be taken, he went to Darius, and enquired if the capture of this city was of particular importance to him. Hearing that it really was, he began to think how he might have the honour of effecting it by himſelf; for in Perſia there is no more certain road to greatneſs, than by the performance of illuſtrious actions. He conceived there was no more probable means of obtaining his end, than firſt to mutilate himſelf, and thus paſs over to the enemy. He made no ſcruple to wound himſelf beyond the power of being healed, for he cut off his noſe and his ears, and clipping his hair cloſe, ſo as to give it a mean appearance [170], he ſcourged himſelf; and

[170] *To give it a mean appearance.*]—I do not remember an inſtance of the hair being cut off as a puniſhment; it was frequently

and in this condition preſented himſelf before Darius.

CLV. When the king beheld a man of his illuſtrious rank in ſo deplorable a condition, he inſtantly leaped in anger from his throne [171], and aſked who had dared to treat him with ſuch barbarity? Zopyrus made this reply, "No man, Sir, except "yourſelf, could have this power over my perſon; "I alone have thus disfigured my body, which I "was prompted to do from vexation at beholding "the Aſſyrians thus mock us."—"Wretched man," anſwered the king, "do you endeavour to diſguiſe "the ſhameful action you have perpetrated under "an honourable name? Do you ſuppoſe that becauſe "you have thus deformed yourſelf, the enemy will "the ſooner ſurrender? I fear what you have done "has been occaſioned by ſome defect of your rea-

quently done as expreſſive of mourning in the moſt remote times; and it was one characteriſtic mark of the ſervile condition. See Juvenal, ſat. v. book i. 170.

Omnia ferre
Si potes et debes pulſandum *vertice raſo*
Præbebis quandoque caput, nec dura tenebis
Flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico. *T.*

[171] *Leaped in anger from his throne.*]—This incident, with the various circumſtances attending it, properly conſidered, would furniſh an artiſt with an excellent ſubject for an hiſtorical painting—The city of Babylon at a diſtance, the Perſian camp, the king's tent, himſelf and principal nobles in deep conſultation, with the ſudden appearance of Zopyrus in the mutilated condition here deſcribed, might ſurely be introduced and arranged with the moſt admirable effect.—*T.*

"ſon."

" ſon." " Sir," anſwered Zopyrus, " if I had " previouſly diſcloſed to you my intentions, you " would have prevented their accompliſhment; my " preſent ſituation is the reſult of my own determi- " nation only. If you do not fail me, Babylon is " our own. I propoſe to go, in the condition in " which you ſee me, as a deſerter to the Babyloni- " ans: it is my hope to perſuade them that I have " ſuffered theſe cruelties from you, and that they " will, in conſequence, give me ſome place of mi- " litary truſt. Do you, on the tenth day after my " departure, detach to the gate of Semiramis [172] a " thouſand men of your army, whoſe loſs will be of " no conſequence; at an interval of ſeven days more " ſend to the Ninian gates other two thouſand; again, " after twenty days, let another party, to the number " of four thouſand, be ordered to the Chaldean gates, " but let none of theſe detachments have any wea-

[172] *The gate of Semiramis.*]—Mr. Bryant's remark on this word is too curious to be omitted:—

Semiramis was an emblem, and the name was a compound, of Sama-Ramas, or Ramis: it ſignified the divine token, the type of providence; and as a military enſign, it may with ſome latitude be interpreted the ſtandard of the Moſt High. It conſiſted of the figure of a dove, which was probably encircled with the Iris, as thoſe two emblems were often repreſented together. All who went under that ſtandard, or who payed any deference to that emblem, were ſtiled Semarim and Samorim. One of the gates of Babylon was ſtiled the gate of Semiramis, undoubtedly from having the ſacred emblem of Sama-Ramas, or the dove, engraved by way of diſtinction over it. Probably the lofty obeliſk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, was named from the ſame hieroglyphic.

" pons

"pons but their ſwords; after this laſt-mentioned "period, let your whole army advance, and ſurround "the walls. At the Belidian and Ciſſian gates be "careful that Perſians are ſtationed. I think that "the Babylonians, after witneſſing my exploits in "the field, will entruſt me with the keys of thoſe "gates. Doubt not but the Perſians, with my aid, "will then accompliſh the reſt."

CLVI. After giving theſe injunctions, he proceeded towards the gates; and, to be conſiſtent in the character which he aſſumed [173], he frequently ſtopped to look behind him. The centinels on the watch-towers, obſerving this, ran down to the gate,

[173] *The character which he aſſumed.*]—Many circumſtances in hiſtory of Zopyrus reſemble thoſe of Sinon in the Æneid.

——— Qui ſe ignotum venientibus ultro
Hoc ipſum ut ſtrueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis,
Obtulerat, fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus
Seu verſare dolos, ſeu certæ occumbere morti.—

Both tell a miſerable tale of injuries received from their countrymen, and both affect an extraordinary zeal to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their natural enemies.

Sinon ſays of himſelf

Cui neque apud Danaos uſquam locus, & ſuper ipſi
Dardanidæ infenſi pœnas cum ſanguine poſcunt.—

Again he ſays,

Fas mihi Graiorum ſacrata reſolvere jura,
Fas odiſſe viros, atque omnia ferre ſub auras
Si qua tegunt: teneor patriæ nec legibus ullis. T.

which,

which, opening a little, they enquired who he was, and what he wanted? When he told them his name was Zopyrus, and that he had deſerted from the Perſians, they conducted him before their magiſtrates. He then began a miſerable tale of the injuries he had ſuffered from Darius, for no other reaſon but that he had adviſed him to withdraw his army, ſeeing no likelihood of his taking the city. "And now," ſays he, "ye men of Babylon, I come a friend "to you, but a fatal enemy to Darius and his "army. I am well acquainted with all his de- "ſigns, and his treatment of me ſhall not be un- "revenged."

CLVII. When the Babylonians beheld a Perſian of ſuch high rank deprived of his ears and his noſe, covered with wounds and blood, they entertained no doubts of his ſincerity, or of the friendlineſs of his intentions towards them. They were prepared to accede to all that he deſired; and on his requeſting a military command, they gave it him without heſitation. He then proceeded to the execution of what he had concerted with Darius. On the tenth day, at the head of ſome Babylonian troops, he made a ſally from the town, and encountering the Perſians, who had been ſtationed for this purpoſe by Darius, he put every one of them to death. The Babylonians, obſerving that his actions correſponded with his profeſſions, were full of exultation, and were ready to yield him the moſt implicit obedience. A ſecond time, at the head of a choſen detachment

tachment of the beſieged, he advanced from the town at the time appointed, and ſlew the two thouſand ſoldiers of Darius. The joy of the citizens at this ſecond exploit was ſo extreme, that the name of Zopyrus reſounded with praiſe from every tongue. The third time alſo, after the number of days agreed upon had paſſed, he led forth his troops, attacked and ſlaughtered the four thouſand. Zopyrus, after this, was every thing with the Babylonians, ſo that they made him the commander of their army, and guardian of their walls.

CLVIII. At the time appointed Darius advanced with all his forces to the walls. The perfidy of Zopyrus then became apparent; for as ſoon as the Babylonians mounted the wall to repel the Perſian aſſault, he immediately opened to his countrymen what are called the Belidian and Ciſſian gates. Thoſe Babylonians who ſaw this tranſaction fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; they who ſaw it not, continued in their poſts, till the circumſtance of their being betrayed became notorious to all.

CLIX. Thus was Babylon a ſecond time taken. As ſoon as Darius became maſter of the place [174], he

[174] *Maſter of the place.*]—Plutarch informs us, in his Apophthegms, that Xerxes being incenſed againſt the Babylonians for revolting, after having conquered them a ſecond time forbad their

he levelled the walls, and took away the gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done before. Three thouſand of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility he ordered to be crucified; the reſt were ſuffered to continue where they were. He took care alſo to provide them with women, for the Babylonians, as we have before remarked, to prevent a famine had ſtrangled their wives. Darius ordered the neighbouring nations to ſend females to Babylon, each being obliged to furniſh a ſtipulated number. Theſe in all amounted to fifty thouſand, from whom the Babylonians of the preſent day are deſcended.

CLX. With reſpect to the merit of Zopyrus, in the opinion of Darius it was exceeded by no Perſian of any period, unleſs by Cyrus; to him, indeed, he thought no one of his countrymen could poſſibly be compared. It is affirmed of Darius, that he uſed frequently to aſſert, that he would rather Zopyrus had ſuffered no injury, than have been maſter of twenty Babylons more. He rewarded him magnificently: every year he preſented him with the gifts deemed moſt honourable in Perſia; he made him alſo governor of Babylon for life, free from

their carrying arms, and commanded them to employ their time in ſinging, muſic, and all kinds of diſſipation, &c.

The Babylonians did not revolt under Xerxes. Plutarch aſſigns to him a fact, which regards Darius; however this may be, after the reduction of Babylon the Perſian monarchs fixed their reſidence in three great cities; the winter they paſſed at Babylon, the ſummer at Media, doubtleſs at Ecbatane, and the greater part of the ſpring at Suſa.—*Larcher.*

the payment of any tribute, and to theſe he added other marks of liberality. Megabyzus, who commanded in Ægypt againſt the Athenians and their allies, was a ſon of this Zopyrus, which Megabyzus had a ſon named Zopyrus [175], who deſerted from the Perſians to the Athenians.

175 *A ſon named Zopyrus.*]—Zopyrus, ſon of Megabyzus, and grandſon of the famous Zopyrus, revolted from Artaxerxes after the death of his father and mother, and advanced towards Athens, on account of the friendſhip which ſubſiſted betwixt his mother and the Athenians. He went by ſea to Caunus, and commanded the inhabitants to give up the place to the Athenians who were with him. The Caunians replied, that they were willing to ſurrender it to him, but they refuſed to admit any Athenians. Upon this he mounted the wall; but a Caunian, named Alcides, knocked him on the head with a ſtone. His grandmother Ameſtris afterwards crucified this Caunian.—*Larcher.*

THE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

CHAP. I.

ARIUS, after the capture of Babylon, undertook an expedition againſt Scythia. Aſia was now both populous and rich, and he was deſirous of avenging on the Scythians the injuries they had formerly committed by entering Media, and defeating thoſe who oppoſed them. During a period of twenty-eight years, the Scythians, as I have before remarked, retained the ſovereignty of the Upper Aſia, entering into which, when in purſuit of the Cimmerians [1], they expelled the Medes, its ancient poſſeſſors.

1 *Cimmerians.*]—From this people came the proverb of Cimmerian darkneſs.

We reach'd old ocean's utmoſt bounds,
Where rocks controul his waves with ever-during mounds;

poſſeſſors. After this long abſence from their country, the Scythians were deſirous to return, but here as great a labour awaited them as they had experienced in their expedition into Media; for the women, deprived ſo long of their huſbands, had connected themſelves with their ſlaves, and they found a numerous body in arms ready to diſpute their progreſs.

There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The duſky nation of Cimmeria dwells.
The ſun ne'er views th' uncomfortable ſeats,
When radiant he advances or retreats.
Unhappy race! whom endleſs night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in ſhades.
Odyſſ. book xi.

Of this proverb Ammianus Marcellinus makes a happy uſe, when cenſuring the luxury and effeminacy of the Roman nobility. "If," ſays he, (I uſe the verſion of Mr. Gibbon) "a fly ſhould preſume to ſettle in the ſilken folds of their gilded umbrellas, ſhould a ſun-beam penetrate through ſome unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardſhips, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians, the regions of eternal darkneſs."

Ovid alſo chooſes the vicinity of Cimmeria as the propereſt place for the palace of the god of ſleep.

Eſt prope Cimmerios, longo ſpelunca receſſu,
Mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni,
Quo nunquam radiis oriens, mediuſve, cadenſve
Phœbus adire poteſt, nebulæ caligine mixtæ
Exhalantur humo, dubiæque crepuſcula lucis.

The region aſſigned to this people in ancient geography was part of European Scythia, now called Little Tartary.—*T.*

II.

II. It is a cuſtom with the Scythians to deprive all their ſlaves of ſight [2] on account of the milk [3], which is their cuſtomary drink. They have a parti-

[2] *Deprive all their ſlaves of ſight.*]—Barbarous as this conduct will appear to every humane reader, although practiſed amongſt an uncivilized race of men, he will be far more ſhocked when I remind him that in the moſt refined period of the Roman empire thoſe who were deemed the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous of mankind did not ſcruple to uſe their ſlaves with yet more atrocious cruelty. It was cuſtomary at Rome to expoſe ſlaves who were ſick, old, and uſeleſs, to periſh miſerably in an iſland of the Tyber. Plutarch tells us, in his Life of Cato, that it was his cuſtom to ſell his old ſlaves for any price, to get rid of the burden. They were employed, and frequently in chains, in the moſt laborious offices, and for trivial offences, and not ſeldom on mere ſuſpicion, were made to expire under the moſt horrid tortures that can be imagined.—*T.*

[3] *On account of the milk.*]—Of this people Homer ſpeaks in the following lines.

> And where the far-fam'd Hippomolgian ſtrays,
> Renown'd for juſtice and for length of days,
> Thrice happy race, that, innocent of blood,
> From milk innoxious ſeek their ſimple food.—*Il.* xiii.

Upon this ſubject Larcher gives the following paſſage from Niebuhr:—

"J'entendis et vis moi-même, à Baſra, que lorſq'un Arabe trait la femelle du buſle, un autre lui fourre la main et le bras juſqu'au coude, dans la vulva, parce qu'on prétend ſavoir par expérience qu'étant chatouillée de la ſorte, elle donne plus de lait. Cette methode reſſemble beaucoup a celle des Scythes."—We learn, from ſome lines of Antiphanes, preſerved in Athenæus, that the Scythians gave this milk to their children as ſoon as they were born.

> Ειτ' ε σοφοι δητ εισιν οι Σκυθαι σφοδρα;
> Οι γενομενοισιν ευθεως τοις παιδιοις
> Διαδιδοασιν ιππειν κ' βοων πινειν γαλα.

"Do

a particular kind of bone, ſhaped like a flute: this is applied to the private parts of a mare, and blown into from the mouth. It is one man's office to blow, another's to milk the mare. Their idea is, that the veins of the animal being thus inflated, the dugs are proportionably filled. When the milk is thus obtained, they place it in deep wooden veſſels, and the ſlaves are directed to keep it in continual agitation. Of this that which remains at top [4] is moſt eſteemed, what ſubſides is of inferior value. This it is which induces the Scythians to deprive all their captives of ſight, for they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a paſtoral life [5].

III.

"Do not thoſe Scythians appear to you remarkably wiſe who give to their children, as ſoon as ever they are born, the milk of mares and cows?"—*T.*

[4] *Remains at the top.*]—Is it not ſurpriſing, aſks M. Larcher in this place, that neither the Greeks nor the Latins had any term in their language to expreſs cream?

Butter alſo was unknown to the Greeks and Romans till a late period. Pliny ſpeaks of it as a common article of food among barbarous nations, and uſed by them as an unction. The very name of butter (βουτυρον) which ſignifies cheeſe, or coagulum of cows milk, implies an imperfect notion of the thing. It is clear that Herodotus here deſcribes the making of butter, though he knew no name for the product. Pliny remarks, that the barbarous nations were as peculiar in neglecting cheeſe, as in making butter. *Spuma lactis*, which that author uſes in deſcribing what butter is, ſeems a very proper phraſe for cream. Butter is often mentioned in Scripture; ſee Harmer's curious accounts of the modes of making it in the Eaſt, vol. i. and iii.—*T.*

[5] *Lead a paſtoral life.*]—The influence of food or climate, which

III. From the union of these slaves with the Scythian women, a numerous progeny was born, who, when informed of their origin, readily advanced to oppose those who were returning from Media. Their first exertion was to intersect the country by a large and deep trench, which extended from the mountains of Tauris to the Palus Mœotis. They then encamped opposite to the Scythians endeavouring to effect their passage. Various engagements ensued, in which the Scythians obtained no advantage. "My countrymen," at length one of them exclaimed, "what are we "doing? In this contest with our slaves, every "action diminishes our number, and by killing "those who oppose us, the value of victory de-"creases: let us throw aside our darts and our "arrows, and rush upon them only with the whips "which we use for our horses. Whilst they see "us with arms, they think themselves our equals "in birth and importance; but as soon as they "shall perceive the whip in our hands, they will be "impressed with the sense of their servile condition, "and resist no longer."

IV. The Scythians approved the advice; their

which in a more improved state of society is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life.—*Gibbon.*

opponents forgot their former exertions, and fled; ſo did the Scythians obtain the ſovereignty of Aſia; and thus, after having been expelled by the Medes, they returned to their country. From the above motives Darius, eager for revenge, prepared to lead an army againſt them.

V. Of their country the Scythians affirm that it was of all others the laſt formed [6], and in this manner:—When this region was in its original and deſart ſtate, the firſt inhabitant was named Targitaus, a ſon, as they ſay (but which to me ſeems incredible) of Jupiter, by a daughter of the Boryſthenes. This Targitaus had three ſons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and laſtly Colaxais. Whilſt they poſſeſſed the country there fell from heaven into the Scythian diſtrict a plough, a yoke, an ax, and a goblet, all of gold. The eldeſt of the brothers was the firſt who ſaw them; who running to take them, was burnt by the gold. On his retiring, the ſecond brother approached, and was burnt alſo. When theſe two had been repelled by the burning gold, laſt of all the youngeſt brother advanced; upon him the gold had no effect, and he carried it to his houſe. The two elder brothers, obſerving what had happened, reſigned all authority to the youngeſt.

VI. From Lipoxais thoſe Scythians were deſcended who are termed the Auchatæ; from Arpoxais, the ſecond brother, thoſe who are called the Catiari and

[6] *Laſt formed.*]—Juſtin informs us, that the Scythians pretended to be more ancient than the Ægyptians.—*T.*

the

the Traſpies; from the youngeſt, who was king, came the Paralatæ[7]. Generally ſpeaking, theſe people are named Scoloti, from a ſurname of their king, but the Greeks call them Scythians.

VII. This is the account which the Scythians give of their origin; and they add, that from their firſt king Targitaus, to the invaſion of their country by Darius, is a period of a thouſand years, and no more. The ſacred gold is preſerved by their kings with the greateſt care; it is every year carried with great ſolemnity to every part of the kingdom, and upon this occaſion there are ſacrifices, with much pomp, at which the prince preſides. They have a tradition, that if the perſon in whoſe cuſtody this gold remains ſleeps in the open air during the time of their annual feſtival, he dies before the end of the year; as much land is therefore given him[8] as he can paſs over on horſeback in the courſe of a day[9]. As this region is extenſive, king Colaxais

[7] *Paralatæ.*]—This paſſage will be involved in much perplexity, unleſs for τες βασιληας be read του βασιληος.—*T.*

[8] *As much land is therefore given him.*]—This is, beyond doubt, a very perplexed and difficult paſſage; and all that the different annotators have done has been to intimate their conjectures. I have followed that which to my judgment ſeemed the happieſt.—*T.*

[9] *On horſeback in the courſe of a day.*]—Larcher adduces, from Pliny, Ovid, and Seneca, the three following paſſages, to prove that anciently this was the mode of rewarding merit:

Dona ampliſſima imperatorum et fortium civium quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaraviſſet.—*Pliny.*

This

Colaxais divided the country into three parts, which he gave to three ſons, making that portion the largeſt in which the gold was depoſited. As to the diſtrict which lays farther to the north, and beyond the extreme inhabitants of the country, they ſay that it neither can be paſſed, nor yet diſcerned with the eye, on account of the feathers [10] which are continually falling: with theſe both the earth and the air are ſo filled, as effectually to obſtruct the view.

VIII. Such is the manner in which the Scythians deſcribe themſelves and the country beyond them. The Greeks who inhabit Pontus ſpeak of both as follows: Hercules, when he was driving away the heifers of Geryon [11], came to this region, now

This from Ovid is more pertinent:

At proceres ———
Ruris honorati tantum tibi Cipe dedere
Quantum depreſſo ſubjectis bobus aratro
Complecti poſſes ad finem ſolis ab ortu.—

See alſo Seneca:—

Illi ob virtutem et bene geſtam rempublicam tantum agri decerneretur, quantum arando uno die circuire potuiſſet.

10 *On account of the feathers.*]—It muſt immediately occur to the reader that theſe feathers can be nothing elſe but ſnow. —*T.*

11 *Geryon.*]—To this perſonage the poets aſſigned three heads and three bodies. Heſiod calls him τριχεφαλον and Euripides τρισωματον. See alſo Horace:—

Qui ter amplum
Geryonem, Tityonique triſti
Compeſcit undâ.—

Virgil

now inhabited by the Scythians, but which then was a desert. This Geryon lived beyond Pontus, in an island which the Greeks call Erythia, near Gades, which is situate in the ocean, and beyond the columns of Hercules. The ocean, they say, commencing at the east, flows round all the earth [12]; this, however, they affirm without proving it. Hercules coming from thence, arrived at this country, now called Scythia, where, finding himself overtaken by a severe storm, and being exceedingly cold, he wrapped himself up in his lion's skin, and went to sleep. They add, that his mares, which he had detached from his chariot to feed, by some divine interposition disappeared during his sleep.

IX. As soon as he awoke, he wandered over all

Virgil calls him Tergeminus; but the minutest description is found in Silius Italicus, the most satisfactory in Palæphatus de incredibilibus:—

> Qualis Atlantiaco memoratur litore quondam
> Monstrum Geryones immane tricorporis iræ,
> Cui tres in pugna dextræ varia arma gerebant
> Una ignes sævos, ast altera pone sagittas
> Fundebat, validam torquebat tertia cornum,
> Atque uno diversa dabat tria vulnera nisu.—
>
> *Punic. Bell.* 13. 200.

Palæphatus, says he, lived at Tricarenia; and that, being called the Tricarenian Geryon, he was afterwards said to have had three heads.—*T.*

[12] *Flows round the earth.*]—Upon this passage the following remark occurs in Stillingfleet's *Origin. Sacr.* book i. c. 4.—

It cannot be denied but a great deal of useful history may be fetched out of Herodotus; yet who can excuse his ignorance, when he not only denies there is an ocean compassing the land, but condemns the geographers for asserting it?

the

the country in ſearch of his mares, till at length he came to the diſtrict which is called Hylæa: there in a cave he diſcovered a female of moſt unnatural appearance, reſembling a woman as far as the thighs, but whoſe lower parts were like a ſerpent [13]. Hercules beheld her with aſtoniſhment, but he was not deterred from aſking her whether ſhe had ſeen his mares? She made anſwer, that they were in her cuſtody; ſhe refuſed, however, to reſtore them, but upon condition of his cohabiting with her. The terms propoſed induced Hercules to conſent; but ſhe ſtill deferred reſtoring his mares, from the wiſh of retaining him longer with her, whilſt Hercules was equally anxious to obtain them and depart. After a while ſhe reſtored them with theſe words: "Your mares, "which wandered here, I have preſerved; you have "paid what was due to my care, I have conceived "by you three ſons; I wiſh you to ſay how I ſhall diſ-"poſe of them hereafter; whether I ſhall detain them "here, where I am the ſole ſovereign, or whether I "ſhall ſend them to you." The reply of Hercules was to this effect: "As ſoon as they ſhall be grown "up to man's eſtate, obſerve this, and you cannot "err; whichever of them you ſhall ſee bend this "bow, and wear this belt [14] as I do, him detain in this "country;

[13] *Like a ſerpent.*]—M. Pelloutier calls this monſter a ſyren, but Homer repreſents the Syrens as very lovely women.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks alſo of this monſter, deſcribing it like Herodotus. He makes her the miſtreſs of Jupiter, by whom ſhe had Scythes, who gave his name to the nation.—*Larcher.*

[14] *This belt.*]—It was aſſigned Hercules as one of his labours by

"country: the others, who shall not be able to "do this, you may send away. By minding what "I say you will have pleasure yourself, and will "satisfy my wishes."

X. Having said this, Hercules took one of his bows, for thus far he had carried two, and shewing her also his belt, at the end of which a golden cup was suspended, he gave her them and departed. As soon as the boys of whom she was delivered grew up, she called the eldest Agathyrsus, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha. She remembered also the injunctions she had received; and two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, who were incompetent to the trial which was proposed, were sent away by their mother from this country. Scytha the youngest was successful in his exertions, and remained. From this Scytha, the son of Hercules, the Scythian monarchs are descended; and from the golden cup the Scythians to this day have a cup at the end of their belts.

XI. This is the story which the Greek inhabi-

by Eurystheus, to whom he was subject, to deprive Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, of her belt. Ausonius, in the inscription which he probably wrote for some ancient relievo, mentions it as the sixth labour.

Threïciam sexto spoliavit Amazona baltheo.

This labour is also mentioned thus by Martial:

Peltatam Scythico discinxit Amazona nodo.

Whether Herodotus means to speak of this belt I pretend not to determine.—T.

tants

tants of Pontus relate; but there is alſo another, to which I am more inclined to aſſent:—The Scythian Nomades of Aſia, having been haraſſed by the Maſſagetæ in war, paſſed the Araxis, and ſettled in Cimmeria; for it is to be obſerved, that the country now poſſeſſed by the Scythians belonged formerly to the Cimmerians. This people, when attacked by the Scythians, deliberated what it was moſt adviſeable to do againſt the inroad of ſo vaſt a multitude. Their ſentiments were divided; both were violent, but that of the kings appears preferable. The people were of opinion, that it would be better not to hazard an engagement, but to retreat in ſecurity; the kings were at all events for reſiſting the enemy. Neither party would recede from their opinions, the people and the princes mutually refuſing to yield; the people wiſhed to retire before the invaders, the princes determined rather to die where they were, reflecting upon what they had enjoyed before, and alarmed by the fears of future calamities. From verbal diſputes they ſoon came to actual engagement, and they happened to be nearly equal in number. All thoſe who periſhed by the hands of their countrymen were buried by the Cimmerians near the river Tyré; where their monuments may ſtill be ſeen. The ſurvivors fled from their country, which in its abandoned ſtate was ſeized and occupied by the Scythians.

XII. There are ſtill to be found in Scythia walls and bridges which are termed Cimmerian; the ſame

ſame name is alſo given to a whole diſtrict, as well as to a narrow ſea. It is certain that when the Cimmerians were expelled their country by the Scythians, they fled to the Aſiatic Cherſoneſe, where the Greek city of Sinope [15] is at preſent ſituated. It is alſo apparent, that whilſt engaged in the purſuit, the Scythians deviated from their proper courſe, and entered Media. The Cimmerians in their flight kept uniformly by the ſea coaſt; but the Scythians, having Mount Caucaſus to their right, continued the purſuit, till by following an inland direction they entered Media.

XIII. There is ſtill another account, which has obtained credit both with the Greeks and barbarians. Ariſteas [16] the poet, a native of Proconneſus, and

[15] *Sinope.*]—There were various opinions amongſt the ancients concerning this city. Some ſaid it was built by an Amazon ſo called; others affirm it was founded by the Mileſians; Strabo calls it the moſt illuſtrious city of Pontus. It is thus mentioned by Valerius Flaccus, an author not ſo much read as he deſerves.

> Aſſyrios complexa ſinus ſtat opima Sinope
> Nympha prius, blandoſque Jovis quæ luſerat ignes
> Cœlicolis immota procis.

There was alſo a celebrated courteſan of this name, from whom Sinopiſſare became a proverb for being very laſcivious.

The modern name of the place is Sinub, and it ſtands at the mouth of a river called Sinope.—*T.*

[16] *Ariſteas.*]—This perſon is mentioned alſo by Pliny and Aulus Gellius; it is probable that he lived in the time of Cyrus and Crœſus. Longinus has preſerved ſix of his verſes; ſee chap. 10, of which he remarks, that they are rather florid than ſublime.

and ſon of Cauſtrobius, relates, that under the influence of Apollo he came to the Iſſedones, that beyond this people he found the Arimaſpi [17], a nation who have but one eye; farther on the Gryphins [18], the guardians of the gold; and beyond theſe the Hyperboreans [19], who poſſeſs the whole country quite

ſublime. Tzetzes has preſerved ſix more. The account given of him by Herodotus is far from ſatisfactory.

[17] *Arimaſpi.*]—The Arimaſpians were Hyperborean Cyclopeans, and had temples named Charis or Chariſia, in the top of which were preſerved a perpetual fire. They were of the ſame family as thoſe of Sicily, and had the ſame rites, and particularly worſhipped the Ophite deity under the name of Opis. Ariſteas Proconneſius wrote their hiſtory, and among other things mentioned that they had but one eye, which was placed in their graceful forehead. How could the front of a Cyclopean, one of the moſt hideous monſters that ever poetic fancy framed, be ſtyled graceful? The whole is a miſtake of terms, and what this writer had miſapplied related to Charis a tower, and the eye was a caſement in the top of the edifice, where a light and fire were kept up.—*Bryant.*

[18] *Gryphins.*]—

Thus the Gryphins,
Thoſe dumb and ravenous dogs of Jove, avoid
The Arimaſpian troops, whoſe frowning foreheads
Glare with one blazing eye: along the banks
Where Pluto rolls his ſtreams of gold, they rein
Their foaming ſteeds.

Prometheus Vinctus. Æſchy. Potter's Tranſlation.

Pauſanias tell us, that the Gryphins are repreſented by Ariſteas as monſters reſembling lions, with the beaks and wings of eagles. By the way, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus is of opinion that no ſuch poem as this of Ariſteas ever exiſted.—*T.*

[19] *Hyperboreans.*]—The ancients do not appear to have had any preciſe ideas of the country of this people. The Hyperbo-

quite to the ſea, and that all theſe nations, except the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of theſe hoſtilities the Arimaſpians were the firſt authors, for that they drove out the Iſſedones, the Iſſedones the Scythians: the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who poſſeſſed the country towards the ſouth, to abandon their native land. Thus it appears, that the narrative of Ariſteas differs alſo from that of the Scythians.

XIV. Of what country the relater of the above account was, we have already ſeen; but I ought not to omit what I have heard of this perſonage, both at Proconneſus and Cyzicus [20]. It is ſaid of this Ariſteas, that he was of one of the beſt families of his country, and that he died in the workſhop of a fuller, into which he had accidentally gone. The fuller immediately ſecured his ſhop, and went to in-

rean mountains are alſo frequently mentioned, which, as appears from Virgil, were the ſame as the Ryphean:

Talis Hyperboreo ſeptem ſubjecta trioni
Gens effræna virum Riphæo tunditur Euro
Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora ſatis. *T.*

[20] *Cyzicus.*]—This was one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of Myſia, ſituate in a ſmall iſland of the Propontis, and built by the Mileſians. It is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Inde Propontiacis hærentem Cyzicon oris
Cyzicon Æmoniæ nobile gentis opus.

The people of this place were remarkable for their effeminacy and cowardice, whence tinctura Cyzicena became proverbial for any daſtardly character. It has now become a peninſula, by the filling up of the ſmall channel by which it was divided from the continent.—*T.*

form the relations of the deceaſed of what had happened. The report having circulated through the city, that Ariſteas was dead, there came a man of Cyzicus, of the city of Artaces, who affirmed that this aſſertion was falſe, for that he had met Ariſteas going to Cyzicus [21], and had ſpoken with him. In conſequence of his poſitive aſſertions, the friends of Ariſteas haſtened to the fuller's ſhop with every thing which was neceſſary for his funeral, but when they came there, no Ariſteas was to be found, alive or dead. Seven years afterwards it is ſaid that he re-appeared at Proconneſus, and compoſed thoſe verſes which the Greeks call Arimaſpian, after which he vaniſhed a ſecond time.

XV. This is the manner in which theſe cities ſpeak of Ariſteas: but I am about to relate a circumſtance which to my own knowledge happened to the Metapontines of Italy, three hundred and forty years after Ariſteas had a ſecond time diſappeared, according to my conjecture, as it agrees with what I heard at Proconneſus and Metapontus. The inhabitants of this latter place affirm, that Ariſteas having appeared in their city, directed them to conſtruct an altar to Apollo, and near it a

[21] *Going to Cyzicus.*]—Upon this ſtory Larcher remarks, that there are innumerable others like it, both among the ancients and moderns. A very ridiculous one is related by Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus:—A man named Cleomedes, ſeeing himſelf purſued, jumped into a great cheſt, which cloſed upon him: after many ineffectual attempts to open it, they broke it in pieces, but no Cleomedes was to be found, alive or dead.—*T.*

ſtatue

ſtatue to Ariſteas of Proconneſus. He told them that they were the only people of Italy whom Apollo had ever honoured by his preſence, and that he himſelf had attended the god under the form of a crow[22]: having ſaid this he diſappeared. The Metapontines relate, that in conſequence of this they ſent to Delphi, to enquire what that unnatural appearance might mean; the Pythian told them in reply, to perform what had been directed, for that they would find their obedience rewarded; they obeyed accordingly, and there now ſtands near the ſtatue of Apollo himſelf, another bearing the name of Ariſteas: it is placed in the public ſquare of the city, ſurrounded with laurels.

XVI. Thus much of Ariſteas.—No certain knowledge is to be obtained of the places which lie remotely beyond the country of which I before ſpake: on this ſubject I could not meet with any perſon able to ſpeak from his own knowledge. Ariſteas above-mentioned confeſſes, in the poem which he wrote, that he did not penetrate beyond the Iſſe-

[22] *Under the form of a crow.*]—Pliny relates this ſomewhat differently. He ſays, it was the ſoul of Ariſteas, which having left his body appeared in the form of a crow. His words are theſe: Ariſteæ etiam viſam evolantem ex ore in Proconneſo, corvi effigie magna quæ ſequitur fabulоſitate.—*Larcher.*

The crow was ſacred to Apollo, as appears from Ælian de Animalibus, book vii. 18. We learn alſo from Scaliger, in his Notes on Manilius, that a crow ſitting on a tripod was found on ſome ancient coins, to which Statius alſo alludes in the following line:

Non comes obſcurus tripodum. *T.*

dones; and that what he related of the countries more remote he learned of the Iſſedones themſelves. For my own part, all the intelligence which the moſt aſſiduous reſearches, and the greateſt attention to authenticity have been able to procure, ſhall be faithfully related.

XVII. As we advance from the port of the Boryſthenites, which is unqueſtionably the centre of all the maritime parts of Scythia, the firſt people who are met with are the Callipidæ[23], who are Greek Scythians: beyond theſe is another nation, called the Halizones[24]. Theſe two people in general obſerve the cuſtoms of the Scythians, except that for food they ſow corn, onions, garlick, lentils, and millet. Beyond the Halizones dwell ſome Scythian huſbandmen, who ſow corn not to eat, but for ſale. Still more remote are the Neuri[25], whoſe country towards the north, as far as I have been able to learn, is totally uninhabited. All theſe nations dwell near the river Hypanis, to the weſt of the Boryſthenes.

XVIII. Having croſſed the Boryſthenes, the firſt

[23] *Callipidæ.*]—Solinus calls theſe people Callipodes.—*T.*

[24] *Halizones.*]—So called becauſe ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea, as the word itſelf obviouſly teſtifies.—*T.*

[25] *Neuri.*]—Mela, book ii. 1, ſays of this people, that they had the power of transforming themſelves into wolves, and reſuming their former ſhape at pleaſure.—Neuris ſtatum ſingulis tempus eſt, quo ſi velint in lupos, iterumque in eos qui fuere mutentur.—*T.*

country

country towards the ſea is Hylæa, contiguous to which are ſome Scythian huſbandmen, who call themſelves Olbiopolitæ, but who, by the Greeks living near the Hypanis, are called Boryſthenites [26]. The country poſſeſſed by theſe Scythians towards the eaſt is the ſpace of a three days journey, as far as the river Panticapes; to the north, their lands extend to the amount of an eleven days voyage along the Boryſthenes. The ſpace beyond this is a vaſt inhoſpitable deſert; and remoter ſtill are the Androphagi, or men-eaters, a ſeparate nation, and by no means Scythian. As we paſs farther from theſe, the country is altogether deſert, not containing, to our knowledge, any inhabitants.

XIX. To the eaſt of theſe Scythians, who are huſbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, are the Scythian Nomades or ſhepherds, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture: except Hylæa, all this country is naked of trees. Theſe Nomades inhabit a diſtrict to the extent of a fourteen days journey towards the eaſt, as far as the river Gerrhus.

XX. Beyond the Gerrhus is ſituate what is termed the royal province of Scythia, poſſeſſed by the more numerous part and the nobleſt of the Scythians, who conſider all the reſt of their countrymen

[26] *Boryſthenites.*]—Theſe people are called by Propertius the Boryſthenidæ:

Gloria ad hybernos lata Boryſthenidas. T.

as their ſlaves. From the ſouth they extend to Tauris, and from the eaſt as far as the trench which was ſunk by the deſcendants of the blinded ſlaves, and again as far as the port of the Palus Mœotis, called Chemni, and indeed many of them are ſpread as far as the Tanais. Beyond theſe, to the north, live the Melanchlæni, another nation who are not Scythians. Beyond the Melanchlæni the lands are low and marſhy, and as we believe entirely uninhabited.

XXI. Beyond the Tanais the region of Scythia terminates, and the firſt nation we meet with are the Sauromatæ, who, commencing at the remote parts of the Palus Mœotis, inhabit a ſpace to the north, equal to a fifteen days journey; the country is totally deſtitute of trees, both wild and cultivated. Beyond theſe are the Budini, who are huſbandmen, and in whoſe country trees are found in great abundance.

XXII. To the north, beyond the Budini, is an immenſe deſert of an eight days journey; paſſing which to the eaſt are the Thyſſagetæ, a ſingular but populous nation, who ſupport themſelves by hunting. Contiguous to theſe, in the ſame region, are a people called Iyrcæ [27]; they alſo live by the chace, which

[27] *Iyrcæ.*]—It is in vain that Meſſieurs Falconnet and Mallet are deſirous of reading here Τυρκοι, the Turks, the ſame as it occurs in Pomponius Mela; it would be better, with Pintianus, to

which they thus purſue:—Having aſcended the tops of the trees, which every where abound, they watch for their prey. Each man has a horſe, inſtructed to lie cloſe to the ground, that it may not be ſeen; they have each alſo a dog. As ſoon as the man from the tree diſcovers his game, he wounds it with an arrow, then mounting his horſe he purſues it, followed by his dog. Advancing from this people ſtill nearer to the eaſt, we again meet with Scythians, who having ſeceded from the Royal Scythians, eſtabliſhed themſelves here.

XXIII. As far as theſe Scythians the whole country is flat, and the ſoil excellent; beyond them it becomes barren and ſtony. After travelling over a conſiderable ſpace, a people are found living at the foot of ſome lofty mountains, who, both male and female, are ſaid to be bald from their birth, having large chins, and noſtrils like the ape ſpecies. They have a language of their own, but their dreſs is Scythian; they live chiefly upon the produce of a tree which is called the ponticus, it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe they preſs it through a cloth, it produces a thick black liquor which they call aſchy, this they drink, mixing it with milk; the groſſer parts which remain they form into balls and eat. They have but few cattle, from the want of proper paſturage. Each man dwells under his tree; this

to correct the text of the geographer by that of Herodotus. Pliny alſo joins this people with the Thyſſagetæ.—*Larcher.*

during the winter they cover with a thick white cloth, which in the ſummer is removed; they live unmoleſted by any one, being conſidered as ſacred, and having amongſt them no offenſive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them for deciſion in matters of private controverſy; and whoever ſeeks an aſylum amongſt them is ſecure from injury. They are called the Argippæi [23].

XXIV. As far as theſe people who are bald, the knowledge of the country and intermediate nations is clear and ſatisfactory; it may he obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them, from the Greeks of the port on the Boryſthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As theſe nations have ſeven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them have occaſion for as many interpreters.

XXV. Beyond theſe Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had, a chain of lofty and inacceſſible mountains precluding all diſcovery. The people who are bald aſſert, what I can by no means believe, that theſe mountains are inhabited

[23] *Argippæi.*]—Theſe people are ſaid to have derived their name from the white horſes with which their country abounded. The Tartars of the preſent day are ſaid to hold white horſes in great eſtimation; how much they were eſteemed in ancient times, appears from various paſſages of different writers, who believed that they excelled in ſwiftneſs all horſes of a different colour.

Qui candore nives anteirent, curſibus auras. *T.*

by

by men, who in their lower parts reſemble a goat; and that beyond theſe are a race who ſleep away ſix months of the year: neither does this ſeem at all more probable. To the eaſt of the Argippæi it is beyond all doubt that the country is poſſeſſed by the Iſſedones; but beyond them to the north neither the Iſſedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more than I have already related.

XXVI. The Iſſedones have theſe among other cuſtoms:—As often as any one loſes his father, his relations ſeverally provide ſome cattle; theſe they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they diſmember alſo the body of the deceaſed, and, mixing the whole together, feaſt upon it; the head alone is preſerved, from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleanſing it thoroughly ſet it in gold [29]: it is afterwards eſteemed ſacred, and produced in their ſolemn annual ſacrifices. Every man obſerves the above rites in honour of his father, as the Greeks do theirs in memory of the dead [30]. In other reſpects

[29] *Set it in gold.*]—We learn from Livy, that the Boii, a people of Gaul, did exactly the ſame with reſpect to the ſculls of their enemies.—Purgato inde capite ut mos iis eſt, calvam auro cælavere: idque ſacrum vas iis erat, quo ſolemnibus libarent.—*See Livy*, chap. xxiv. book 23.

[30] *In memory of the dead.*]—The Greeks had anniverſary days in remembrance of departed friends. Theſe were indifferently termed Νεμεσια, as being ſolemnized on the feſtival of Nemeſis, Ωραια, and Γενεσια. This latter word ſeems to intimate that theſe were feaſts inſtituted to commemorate the birth-days; but theſe, it appears, were obſerved by ſurviving relations and friends upon the

ſpects it is ſaid that they venerate the principles of juſtice; and that their females enjoy equal authority with the men.

XXVII. The Iſſedones themſelves affirm, that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins who are

the anniverſary of a perſon's death. Amongſt many other cuſtoms which diſtinguiſhed theſe Γενεσια, ſome were remarkable for their ſimplicity and elegance. They ſtrewed flowers on the tomb, they encircled it with myrtle, they placed locks of their hair upon it, they tenderly invoked the names of thoſe departed, and laſtly they poured ſweet ointments upon the grave.

Theſe obſervances, with little variation, took place both in Greece and Rome.—See the beautiful Ode of Anacreon:

Τι σε δει λιθον μυριζειν
Τι δε γη χεειν ματαια;
Εμε μαλλον, ως ετι ζω
Μυρισον, ροδοις δε κρατα
Πυκασον.

Thus rendered by Cowley:

Why do we precious ointments ſhow'r,
Noble wines why do we pour,
Beauteous flowers why do we ſpread
Upon the mon'ments of the dead?
Nothing they but duſt can ſhew,
Or bones that haſten to be ſo;
Crown me with roſes whilſt I live.

See alſo the much-admired apoſtrophe addreſſed by Virgil to the memory of Marcellus:

Heu miſerande puer, ſi qua fata aſpera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos ſpargam flores, animamque nepotis
His ſaltem accumulem donis. T.

See

are guardians of the gold.—Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Iſſedones, and we from the Scythians; in the Scythian tongue they are called Arimaſpians, from Arima, the Scythian word for one, and ſpu, an eye.

XXVIII. Through all the region of which we have been ſpeaking, the winter ſeaſon, which continues for eight months, is intolerably ſevere and cold. At this time if water be poured upon the ground, unleſs it be near a fire, it will not make clay. The ſea itſelf [31], and all the Cimmerian Boſphorus, is congealed; and the Scythians who live within the trench before mentioned make hoſtile incurſions upon the ice, and penetrate with their waggons as far as India. During eight months the climate is thus ſevere, and the remaining four are ſufficiently cold. In this region the winter is by no

[31] *The ſea itſelf.*]—The Greeks, who had no knowledge of this country, were of opinion that the ſea could not be congealed; they conſequently conſidered this paſſage of Herodotus as fabulous. The moderns, who are better acquainted with the regions of the north, well know that Herodotus was right.—*Larcher.*

Upon this ſubject the following whimſical paſſage occurs in Macrobius.—Nam quod Herodotus hiſtoriarum ſcriptor, contra omnium ferme qui hæc quæſiverunt, opinionem ſcripſit, mare Boſporicum, quod et Cimmerium appellat, earumque partium mare omne quod Scythicum dicitur, id gelu conſtringi et conſiſtere, aliter eſt quam putatur; nam non marina aqua contrahitur, ſed quia plurimum in illis regionibus fluviorum eſt, et paludum in ipſa maria influentium, ſuperficies maris cui dulces aquæ innatant, congelaſcit, et incolumi aqua marina videtur in mari gelu, ſed de advenis undis coactum, &c.

means

means the ſame as in other climates; for at this time, when it rains abundantly elſewhere, it here ſcarcely rains at all, whilſt in the ſummer the rains are inceſſant. At the ſeaſon when thunder is common in other places, here it is never heard, but during the ſummer it is very heavy. If it be ever known to thunder in the winter, it is conſidered as ominous. If earthquakes happen in Scythia, in either ſeaſon of the year, it is thought a prodigy. Their horſes are able to bear the extremeſt ſeverity of the climate, which the aſſes and mules frequently cannot [32]; though in other regions the cold which deſtroys the former has little effect upon the latter.

XXIX. This circumſtance of their climate ſeems to explain the reaſon why their cattle are without horns [33]; and Homer in the Odyſſey has a line

[32] *Aſſes and mules frequently cannot.*]—This aſſertion of Herodotus is confirmed by Pliny, who ſays, "Ipſum animal (aſinus) frigoris maxime impatiens: ideo non generatur in Ponto, nec æquinoctis verno, etcætera pecua admittitur ſed ſolſtitio." The aſs is a native of Arabia; the warmer the climate in which they are produced, the larger and the better they are. "Their ſize and their ſpirit," ſays Mr. Pennant, "regularly decline as they advance into colder regions." Hollingſhed ſays, that in his time "our lande did yeelde no aſſes." At preſent they appear to be naturalized in our country; and M. Larcher's obſervation, that they are not common in England, muſt have ariſen from miſinformation. That the Engliſh breed of aſſes is comparatively leſs beautiful muſt be acknowledged.—*T.*

[33] *Without horns.*]—Hippocrates, ſpeaking of the Scythian chariots, ſays, they are drawn by oxen which have no horns, and that the cold prevents their having any.—*Larcher.*

which

which confirms my opinion:—"And Libya, where the ſheep have always horns [34];" which is as much as to ſay, that in warm climates horns will readily grow; but in places which are extremely cold they either will not grow at all, or are always diminutive.

XXX. The peculiarities of Scythia are thus explained from the coldneſs of the climate; but as I have accuſtomed myſelf from the commencement of this hiſtory to deviate occaſionally from my ſubject, I cannot here avoid expreſſing my ſurprize, that the diſtrict of Elis never produces mules; yet the air is by no means cold, nor can any other ſatisfactory reaſon be aſſigned. The inhabitants themſelves believe that their not poſſeſſing mules is the effect of ſome curſe [35]. When their mares require the

[34] *Always horns.*]—The line here quoted from Homer is thus rendered by Pope:

And two fair creſcents of tranſlucent horn
The brows of all their young increaſe adorn. *T.*

[35] *Of ſome curſe.*]—The following paſſage is found in Plutarch's Greek queſtions.

Q. Why do the men of Elis lead their mares beyond their borders when they would have them covered?

A. Was it becauſe Ænomaus, being remarkable for his great love of horſes, imprecated many horrid curſes upon mares that ſhould be (thus) covered in Elis, and that the people in terror of his curſes will not ſuffer it to be done within their diſtrict?

It is indiſputably evident, that ſomething is omitted or corrupted in this paſſage of Plutarch. As it ſtands at preſent it appears that the mares were to be covered by horſes, and ſo the

the male, the Eleans take them out of the limits of their own territories, and there ſuffer aſſes to cover them; when they have conceived they return.

XXXI. Concerning thoſe feathers, which, as the

the tranſlators have rendered it; but the love of Ænomaus for horſes, would hardly lead him to ſo abſurd an inconſiſtency as that of curſing the breed of them within his kingdom. The truth is, it was the breed of mules which he loaded with imprecations; and it was only when the mares were to be covered by aſſes, that it was neceſſary to remove them, to avoid falling under his curſe. Some word expreſſing this ought therefore to be found in Plutarch, and the ſuſpicion of corruption naturally falls at once on the unintelligible word ἐνόδας, which is totally omitted in the Latin verſion, and given up by Xylander as inexplicable; Weſſeling would change it to ἐνθόρους, but that does not remove the fault: if we read ἀνοδόκους all will be eaſy. The queſtion will then ſtand thus: "Why do the men of Elis lead thoſe mares *which are to receive aſſes*, beyond their borders to be covered?" And we muſt render afterwards, "that ſhould be *thus* covered," inſtead of *covered* only: ἀνοδόκος, being a compound formed at pleaſure, according to the genius of the Greek language, but not in common uſe, might eaſily be corrupted by a careleſs or ignorant tranſcriber. I ſhould not have dwelt ſo long on a verbal criticiſm of this kind, had not the emendation appeared important, and calculated to throw additional light on this paſſage of Herodotus.

Conformable to this is the account of Pauſanias: —"In Elis," ſays he, "mares will not produce from aſſes, though they will in the places contiguous: this the people impute to ſome curſe." book v. p. 384.—*Kuhnius Edition.*

And Euſtathius has a ſimilar remark in his Comment on Dionyſius, l. 409.

Upon the above Larcher remarks, that this doubtleſs was the reaſon why the race of chariots drawn by mules was aboliſhed at the Olympic games, which had been introduced there in the ſeventieth Olympiad by Therſias of Theſſaly.—*T.*

Scythians ſay, ſo cloud the atmoſphere that they cannot penetrate nor even diſcern what lies beyond them, my opinion is this:—In thoſe remoter regions there is a perpetual fall of ſnow, which, as may be ſuppoſed, is leſs in ſummer than in winter. Whoever obſerves ſnow falling continually, will eaſily conceive what I ſay; for it has a great reſemblance to feathers. Theſe regions, therefore, which are thus ſituated remotely to the north, are uninhabitable from the unremitting ſeverity of the climate; and the Scythians, with the neighbouring nations, miſtake the ſnow for feathers [36].—But on this ſubject I have ſaid quite enough.

XXXII. Of the Hyperboreans [37] neither the Scythians nor any of the neighbouring people, the Iſſedones alone excepted, have any knowledge; and indeed what they ſay merits but little attention. The Scythians ſpeak of theſe as they do of the Arimaſpians. It muſt be confeſſed that Heſiod

[36] *Snow for feathers.*]—The compariſon of falling ſnow to fleeces of wool, as being very obvious and natural, is found in abundance of writers, ancient and modern.

See Pſalm cxlvii. ver. 5.—Who ſendeth his ſnow like wool. Martial beautifully calls ſnow denſum tacitarum vellus aquarum.

In whoſe capacious womb
A vapoury deluge lies to ſnow congeal'd;
Heavy they roll their fleecy world along.—*Thomſon.*

[37] *Hyperboreans.*]—It appears from the Scholiaſt on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians Boreans; there is therefore great probability that they called the people beyond theſe the Hyperboreans.—*Larcher.*

mentions

mentions these Hyperboreans, as does Homer also in the Epigonoi [38], if he was really the author of those verses.

XXXIII. On this subject of the Hyperboreans the Delians are more communicative. They affirm, that some sacred offerings of this people, carefully folded in straw, were given to the Scythians, from whom descending regularly through every contiguous nation [39], they arrived at length at the Adriatic. From hence, transported towards the south, they were first of all received by the Dodoneans of Greece; from them again they were transmitted to the gulph of Melis; whence passing into Eubœa, they were sent from one town to another, till they arrived at Carystus; not stopping at Andros,

[38] *Epigonoi.*]—That Homer was the author of various poems besides the Iliad and the Odyssey, there seems little reason to doubt; that he was the author of these in question can hardly be made appear. The Scholiast of Aristophanes assigns them to Antimachus; but Antimachus of Colophon was later than Herodotus, or at least his cotemporary. The subject of these verses were the supposed authors of the second Theban war. At the time in which Homer flourished, the wars of Thebes and of Troy were the subjects of universal curiosity and attention.—*T.*

[39] *Through every contiguous nation.*]—On this subject the Athenians have another tradition.—*See Pausanias*, c. xxxi. p. 77. According to them, these offerings were given by the Hyperboreans to the Arimaspians, by the Arimaspians to the Scythians, by the Scythians carried to Sinope. The Greeks from thence passed them from one to another, till they arrived at Prasis, a place dependant on Athens; the Athenians ultimately sent them to Delos. "This," says M. Larcher, "seems to me a less probable account than that of the Delians."

the

the Caryſtians carried them to Tenos, the Tenians to Delos; at which place the Delians affirm they came as we have related. They farther obſerve, that to bring theſe offerings the Hyperboreans [40] ſent two young women, whoſe names were Hyperoche and Laodice: five of their countrymen accompanied them as a guard, who are held in great veneration at Delos, and called the Peripheres [41].

[40] *Hyperboreans.*]—Upon the ſubject of the Hyperboreans, our learned mythologiſt Mr. Bryant has a very curious chapter. The reader will do well to conſult the whole; but the following extract is particularly applicable to the chapter before us.

Of all other people the Hyperboreans ſeem moſt to have reſpected the people of Delos. To this iſland they uſed to ſend continually myſtic preſents, which were greatly reverenced: in conſequence of this, the Delians knew more of their hiſtory than any other community of Greece. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, takes notice both of the Hyperboreans and their offerings.

This people were eſteemed very ſacred; and it is ſaid that Apollo, when exiled from heaven, and had ſeen his offspring ſlain, retired to their country. It ſeems he wept; and there was a tradition that every tear was amber.

See Apollonius Rhodius, book iv. 611.

> The Celtic ſages a tradition hold,
> That every drop of amber was a tear
> Shed by Apollo, when he fled from heaven;
> For ſorely did he weep, and ſorrowing paſs'd
> Thro' many a doleful region, till he reach'd
> The ſacred Hyperboreans.

See Bryant, vol. iii. 491.

[41] *Peripheres.*]—Thoſe whom the different ſtates of Greece ſent to conſult Apollo, or to offer him ſacrifice in the name of their country, they called Theoroi. They gave the name of Deliaſtoi to thoſe whom they ſent to Delos; and of Pythaſtoi to thoſe who went to Delphi.—*Larcher.*

As theſe men never returned, the Hyperboreans were greatly offended, and took the following method to prevent a repetition of this evil:—They carried to their frontiers their offerings, folded in barley-ſtraw, and committing them to the care of their neighbours, directed them to forward them progreſſively, till, as is reported, they thus arrived at Delos. This ſingularity obſerved by the Hyperboreans is practiſed, as I myſelf have ſeen, amongſt the women of Thrace and Pæonia, who in their ſacrifices to the regal Diana make uſe of barley-ſtraw.

XXXIV. In honour of the Hyperborean virgins who died at Delos, the Delian youth of both ſexes celebrate certain rites, in which they cut off their hair[42]; this ceremony is obſerved by virgins previous to their marriage, who, having deprived themſelves of their hair, wind it round a ſpindle, and place it on the tomb. This ſtands in the

[42] *Cut off their hair.*]—The cuſtom of offering the hair to the gods is of very great antiquity. Sometimes it was depoſited in the temples, as in the caſe of Berenice, who conſecrated hers in the temple of Venus; ſometimes it was ſuſpended upon trees.—*Larcher.*

When the hair was cut off in honour of the dead, it was done in a circular form. Alluſion is made to this ceremony in the Electra of Sophocles, line 52. See alſo Ovid:

Sciſſæ cum veſte capillos.

This cuſtom, by the way, was ſtrictly forbidden by the Jews. Pope has a very ludicrous alluſion to it:—

When fortune or a miſtreſs frowns,
Some plunge in buſineſs, others ſhave their crowns.—*T.*

veſtibule

veſtibule of the temple of Diana, on the left-ſide of the entrance, and is ſhaded by an olive, which grows there naturally. The young men of Delos wind ſome of their hair round a certain herb, and place it on the tomb.—Such are the honours which the Delians pay to theſe virgins.

XXXV. The Delians add, that in the ſame age, and before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice at Delos, two other Hyperborean virgins came there, whoſe names were Argis and Opis[43]; their object was to bring an offering to Lucina, in acknowledgment of the happy delivery of their females; but that Argis and Opis were accompanied by the deities themſelves. They are, therefore, honoured with other ſolemn rites. The women aſſemble together, and in a hymn compoſed for the occaſion by Olen of Lycia[44], they call on the names of Argis and Opis. Inſtructed by theſe the

[43] *Opis.*]—Orion, who was beloved by Aurora, and whom Pherecydes aſſerts to have been the ſon of Neptune and Euryale, or, according to other authors, of Terra, endeavouring to offer violence to Opis, was ſlain with an arrow by Diana.

The firſt Hyperboreans who carried offerings to Delos were, according to Callimachus, named Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, daughter of Boreas.—*Larcher.*

Opis is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Opis ad Ætherium pennis aufertur Olympum.

According to Servius, Opis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, were ſynonymous terms for the moon. Opis was alſo the name of a city on the Tigris.—*T.*

[44] *Olen of Lycia.*]—Olen, a prieſt and very ancient poet, was before Homer; he was the firſt Greek poet, and the firſt alſo

the iſlanders and Ionians hold ſimilar aſſemblies, introducing the ſame two names in their hymns. This Olen was a native of Lycia, who compoſed other ancient hymns in uſe at Delos. When the thighs of the victims are conſumed on the altar, the aſhes are collected and ſcattered over the tomb of Opis and Argis. This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, facing the eaſt, and near the place where the Ceians celebrate their feſtivals.

XXXVI. On this ſubject of the Hyperboreans we have ſpoken ſufficiently at large, for the ſtory of Abaris [45], who was ſaid to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without

who declared the oracles of Apollo. The inhabitants of Delphi chaunted the hymns which he compoſed for them. In one of his hymns he called Ilithya the mother of Love; in another he affirmed that Juno was educated by the Hours, and was the mother of Mars and Hebe.—*Larcher.*

The word Olen was properly an Ægyptian ſacred term, and expreſſed Olen, Olenus, Ailinus, and Linus, but is of unknown meaning. We read of Olenium ſidus, Olenia capella, and the like.

Naſcitur Oleniæ ſidus pluviale capellæ.—*Ovid.*

A ſacred ſtone in Elis was called Petra Olenia. If then this Olen, ſtyled an Hyperborean, came from Lycia and Ægypt, it makes me perſuaded of what I have often ſuſpected, that the term Hyperborean is not of that purport which the Grecians have aſſigned to it. There were people of this family from the north, and the name has been diſtorted, and adapted ſolely to people of thoſe parts. But there were Hyperboreans from the eaſt, as we find in the hiſtory of Olen.—See Bryant farther on this ſubject, vol. iii. 492-3.

45 *Abaris.*]—Jamblicus ſays of this Abaris, that he was the diſciple

out food, and carried on an arrow [46], merits no attention. As there are Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the extreme parts of the north, one would ſuppoſe there ought alſo to be Hypernotians, or inhabitants of the correſponding parts of the ſouth. For my own part I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear ſome men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the ſmalleſt reaſon or probability, that the ocean encompaſſes the earth; that the earth is round, as if mechanically formed ſo; and that Aſia is equal to Europe. I will, therefore, conciſely deſcribe the figure and the ſize of each of theſe portions of the earth.

XXXVII. The region occupied by the Perſians extends ſouthward to the Red Sea; beyond theſe to the north are the Medes, next to them are the Sapirians. Contiguous to the Sapirians, and where the Phaſis empties itſelf into the Northern Sea, are the Colchians. Theſe four nations occupy the ſpace between the two ſeas.

diſciple of Pythagoras; ſome ſay he was older than Solon; he foretold earthquakes, plagues, &c. Authors differ much as to the time of his coming into Greece: Harpocration ſays it was in the time of Crœſus.—*T.*

[46] *On an arrow.*]—There is a fragment preſerved in the Anecdota Græca, a tranſlation of which Larcher gives in his notes, which throws much light upon this ſingular paſſage; it is this: a famine having made its appearance amongſt the Hyperboreans, Abaris went to Greece, and entered into the ſervice of Apollo. The deity taught him to declare oracles. In conſequence of this, he travelled through Greece, declaring oracles, having in his hand an arrow, the ſymbol of Apollo.—*T.*

XXXVIII. From hence to the weſt two tracts of land ſtretch themſelves towards the ſea, which I ſhall deſcribe: The one on the north ſide commences at the Phaſis, and extends to the ſea along the Euxine and the Helleſpont, as far as the Sigeum of Troy. On the ſouth ſide it begins at the Marandynian bay, contiguous to Phœnicia, and is continued to the ſea as far the Triopian promontory; this ſpace of country is inhabited by thirty different nations.

XXXIX. The other diſtrict commences in Perſia, and is continued to the Red Sea [47]. Beſides Perſia, it comprehends Aſſyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulph, into which Darius introduced [48] a channel of the Nile. The interval from Perſia to Phœnicia is very extenſive. From Phœnica it again continues beyond Syria of Paleſtine, as far as Ægypt, where it terminates.

[47] *The Red Sea.*]—It is neceſſary to be obſerved, that not only the Arabian Gulph was known by this name, but alſo the Perſian Gulph and the Southern Ocean, that is to ſay, that vaſt tract of ſea which lies between the two gulphs.—*Larcher.*

What Herodotus calls the Erythrean Sea, he carefully diſtinguiſhes from the Arabian Gulph.

Both Herodotus and Agathemenus induſtriouſly diſtinguiſh the Erythrean Sea from the Arabian Gulph, though the latter was certainly ſo called, and had the name of Erythrean. The Parthic empire, which included Perſis, is by Pliny ſaid to be bounded to the ſouth by the Mare Rubrum, which was the boundary alſo of the Perſians: by Mare Rubrum he here means the great ſouthern ſea.—*Bryant.*

[48] *Darius introduced.*]—See book the ſecond, chap. 158.

The

The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only.—Such is the diviſion of Aſia from Perſia weſtward.

XL. To the eaſt beyond Perſia, Media, the Sapinians and Colchians, the country is bounded by the Red Sea; to the north by the Caſpian and the river Araxes, which directs its courſe towards the eaſt. As far as India, Aſia is well inhabited; but from India eaſtward the whole country is one vaſt deſert, unknown and unexplored.

XLI. The ſecond tract comprehends Libya, which begins where Ægypt ends. About Ægypt the country is very narrow. One hundred thouſand orgyiæ, or one thouſand ſtadia, comprehend the ſpace between this and the Red Sea[49]. Here the country expands, and takes the name of Libya.

XLII. I am much ſurprized at thoſe who have divided and defined the limits of Libya, Aſia, and Europe, betwixt which the difference is far from ſmall. Europe, for inſtance, in length much exceeds the other two, but is of far inferior breadth:

[49] *This and the Red Sea.*]—Here we muſt neceſſarily underſtand the iſthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea. Heredotus ſays, book ii. chap. 158, that the ſhorteſt way betwixt one ſea and the other was one thouſand ſtadia. Agrippa ſays, on the authority of Pliny, that from Peluſium to Arſinöe on the Red Sea was one hundred and twenty-five miles, which comes to the ſame thing, that author always reckoning eight ſtadia to a mile.—*Larcher.*

except in that particular part which is contiguous to Aſia, the whole of Africa is ſurrounded by the ſea. The firſt perſon who has proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho king of Ægypt. When he had deſiſted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, he diſpatched ſome veſſels [50], under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to paſs by the columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Ægypt. Theſe Phœnicians, taking their courſe from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean: on the approach of autumn they landed in Libya, and planted ſome corn in the place where they happened to find themſelves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again

[50] *Diſpatched ſome veſſels.*]—This Necho is the ſame who in ſcripture is called Pharaoh Necho. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had conſumed an hundred and twenty thouſand men in the work, he was forced to deſiſt from it. But he had better ſucceſs in another undertaking; for having gotten ſome of the experteſt Phœnician ſailors into his ſervice, he ſent them out by the Red Sea, through the ſtraits of Babelmandel, to diſcover the coaſts of Africa, who having ſailed round it came home the third year through the ſtraits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in thoſe days, when the uſe of the loadſtone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thouſand one hundred years before Vaſquez de Gama, a Portugueze, by diſcovering the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, found out the ſame way from hence to the Indies by which theſe Phœnicians came from thence. Since that it hath been made the common paſſage thither from all theſe weſtern parts of the world.—*Prideaux.*

departed.

departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Ægypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible [51], for they affirmed, that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand.—Thus was Africa for the first time known.

XLIII. If the Carthaginian account may be credited, Sataspes, son of Teaspes, of the race of the Achæmenides, received a commission to circumnavigate Africa, which he never executed: alarmed by the length of the voyage, and the solitary appearance of the country, he returned without accomplishing the task enjoined him by his mother. This man had committed violence on a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, for which offence Xerxes had ordered him to be crucified; but the influence of his mother, who was sister to Darius, saved his life. She avowed, however, that it was her intention to inflict a still severer punishment upon him, by obliging him to sail round Africa, till he should arrive at the Ara-

[51] *To me it seems incredible.*]—Herodotus does not doubt that the Phœnicians made the circuit of Africa, and returned to Ægypt by the straits of Gibraltar; but he could not believe that in the course of the voyage they had the sun on their right hand. This, however, must necessarily have been the case after the Phœnicians had passed the line; and this curious circumstance, which never could have been imagined in an age when astronomy was yet in its infancy, is an evidence to the truth of a voyage, which without this might have been doubted.—*Larcher.*

bian

bian Gulph. To this Xerxes assented, and Sataspes accordingly departed for Ægypt; he here embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the columns of Hercules; passing these, he doubled the promontory which is called Syloes, keeping a southern course. Continuing his voyage for several months, in which he passed over an immense tract of sea, he saw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore sailed back to Ægypt. Returning to the court of Xerxes, he amongst other things related, that in the most remote places he had visited he had seen a people of diminutive appearance, cloathed in red garments [52], who on the approach of his vessel

[52] *Red garments.*]—This passage has been indifferently rendered Phœnician garments and red garments; the original is ἐσθῆτι φοινικηΐῃ.—Larcher, dissenting from both these, translates it "des habits de palmier:" his reasoning upon it does not appear quite satisfactory. "It seems very suspicious," says he, "that people so savage as these are described by Herodotus, should either have cloth or stuff, or if they had should possess the means of dying it red." But in the first place, Herodotus does not call these a savage people; and in the next, the narrative of Sataspes was intended to excite astonishment, by representing to Xerxes what to him at least seemed marvellous. That a race of uncivilized men should cloath themselves with skins, or garments made of the leaves or bark of trees, could not appear wonderful to a subject of Xerxes, to whom many barbarous nations were perfectly well known. His surprize would be much more powerfully excited, at seeing a race of men of whom they had no knowledge, habited like the members of a civilized society; add to this, that granting them to be what they are not here represented, Barbarians, they might still have in their country some natural or prepared substances, communicative of different colours. I therefore accede to the interpretation of rubrâ utentes veste,

veſſel to the ſhore, had deſerted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, ſatisfied with taking a ſupply of proviſions, offered them no violence. He denied the poſſibility of his making the circuit of Africa, as his veſſel was totally unable to proceed [53]. Xerxes gave no credit to his aſſertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms impoſed upon him, he was executed according to his former ſentence. An eunuch belonging to this Sataſpes, hearing of his maſter's death, fled with a great ſum of money to Samos, but he was there plundered of his property by a native of the place, whoſe name I know, but forbear to mention.

XLIV. Of Aſia, a very conſiderable part was firſt diſcovered by Darius. He was very deſirous of aſcertaining where the Indus meets the ocean, the only river but one in which crocodiles are found; to effect this, he ſent, amongſt other men in whom he could confide, Scylax of Caryandia [54]. Departing

veſte, which is given by Valla and Gronovius, and which the word φοινικηΐη will certainly juſtify.—T.

53 *Unable to proceed.*]—This was, according to all appearances, the eaſt wind which impeded the progreſs of the veſſel, which conſtantly blows in that ſea during a certain period.—*Larcher.*—See the note of Weſſeling.

54 *Scylax of Caryandia.*]—About this time, Darius being deſirous to enlarge his dominions eaſtward, in order to the conquering of thoſe countries laid a deſign of firſt making a diſcovery of them: for which reaſon, having built a fleet of ſhips at Caſpatyrus, a city on the river Indus, and as far upon it as the borders

ing from Caſpatyrus in the Pactyian territories, they followed the eaſtern courſe of the river, till they came to the ſea; then ſailing weſtward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the very point from whence, as I have before related, the Ægyptian prince diſpatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa. After this voyage Darius ſubdued the Indians, and became maſter of that ocean: whence it appears that Aſia in all its parts, except thoſe more remotely to the eaſt, entirely reſembles Africa.

XLV. It is certain that Europe has not hitherto been carefully examined; it is by no means certain whether to the eaſt and north it is limited by the

borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well ſkilled in maritime affairs, and ſent him down the river to make the beſt diſcoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either ſide; ordering him for this end to ſail down the current till he ſhould arrive at the mouth of the river; and that then, paſſing through it into the Southern Ocean, he ſhould ſhape his courſe weſtward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the ſtraits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea; and on the thirtieth month after his firſt ſetting out from Caſpatyrus landed in Ægypt, at the ſame place from whence Necho king of Ægypt formerly ſent out his Phœnicians to ſail round the coaſts of Africa, which it is moſt likely was the port where now the town of Suez ſtands, at the hither end of the ſaid Red Sea.—*Prideaux.*

There were three eminent perſons of this place, and of this name:—The one flouriſhed under Darius Hyſtaſpes, the ſecond under Darius Nothus, the third lived in the time of Polybius. This was alſo the name of a celebrated river in Cappadocia. —*T.*

ocean.

ocean. In length it unqueſtionably exceeds the two other diviſions of the earth; but I am far from ſatisfied, why to one continent three different names, taken from women, have been aſſigned. To one of theſe diviſions ſome have given as a boundary the Ægyptian Nile, and the Colchian Phaſis; others the Tanais, the Cimmerian Boſphorus, and the Palus Mœotis. The names of thoſe who have thus diſtinguiſhed the earth, or the firſt occaſion of their different appellations, I have never been able to learn. Libya, or Africa, is by many of the Greeks ſaid to have been ſo named from Libya, a woman of the country; and Aſia from the wife of Prometheus. The Lydians contradict this, and affirm that Aſia [55] was ſo called from Aſias, a ſon of Cotys, and grandſon of Manis, and not from the wife of Prometheus; to confirm this, they adduce the name of a tribe at Sardis, called the Aſian tribe. It has certainly never been aſcertained, whether Europe be ſurrounded by the ocean: it is a matter of equal uncertainty, whence or from

[55] *Aſia.*]—In reading the poets of antiquity, it is neceſſary carefully to have in mind the diſtinction of this diviſion of the earth into Aſia Major and Minor.—When Virgil ſays

Poſtquam res Aſiæ, Priamique evertere gentem
Immeritam viſum ſuperis,

it is evident that he can only mean to ſpeak of a ſmall portion of what we now underſtand to be Aſia; neither may it be amiſs to remember, that there was a large lake of this name near mount Tmolus, which had its firſt ſyllable long.

Longa canoros
Dant per colla modos, ſonat amnis et Aſia longe
Pulſat palus.

whom

whom it derives its name. We cannot willingly allow that it took its name from the Syrian Europa, though we know that, like the other two, it was formerly without any. We are well assured that Europa was an Asiatic, and that she never saw the region which the Greeks now call Europe; she only went from Phœnicia to Crete, from Crete to Lycia.—I shall now quit this subject, upon which I have given the opinions generally received.

XLVI. Except Scythia, the countries of the Euxine, against which Darius undertook an expedition, are of all others the most barbarous; amongst the people who dwell within these limits we have found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, but Anacharsis [56] the Scythian. Even of the Scythian nation I cannot in general

[56] *Anacharsis.*]—Of Anacharsis the life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius; his moral character was of such high estimation, that Cicero does not scruple to call him sobrius, continens, abstinens, et temperans. He gave rise to the proverb applicable to men of extraordinary endowments, of Anacharsis inter Scythas: he flourished in the time of Solon. The idea of his superior wisdom and desire of learning, has given rise to an excellent modern work by the Abbé Barthelemy, called the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis. With respect to what Herodotus here says concerning Anacharsis, he seemingly contradicts himself in chap. xciv. and xcv. of this book, where he confesses his belief that Zamolxis, the supposed deity of the Scythians, was a man eminent for his virtue and his wisdom.

Dicenus also was a wise and learned Scythian; and one of the most beautiful and interesting of Lucian's works is named from a celebrated Scythian physician, called Toxaris.

It must be remembered, that subsequent to the Christian æra many exalted and accomplished characters were produced from the Scythians or Goths.—*T.*

ſpeak with extraordinary commendation; they have however, one obſervance, which for its wiſdom excels every thing I have met with. The poſſibility of eſcape is cut off from thoſe who attack them; and if they are averſe to be ſeen, their places of retreat can never be diſcovered: for they have no towns nor fortified cities, their habitations they conſtantly carry along with them, their bows and arrows they manage on horſeback, and they ſupport themſelves not by agriculture, but by their cattle [57]; their conſtant abode may be ſaid to be in

[57] *By their cattle.*]—"The ſkilful practitioners of the medical art," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "may determine, if they are able to determine, how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the uſe of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common aſſociation of carnivorous and cruel, deſerves to be conſidered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a ſalutary prejudice of humanity. Yet if it be true, that the ſentiment of compaſſion is imperceptibly weakened by the ſight and practice of domeſtic cruelty, we may obſerve that the horrid objects which are diſguiſed by the arts of European refinement are exhibited in their naked and moſt diſguſting ſimplicity in the tent of a Tartarian ſhepherd. The ox or the ſheep are ſlaughtered by the ſame hand from which they were accuſtomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are ſerved with very little preparation at the table of their unfeeling murderer." Mr. Gibbon afterwards gives the reader the following curious quotation from the Emile of Rouſſeau.

"Il eſt certain que les grands mangeurs de viande ſont en general cruels et feroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette obſervation eſt de touts les lieux, et de touts les tems: la barbarité Angloiſe eſt connue," &c.—I hope this reproach has long ceaſed to be applied to England by thoſe who really know it, and that the diſpoſitions of our countrymen may furniſh a proof againſt the ſyſtem, in favour of which they were thus adduced.

their

their waggons [58]. How can a people ſo circumſtanced afford the means of victory, or even of attack?

XLVII. Their particular mode of life may be imputed partly to the ſituation of their country, and the advantage they derive from their rivers; their lands are well watered, and well adapted for paſturage. The number of the rivers is almoſt equal to the channels of the Nile; the more celebrated of them, and thoſe which are navigable to the ſea, I ſhall enumerate; they are theſe:—The Danube, having five mouths, the Tyres, the Hypa-

[58] *In their waggons.*]—See the advice of Prometheus to Io, in Æſchylus:—

> Firſt then, from hence
> Turn to the orient ſun, and paſs the height
> Of theſe uncultur'd mountains: thence deſcend
> To where the wandering Scythians, train'd to bear
> The diſtant-wounding bow, on wheels aloft
> Roll on their wattl'd cottages. *Potter.*

See alſo Gibbon's deſcription of the habitation of more modern Scythians. "The houſes of the Tartars are no more than ſmall tents of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiſcuous youth of both ſexes. The palaces of the rich conſiſt of wooden huts, of ſuch a ſize that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team, perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen." The ſame circumſtance reſpecting the Scythians is thus mentioned by Horace:—

> Campeſtres melius Scythæ,
> Quorum plauſtra vagas rite trahunt domos,
> Vivunt et rigidi Getæ
> Immetata quibus jugera, liberas
> Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
> Nec cultura placet longior annua. *T.*

nis,

nis, the Boryſthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerrhus, and the Tanais.

XLVIII. No river of which we have any knowledge is ſo vaſt as the Danube; it is always of the ſame depth, experiencing no variation from ſummer or from winter. It is the firſt river of Scythia to the eaſt, and it is the greateſt of all, for it is ſwelled by the influx of many others: there are five which particularly contribute to encreaſe its ſize; one of theſe the Greeks call Pyreton, the Scythians Porata; the other four are the Tiarantus, Ararus, Naparis, and the Ordeſſus. The firſt of theſe rivers is of immenſe ſize, flowing towards the eaſt it mixes with the Danube; the ſecond, the Tiarantus, is ſmaller, having an inclination to the weſt; betwixt theſe the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordeſſus have their courſe, and empty themſelves into the Danube. Theſe rivers have their riſe in Scythia, and ſwell the waters of the Danube [59].

XLIX.

[59] *Waters of the Danube.*]—Mr. Bryant's obſervations on this river are too curious to be omitted.

The river Danube was properly the river of Noah, expreſſed Da-Nau, Da-Nauos, Da-Nauvas, Da-Naubus. Herodotus plainly calls it the River of Noah, without the prefix; but appropriates the name only to one branch, giving the name of Iſter to the chief ſtream.

It is mentioned by Valerius Flaccus:—

Quas Tanais, flavuſque Lycus, Hypaniſque Noaſque.

This ſome would alter to Novaſque, but the true reading is aſcertained from other paſſages where it occurs; and particularly by this author, who mentions it in another place:—

XLIX. The Maris alſo, commencing amongſt the Agathyrſi, is emptied into the Danube, which is likewiſe the caſe with the three great rivers, Atlas, Auras, and Tibiſis; theſe flow from the ſummits of Mount Hæmus, and have the ſame termination. Into the ſame river are received the waters of the Athres, Noes, and Artanes, which flow through Thrace, and the country of the Thracian Crobyzi. The Cius, which, riſing in Pæonia, near Mount Rhodope, divides Mount Hæmus, is alſo poured into the Danube. The Angrus comes from Illyria, and with a northward courſe paſſes over the Tribalian plains, and mixes with the Brongus; the Brongus meets the Danube, which thus receives the waters of theſe two great rivers. The Carpis, moreover, which riſes in the country beyond the Umbrici, and the Alpis, which flows towards the north, are both loſt in the Danube. Commencing with the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, are the moſt remote inhabitants in the weſt of Europe, this river paſſes directly through the center of Europe, and by a certain inclination enters Scythia.

L. By the union of theſe and of many other waters, the Danube becomes the greateſt of all

Hyberna qui terga Noæ, gelidumque ſecuri
Haurit, et in totâ non audit Amazona ripâ.

Moſt writers compound it with the particle Da, and expreſs it Da-Nau, Da-Nauvis, Da-Naubis. Stephanus Byzantinus ſpeaks of it both by the name of Danoubis, and Danouſis, &c.—vol. ii. 339.

rivers;

rivers; but if one be compared with another, the preference must be given to the Nile, into which no ſtream nor fountain enters. The reaſon why in the two oppoſite ſeaſons of the year the Danube is uniformly the ſame, ſeems to me to be this:—In the winter it is at its full natural height, or perhaps ſomewhat more, at which ſeaſon there is in the regions through which it paſſes abundance of ſnow, but very little rain; but in the ſummer all this ſnow is diſſolved, and emptied into the Danube, which together with frequent and heavy rains greatly augment it. But in proportion as the body of its waters is thus multiplied, are the exhalations of the ſummer ſun. The reſult of this action and reaction on the Danube, is that its waters are conſtantly of the ſame depth.

LI. Thus of the rivers which flow through Scythia, the Danube is the firſt; next to this is the Tyres, which riſing in the north from an immenſe marſh, divides Scythia from Neuris. At the mouth of this river thoſe Greeks live who are known by the name of the Tyritæ.

LII. The third is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, riſing from an immenſe lake, round which are found wild white horſes, and which is properly enough called the mother of the Hypanis[60]. This river through a ſpace of five days journey

[60] *The Hypanis.*]—There were three rivers of this name:—One in Scythia, one in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, and a third

journey from its firſt riſe, is ſmall, and its waters are ſweet, but from thence to the ſea, which is a journey of four days more, it becomes exceedingly bitter. This is occaſioned by a ſmall fountain, which it receives in its paſſage, and which is of ſo very bitter a quality [61], that it infects this river, though by no means contemptible in point of ſize: this fountain riſes in the country of the ploughing Scythians *, and of the Alazones. It takes the name of the place where it ſprings, which in the Scythian tongue is Exampæus, correſponding in Greek to the "Sacred Ways." In the diſtrict of the Alazones the ſtreams of the Tyres and the Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but they ſoon ſeparate again to a conſiderable diſtance.

LIII. The fourth river, and the largeſt next to the Danube, is the Boryſthenes [62]. In my opinion

in India, the largeſt of that region, and the limits of the conqueſts of Alexander the Great.—This laſt was ſometimes called the Hypaſis.—*T.*

[61] *Bitter a quality.*]—This circumſtance reſpecting the Hypanis is thus mentioned by Ovid:—

Quid non et Scythicis Hypanis a montibus ortus
Qui fuerat dulcis ſalibus vitiatur amaris.

It is mentioned alſo by Pomponius Mela, book ii. c. 1.—*T.*

[62] *Boryſthenes.*]—The emperor Hadrian had a famous horſe, to which he gave this name; when the horſe died, his maſter, not ſatisfied with erecting a ſuperb monument to his memory, inſcribed to him ſome elegant verſes, which are ſtill in being.—*T.*

* Herodotus diſtinguiſhes the Σκυθαι ἀροτηρες, from the Σκυθαι γεωργοι; and the reader is deſired to correct Scythian huſbandmen for the ploughing Scythians, page 196.

this

this river is more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, except the Ægyptian Nile. The Nile, it muſt be confeſſed, diſdains all compariſon; the Boryſthenes nevertheleſs affords moſt agreeable and excellent paſturage, and contains great abundance of the more delicate fiſh. Although it flows in the midſt of many turbid rivers, its waters are perfectly clear and ſweet; its banks are adorned by the richeſt harveſts, and in thoſe places where corn is not ſown the graſs grows to a ſurpriſing height; at its mouth a large maſs of ſalt is formed of itſelf. It produces alſo a ſpecies of large fiſh, which is called the Antacæus; theſe, which have no prickly fins, the inhabitants ſalt: it poſſeſſes various other things which deſerve our admiration. The courſe of the ſtream may be purſued as far as the country called Gerrhus, through a voyage of forty days, and it is known to flow from the north. But of the remoter places through which it paſſes, no one can ſpeak with certainty; it ſeems probable that it runs towards the diſtrict of the Scythian huſbandmen, through a pathleſs deſert. For the ſpace of a ten days journey theſe Scythians inhabit its banks. The ſources of this river only, like thoſe of the Nile, are to me unknown, as I believe they are to every other Greek. This river, as it approaches the ſea, is joined by the Hypanis, and they have both the ſame termination: the neck of land betwixt theſe two ſtreams is called the Hippoleon promontory, in which a temple is

erected to Ceres [63]. Beyond this temple as far as the Hypanis, dwell the Borysthenites.—But on this subject enough has been said.

LIV. Next to the above, is a fifth river, called the Panticapes; this also rises in the north, and from a lake. The interval betwixt this and the Borysthenes is possessed by the Scythian husbandmen. Having passed through Hylæa, the Panticapes mixes with the Borysthenes.

LV. The sixth river is called the Hypacyris: this, rising from a lake, and passing through the midst of the Scythian Nomades, empties itself into the sea near the town of Carcinitis [64]. In its course it bounds to the right Hylæa, and what is called the course of Achilles.

LVI. The name of the seventh river is the Gerrhus; it takes it name from the place Gerrhus, near which it separates itself from the Borysthenes, and where this latter river is first known. In its passage to-

[63] *To Ceres.*]—Some manuscripts read to "Ceres," others to "the Mother;" by this latter expression Ceres must be understood, and not Vesta, as Gronovius would have it. In his observation, that the Scythians were acquainted neither with Ceres nor Cybele, he was perfectly right; but he ought to have remembered that the Borysthenites or Olbiopolitæ were of Greek origin, and that they had retained many of the customs and usages of their ancestors.—*Larcher.*

[64] *Carcinitis.*]—Many are of opinion that this is what is now called Golfo di Moscovia.—*T.*

wards

wards the ſea, it divides the Scythian Nomades from the Royal Scythians, and then mixes with the Hypacyris.

LVII. The eighth river is called the Tanais[65]; riſing from one immenſe lake, it empties itſelf into another ſtill greater, named the Mœotis, which ſeparates the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ. —The Tanais is encreaſed by the waters of another river, called the Hyrgis.

LVIII. The Scythians have thus the advantage of all theſe celebrated rivers. The graſs which this country produces is of all that we know the fulleſt of moiſture, which evidently appears from the diſſection of their cattle.

LIX. We have ſhewn that this people poſſeſs the greateſt abundance; their particular laws and

[65] *Tanais.*]—This river is now called the Don. According to Plutarch, in his Treatiſe of celebrated Rivers, it derived its name from a young man called Tanis, who avowing an hatred of the female ſex, was by Venus cauſed to feel an unnatural paſſion for his own mother; and he drowned himſelf in conſequence in this river. It was alſo called the river of the Amazons; and, as appears from an old ſcholiaſt on Horace, was ſometimes confounded with the Danube.—It divides Europe from Aſia.

Ευρωπην δ' Ασιης Ταναις δια μεσσον οριζει.—
Dionyſius.

See alſo Quintus Curtius.—Tanais Europam et Aſiam medius interfluit. l. vi. c. 2. Of this river very frequent mention is made by ancient writers; by Horace very elegantly, in the Ode beginning with "Extremum Tanaim ſi biberes Lyce, &c."—*T.*

obſervances are theſe:—Of their divinities [66], Veſta is without competition the firſt, then Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they believe to be the wife of Jupiter; next to theſe are Apollo, the Cœleſtial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians revere theſe as deities, but the Royal Scythians pay divine rites alſo to Neptune. In the Scythian tongue Veſta is called Tabiti; Jupiter, and, as I think very properly, Papæus *; Tellus, Apia; Apollo, Œtoſyrus; the Cœleſtial Venus, Artimpaſa; and Neptune, Thamimaſadas. Amongſt all theſe deities Mars is the only one to whom they think it proper to erect altars, ſhrines, and temples.

LX. Their mode of ſacrifice in every place appointed for the purpoſe is preciſely the ſame, it is this:—The victim is ſecured with a rope, by its two fore feet; the perſon who offers the ſacri-

[66] *Of their divinities.*]—It is not unworthy the attention of the Engliſh reader, that Herodotus is the firſt author who makes any mention of the religion of the Scythians. In moſt writings on the ſubject of ancient mythology, Veſta is placed next to Juno, whoſe ſiſter ſhe was generally ſuppoſed to be: Montfaucon alſo remarks, that the figures which remain of Veſta have a great reſemblance to thoſe of Juno. With reſpect to this goddeſs, the ancients were much divided in opinion; Euripides and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, agree in calling her Tellus.—Ovid ſeems alſo to have had this in his mind when he ſaid "Stat vi terra ſuâ, vi ſtando Veſta vocatur." Moſt of the difficulties on this ſubject may be ſolved, by ſuppoſing there were two Veſtas.—*T.*

* *Papæus*]—or Pappæus, ſignifying father; as being, according to Homer, πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε, *the ſire of gods and men.*

fice,

fice[67], ſtanding behind, throws the animal down by means of this rope; as it falls he invokes the name of the divinity to whom the ſacrifice is offered; he then faſtens a cord round the neck of the victim, and ſtrangles it, by winding the cord round a ſtick; all this is done without fire, without libations, or without any of the ceremonies in uſe amongſt us. When the beaſt is ſtrangled, the ſacrificer takes off its ſkin, and prepares to dreſs it.

LXI. As Scythia is very barren of wood, they have the following contrivance to dreſs the fleſh of the victim:—Having flayed the animal, they ſtrip the fleſh from the bones, and if they have them at hand, they throw it into certain pots made in Scythia, and reſembling the Leſbian caldrons, though ſomewhat larger; under theſe a fire is made with the bones[68]. If theſe pots cannot be procured, they encloſe

[67] *Who offers the ſacrifice.*]—Montfaucon, in his account of the gods of the Scythians, apparently gives a tranſlation of this paſſage, except that he ſays "the ſacrificing prieſt, after having turned aſide part of his veil:" Herodotus ſays no ſuch thing, nor does any writer on this ſubject which I have had the opportunity of conſulting.—*T.*

[68] *Fire is made with the bones.*]—Montfaucon remarks on this paſſage, that he does not ſee how this could be done. Reſources equally extraordinary ſeem to be applied in the eaſtern countries, where there is a great ſcarcity of fuel. In Perſia it appears from Sir John Chardin they burn heath; in Arabia they burn cow-dung; and according to Dr. Ruſſel they burn parings of fruit, and ſuch like things. The prophet Ezekiel was ordered to bake his food with human dung. See Ezekiel, chap. iv. 12.

encloſe the fleſh with a certain quantity of water in the paunch of the victim, and make a fire with the bones as before. The bones being very inflammable, and the paunch without difficulty made to contain the fleſh ſeparated from the bone, the ox is thus made to dreſs itſelf, which is alſo the caſe with the other victims. When the whole is ready, he who ſacrifices throws with ſome ſolemnity before him the entrails, and the more choice pieces.—They ſacrifice different animals, but horſes in particular.

LXII. Such are the ſacrifices and ceremonies obſerved with reſpect to their other deities; but to the god Mars the particular rites which are paid are theſe—In every diſtrict they conſtruct a temple to this divinity of this kind; bundles of ſmall wood are heaped together, to the length of three ſtadia, and quite as broad, but not ſo high; the top is a regular ſquare, three of the ſides are ſteep and broken, but the fourth is an inclined plane forming

12. "Thou ſhalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man." Voltaire, in his remarks on this paſſage, pretends to underſtand that the prophet was to eat the dung with his food.—"Comme il n'eſt point d'uſage de manger de telles confitures ſur ſon pain, la plupart des hommes trouvent ces commandemens indignés de la Majeſté divin." The paſſage alluded to admits of no ſuch inference: but it may be concluded, that the burning of bones for the purpoſe of fuel was not a very unuſual circumſtance, from another paſſage in Ezekiel.—See chap. xxiv. 5. "Take alſo the choice of the flock, and burn the bones under it, and make it boil well."—*T.*

the aſcent. To this place are every year brought one hundred and fifty waggons full of theſe bundles of wood, to repair the ſtructure, which the ſeverity of the climate is apt to deſtroy. Upon the ſummit of ſuch a pile each Scythian tribe places an ancient ſcymetar [69], which is conſidered as the ſhrine of Mars, and is annually honoured by the ſacrifice of ſheep and horſes; indeed to this deity more victims are offered than to all the other divinities. It is their cuſtom alſo to ſacrifice every hundredth captive, but in a different manner from their other victims. Having poured libations upon their heads, they cut their throats into a veſſel placed for the purpoſe. With this, carried to the ſummit of the pile, they beſmear the above-mentioned ſcymetar. Whilſt this is doing above, the following ceremony is obſerved below:—From theſe human victims they cut off the right arms cloſe to the ſhoulder, and throw them up into the air. This

[69] *Ancient ſcymetar.*]—It was natural enough that the Scythians ſhould adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abſtract idea, or a corporeal repreſentation, they worſhipped their tutelar deity under the ſymbol of an iron cimeter.—*Gibbon.*

In addition to this iron cymetar or cimeter, Lucian tells us that the Scythians worſhipped Zamolxis as a god. See alſo Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 2.—Nec templum apud eos viſitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni uſquam poteſt, ſed *gladius* Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque et Martem regionem quas circumcircant præſulem verecundius colunt.

Larcher, who quotes the above paſſage from Am. Mar. tells us from Varro, that anciently at Rome the point of a ſpear was conſidered as a repreſentation of Mars.—T.

ceremony

ceremony being performed on each victim ſeverally, they depart: the arms remain where they happen to fall, the bodies elſewhere.

LXIII. The above is a deſcription of their ſacrifices. Swine are never uſed for this purpoſe, as they will not ſuffer them to be kept in their country.

LXIV. Their military cuſtoms are theſe:—Every Scythian drinks the blood of the firſt perſon he ſlays; the heads of all the enemies who fall by his hand in battle he preſents to his king: this offering entitles him to a ſhare of the plunder, which he could not otherwiſe claim. Their mode of ſtripping the ſkin from the head[70] is this: they

[70] *The ſkin from the head.*]—To cut off the heads of enemies ſlain in battle, ſeems no unnatural action amongſt a race of fierce and warlike barbarians. The art of ſcalping the head was probably introduced to avoid the trouble and fatigue of carrying theſe ſanguinary trophies to any conſiderable diſtance. Many incidents which are here related of the Scythians, will neceſſarily remind the reader of what is told of the native Americans. The following war ſong, from Boſſu's Travels through Louiſiana, places the reſemblance in a ſtriking point of view:—"I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers—I ſhall kill—I ſhall exterminate—I ſhall burn my enemies—I ſhall bring away ſlaves—I ſhall devour their hearts, dry their fleſh, drink their blood—I ſhall tear off their ſcalps, and make cups off their ſculls."

The quickneſs and dexterity with which the Indians perform the horrid operation of ſcalping, is too well known to require any deſcription. This coincidence of manners is very ſtriking, and

they make a circular inciſion behind the ears, then taking hold of the head at the top, they gradually flay it, drawing it towards them. They next ſoften it in their hands, removing every fleſhy part which may remain, by rubbing it with an ox's hide; they afterwards ſuſpend it, thus prepared, from the bridles of their horſes, when they both uſe it as a napkin, and are proud of it as a trophy. Whoever poſſeſſes the greater number of theſe is deemed the moſt illuſtrious. Some there are who ſew together ſeveral of theſe portions of human ſkin, and convert them into a kind of ſhepherd's garment. There are others who preſerve the ſkins of the right arms, nails and all, of ſuch enemies as they kill, and uſe them as a covering for their quivers. The human ſkin is of all others certainly the whiteſt, and of a very firm texture; many Scythians will take the whole ſkin of a man, and having ſtretched it upon wood, uſe it as a covering to their horſes.

LXV. Such are the cuſtoms of this people: this treatment, however, of their enemies heads, is not univerſal, it is only perpetrated on thoſe whom they moſt deteſt.—The ſcull, below the eye-brows, they cut off, and having cleanſed it thoroughly, if they are poor they merely cover it with a piece of leather; if they are rich, in addition to this they de-

and ſerves greatly to corroborate the hypotheſis, that America was peopled originally from the northern parts of the old continent.—*T.*

corate

corate the inside with gold; it is afterwards used as a drinking cup. They do the same with respect to their nearest connections, if any dissensions have arisen, and they overcome them in combat before the king. If any stranger whom they deem of consequence happen to visit them, they make a display of these heads [71], and relate every circumstance of the previous connection, the provocations received, and their subsequent victory: this they consider as a testimony of their valour.

LXVI. Once a year the prince or ruler of every district mixes a goblet of wine, of which those

[71] *Display of these heads.*]—Many instances may be adduced from the Roman and Greek historians, of the heads of enemies vanquished in battle being carried in triumph, or exposed as trophies; examples also occur in scripture of the same custom. Thus David carried the Philistine's head in triumph; the head of Ishbosheth was brought to David as a trophy; why did Jael *smite off* the head of Sisera, but to present it triumphantly to Barak? It is at the present day practised in the East, many examples of which occur in Niebuhr's Letters. This is too well known to require further discussion; but many readers may perhaps want to be informed, that it was also usual to cut off the hands and the feet of vanquished enemies.—The hands and feet of the sons of Remmon, who slew Ishbosheth, were cut off and hanged up over the pool of Hebron.—See also *Lady Wortley Montague*, vol. ii. p. 19.

"If a minister displeases the people, in three hours time he is dragged even from his master's arms: they cut off his hands, head, and feet, and throw them before the palace gate with all the respect in the world; while the sultan, to whom they all profess unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment."—*T.*

Scythians

Scythians drink[72] who have deſtroyed a public enemy. But of this they who have not done ſuch a thing

[72] *Theſe Scythians drink.*]—Theſe, with many other cuſtoms of the ancient Scythians, will neceſſarily bring to the mind of the reader various circumſtances of the Gothic mythology, as repreſented in the poems imputed to Oſſian, and as may be ſeen deſcribed at length in Mallet's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Denmark. To ſit in the Hall of Odin, and quaff the flowing goblets of mead and ale, was an idea ever preſent to the minds of the Gothic warriors; and the hope of attaining this glorious diſtinction, inſpired a contempt of danger, and the moſt daring and invincible courage. See Gray's Deſcent of Odin:—

O. Tell me what is done below;
For whom yon glittering board is ſpread,
Dreſt for whom yon golden bed.
Pr. Mantling in the goblet ſee
The pure beverage of the bee;
O'er it hangs the ſhield of gold,
'Tis the drink of Balder bold. *T.*

See alſo in the Edda, the Ode of king Regner Lodbrog. "Odin ſends his goddeſſes to conduct me to his palace.—I am going to ſit in the place of honour, to drink ale with the gods.—The hours of my life are paſſed away, I die in rapture." Some of my readers may probably thank me for giving them a ſpecimen of the original ſtanzas, as preſerved by Olaus Wormius.

25.

Pugnavimus enſibus
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi patris ſcamna
Parata ſcio in aula.
Bibemus cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus
Non venis deſperabundus
Verbis ad Odini aulam.

29.

a thing are not permitted to taſte; theſe are obliged to ſit apart by themſelves, which is conſidered as a mark of the greateſt ignominy [73]. They who have killed a number of enemies, are permitted on this occaſion to drink from two cups joined together.

LXVII. They have amongſt them a great number who practiſe the art of divination; for this purpoſe they uſe a number of willow twigs [74], in this manner:—They bring large bundles of theſe

29.

Fert animus finire
Invitant me Dyſæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Odinus mihi miſit
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis
In ſumma ſede bibam
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ
Ridens moriar. T.

[73] *Greateſt ignominy.*]—Ut quiſque plures interemenit, ita apud eos habetur eximius, cæterum expertem eſſe cædis inter opprobria vel maximum.—*Pomp. Mela.* l. iii c. 1.

[74] *Willow twigs.*]—Ammianus Marcellinus, in ſpeaking of the Huns, ſays, "Futurâ miro præſagiunt modo; nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, eaſque cum incantamentis quibuſdam ſecretis præſtituto tempore diſcernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt.—Larcher, in quoting the above paſſage, remarks, that he has ſomewhere in the country ſeen ſome traces of this ſuperſtition practiſed. There is an animated fragment of Ennius remaining, in which he expreſſes a moſt cordial contempt for all ſoothſayers: as it is not perhaps familiar to every reader, I may be excuſed inſerting it.

Non

theſe together, and having untied them, diſpoſe them one by one on the ground, each bundle at a diſtance from the reſt. This done, they pretend to foretell the future, during which they take up the bundles ſeparately, and tie them again together. —This mode of divination is hereditary amongſt them. The enaries, or "effeminate men," affirm that the art of divination [75] was taught them by the goddeſs Venus. They take alſo the leaves of the lime-tree, which dividing into three parts they twine round their fingers; they then unbind it, and exerciſe the art to which they pretend.

Non vicinos aruſpices, non de circo aſtrologos,
Non Iſiacos conjectores, non interpretes ſomnium,
Non enim ſunt ii aut ſapientia aut arte divina
Sed ſuperſtitioſi vates, impudenteſque harioli,
Aut inertes, aut inſani, aut quibus egeſtas imperat.

A ſimilar contempt for diviners, is expreſſed by Jocaſta, in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles:

Εμε' πακυσσον, κ' μαθ' ενεκ' ες τι σοι
Βροτειον ουδεν μαντικης εχον τεχνης.

Let not a fear perplex thee, Œdipus;
Mortals know nothing of futurity,
And theſe prophetic ſeers are all impoſtors.—T.

[75] *Art of divination.*]—To enumerate the various modes of divination which have at different times been practiſed by the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, would be no eaſy taſk. We read of hydromancy, libaromancy, onyctomancy, divinations by earth, fire, and air: we read in Ezekiel of divination by a rod or wand. To ſome ſuch mode of divination, in all probability, the following paſſage from Hoſea alludes: "My people aſk counſel at their ſtocks, and their ſtaff declareth unto them."

LXVIII. Whenever the Scythian monarch happens to be indiſpoſed, he ſends for three of the moſt celebrated of theſe diviners. When the Scythians deſire to uſe the moſt ſolemn kind of oath, they ſwear by the king's throne[76]: theſe diviners, therefore, make no ſcruple of affirming, that ſuch or ſuch individual, pointing him out by name, has forſworn himſelf by the royal throne.—Immediately the perſon thus marked out is ſeized, and informed that by their art of divination, which is infallible, he has been indirectly the occaſion of the king's illneſs, by having violated the oath which we have mentioned. If the accuſed not only denies the charge, but expreſſes himſelf enraged at the imputation, the king convokes a double number of diviners, who, examining into the mode which has been purſued in criminating him, decide accordingly. If he be found guilty, he immediately loſes his head, and the three diviners who were firſt conſulted ſhare his effects. If theſe laſt diviners acquit the accuſed, others are at hand, of whom if the greater number abſolve him, the firſt diviners are put to death.

LXIX. The manner in which they are executed is this:—Some oxen are yoked to a waggon filled with faggots, in the midſt of which, with their feet tied, their hands faſtened behind, and their mouths gagged, theſe diviners are placed; fire is

[76] *King's throne.*]—"The Turks at this day," ſays Larcher, "ſwear by the Ottoman Porte." Reiſke has the ſame remark: "Adhuc obtinet apud Turcas, per Portam Ottomanicam, hoc eſt domicilium ſui principis, jurare."—*T.*

then

then ſet to the wood, and the oxen terrified to make them run violently away. It ſometimes happens that the oxen themſelves are burned; and often when the waggon is conſumed, the oxen eſcape ſeverely ſcorched. This is the method by which, for the above-mentioned or ſimilar offences, they put to death thoſe whom they call falſe diviners.

LXX. Of thoſe whom the king condemns to death, he conſtantly deſtroys the male children, leaving the females unmoleſted. Whenever the Scythians form alliances[77], they obſerve theſe ceremonies:—A large earthen veſſel is filled with wine, into this is poured ſome of the blood of the contracting parties, obtained by a ſlight inciſion of a knife or a ſword; in this cup they dip a ſcymetar, ſome arrows, a hatchet, and a ſpear. After this they pronounce ſome ſolemn prayers, and the parties who form the contract, with ſuch of their friends as are of ſuperior dignity, finally drink the contents of the veſſel.

LXXI. The ſepulchres of the kings are in the diſtrict of the Gerrhi. As ſoon as the king dies[78] a large trench of a quadrangular form is ſunk, near where the Boryſthenes begins to be navigable. When this has been done, the body is encloſed in

[77] *Form alliances.*]—See book i. c. 74.

[78] *King dies.*]—A minute and intereſting deſcription of the funeral ceremonies of various ancient nations may be found in Montfaucon, vol. v. 126, &c.—*T.*

wax, after it has been thoroughly cleanſed, and the entrails taken out; before it is ſown up they fill it with aniſe, parſley-ſeed, bruiſed cypreſs, and various aromatics. They then place it on a carriage, and remove it to another diſtrict, where the perſons who receive it, like the Royal Scythians, cut off a part of their ear, ſhave their heads in a circular form, take a round piece of fleſh from their arm, wound their foreheads, noſes, and pierce their left hands with arrows. The body is again carried to another province of the deceaſed king's realms, the inhabitants of the former diſtrict accompanying the proceſſion. After thus tranſporting the dead body through the different provinces of the kingdom, they come at laſt to the Gerrhi, who live in the remoteſt parts of Scythia, and amongſt whom the ſepulchres are. Here the corpſe is placed upon a couch, round which at different diſtances daggers are fixed; upon the whole are diſpoſed pieces of wood covered with branches of willow. In ſome other part of this trench they bury one of the deceaſed's concubines, whom they previouſly ſtrangle, together with the baker, the cook, the groom, his moſt confidential ſervant, his horſes, the choiceſt of his effects, and finally ſome golden goblets, for they poſſeſs neither ſilver nor braſs: to conclude all, they fill up the trench with earth, and ſeem to be emulous in their endeavours to raiſe as high a mound as poſſible.

LXXII. The ceremony does not here terminate.—They ſelect ſuch of the deceaſed king's attendants,

tendants, in the following year, as have been moſt about his perſon; theſe are all native Scythians, for in Scythia there are no purchaſed ſlaves, the king ſelecting ſuch to attend him as he thinks proper: fifty of theſe they ſtrangle [79], with an equal number of his beſt horſes. Of all theſe they open and cleanſe the bodies, which having filled with ſtraw, they ſew up again: then upon two pieces of wood they place a third of a ſemicircular form, with its concave ſide uppermoſt, a ſecond is diſpoſed in like manner, then a third, and ſo on, till a ſufficient number have been erected. Upon theſe ſemicircular pieces of wood they place the horſes, after paſſing large poles through them, from the feet to the neck.

79 *They ſtrangle.*]—Voltaire ſuppoſes that they impaled alive the favourite officers of the khan of the Scythians, round the dead body; whereas Herodotus expreſsly ſays that they ſtrangled them firſt.—*Larcher.*

Whoever has occaſion minutely to examine any of the more ancient authors, will frequently feel his contempt excited, or his indignation provoked, from finding a multitude of paſſages ignoran ly miſunderſtood, or wilfully perverted. This remark is in a particular manner applicable to M. Voltaire, in whoſe work falſe and partial quotations, with ignorant miſconceptions of the ancients, obviouſly abound. The learned Pauw cannot in this reſpect be entirely exculpated; and I have a paſſage now before me, in which the fault I would reprobate is eminently conſpicuous.—Speaking of the Chineſe laws, he ſays, "they puniſh the relations of a criminal convicted of a capital offence with death, excepting the females, *whom they ſell as ſlaves*, following in this reſpect the maxim of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus." On the contrary, our hiſtorian ſays, chap. 70, tha the females are not moleſted. A ſimilar remark, as it reſpects M. Pauw, is ſomewhere made by Larcher.—*T.*

One part of the ſtructure, formed as we have deſcribed, ſupporting the ſhoulders of the horſe, the other his hinder parts, the legs are left to project upwards. The horſes are then bridled, and the reins faſtened to the legs; upon each of theſe they afterwards place one of the youths who have been ſtrangled, in the following manner: a pole is paſſed through each quite to the neck, through the back, the extremity of which is fixed to the piece of timber with which the horſe has been ſpitted; having done this with each, they ſo leave them.

LXXIII. The above are the ceremonies obſerved in the interment of their kings: as to the people in general, when any one dies the neighbours place the body on a carriage, and carry it about to the different acquaintance of the deceaſed; theſe prepare ſome entertainment for thoſe who accompany the corpſe, placing before the body the ſame as before the reſt. Private perſons, after being thus carried about for the ſpace of forty days, are then buried[80]. They who have been engaged in the performance

[80] *Are then buried.*]—The Scythians did not all of them obſerve the ſame cuſtoms with reſpect to their funerals: there were ſome who ſuſpended the dead bodies from a tree, and in that ſtate left them to putrefy. "Of what conſequence," ſays Plutarch, "is it to Theodorus, whether he rots in the earth or upon it?—Such with the Scythians is the moſt honourable funeral."

Silius Italicus mentions alſo this cuſtom:

At gente in Scythicâ ſuffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies ſepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

It

performance of these rites, afterwards use the following mode of purgation:—After thoroughly washing the head, and afterwards drying it, they do thus with regard to the body: they place in the ground three stakes, inclining towards each other, round these they bind fleeces of wool as thickly as possible, and finally, into the space betwixt the stakes they throw red-hot stones.

LXXIV. They have amongst them a species of hemp resembling flax, except that it is both thicker and larger; it is indeed superior to flax, whether it is cultivated or grows spontaneously. Of this the Thracians [81] make themselves garments, which so nearly resemble those of flax, as to require a skilful eye to distinguish them: they who had never seen this hemp, would conclude these vests to be made of flax.

LXXV. The Scythians take the seed of this hemp, and placing it beneath the woollen fleeces

It is not perhaps without its use to observe, that barbarous nations have customs barbarous like themselves, and that these customs much resemble each other, in nations which have no communication. Captain Cook relates, that in Otaheite they leave dead bodies to putrefy on the surface of the ground, till the flesh is entirely wasted, they then bury the bones.—*Larcher.* See *Hawkesworth's Voyages.*

[81] *Of this the Thracians.*]—Hesychius says that the Thracian women make themselves garments of hemp: consult him at the word Καννάβις:—"Hemp is a plant which has some resemblance to flax, and of which the Thracian women make themselves vests."—*T.*

which we have before deſcribed, they throw it upon the red-hot ſtones, immediately a perfumed vapour [82] aſcends ſtronger than from any Grecian ſtove. This to the Scythians is in the place of a bath, and it excites from them cries of exultation. It is to be obſerved, that they never bathe themſelves: the Scythian women bruiſe under a ſtone ſome wood of the cypreſs, cedar, and frankincenſe; upon this they pour a quantity of water, till it becomes of a certain conſiſtency, with which they anoint the body [83] and the face; this at the time imparts

[82] *A perfumed vapour.*]—As the ſtory of the magic powers imputed to Medea ſeem in this place particularly applicable, I tranſlate, for the benefit of the reader, what Palæphatus ſays upon the ſubject.

Concerning Medea, who was ſaid by the proceſs of boiling to make old men young again, the matter was this: ſhe firſt of all diſcovered a flower which could make the colour of the hair black or white; ſuch therefore as wiſhed to have black hair rather than white, by her means obtained their wiſh. Having alſo invented baths, ſhe nouriſhed with warm vapours thoſe who wiſhed it, but not in public, that the profeſſors of the medical art might not know her ſecret. The name of this application was παρεψησις, or "the boiling." When therefore by theſe fomentations men became more active, and improved in health, and her apparatus, namely the caldron, wood, and fire, was diſcovered, it was ſuppoſed that her patients were in reality boiled. Pelias, an old and infirm man, uſing this operation, died in the proceſs.—*T.*

[83] *Anoint the body.*]—When we read in this place of the cuſtom of anointing the body amongſt an uncivilized race, in a cold climate, and afterwards find that in warmer regions it became an indiſpenſable article of luxury and elegance with the politeſt nations, we pauſe to admire the caprice and verſatility of the human mind. The motive of the Scythians

imparts an agreable odour, and when removed on the following day gives the ſkin a ſoft and beautiful appearance.

LXXVI. The Scythians have not only a great abhorrence of all foreign cuſtoms, but each province ſeems unalterably tenacious of its own. Thoſe of the Greeks they particularly avoid, as appears both from Anacharſis and Scyles. Of Anacharſis it is remarkable, that having perſonally

Scythians was at firſt perhaps only to obtain agility of body, without any views to cleanlineſs, or thoughts of ſenſuality. In hot climates fragrant oils were probably firſt uſed to diſperſe thoſe fœtid ſmells which heat has a tendency to generate; precious ointments therefore ſoon became eſſential to the enjoyment of life; and that they really were ſo, may be eaſily made appear from all the beſt writers of antiquity. See Anacreon, Ode xv.

Εμοι μελει μυρισι
Καταβρεχειν υπηνην
Εμοι μελει ροδοισι
Καταστεφειν κεφαλην.

Let my hair with unguents flow,
With roſy garlands crown my brow.

See alſo Horace:

——— funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis.

The ſame fact alſo appears from the ſacred ſcriptures; ſee the threat of the prophet Micah: "Thou ſhalt tread the olive, but thou ſhalt not anoint thee with oil."—Theſe inſtances are only adduced to prove that fragrant oils were uſed in private life for the purpoſes of elegant luxury; how they were applied in athletic exerciſes, and always before the bath, is ſufficiently notorious.—T.

viſited

viſited a large part of the habitable world, and acquired great wiſdom, he at length returned to Scythia. In his paſſage over the Helleſpont, he touched at Cyzicus [84], at the very time when the inhabitants were celebrating a ſolemn and magnificent feſtival to the mother of the gods. He made a vow, that if he ſhould return ſafe and without injury to his country, he would inſtitute, in honour of this deity, the ſame rites he had ſeen performed at Cyzicus, together with the ſolemnities obſerved on the eve of her feſtival [85]. Arriving therefore in Scythia, in the diſtrict of Hylæa, near the Courſe of Achilles, a place abounding with trees, he performed all the particulars of the above-mentioned ceremonies, having a number of ſmall ſtatues ſecured together [86], with a cymbal in his hand.

[84] *Cyzicus.*]—An account of the ruins of this place may be found in Pococke. It now produces a quantity of rich wine in great repute at Conſtantinople.

This city was once poſſeſſed of conſiderable territory, and was governed by its own laws. There was here a temple built to Dindymene by the Argonauts. This muſt not be confounded with the Cyzicus, a city of Myſia, on the Propontis, built by the Mileſians.—*T.*

[85] *Eve of her feſtival.*]—Theſe feſtivals probably commenced early on the evening before the day appointed for their celebration; and it ſeems probable that they paſſed the night in ſinging hymns in honour of the god or goddeſs to whom the feaſt was inſtituted. See the Pervigilium Veneris.—*Larcher.*

The Pervigilia were obſerved principally in honour of Ceres and of Venus, and as appears from Aulus Gellius, and other writers, were converted to the purpoſes of exceſs and debauchery.—*T.*

[86] *Statues ſecured together.*]—Theſe particularities are related at

hand. In this ſituation he was obſerved by one of the natives, who gave intelligence of what he had ſeen to Saulius, the Scythian king. The king went inſtantly to the place, and ſeeing Anacharſis ſo employed, killed him with an arrow.—If any one now make enquiries concerning this Anacharſis, the Scythians diſclaim all knowledge of him, merely becauſe he viſited Greece, and had learned ſome foreign cuſtoms: but as I have been informed by Timnes, the tutor of Spargapithes, Anacharſis was the uncle of Idanthyrſus, a Scythian king, and that he was the ſon of Gnurus, grandſon of Lycus, and great-grandſon of Spargapithes. If therefore this genealogy be true, it appears that Anacharſis was killed by his own brother; for Saulius, who killed Anacharſis, was the father of Idanthyrſus.

LXXVII. It is proper to acknowledge that from the Peloponneſians I have received a very different account: they affirm that Anacharſis was ſent by the Scythian monarch to Greece, for the expreſs purpoſe of improving himſelf in ſcience;

at length in Apollonius Rhodius, book i. 1139.—This circumſtance of the ſmall figures tied together, is totally omitted by Mr. Fawkes in his verſion, who ſatisfies himſelf by ſaying,

> The Phrygians ſtill their goddeſs' favour win
> By the revolving wheel and timbrel's din.

The trueſt idea perhaps of the rites of Cybele, may be obtained from a careful peruſal of the Atys of Catullus, one of the moſt precious remains of antiquity, and perhaps the only perfect ſpecimen of the old dithyrambic verſe.—*T.*

and

and they add, that at his return he informed his employer, that all the people of Greece were occupied in ſcientific purſuits, except the Lacedæmonians; but they alone endeavoured to perfect themſelves in diſcreet and wiſe converſation. This however, is a tale of Grecian invention; I am convinced that Anacharſis was killed in the manner which has been deſcribed, and that he owed his deſtruction to the practice of foreign cuſtoms and Grecian manners.

LXXVIII. Not many years afterwards, Scyles, the ſon of Aripithes, experienced a ſimilar fortune. Aripithes, king of Scythia, amongſt many other children, had this ſon Scyles by a woman of Iſtria, who taught him the language and ſciences of Greece. It happened that Aripithes was treaſonably put to death by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrſi. He was ſucceeded in his dominions by this Scyles, who married one of his father's wives, whoſe name was Opæa. Opæa was a native of Scythia, and had a ſon named Oricus by her former huſband. When Scyles aſcended the Scythian throne, he was exceedingly averſe to the manners of his country, and very partial to thoſe of Greece, to which he had been accuſtomed from his childhood. As often therefore as he conducted the Scythian forces to the city of the Boryſthenites, who affirm that they are deſcended from the Mileſians, he left his army before the town, and entering into the place ſecured the gates. He then threw aſide his Scythian dreſs, and aſſumed the habit of Greece. In this, without

guards or attendants, it was his cuſtom to parade through the public ſquare, having the caution to place guards at the gates, that no one of his countrymen might diſcover him. He not only thus ſhewed his partiality to the cuſtoms of Greece, but he alſo ſacrificed to the gods in the Grecian manner. After continuing in the city for the ſpace of a month, and ſometimes for more, he would reſume his Scythian dreſs, and depart. This he frequently repeated, having built a palace in this town, and married an inhabitant of the place.

LXXIX. It ſeemed however ordained [87] that his end ſhould be unfortunate, which accordingly happened. It was his deſire to be initiated into the myſteries of Bacchus; and he was already about to take ſome of the ſacred utenſils in his hands, when the following prodigy appeared to him. I have before mentioned the palace which he had in the city of the Boryſthenites; it was a very large

[87] *It ſeemed however ordained.*]—This idea, which occurs repeatedly in the more ancient writers, is moſt beautifully expreſſed in the Perſæ of Æſchylus; which I give the reader in the animated verſion of Potter.

For when misfortune's fraudful hand
Prepares to pour the vengeance of the ſky,
What mortal ſhall her force withſtand,
What rapid ſpeed th' impending fury fly?
Gentle at firſt, with flattering ſmiles,
She ſpreads her ſoft enchanting wiles;
So to her toils allures her deſtin'd prey,
Whence man ne'er breaks unhurt away. T.

and

and magnificent ſtructure, and the front of it was decorated with ſphinxes and griffins of white marble: the lightning[88] of heaven deſcended upon it, and it was totally conſumed. Scyles nevertheleſs perſevered in what he had undertaken. The Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of their Bacchanalian feſtivals, and aſſert it to be contrary to reaſon to ſuppoſe that any deity ſhould prompt men to acts of madneſs. When the initiation of Scyles was completed, one of the Boryſthenites diſcovered to the Scythians what he had done— "You Scythians," ſays he, "cenſure us on account of our Bacchanalian rites, when we yield "to the impulſe of the deity. This ſame deity "has taken poſſeſſion of your ſovereign, he is "now obedient in his ſervice, and under the influence of his power. If ye diſbelieve my words, "you have only to follow me, and have ocular "proof that what I ſay is true." The principal Scythians accordingly followed him, and by a ſecret avenue were by him conducted to the citadel. When they beheld Scyles approach with his thiaſus,

[88] *The lightning.*]—The ancients believed that lightning never fell but by the immediate interpoſition of the gods; and whatever thing or place was ſtruck by it, was ever after deemed ſacred, and ſuppoſed to have been conſecrated by the deity to himſelf. There were at Rome, as we learn from Cicero de Divinatione, certain books called "Libri Fulgurales," expreſsly treating on this ſubject. In Ammianus Marcellinus this expreſſion occurs, "contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere pronuntiant libri fulgurales." The Greeks placed an urn over the place where the lightning fell: the Romans had a ſimilar obſervance.

and

and in every other reſpect acting the Bacchanal, they deemed the matter of moſt calamitous importance, and returning informed the army of all that they had ſeen.

LXXX. As ſoon as Scyles returned an inſurrection was excited againſt him; and his brother Octomaſades, whoſe mother was the daughter of Tereus, was promoted to the throne. Scyles having learned the particulars and the motives of this revolt, fled into Thrace; againſt which place, as ſoon as he was informed of this event, Octomaſades advanced with an army. The Thracians met him at the Iſter; when they were upon the point of engaging, Sitalces ſent an herald to Octomaſades, with this meſſage: "A conteſt betwixt us "would be abſurd, for you are the ſon of my "ſiſter. My brother is in your power; if you "will deliver him to me, I will give up Scyles to "you, thus we ſhall mutually avoid all danger." As the brother of Sitalces had taken refuge with Octomaſades, the above overtures effected a peace. The Scythian king ſurrendered up his uncle, and received the perſon of his brother. Sitalces immediately withdrew his army, taking with him his brother; but on that very day Octomaſades deprived Scyles of his head. Thus tenacious are the Scythians of their national cuſtoms, and ſuch the fate of thoſe who endeavour to introduce foreign ceremonies amongſt them.

LXXXI.

LXXXI. On the populouſneſs of Scythia I am not able to ſpeak with deciſion; they have been repreſented to me by ſome as a numerous people, whilſt others have informed me, that of real Scythians there are but few. I ſhall relate however what has fallen within my own obſervation. Betwixt the Boryſthenes and the Hypanis there is a place called Exampæus: to this I have before made ſome alluſion, when ſpeaking of a fountain which it contained, whoſe waters were ſo exceedingly bitter as to render the Hypanis, into which it flows, perfectly impalatable. In this place is a veſſel of braſs, ſix times larger than that which is to be ſeen in the entrance of Pontus, conſecrated there by Pauſanias [89] the ſon of Cleombrotus. For the benefit of thoſe who may not

[89] *Conſecrated there by Pauſanias.*]—Nymphis of Heraclea relates, in the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory of his country, that Pauſanias, who vanquiſhed Mardonius at Platea, in violation of the laws of Sparta, and yielding to his pride, conſecrated, whilſt he was near Byzantium, a goblet of braſs to thoſe gods whoſe ſtatues may be ſeen at the mouth of the Euxine, which goblet may ſtill be ſeen. Vanity and inſolence had made him ſo far forget himſelf, that he preſumed to ſpecify in the inſcription, that it was he himſelf who had conſecrated it: "Pauſanias of Lacedæmon, ſon of Cleombrotus, and of the ancient race of Hercules, general of Greece, has conſecrated this goblet to Neptune, as a monument of his valour."—*Athenæus.*

What would have been the indignation of this or any hiſtorian of that period, if he could have foreſeen the baſe and ſervile inſcriptions dedicated in after-times, in almoſt all parts of the habitable world, to the Cæſars and their vile deſcendants? Many of theſe have been preſerved, and are an outrage againſt all decency.—T.

have

have ſeen it, I ſhall here deſcribe it. This veſſel which is in Scythia, is of the thickneſs of ſix digits, and capable of containing ſix hundred amphoræ. The natives ſay that it was made of the points of arrows, for that Ariantas [90], one of their kings, being deſirous to aſcertain the number of the Scythians, commanded each of his ſubjects, on pain of death, to bring him the point of an arrow: by theſe means ſo prodigious a quantity were collected, that this veſſel was compoſed from them. It was left by the prince as a monument of the fact, and by him conſecrated at Exampæus.—This is what I have heard of the populouſneſs of Scythia.

LXXXII. This country has nothing remarkable except its rivers, which are equally large and numerous. If beſides theſe and its vaſt and extenſive plains, it poſſeſſes any thing worthy of admiration, it is an impreſſion which they ſhew of the foot of Hercules [91]. This is upon a rock, two cubits

[90] *Ariantas.*]—I have now a remarkable inſtance before me, how dangerous it is to take upon truſt what many learned men put down upon the authority of ancient writers. Hoffman, whoſe Lexicon is a prodigy of learning and of induſtry, ſpeaking of this Ariantas, ſays, "that he made each of his ſubjects bring him *every year* the point of an arrow." For the truth of this he refers the reader to Herodotus, and the paſſage before us. Herodotus ſays no ſuch thing.—*T.*

[91] *Foot of Hercules.*]—The length of the foot of Hercules was aſcertained by that of the ſtadium at Olympia, which was ſaid to have been meaſured by him to the length of 600 of his own feet: hence Pythagoras eſtimated the ſize of Hercules by the rule of proportion; and hence too the proverb, *ex pede Herculem,*

cubits in ſize, but reſembling the footſtep of a man; it is near the river Tyras.

LXXXIII. I ſhall now return to the ſubject from which I originally digreſſed.—Darius preparing to make an expedition againſt Scythia, diſpatched emiſſaries different ways, commanding ſome of his dependants to raiſe a ſupply of infantry, others to prepare a fleet, and others to throw a bridge over the Thracian Boſphorus. Artabanus, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and brother of Darius, endeavoured to perſuade the prince from his purpoſe, urging with great wiſdom the indigence of Scythia; nor did he deſiſt till he found all his arguments ineffectual. Darius having completed his preparations, advanced from Suſa with his army.

LXXXIV. Upon this occaſion a Perſian, whoſe name was Œbazus, and who had three ſons in the army, aſked permiſſion of the king to detain one of them. The king replied, as to a friend, that the petition was very modeſt, "and that he would "leave him all the three." Œbazus was greatly delighted, and conſidered his three ſons as exempted from the ſervice: but the king commanded his guards to put the three young men to death; and thus were the three ſons of Œbazus left, deprived of life.

LXXXV. Darius marched from Suſa to where

culem, a more modern ſubſtitution for the ancient one of εξ ονυχων λεοντα.—See Aul. Gell. l. i. and Eraſmus's Adagia, in which the proverb of *ex pede Herculem* has no place.—*T.*

the

the bridge had been thrown over the Boſphorus at Chalcedon. Here he embarked and ſet ſail for the Cyanean iſlands, which, if the Greeks may be believed, formerly floated [92]. Here, ſitting in the temple [93], he caſt his eyes over the Euxine, which of all ſeas moſt deſerves admiration. Its length is eleven thouſand one hundred ſtadia; its breadth, where it is greateſt, is three thouſand two hundred. The breadth of the entrance is four ſtadia; the length of the neck, which is called the Boſphorus, where the bridge had been erected, is about one

92 *Formerly floated.*]—The Cyanean rocks were at ſo little diſtance one from the other, that viewed remotely they appeared to touch. This optic illuſion probably gave place to the fable, and the fable gained credit from the dangers encountered on this ſea.—*Larcher.*

See a deſcription of theſe rocks in Apollonius Rhodius: I give it from the verſion of Fawkes.

When hence your deſtin'd voyage you purſue,
Two rocks will riſe, tremendous to the view,
Juſt in the entrance of the watery waſte,
Which never mortal yet in ſafety paſt.
Not firmly fix'd, for oft, with hideous ſhock,
Adverſe they meet, and rock encounters rock.
The boiling billows daſh their airy brow,
Loud thundering round the ragged ſhore below.

The circumſtance of their floating is alſo mentioned by Valerius Flaccus.

Errantesque per altum
Cyaneas ——— *T.*

93 *In the temple.*]—Jupiter was invoked in this temple, under the name of Urius, becauſe this deity was ſuppoſed favourable to navigation, ὄρος ſignifying a favourable wind. And never could there be more occaſion for his aſſiſtance than in a ſea remarkably tempeſtuous.—*Larcher.*

hundred and twenty ſtadia. The Boſphorus is connected with the Propontis [94], which flowing into the Helleſpont [95], is five hundred ſtadia in breadth, and four hundred in length. The Helleſpont itſelf, in its narroweſt part, where it enters the Ægean ſea, is forty ſtadia long, and ſeven wide.

[94] *Propontis.*]—Between the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, the ſhores of Europe and Aſia, receding on either ſide, incloſe the ſea of Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the iſſue of the Boſphorus to the entrance of the Helleſpont, is about one hundred and twenty miles. Thoſe who ſteer their weſtward courſe through the middle of the Propontis may at once deſcry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never loſe ſight of the lofty ſummit of mount Olympus, covered with eternal ſnows. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was ſeated, the imperial reſidence of Dioeletian; and they paſs the ſmall iſlands of Cyzicus and Proconneſus, before they caſt anchor at Gallipoli, where the ſea which ſeparates Aſia from Europe is again contracted into a narrow channel.—*Gibbon.*

[95] *Helleſpont.*]—The geographers, who, with the moſt ſkilful accuracy, have ſurveyed the form and extent of the Helleſpont, aſſign about ſixty miles for the winding courſe, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth of theſe celebrated ſtreights. But the narroweſt part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkiſh caſtles, between the cities of Ceſtus and Abydos. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the paſſage of the flood for the poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs:—It was here likewiſe, in a place where the diſtance between the oppoſite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes compoſed a ſtupendous bridge of boats for the purpoſe of tranſporting into Europe an hundred and ſeventy myriads of Barbarians. A ſea contracted within ſuch narrow limits may ſeem but ill to deſerve the epithet of *broad*, which Homer as well as Orpheus has frequently beſtowed on the Helleſpont.—*Gibbon.*

LXXXVI. The exact menſuration of theſe ſeas is thus determined; in a long day [96] a ſhip will ſail the ſpace of ſeventy thouſand orgyæ, and ſixty thouſand by night. From the entrance of the Euxine to Phaſis, which is the extreme length of this ſea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which is equal to eleven hundred and ten thouſand orgyæ, or eleven thouſand one hundred ſtadia. The broadeſt part of this ſea, which is from Sindica [97] to Themiſcyra, on the river Thermodon, is a voyage of three days and two nights, which is equivalent to three thouſand three hundred ſtadia, or three hundred and thirty thouſand orgyæ. The Pontus, the Boſphorus, and the Helleſpont, were thus ſeverally meaſured by me; and circumſtanced as I have already deſcribed. The Palus Mœotis flows into the Euxine, which in extent almoſt equals it, and which is juſtly called the mother of the Euxine.

LXXXVII. When Darius had taken a ſurvey of the Euxine, he ſailed back again to the bridge

[96] *In a long day.*]—That is, a ſhip in a long day would ſail eighty miles by day, and ſeventy miles by night. See Weſſeling's notes on this paſſage.—*T.*

[97] *Sindica.*]—The river Indus was often called the Sindus. There were people of this name and family in Thrace. Some would alter it to Sindicon, but both terms are of the ſame purport. Herodotus ſpeaks of a regio Sindica, upon the Pontus Euxinus, oppoſite to the river Thermodon. This ſome would alter to Sindica, but both terms are of the ſame amount. The Ind or Indus of the eaſt is at this day called the Sind; and was called ſo in the time of Pliny.—*Bryant.*

conſtructed by Mandrocles the Samian. He then examined the Boſphorus, near which [98] he ordered two columns of white marble to be erected; upon one were inſcribed in Aſſyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which followed him. In this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to ſeventy thouſand men, independent of his fleet, which conſiſted of ſix hundred ſhips. Theſe columns the Byzantines afterwards removed to their city, and placed before the altar of the Orthoſian Diana[99], excepting only one ſtone, which they depoſited in their city before the temple of Bacchus, and which was covered with Aſſyrian characters. That part of the Boſphorus where Darius ordered the bridge to be erected is as I conjecture nearly at the point of middle diſtance between Byzan-

[98] *Near which.*]—The new caſtles of Europe and Aſia are conſtructed on either continent upon the foundations of two celebrated temples of Serapis, and of Jupiter Urius. The old caſtles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narroweſt part of the channel, in a place where the oppoſite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. Theſe fortreſſes were reſtored and ſtrengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the ſiege of Conſtantinople: but the Turkiſh conqueror was moſt probably ignorant that near two thouſand years before his reign Darius had choſen the ſame ſituation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.—*Gibbon.*

[99] *Orthoſian Diana.*]—We are told by Plutarch, that in honour of the Orthoſian Diana, the young men of Lacedæmon permitted themſelves to be flagellated at the altar with the extremeſt ſeverity, without uttering the ſmalleſt complaint.—*T.*

tium

tium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine.

LXXXVIII. With this bridge Darius was ſo much delighted, that he made many valuable preſents [100] to Mandrocles the Samian, who conſtructed it: with the produce of theſe the artiſt cauſed a repreſentation to be made of the Boſphorus, with the bridge thrown over it, and the king ſeated on a throne, reviewing his troops as they paſſed. This he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of Juno, with this inſcription:

Thus was the fiſhy Boſphorus inclos'd,
When Samian Mandrocles his bridge impos'd:
Who there, obedient to Darius' will,
Approv'd his country's fame, and private ſkill.

LXXXIX. Darius having rewarded the artiſt, paſſed over into Europe: he had previouſly ordered the Ionians to paſs over the Euxine to the Iſter, where having erected a bridge, they were to wait his arrival. To aſſiſt this expedition, the Ionians and Æolians, with the inhabitants of the Helleſpont, had aſſembled a fleet; accordingly, having paſſed the Cyanean iſlands, they ſailed directly to the Iſter; and arriving after a paſſage of two days from the ſea at that part of the river where it begins to branch off, they conſtructed a bridge. Darius

[100] *Valuable preſents.*]—Gronovius retains the reading of παισι δεκα, which is very abſurd in itſelf, and ill agrees with the context: the true reading is πασι δεκα, that is, ten of each article preſented.—See Caſaubon on Athenæus, and others.—*T.*

croſſed the Boſphorus, and marched through Thrace; and arriving at the ſources of the river Tearus, he encamped for the ſpace of three days.

XC. The people who inhabit its banks affirm the waters of the Tearus to be an excellent remedy for various diſeaſes, and particularly for ulcers, both in men and horſes. Its ſources are thirty-eight in number, iſſuing from the ſame rock, part of which are cold, and part warm; they are at an equal diſtance from Heræum, a city near Perinthus [101], and from Apollonia on the Euxine, being a two days journey from both. The Tearus flows into the Contadeſdus, the Contadeſdus into the Agrianis, the Agrianis into the Hebrus, the Hebrus into the ſea, near the city Ænus.

XCI. Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp: he was ſo delighted with this river, that he cauſed a column to be erected on the ſpot, with this inſcription: "The ſources of the Tearus afford "the beſt and cleareſt waters in the world:—In "proſecuting an expedition againſt Scythia, Da- "rius ſon of Hyſtaſpes, the beſt and moſt ami- "able of men, ſovereign of Perſia, and of all the "continent, arrived here with his forces."

XCII. Leaving this place, Darius advanced to-

[101] *Perinthus.*]—This place was anciently known by the different names of Mygdonia, Heraclea, and Perinthus.—It is now called Pera.—*T.*

wards

wards another river, called Artiſcus, which flows through the country of the Odryſians [102]. On his arrival here he fixed upon one certain ſpot, on which he commanded every one of his ſoldiers to throw a ſtone as he paſſed: this was accordingly done, and Darius, having thus raiſed an immenſe pile of ſtones, proceeded on his march.

XCIII. Before he arrived at the Iſter, he firſt of all ſubdued the Getæ, a people who pretend to immortality. The Thracians of Salmydeſſus, and they who live above Apollonia, and the city of Meſambria, with thoſe who are called Cyrmianians, and Mypſæans, ſubmitted themſelves to Darius without reſiſtance. The Getæ obſtinately defended themſelves, but were ſoon reduced; theſe of all the Thracians are the braveſt and the moſt upright.

XCIV. They believe themſelves to be immortal [103]; and whenever any one dies they are of opinion that he is removed to the preſence of their god

[102] *Odryſians,*]—Theſe people are ſuppoſed to be the Moldavians: they had a city named Odryſa. Mention is made of them by Claudian in his Gigantomachia:

> Primus terrificum Mavors non ſegnis in hoſtem
> Odriſios impellit equos.

Silius Italicus alſo ſpeaks of Odriſius Boreas.—*T.*

[103] *They believe themſelves to be immortal.*]—Arrian calls theſe people Dacians. "The firſt exploits of Trajan," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "were againſt the Dacians, the moſt warlike of men, who

god Zamolxis [104], whom ſome believe to be the ſame with Gebeleizes. Once in every five years they chooſe one by lot, who is to be diſpatched as a meſſenger to Zamolxis, to make known to him their ſeveral wants. The ceremony they obſerve on this occaſion is this:—Three amongſt them are appointed to hold in their hands three javelins, whilſt others ſeize by the feet and hands the perſon who is appointed to appear before Zamolxis; they throw him up, ſo as to make him fall upon the javelins. If he dies in conſequence, they imagine that the deity is propitious to them; if not, they

who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had inſulted with impunity the majeſty of Rome. To the ſtrength and fierceneſs of Barbarians, they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a vain perſuaſion of the immortality of the ſoul."

The Getæ are repreſented by all the claſſic writers as the moſt daring and ferocious of mankind; in the Latin language particularly, every harſh term has been made to apply to them: Nulla Getis toto gens eſt trucilentior orbe, ſays Ovid. Hume ſpeaks thus of their principles of belief, with reſpect to the ſoul's immortality:—"The Getes, commonly called immortal from their ſteady belief of the ſoul's immortality, were genuine Theiſts and Unitarians. They affirmed Zamolxis, their deity, to be the only true God, and aſſerted the worſhip of all other nations to be addreſſed to mere fictions and chimæras: but were their religious principles any more refined on account of theſe magnificent pretenſions?"—*T.*

[104] *Zamolxis.*]—Larcher, in conformity to Weſſeling, prefers the reading of Zalmoxis.—In the Thracian tongue, Zalmos means the ſkin of a bear; and Porphyry, in the life of Pythagoras, obſerves, that the name of Zalmoxis was given him, becauſe as ſoon as he was born he was covered with the ſkin of that animal.

accuſe

accuſe the victim of being a wicked man. Having diſgraced him, they proceed to the election of another, giving him, whilſt yet alive, their commands. This ſame people, whenever it thunders or lightens, throw their weapons into the air, as if menacing their god; and they ſeriouſly believe that there is no other deity.

XCV. This Zamolxis, as I have been informed by thoſe Greeks who inhabit the Helleſpont and the Euxine, was himſelf a man, and formerly lived at Samos, in the ſervice of Pythagoras, ſon of Mneſarchus; having obtained his liberty, with conſiderable wealth, he returned to his country. Here he found the Thracians diſtinguiſhed equally by their profligacy and their ignorance; whilſt he himſelf had been accuſtomed to the Ionian mode of life, and to manners more poliſhed than thoſe of Thrace; he had alſo been connected with Pythagoras, one of the moſt celebrated philoſophers of Greece. He was therefore induced to build a large manſion, to which he invited the moſt eminent of his fellow-citizens: he took the opportunity of the feſtive hour to aſſure them, that neither himſelf, his gueſts, nor any of their deſcendants, ſhould ever die, but ſhould be removed to a place where they were to remain in the perpetual enjoyment of every bleſſing. After ſaying this, and conducting himſelf accordingly, he conſtructed a ſubterranean edifice: when it was compleated, he withdrew himſelf from the ſight of his countrymen, and reſided for three years beneath the earth.—During this period, the Thracians regretted

gretted his loſs, and lamented him as dead. In the fourth year he again appeared amongſt them, and by this artifice gave the appearance of probability to what he had before aſſerted.

XCVI. To this ſtory of the ſubterraneous apartment I do not give much credit, though I pretend not to diſpute it; I am, however, very certain that Zamolxis muſt have lived many years before Pythagoras: whether, therefore, he was a man, or the deity of the Getæ, enough has been ſaid concerning him. Theſe Getæ, uſing the ceremonies I have deſcribed, after ſubmitting themſelves to the Perſians under Darius, followed his army.

XCVII. Darius, when he arrived at the Iſter, paſſed the river with his army; he then commanded the Ionians to break down the bridge, and to follow him with all the men of their fleet. When they were about to comply with his orders, Coes, ſon of Erxander, and leader of the Mytelenians, after requeſting permiſſion of the king to deliver his ſentiments, addreſſed him as follows:

"As you are going, Sir, to attack a country, "which, if report may be believed, is without cities "and entirely uncultivated, ſuffer the bridge to "continue as it is, under the care of thoſe who "conſtructed it:—By means of this our return will "be ſecured, whether we find the Scythians, and "ſucceed againſt them according to our wiſhes, or "whether they elude our endeavours to diſcover "them. I am not at all apprehenſive that the

"Scythians

" Scythians will overcome us; but I think that if " we do not meet them, we ſhall ſuffer from " our ignorance of the country. It may be ſaid, " perhaps, that I ſpeak from ſelfiſh conſiderations, " and that I am deſirous of being left behind; but " my real motive is a regard for your intereſt, " whom at all events I am determined to follow."

With this counſel Darius was greatly delighted, and thus replied:—" My Leſbian friend, when I " ſhall return ſafe and fortunate from this expedi- " tion, I beg that I may ſee you, and I will not " fail amply to reward you, for your excellent " advice."

XCVIII. After this ſpeech, the king took a cord, upon which he tied ſixty knots [105], then ſending

[105] *Sixty knots.*]—Larcher obſerves that this mode of notation proves extreme ſtupidity on the part of the Perſians. It is certain, that the ſcience of arithmetic was firſt brought to perfection in Greece, but when or where it was firſt introduced is entirely uncertain; I ſhould be inclined to imagine, that ſome knowledge of numbers would be found in regions the moſt barbarous, and amongſt human beings the moſt ignorant, had I not now before me an account of ſome American nations, who have no term in their language to expreſs a greater number than three, and even this they call by the uncouth and tedious name of patarrarorincourſac. In the Odyſſey, when it is ſaid that Proteus will count his herd of ſea-calves, the expreſſion uſed is πεμπασσεῖται, *he will reckon them by fives*, which has been remarked, as being probably a relick of a mode of counting practiſed in ſome remote age, when five was the greateſt numeral. To count the fingers of one hand, was the firſt arithmetical effort: to carry on the account through the other hand was a refinement, and required attention and recollection.

M. Goguet

ſending for the Ionian chiefs, he thus addreſſed them:—

"Men of Ionia, I have thought proper to "change my original determination concerning "this bridge: do you take this cord, and ob- "ſerve what I require; from the time of my "departure againſt Scythia, do not fail to "untie every day one of theſe knots. If they "ſhall be all looſened before you ſee me again,

M. Goguet thinks, that in all numerical calculations pebbles were firſt uſed: ψηφιζω, to calculate, comes from ψηφος, a little ſtone, and the word *calculation* from *calculi*, pebbles. This is probably true; but between counting by the five fingers and ſtanding in need of pebbles to continue a calculation, there muſt have been many intervening ſteps of improvement. A more complicated mode of counting by the fingers was alſo uſed by the ancients, in which they reckoned as far as 100 on the left hand, by different poſtures of the fingers; the next hundred was counted on the right hand, and ſo on, according to ſome authors, as far as 9000. In alluſion to this, Juvenal ſays of Neſtor,

—— Atque ſuos jam *dextrâ* computat annos.

Sat. x. 249.

and an old lady is mentioned by Nicarchus, an Anthologic poet, who made Neſtor ſeem young, having returned to the *left* hand again:

——— ἡ χερι λαιη
Τηρας αριθμεισθαι δευτερον αρξαμενη.—

Anthолog. l. ii.

This, however, muſt be an extravagant hyperbole, as it would make her above 9000 years old, or there is ſome error in the modern accounts.—There is a tract of Bede's on this ſubject which I have not ſeen; it is often cited. Macrobius and Pliny tell us, that the ſtatues of Janus were ſo formed, as to mark the number of days in the year by the poſition of his fingers, in Numa's time 355, after Cæſar's correction 365. —*Saturn.* i. 9. and *Nat. Hiſt.* xxxiv. 7.—*T.*

"you

" you are at liberty to return to your country; " but in the mean time it is my deſire that you " preſerve and defend this bridge, by which means " you will effectually oblige me." As ſoon as Darius had ſpoken, he proceeded on his march.

XCIX. That part of Thrace [106] which ſtretches to the ſea, has Scythia immediately contiguous: where Thrace ends Scythia begins, through which the Iſter paſſes, commencing at the ſouth-eaſt, and emptying itſelf into the Euxine. It ſhall be my buſineſs to deſcribe that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Iſter to the ſea-coaſt. Ancient Scythia extends from the Iſter weſtward, as far as the city Carcinitis. The mountainous country above this place, in the ſame direction, as far as what is called the Trachean Cherſoneſe, is poſſeſſed by the people of Taurus; this place is ſituate near the ſea to the eaſt. Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts limited by the ſea, weſtward and to the eaſt. The people of Taurus are circumſtanced with reſpect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with reſpect to Attica, who, inſtead of Athenians, ſhould inhabit the Sunian promontory, ſtretching from the diſtrict of Thonicus, as far as Anaphlyſtus. Such, comparing ſmall things with

[106] *That part of Thrace.*]—This chapter will, doubtleſs, appear perplexed on a firſt and caſual view, but whoever will be at the trouble to examine M. d'Anville's excellent maps, illuſtrative of ancient geography, will in a moment find every difficulty reſpecting the ſituation of the places here deſcribed effectually removed.—*T.*

great,

great, is the district of Tauris; but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavour to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose, that beginning at the port of Brundusium [107], another nation, and not the Iapyges [108], should occupy that country, as far as Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

[107] *Brundusium.*]—This place, which is now called Brindisi, was very memorable in the annals of ancient Rome; here Augustus first took the name of Cæsar, here the poet Pacuvius was born, and here Virgil died:—It belongs to the king of Naples; and it is the opinion of modern travellers, that the kingdom of Naples possesses no place so advantageously situated for trade. —*T.*

[108] *Iapyges.*]—The region of Iapygia has been at different times called Messapia, Calabria, and Salentum; it is now called Terra d'Otranto: it derived its name of Iapyges from the wind called Iapyx:

> Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
> Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
> Adriæ novi sinus et quid albus
> Peccet Iapyx.

Where I suppose the Albus, contrasted to Ater, means that this wind surprized the unwary mariner, during a very severe sky.

Others are of opinion, that the Iapyges were so named from Iapyx, the son of Dædalus, and that the wind was named Iapyx, from blowing in the direction of that extremity of Italy, which is indeed more conformable to the analogy of the Latin names for several other winds.

C. The

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the ſea to the eaſt [109], is inhabited by Scythians, who poſſeſs alſo the lands which lie, to the weſt of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, and the Palus Mœotis, as far as the Tanais, which empties itſelf into this lake; ſo that as you advance from the Iſter inland, Scythia is terminated firſt by the Agathyrſi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and laſt of all by the Melanchlæni.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of a quadrangular form, having two of its ſides terminated by the ſea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Iſter to the Boryſthenes is a ten days journey, which is alſo the diſtance from the Boryſthenes to the Palus Mœotis. Aſcending from the ſea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred ſta-

[109] *To the eaſt.*]—This deſcription of Scythia is attended with great difficulties; it is not, in the firſt place, eaſy to ſeize the true meaning of Herodotus; in the ſecond, I cannot believe that the deſcription here given accords correctly with the true poſition of the places. I am, nevertheleſs, aſtoniſhed that it ſhould be generally faithful, when it is conſidered how ſcanty the knowledge of this country was: the hiſtorian muſt have laboured with remarkable diligence to have told us what he has. By the phraſe of "the ſea to the eaſt," Bellanger underſtands the Palus Mœotis; but I am convinced that when he deſcribes the ſea which is to the ſouth, and to the weſt, he means only to ſpeak of different points of the Euxine.—*Larcher.*

dia [110]: thus the extent of Scythia, along its ſides, is four thouſand ſtadia; and through the midſt of it inland, is four thouſand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themſelves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbours. The princes alſo to whom they applied held a conſultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were aſſembled the princes of the Agathyrſi,

[110] *Two hundred ſtadia.*]—Authors do not agree with each other, nor indeed with themſelves, about the length of the day's journey; Herodotus here gives two hundred ſtadia to a day's journey; but in the fifth book he gives no more than one hundred and fifty.

Strabo and Pliny make the length of the Arabian Gulph a thouſand ſtadia, which the firſt of theſe authors ſays will take up a voyage of three or four days: what Livy calls a day's journey, Polybius deſcribes as two hundred ſtadia. The Roman lawyers aſſigned to each day twenty miles, that is to ſay, one hundred and ſixty ſtadia.—See *Caſaubon on Strabo*, page 61 of the Amſterdam edition, page 23 of that of Paris.

The evangeliſt Luke tells us, that Joſeph and Mary went a day's journey before they ſought the child Jeſus; now Maundrel, page 64, informs us, that according to tradition this happened at Beer, which was no more than ten miles from Jeruſalem; according, therefore, to this eſtimation, a day's journey was no more than eighty ſtadia. When we recollect that the day has different acceptations, and has been divided into the natural day, the artificial day, the civil day, the aſtronomical day, &c. we ſhall the leſs wonder at any apparent want of exactneſs in the computations of ſpace paſſed over in a portion of time by no means determinate.—*T.*

Tauri,

Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIII. Of theſe nations, the Tauri are diſtinguiſhed by theſe peculiar cuſtoms [111]: All ſtrangers ſhipwrecked on their coaſts, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they ſacrifice to a virgin, in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they ſtrike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that having fixed the head upon a croſs, they precipitate the body from the rock, on the craggy part of which the temple ſtands: others again, allowing that the head is thus expoſed, deny that the body is ſo treated, but ſay that it is buried. The ſacred perſonage to whom this ſacrifice is offered, the Taurians themſelves aſſert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:—Every man cuts off the head of his priſoner, and carries it to his houſe, this he fixes on a ſtake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney; thus ſituated, they affect to conſider it as the protection of their families: their whole

[111] *Peculiar cuſtoms.*]—Theſe cuſtoms, as far as they relate to the religious ceremonies deſcribed in the ſubſequent paragraphs of this chapter, muſt have been rendered by the Iphigenia of Euripides, and other writers, too familiar to require any minute diſcuſſion. The ſtory of Iphigenia alſo, in all its particulars, with the ſingular reſemblance which it bears to the account of the daughter of Jephtha in the ſacred ſcriptures, muſt be equally well known.—*T.*

ſubſiſtence is procured by acts of plunder and hoſtility.

CIV. The Agathyrſi [112] are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold; they have their women in common, ſo that, being all connected by the ties of conſanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other reſpects they reſemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri obſerve the Scythian cuſtoms. In the age preceding this invaſion of Darius, they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of ſerpents which infeſted them: beſides what their own ſoil produced, theſe came in far greater numbers from the deſerts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini; theſe people have the character of being magicians. It is aſſerted by the Scythians, as well as by thoſe Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of

[112] *Agathyrſi.*]—The country inhabited by this people is now called Vologhda, in Muſcovy: the Agathyrſi were by Juvenal called cruel.

Sauromatæque truces aut immanes Agathyrſi.

Virgil calls them the painted Agathyrſi:

Creteſque Dryopeſque fremunt pictique Agathyrſi.

They are ſaid to have received the name of Agathyrſi from Agathyrſus, a ſon of Hercules.—*T.*

them

them changed into wolves [113]; and that after remaining ſo for the ſpace of a few days, they reſume their former ſhape; but this I do not believe, although they ſwear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are perhaps, of all mankind, the rudeſt: they have no forms of law or juſtice, their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dreſs is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themſelves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni [114] have all black garments, from whence they derive their name: theſe are the only people known to feed on human fleſh [115]; their manners are thoſe of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini [116] are a great and nume-

[113] *Into wolves.*]—Pomponius Mela mentions the ſame fact, as I have obſerved in page 196. It has been ſuppoſed by ſome, that this idea might ariſe from the circumſtance of theſe people cloathing themſelves in the ſkins of wolves during the colder months of winter; but this is rejected by Larcher, without his giving any better hypotheſis to ſolve the fable.—*T.*

[114] *Melanchlæni.*]—

Melanchlænis atra veſtis & ex ea nomen.—
Pomp. Mela.

[115] *Human fleſh.*]—M. Larcher very naturally thinks this a paſſage tranſpoſed from the preceding chapter, as indeed the word Androphagi literally means eaters of human fleſh.

[116] *Budini.*]—The diſtrict poſſeſſed by this people is now called Podolia: Pliny ſuppoſes them to have been ſo called from uſing waggons drawn by oxen.—*T.*

rous people; their bodies are painted of a blue and red colour; they have in their country a town called Gelonus, built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a ſurpriſing height: they are on each ſide three hundred ſtadia in length; the houſes and the temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the ſtatues, altars, and ſhrines of wood. Every three years [117] they have a feſtival in honour of Bacchus. The Geloni are of Grecian origin; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they eſtabliſhed themſelves amongſt the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are diſtinguiſhed equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni: they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni [118], on the con-

[117] *Every three years.*]—This feaſt, celebrated in honour of Bacchus, was named the Trieterica, to which there are frequent alluſions in the ancient authors.—See Statius.

——— Non hæc Trieterica vobis
Nox patrio de more venit.

From which we may preſume that this was kept up throughout the night.

[118] *Geloni.*]—Theſe people are called Picti by Virgil:

Pictoſque Gelonos. *Georg.* ii. 115.

And by Lucan fortes:

Maſſagetes quo fugit equo forteſque Gelonos.—L. iii. 283.

trary,

trary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and reſemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks however are apt, though erroneouſly, to confound them both under the name of Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every ſpecies; where theſe are the thickeſt, there is a large and ſpacious lake with a marſh ſurrounded with reeds. In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have ſquare ſnouts: of theſe the ſkins are uſed to border the garment [119]; and their teſticles are eſteemed uſeful in hyſteric diſeaſes.

CX. Of the Sauromatæ [120] we have this account. In a conteſt which the Greeks had with the

[119] *Border the garment.*]—It is perhaps not unworthy remark, that throughout the ſacred ſcriptures we find no mention made of furs: and this is the more remarkable, as in Syria and Ægypt, according to the accounts of modern travellers, garments lined and bordered with coſtly furs are the dreſſes of honour and of ceremony. Purple and fine linen are what we often read of in ſcripture; but never of fur. —*T.*

[120] *Sauromatæ.*]—This people were alſo called Sarmatæ or Sarmatians. It may perhaps tend to excite ſome novel and intereſting ideas in the mind of the Engliſh reader, when he is informed, that amongſt a people rude and uncivilized as theſe Sarmatians are here deſcribed, the tender and effeminate Ovid was compelled to conſume a long and melancholy exile. It was on the banks of the Danube that he wrote thoſe nine books of epiſtles, which are certainly not the leaſt valuable of his works. The following lines are eminently harmonious and pathetic:

the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata [121], or, as it may be interpreted, men-ſlayers (for Oeor ſignifies a man, and pata to kill) they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return, as many Amazons [122] as they were able to take

At puto cum requies medicinaque publica curæ
Somnus adeſt, ſolitis nox venit orba malis,
Somnia me terrent veros imitantia caſus,
Et vigilant ſenſus in mea damna mei;
Aut ego Sarmaticas videor vitare ſagittas
Aut dare captivas ad fera vincla manus:
Aut ubi decipior melioris imagine ſomni,
Aſpicio patriæ tecta relicta meæ,
Et modo vobiſcum quos ſum veneratus amici,
Et modo cum cara conjuge multa loquor. Q.

Herodotus relates the origin of this people in this and the ſubſequent chapters. The account of Diodorus Siculus differs materially; the Scythians, ſays this author, having ſubdued part of Aſia, drove ſeveral colonies out of the country, and amongſt them one of the Medes; this, advancing towards the Tanais, formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.—*Larcher.*

[121] *Oiorpata.*]—This etymology is founded upon a notion that the Amazons were a community of women who killed every man with whom they had any commerce, and yet ſubſiſted as a people for ages. This title was given them from their worſhip, for Oiorpata, or as ſome manuſcripts have it Aorpata, is the ſame as Patah-Or, the prieſt of Orus, or in a more lax ſenſe the votaries of that god. They were Ανδροκτονοι, for they ſacrificed all ſtrangers whom fortune brought upon their coaſt: ſo that the whole Euxine ſea, upon which they lived, was rendered infamous from their cruelty.—*Bryant.*

[122] *Amazons.*]—The more ſtriking peculiarities relating to this fancied community of women, are doubtleſs familiar to the moſt

take captive, they distributed in three vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose against their conquerors, and put them all to death. But as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and knew nothing at all of the management either of helms, sails, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves to the wind and the tide, which carried them to Cremnes, near the Palus Mœotis, a place inhabited by the free Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and advanced towards the part which was inhabited, and meeting with a stud of horses in their route, they immediately seized them, and, mounted on these, proceeded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what had happened, being neither acquainted with the language, the dress, nor the country of the invaders. Under the impression that they were a body of men nearly of the same age, they offered them battle. The result was, that having taken some as prisoners, they at last discovered them to be women. After a consultation amongst themselves, they determined not to put any of them to death, but to select a detachment of their youngest

most common reader. The subject, considered in a scientific point of view, is admirably discussed by Bryant. His chapter on the Amazons is too long to transcribe, and it would be injurious to mutilate it. "Among barbarous nations," says Mr. Gibbon, "women have often combated by the side of their husbands: but it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should ever have existed in the old or new world."—*T.*

men,

men, equal in number, as they might conjecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to encamp oppoſite to them, and by their adverſaries motions to regulate their own: if they were attacked, they were to retreat without making reſiſtance; when the purſuit ſhould be diſcontinued, they were to return, and again encamp as near the Amazons as poſſible. The Scythians took theſe meaſures, with the view of having children by theſe invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered. The Amazons, ſeeing that no injury was offered them, deſiſted from hoſtilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horſes; and both obtained their ſubſiſtence from the chace.

CXIII. It was the cuſtom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the reſt, either alone or two in company, to eaſe nature. The Scythians diſcovered this, and did likewiſe. One of the young men met with an Amazon, who had wandered alone from the reſt, and who, inſtead of rejecting his careſſes, ſuffered him to enjoy her perſon. They were not able to converſe with each other, but ſhe intimated by ſigns, that if on the following day he would come to the ſame place, and bring with him a companion, ſhe would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement,

ment, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who ſoon conciliated the reſt of the women. The two camps were preſently united, and each conſidered as his wife her to whom he had firſt attached himſelf. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons, they taught them theirs; which having accompliſhed, the huſbands thus addreſſed their wives:—"We have relations and property, let us therefore change this "mode of life; let us go hence, and communicate "with the reſt of our countrymen, where you and "you only ſhall be our wives." To this the Amazons thus replied: "We cannot aſſociate with "your females, whoſe manners are ſo different "from our own; we are expert in the uſe of the "javelin and the bow, and accuſtomed to ride on "horſeback, but we are ignorant of all feminine "employments: your women are very differently "accompliſhed; inſtructed in female arts, they paſs "their time in their waggons[123], and deſpiſe the "chace, with all ſimilar exerciſes; we cannot "therefore live with them. If you really deſire to "retain us as your wives, and to behave your-

[123] *In their waggons.*]—Theſe waggons ſerved them inſtead of houſes. Every one knows that in Greece the women went out but ſeldom; but I much fear that Herodotus attributes to the Scythian women the manners of thoſe of Greece.—*Larcher.*

"ſelves

" ſelves honeſtly towards us, return to your parents,
" diſpoſe of your property, and afterwards come
" back to us, and we will live together, at a diſ-
" tance from your other connections."

CXV. The young men approved of their advice; they accordingly took their ſhare of the property which belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, by whom they were thus addreſſed. " Our reſidence here occaſions us much terror and " uneaſineſs: we have not only deprived you of " your parents, but have greatly waſted your coun- " try. As you think us worthy of being your " wives, let us leave this place, and dwell beyond " the Tanais."

CXVI. With this alſo the young Scythians complied, and having paſſed the Tanais, they marched forwards a three days journey towards the eaſt, and three more from the Palus Mœotis towards the north. Here they fixed themſelves, and now remain. The women of the Sauromatæ ſtill retain their former habits of life; they purſue the chace on horſeback, ſometimes with and ſometimes without their huſbands, and, dreſſed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ uſe the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, becauſe the Amazons themſelves had learned it but imperfectly. With reſpect to their inſtitutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to marry

marry till ſhe ſhall firſt have killed an enemy [124]. It ſometimes therefore happens that many women die ſingle at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To theſe nations, which I have deſcribed aſſembled in council, the Scythian ambaſſadors were admitted—they informed the princes, that the Perſian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Boſphorus, in order to paſs into theirs: that he had already ſubdued Thrace, and conſtructed a bridge over the Iſter, ambitiouſly hoping to reduce them alſo. "Will it be juſt," they continued, "for you to "remain inactive ſpectators of our ruin? Rather, "having the ſame ſentiments, let us advance to-"gether againſt this invader: unleſs you do this, "we ſhall be reduced to the laſt extremities, and "be compelled either to forſake our country, or to "ſubmit to the terms he may impoſe. If you "withhold your aſſiſtance, what may we not dread? "Neither will you have reaſon to expect a diffe-"rent or a better fate; for are not you the object

[124] *Killed an enemy.*]—The account which Hippocrates gives is ſomewhat different: the women of the Sauromatæ mount on horſeback, draw the bow, lance the javelin from on horſeback, and go to war as long as they remain unmarried: they are not ſuffered to marry till they have killed three enemies; nor do they cohabit with their huſbands till they have performed the ceremonies which their laws require. Their married women do not go on horſeback, unleſs indeed it ſhould be neceſſary to make a national expedition.

"of

" of the Perſian's ambition as well as ourſelves? or " do you ſuppoſe that, having vanquiſhed us, he " will leave you unmoleſted? That we reaſon " juſtly, you have ſufficient evidence before you. " If his hoſtilities were directed only againſt us, " with the view of revenging upon us the former " ſervile condition of his nation, he would immedi- " ately have marched into our country, without at " all injuring or moleſting others; he would have " ſhewn by his conduct, that his indignation was " directed againſt the Scythians only. On the con- " trary, as ſoon as even he ſet foot upon our con- " tinent, he reduced all the nations which he met, " and has ſubdued the Thracians, and our neigh- " bours the Getæ."

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered their ſentiments, the princes of the nations who were aſſembled deliberated among themſelves, but great difference of opinion prevailed; the ſovereigns of the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ were unanimous in their inclination to aſſiſt the Scythians; but thoſe of the Agathyrſi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and Tauri, made this anſwer to the ambaſſadors: " If you had not been the firſt aggreſ- " ſors in this diſpute, having firſt of all commenced " hoſtilities againſt Perſia, your deſire of aſſiſtance " would have appeared to us reaſonable; we ſhould " have liſtened to you with attention, and yielded " the aid which you require: but without any in- " terference on our part, you firſt made incurſions " into their territories, and as long as fortune fa-

" voured

" voured you, ruled over Perſia. The ſame for-
" tune now ſeems propitious to them, and they
" only retaliate your own conduct upon you. We
" did not before offer any injury to this people,
" neither without provocation ſhall we do ſo now:
" but if he attack our country, and commence
" hoſtilities againſt us, he will find that we ſhall
" not patiently endure the inſult. Until he ſhall
" do this we ſhall remain neuter. We cannot
" believe that the Perſians intend any injury to us,
" but to thoſe alone who firſt offended them."

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and found that they had no aſſiſtance to expect, they determined to avoid all open and deciſive encounters: with this view they divided themſelves into two bodies, and retiring gradually before the enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way, and deſtroyed the produce of their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to advance to the diſtrict under the authority of Scopaſis, with orders, upon the advance of the Perſians, to retreat towards the Mœotis, by the river Tanais. If the Perſians retreated, they were to harraſs and purſue them. This was the diſpoſition of one part of their power. The two other diviſions of their country, the greater one under Indathyrſus, and the third under Taxacis, were to join themſelves to the Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march before the Perſians, were gradually to retreat, and in other reſpects perform what had been previouſly determined in council. They were particularly

enjoined to allure the enemy to paſs the dominions of thoſe nations who had withheld their aſſiſtance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that as they were unwilling to unite in any hoſtilities before, they ſhould now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any proſpect of ſucceſs [125].

CXXI. The Scythians having determined upon theſe meaſures, advanced ſilently before the forces of Darius, ſending forwards as ſcouts a ſelect detachment of their cavalry: they alſo diſpatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children uſually live, together with their cattle, reſerving only ſuch a number as was neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, giving directions that their route ſhould be regularly towards the north.

CXXII. Theſe carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed; the Scythian ſcouts, finding that the Perſians had proceeded a three days journey from the Iſter, encamped at the diſtance of one day's march from their army, and deſtroyed all the produce of the lands. The Perſians, as ſoon

[125] *Proſpect of ſucceſs.*]—The very judicious plan of operation here pourtrayed ſeems rather to belong to a civilized nation, acquainted with all the ſubterfuges of the moſt improved military diſcipline, than to a people ſo rude and barbarous as the Scythians are elſewhere repreſented. The conduct of the Roman Fabius, who, to uſe the words of Ennius, cunctando reſtituit rem, was not very unlike this.—*T.*

as

as they came in ſight of the Scythian cavalry, commenced the purſuit; whilſt the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Perſians continued to advance eaſtward towards the Tanais. The Scythians having croſſed this river, the Perſians did the ſame, till paſſing over the country of the Sauromatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Perſians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia, they had little power of doing injury, the country around them was ſo vaſt and extenſive; but as ſoon as they came amongſt the Budini, they diſcovered a town built entirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally ſtripped and deſerted; to this they ſet fire. This done, they continued their purſuit through the country of the Budini, till they came to a dreary ſolitude. This is beyond the Budini, and of the extent of a ſeven days journey, without a ſingle inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyſſagetæ[126], from whoſe country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themſelves into the Palus Mœotis. The names of theſe rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanais, and the Syrgis.

[126] *Thyſſagetæ.*]—This people are indifferently named the Thyſſagetæ, the Thyrſagetæ, and the Tyrregetæ; mention is made of them by Strabo, Pliny, and Valerius Flaccus.—This latter author ſays,

> Non ego ſanguineis geſtantem tympana bellis
> Thyrſagetem, cinctumque vagis poſt terga filebo
> Pellibus. T.

CXXIV. As ſoon as Darius arrived at the above ſolitude, he halted, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Oarus: he then conſtructed eight large forts, at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia from each other, the ruins of which have been viſible to my time. Whilſt he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had purſued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When theſe had diſappeared, and were no more to be diſcovered, Darius left his forts in an unfiniſhed ſtate, and directed his march weſtward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had purſued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the weſt: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; theſe alſo he purſued, who took care to keep from him at the diſtance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his purſuit, and the Scythians, as had been previouſly concerted, led him into the country of thoſe who had refuſed to accede to their alliance, and firſt of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually haraſſed by the Scythians, as well as the Perſians, the latter were again led by the former into the diſtrict of the Androphagi. Having in like manner diſtreſſed theſe, the Perſians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being alſo alarmed and haraſſed, the attempt was made to carry the Perſians amongſt the Agathyrſi. This people however had obſerved, that before their own country

had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbours; they accordingly dispatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination the Agathyrsi appeared in arms upon their borders. But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered equally from the Persians and the Scythians, neither made any exertions, nor remembered what they had before menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the north. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from the country of the Neuri, towards Scythia, whither they were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the same conduct, Darius was induced to send a messenger to Indathyrsus, the Scythian prince. "Most "wretched man," said the ambassador, "why do "you thus continue to fly, having the choice of "one of these alternatives—If you think yourself "able to contend with me, stop and let us engage: "if you feel a conscious inferiority, bring to me, "as to your superior, earth and water[127]; let us "come to a conference."

CXXVII.

[127] *Earth and water.*]—Amongst the ancient nations of the west, to shew that they confessed themselves overcome, or that they surrendered at discretion, they gathered some grass, and presented it to the conqueror. By this action they resigned all the claims they possessed to their country. In the time of Pliny, the Germans still observed this custom. Summum apud

CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: "It is not my diſpoſition, Oh Perſian, to fly "from any man through fear; neither do I now "fly from you. My preſent conduct differs not "at all from that which I purſue in a ſtate of peace. "Why I do not contend with you in the open "field, I will explain: we have no inhabited towns "nor cultivated lands of which we can fear your "invaſion or your plunder, and have therefore no "occaſion to engage with you precipitately: but "we have the ſepulchres of our fathers, theſe you "may diſcover; and if you endeavour to injure "them, you ſhall ſoon know how far we are able "or willing to reſiſt you; till then we will not "meet you in battle. Remember farther, that I

antiquos ſignum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc eſt terra et altrice ipſâ humo et humatione etiam cedere, quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos ſcio.—Feſtus and Servius, upon verſe 128, book viii. of the Æneid of Virgil,

Et vitta comptos voluit prætendere ramos,

affirm, that herbam do, is the ſame thing as victum me fateor et cedo victoriam. The ſame ceremony was obſerved, or ſomething like it, when a country, a fief, or a portion of land, was given or ſold to any one.—See Du Cange, Gloſſary, at the word Inveſtitura. In the Eaſt, and in other countries, it was by the giving of earth and water, that a prince was put in poſſeſſion of a country; and the inveſtiture was made him in this manner. By this they acknowledged him their maſter without controul, for earth and water involve every thing.—Ariſtotle ſays, that to give earth and water, is to renounce one's liberty.—*Larcher.*

Amongſt the Romans, when an offender was ſent into baniſhment, he was emphatically interdicted the uſe of fire and water, which was ſuppoſed to imply the abſence of every aid and comfort.—*T.*

"acknowledge

" acknowledge no maſter or ſuperior, but Jupi-
" ter, who was my anceſtor, and Hiſtia the Scy-
" thian queen. Inſtead of the preſents which you
" require of earth and water, I will ſend you ſuch
" as you better deſerve: and in return for your
" calling yourſelf my maſter, I only bid you weep."
—Such was the anſwer of the Scythian *, which the ambaſſador related to Darius.

CXXVIII. The very idea of ſervitude exaſperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly diſpatched that part of their army which was under Scopaſis, together with the Sauromatæ, to ſolicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Iſter; thoſe who remained did not think it neceſſary any more to lead the Perſians about, but regularly endeavoured to ſurprize them when at their meals; they watched, therefore, their proper opportunities, and executed their purpoſe. The Scythian horſe never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Perſians, but theſe laſt, in falling back upon their infantry, were always ſecured and ſupported. The Scythians, notwithſtanding their advantage over the Perſian horſe, always retreated

* *Anſwer of the Scythian.*]—To bid a perſon weep, was a kind of proverbial form of wiſhing him ill; thus Horace,

——— Demetri, teque Tigelli
Diſcipularum inter *jubeo plorare* cathedras.

Afterwards, *the anſwer of the Scythians* became a proverb to expreſs the ſame wiſh; as was alſo the bidding a perſon eat onions.—See *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of Bias, and Eraſmus in *Scythanim oratio*, and *cepas edere.*—*T.*

from the foot; they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night.

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians upon the camp of Darius, the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain—it arose from the braying of the asses, and appearance of the mules: I have before observed, that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia [128], on account of the extreme cold. The braying, therefore, of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses, which as often as they attacked the Persians pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard, and figures they had never seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by detaining them longer in their country, they should finally reduce them to the utmost distress: with this view, they occasionally left exposed some of their cattle with their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, with much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated;

[128] *Are produced in Scythia.*]—The Scythians nevertheless, if Clemens Alexandrinus may be believed, sacrificed asses; but it is not improbable that he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, as he adduces in proof of his assertion a verse from Callimachus, which obviously refers to this latter people. We are also informed by Pindar, that the Hyperboreans sacrificed hecatombs of asses to Apollo.—*Larcher.*

Darius

Darius nevertheleſs became gradually in want of almoſt every neceſſary: the Scythian princes, knowing this, ſent to him a meſſenger, with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows [129], as a preſent. The Perſians enquired of the bearer, what theſe might

[129] *A bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows.*]—This naturally brings to the mind of an Engliſhman a ſomewhat ſimilar preſent, intended to irritate and provoke, beſt recorded and expreſſed by our immortal Shakeſpeare.—See his Life of Henry the Fifth:—

French Ambaſſador.——Thus then, in few;—
Your highneſs lately ſending into France,
Did claim ſome certain dukedoms, in the right
Of your great predeceſſor Edward the Third;
In anſwer of which claim, the prince our maſter
Says, that you ſavour too much of your youth,
And bids you be adviſed—There's nought in France
That can be with a nimble galliard won,
You cannot revel into dukedoms there;
He therefore ſends you, meeter for your ſpirit,
This tun of treaſure, and in lieu of this
Deſires you, let the dukedoms that you claim
Hear no more of you.—Thus the Dauphin ſpeaks.

K. Henry. What treaſure, uncle?

Exet. Tennis-balls, my liege.

K. Henry. We are glad the Dauphin is ſo pleaſant with us;
His preſent and your pains we thank you for.
When we have match'd our rackets to theſe balls,
We will in France, by God's grace, play a ſet
Shall ſtrike his father's crown into the hazard.
Tell him he hath made a match with ſuch a wrangler,
That all the courts of France will be diſturb'd
With chaces.

It may not be improper to remark, that of this enigmatical way of ſpeaking and acting, the ancients appear to have been remarkably fond. In the Pythagorean ſchool, the precept to ab-

might mean; but the man declared, that his orders were only to deliver them and return: he adviſed them, however, to exert their ſagacity, and interpret the myſtery.

CXXXII. The Perſians accordingly held a conſultation on the ſubject. Darius was of opinion, that the Scythians intended by this to expreſs ſubmiſſion to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouſe, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the ſame food as man; the frog was a native of the water; the bird bore great reſemblance to a horſe [130]; and in giving the arrows they intimated the ſurrender of their power: this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the ſeven who had dethroned the Magus, thus interpreted the preſents: "Men of Perſia, unleſs like "birds ye ſhall mount into the air, like mice "take refuge in the earth, or like frogs leap into "the marſhes, theſe arrows ſhall prevent the poſ-"ſibility of your return to the place from whence

ſtain from beans, κυαμων απεχεσθαι, involved the command of refraining from unlawful love; and in an epigram imputed to Virgil, the letter Y intimated a ſyſtematic attachment to virtue; this may be found in Lactantius, book vi. c. iii. The act of Tarquin, in ſtriking off the heads from the talleſt poppies in his garden is ſufficiently notorious; and the fables of Æſop and of Phædrus may ſerve to prove that this partiality to allegory was not more univerſal than it was founded in a delicate and juſt conception of things.—*T.*

[130] *To a horſe.*]—It is by no means eaſy to find out any reſemblance which a bird bears to a horſe, except, as Larcher obſerves, in ſwiftneſs, which is, however, very far-fetched.—*T.*

"you

" you came." This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been entruſted with the defence of the Palus Mœotis, but who were afterwards ſent to the Ionians at the Iſter, no ſooner arrived at the bridge, than they thus ſpake: " Men of Ionia, if " you will but hearken to our words, we come to " bring you liberty: we have been told, that Da- " rius commanded you to guard this bridge for " ſixty days only; if in that time he ſhould not " appear, you were permitted to return home. " Do this, and you will neither diſobey him nor " offend us: ſtay, therefore, till the time which he " has appointed, and then depart." With this injunction the Ionians promiſing to comply, the Scythians inſtantly retired.

CXXXIV. The reſt of the Scythians having ſent the preſent to Darius which we have deſcribed, oppoſed themſelves to him, both horſe and foot, in order of battle. Whilſt they were in this ſituation a hare was ſeen in the ſpace betwixt the two armies; the Scythians immediately purſued it with loud cries. Darius enquiring the cauſe of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were purſuing a hare; upon this, turning to ſome of his confidential attendants, " Theſe men," he exclaimed, " do, indeed, ſeem greatly to deſpiſe " us; and Gobryas has properly interpreted the " Scythian preſents: I am now of the ſame opi-

" nion

" nion myſelf, and it becomes us to exert all our " ſagacity to effect a ſafe return to the place from " whence we came." " Indeed, Sir," anſwered Gobryas, " I had before heard of the poverty of " this people, I have now clearly ſeen it, and can " perceive that they hold us in extreme con- " tempt. I would therefore adviſe, that as ſoon " as the night ſets in we light our fires as uſual [131]; " and, the farther to delude the enemy, let us tie all " the aſſes together, and leave behind us the more " infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire, be- " fore the Scythians ſhall advance towards the " Iſter, and break down the bridge, or before the " Ionians ſhall come to any reſolution which may " cauſe our ruin."

CXXXV. To this opinion of Gobryas Darius having acceded, as ſoon as the evening approached, the more infirm of the troops, and thoſe whoſe loſs was deemed of little importance, were left behind; all the aſſes alſo were ſecured together: the motive for this was, the expectation that the preſence of thoſe who remained would cauſe the aſſes to bray as uſual. The ſick and infirm were de-

[131] *Fires as uſual.*]—This incident is related, with very little variation, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, a book which I may venture to recommend to all young ſtudents in Greek, from its entertaining matter, as well as from the eaſy elegance and purity of its ſtyle; indeed I cannot help expreſſing my ſurprize, that it ſhould not yet have found its way into our public ſchools; it might, I think, be read with much advantage as preparatory to Xenophon.—*T.*

ſerted,

ſerted, under the pretence, that whilſt the king was marching with his beſt troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report, the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greateſt expedition directed his march towards the Iſter: the aſſes, miſſing the uſual multitude, made ſo much the greater noiſe, by hearing which the Scythians were induced to believe that the Perſians ſtill continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themſelves deſerted by Darius, made ſignals to the Scythians, and explained their ſituation; upon which intelligence, the two diviſions of the Scythians, forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Iſter, in purſuit of the Perſians; but as the Perſian army conſiſted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths; and as the Scythians were chiefly horſe, and perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually miſſed of each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much ſooner than the Perſians. Here, finding that the Perſians were not yet come, they thus addreſſed the Ionians, who were on board their veſſels:—"Ionians, "the number of days is now paſt, and you do "wrong in remaining here; if motives of fear "have hitherto detained you, you may now break "down the bridge, and having recovered your "liberties,

" liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us: " we will take care that he who was formerly " your maſter, ſhall never again make war upon " any one."

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council upon this ſubject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Cherſoneſe [132], on the Helleſpont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians ſhould be taken, and Ionia be thus relieved from ſervitude. Hiſtiæus, the Mileſian, thought differently; he repreſented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the ſovereignty of their ſeveral cities; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himſelf ſhould continue ſupreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their ſuperiority: for it was evident that all their fellow-citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared ſo forcible, that all they who had before aſſented to Miltiades, inſtantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were alſo in great eſtimation with the king.— Of the princes of the Helleſpont, there were Daph-

[132] *Prince of the Cherſoneſe*]—All theſe petty princes had impoſed chains upon their country, and were only ſupported in their uſurpations by the Perſians, whoſe intereſt it was to prefer a deſpotic government to a democracy; this laſt would have been much leſs obſequious, and leſs prompt to obey their pleaſure.—*Larcher.*

nis

nis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampſacus [133], Herophantus of Parium [134], Metrodorus the Proconneſian [135], Ariſtagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariſton the Byzantian [136]. Amongſt the Ionian leaders were Stratias

[133] *Lampſacus.*]—Lampſacus was firſt called Pityuſa, on the Aſia ſhore, nearly oppoſite to Gallipoli; this place was given to Themiſtocles, to furniſh him with wine. Several great men amongſt the ancients were natives of Lampſacus, and Epicurus lived here for ſome time.—*Pococke.*

From this place Priapus, who was here worſhipped, took one of his names:

Et te ruricola Lampſace tuta deo.—*Ovid.*

and from hence Lampſacius was made to ſignify wanton; ſee Martial, book ii. ep. 17.—

Nam mea Lampſacio laſcivit pagina verſu. *T.*

[134] *Parium.*]—Parium was built by the Mileſians, Erythreans, and the people of the iſle of Paros; it flouriſhed much under the kings of Pergamus, of the race of Attalus, on account of the ſervices this city did to that houſe.—*Pococke.*

It has been diſputed whether Archilochos, the celebrated writer of iambics, was a native of this place, or of the iſland of Paros. Horace ſays,

Parios ego primus iambos
Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
Archilochi. *T.*

[135] *Metrodorus the Proconneſian.*]—This perſonage muſt not be confounded with the celebrated philoſopher of Chios, who aſſerted the eternity of the world. The ancients make mention of the old and new Proconneſus; the new Proconneſus is now called Marmora, the old is the iſland of Alonia.—*T.*

[136] *Ariſton the Byzantian.*]—This is well known to be the modern Conſtantinople, and has been too often and too correctly deſcribed to require any thing from my pen. Its ſituation was perhaps

Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Laodamas the Phocean, and Hiſtiæus the Mileſian, whoſe opinion prevailed in the aſſembly, in oppoſition to that of Miltiades: the only Æolian of conſequence who was preſent on this occaſion, was Ariſtagoras of Cyme.

CXXXIX. Theſe leaders, acceding to the opinion of Hiſtiæus, thought it would be adviſeable to break down that part of the bridge which was towards Scythia, to the extent of a bow-ſhot. This, although it was of no real importance, would prevent the Scythians from paſſing the Iſter on the bridge, and might induce them to believe that no inclination was wanting on the part of the Ionians, to comply with their wiſhes: accordingly, in the name of the reſt, Hiſtiæus thus addreſſed them: "Men of Scythia, we conſider your advice as of "conſequence to our intereſt, and we take in good "part your urging it upon us. You have ſhewn "us the path which we ought to purſue, and we "are readily diſpoſed to follow it; we ſhall break "down the bridge as you recommend, and in all "things ſhall diſcover the moſt earneſt zeal to ſe-

perhaps never better expreſſed, than in theſe two lines from Ovid:

Quaque tenent ponti Byzantia littora fauces
Hic locus eſt gemini janua vaſta maris.

This city was originally founded by Byzas, a reputed ſon of Neptune, 656 years before Chriſt. Perhaps the moſt minute and ſatisfactory account of every thing relating to Byzantium, may be found in Mr. Gibbon's hiſtory.—T.

"cure

"cure our liberties: in the mean time, whilſt we "ſhall be thus employed, it becomes you to go in "purſuit of the enemy, and having found them, "revenge yourſelves and us."

CXL. The Scythians, placing an entire confidence in the promiſes of the Ionians, returned to the purſuit of the Perſians; they did not, however, find them, for in that particular diſtrict they themſelves had deſtroyed all the fodder for the horſes, and corrupted all the ſprings, they might otherwiſe eaſily have found the Perſians: and thus it happened, that the meaſure which at firſt promiſed them ſucceſs became ultimately injurious. They directed their march to thoſe parts of Scythia where they were ſecure of water and proviſions for their horſes, thinking themſelves certain of here meeting with the enemy; but the Perſian prince, following the track he had before purſued, found, though with the greateſt difficulty, the place he aimed at: arriving at the bridge by night, and finding it broken down, he was exceedingly diſheartened, and conceived himſelf abandoned by the Ionians.

CXLI. There was in the army of Darius an Ægyptian very remarkable for the loudneſs of his voice [137]: this man Darius ordered to advance to the

[137] *Loudneſs of his voice.*]—By the uſe here made of this Ægyptian, and the particular mention of Stentor in the Iliad, it may be preſumed that it was a cuſtomary thing for one or more ſuch perſonages to be preſent on every military expedition. At the

the banks of the Iſter, and to pronounce with all his ſtrength the name of "Hiſtiæus the Mileſian;" Hiſtiæus immediately heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, enabled the Perſians to repaſs, by again forming a bridge.

CXLII. By theſe means the Perſians eſcaped, whilſt the Scythians were a ſecond time engaged in a long and fruitleſs purſuit. From this period the Scythians conſidered the Ionians as the baſeſt and moſt contemptible of mankind, ſpeaking of them as men attached to ſervitude, and incapable of freedom; and always uſing towards them the moſt reproachful terms.

the preſent day, perhaps, we may feel ourſelves inclined to diſpute the utility, or ridicule the appearance of ſuch a character; but before the invention of artillery, and when the firm but ſilent diſcipline of the ancients, and of the Greeks in particular, is conſidered, ſuch men might occaſionally exert their talents with no deſpicable effect.

Heaven's empreſs mingles with the mortal crowd,
And ſhouts in Stentor's ſounding voice aloud;
Stentor the ſtrong, endued with brazen lungs,
Whoſe throat ſurpaſs'd the force of fifty tongues.

The ſhouting of Achilles from the Grecian battlements, is repreſented to have had the power of impreſſing terror on the hearts of the boldeſt warriors, and of ſuſpending a tumultuous and hard fought battle:

Forth march'd the chief, and diſtant from the crowd
High on the rampart rais'd his voice aloud;
With her own ſhout Minerva ſwells the ſound;
Troy ſtarts aſtoniſh'd, and the ſhores rebound;
So high his brazen voice the hero rear'd,
Hoſts drop their arms, and tremble as they heard. *T.*

CXLIII.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Seſtos of the Cherſoneſe, from whence he paſſed over into Aſia: he left, however, ſome troops in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus [138], a Perſian, of whom it is reported, that one day in converſation the king ſpoke in terms of the higheſt honour.—He was about to eat ſome pomegranates, and having opened one, he was aſked by his brother Artabanus, what thing there was which he would deſire to poſſeſs in as great a quantity as there were ſeeds in the pomegranate [139]? "I would "rather," he replied, "have ſo many Megabyzi, "than ſee Greece under my power." This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thouſand men.

CXLIV. This ſame perſon alſo, for a ſaying which I ſhall relate, left behind him in the Helleſpont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned upon enquiry that the Chalcedonians [140] had built their city ſeventeen years before the

[138] *Megabyzus.*]—The text reads Megabazus, but Herodotus elſewhere ſays Megabyzus, which is ſupported by the beſt manuſcripts.—*T.*

[139] *Seeds in the pomegranate.*]—Plutarch relates this incident in his apoththegms of kings and illuſtrious generals, but applies it to Zopyrus, who by mangling his noſe, and cutting off his ears, made himſelf maſter of Babylon.—*T.*

[140] *The Chalcedonians.*]—The promontory on which the ancient Chalcedon ſtood, is a very fine ſituation, being a gentle riſing ground from the ſea, with which it is almoſt bounded on three ſides; further on the eaſt ſide of it, is a ſmall river which

the Byzantians had founded theirs: he obſerved, that the Chalcedonians muſt then have been blind, or otherwiſe, having the choice of a ſituation in all reſpects better, they would never have preferred one ſo very inferior.—Megabyzus being thus left with the command of the Helleſpont, reduced all thoſe who were in oppoſition to the Medes [141].

CXLV. About the ſame time another great expedition was ſet on foot in Africa, the occaſion of which I ſhall relate; it will be firſt neceſſary to premiſe this—The poſterity of the Argonauts [142] having been expelled from Lemnos, by the Pelaſgians, who had carried off from Brauron ſome Athenian women, ſailed to Lacedæmon; they diſembarked at Taygetus [143], where they made a great fire.

falls into the little bay to the ſouth, that ſeems to have been their port; ſo that Chalcedon would be eſteemed a moſt delightful ſituation, if Conſtantinople was not ſo near it, which is indeed more advantageouſly ſituated.—*Pococke.*

[141] *The Medes.*]—Herodotus, and the greater part of the ancient writers, almoſt always comprehend the Perſians under the name of Medes. Claudian ſays,

Remige Medo
Sollicitatus Athos. *Larcher.*

[142] *Poſterity of the Argonauts.*]—An account of this incident, with many variations and additions, is to be found in Plutarch's Treatiſe on the Virtues of Women.—*T.*

[143] *Taygetus.*]—This was a very celebrated mountain of antiquity; it was ſacred to Bacchus, for here, according to Virgil, he Spartan virgins acted the Bacchanal in his honour.

Virginibus

fire. The Lacedæmonians perceiving this, ſent to enquire of them who and whence they were; they returned for anſwer that they were Minyæ, deſcendants of thoſe heroes who, paſſing the ocean in the Argo, ſettled in Lemnos, and there begot them. When the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their deſcent, they ſent a ſecond meſſenger, enquiring what was the meaning of the fire they had made, and what their intentions by coming among them. Their reply was to this effect, that being expelled by the Pelaſgians, they had returned, as was reaſonable, to the country of their anceſtors, and were deſirous to fix their reſidence with them, as partakers of their lands and honours. The Lacedæmonians expreſſed themſelves willing to receive them upon their own terms; and they were induced to this as well from other conſiderations, as becauſe the Tyndaridæ[144] had ſailed in the Argo; they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, aſſigned them lands, and diſtributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themſelves in marriage with others.

Virginibus Bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta.

Its dogs are alſo mentioned by Virgil, Taygetique canes; though perhaps this may poetically be uſed for Spartan dogs. —*T.*

[144] *Tyndaridæ.*]—Caſtor and Pollux, ſo called from Tyndarus, the huſband of their mother Leda.—*T.*

CXLVI. In a very ſhort time theſe Minyæ became diſtinguiſhed for their intemperance, making themſelves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death, and accordingly caſt them into priſon: it is to be remarked, that this people always inflict capital puniſhments by night, never by day. When things were in this ſituation, the wives of the priſoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, ſolicited permiſſion to viſit their huſbands in confinement; as no ſtratagem was ſuſpected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ [145] accordingly entered the priſon, and exchanged dreſſes with their huſbands: by this artifice they effected their eſcape, and again took refuge on Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras [146], the ſon of Auteſion, was ſent from Lacedæmon to eſtabliſh a colony: Auteſion was the ſon of Tiſamenus, grandſon of Therſander, great-grandſon of Polynices. This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Euryſthenes and Procles, the ſons of Ariſtodemus: during the minority of his

[145] *The wives of the Minyæ.*]—This ſtory is related at ſome length by Valerius Maximus, book iv. chap. 6, in which he treats of conjugal affection. The ſame author tells us of Hipſicratea, the beloved wife of Mithridates, who to gratify her huſband, aſſumed and conſtantly wore the habit of a man.—*T.*

[146] *Theras.*]—This perſonage was the ſixth deſcendant from Œdipus.—*T.*

nephews

nephews the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his ſiſters ſons grew up, and he was obliged to reſign his power, he was little inclined to acknowledge ſuperiority where he had been accuſtomed to exerciſe it; he therefore refuſed to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the iſland now called Thera, but formerly Calliſta, the poſterity of Membliares, ſon of Pœciles [147] the Phœnician, reſided: to this place Cadmus, ſon of Agenor, was driven, when in ſearch of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there, among other Phœnicians, Membliares [148] his relation. Theſe men inhabited the iſland of Calliſta eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

CXLVIII. To this people Theras came, with a ſelect number from the different Spartan tribes: he

[147] *Pœciles.*]—M. Larcher makes no ſcruple of tranſlating this Procles; and in a very elaborate note attempts to eſtabliſh his opinion, that this muſt be an abbreviation for Patroclus: but as, by the confeſſion of this ingenious and learned Frenchman, the authorities of Herodotus, Pauſanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyry, are againſt the reading, even of Procles for Pœciles, it has too much the appearance of ſacrificing plain ſenſe and probability at the ſhrines of prejudice and ſyſtem, for me to adopt it without any thing like conviction.—*T.*

[148] *Membliares.*]—Pauſanias differs from Herodotus in his account of the deſcent of Membliares; he repreſents him as a man of very mean origin: to mark theſe little deviations, may not perhaps be of conſequence to the generality of Engliſh readers, but none ſurely will be diſpleaſed at being informed, where, if they think proper, they may compare what different authors have ſaid upon the ſame ſubject.—*T.*

had no hoſtile views, but a ſincere wiſh to dwell with them on terms of amity. The Minyæ having eſcaped from priſon, and taken refuge on mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were ſtill determined to put them to death; Theras, however, interceeded in their behalf, and engaged to prevail on them to quit their ſituation. His propoſal was accepted, and accordingly, with three veſſels of thirty oars, he ſailed to join the deſcendants of Membliares, taking with him only a ſmall number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack upon the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themſelves afterwards into ſix bodies, they built the ſame number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magiſtus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of theſe, the greater part have in my time been deſtroyed by the Eleans.—The iſland before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The ſon of Theras refuſing to ſail with him, his father left him, as he himſelf obſerved, a ſheep amongſt wolves; from which ſaying the young man got the name of Oiolycus, which he ever afterwards retained. Oiolycus had a ſon named Ægeus, who gave his name to the Ægidæ, a conſiderable Spartan tribe, who finding themſelves in danger of leaving no poſterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a ſhrine to the Furies[149] of

[149] *The Furies.*]—With a view to the information and amuſement

of Laius and Œdipus; this ſucceeded to their wiſh. A circumſtance ſimilar to this happened afterwards

ment of the Engliſh reader, I ſubjoin a few particulars concerning the Furies.

They were three in number, the daughters of Night and Acheron: ſome have added a fourth; their names Alecto, Tiſiphone, and Megæra; their reſidence in the infernal regions; their office to torment the wicked.

They were worſhipped at Athens, and firſt of all by Oreſtes, when acquitted by the Areopagites of matricide. Æſchylus was the firſt perſon who repreſented them as having ſnakes inſtead of hair. Their name in heaven was Diræ, from the Greek word Δειραι, tranſpoſing ρ for ν: on earth they were called Furiæ and Eumenides; their name in the regions below was Stygiæ Canes. The ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, abound with paſſages deſcriptive of their attributes and influence: the following animated apoſtrophe to them, is from Æſchylus—Mr. Potter's verſion.

See this grieſly troop,
Sleep has oppreſs'd them, and their baffled rage
Shall fail.—Grim-viſag'd hags, grown old
In loath'd virginity: nor god nor man
Approach'd their bed, nor ſavage of the wilds;
For they were born for miſchiefs, and their haunts
In dreary darkneſs, 'midſt the yawning gulphs
Of Tartarus beneath, by men abhorr'd,
And by the Olympian gods.

After giving the above quotation from Æſchylus, it may not be unneceſſary to add, that the three whom I have ſpecified by name, were only the three principal, or ſupreme of many furies. Here the furies of Laius and Œdipus are mentioned, becauſe particular furies were, as it ſeems, ſuppoſed ready to avenge the murder of every individual;

Thee may th' Erinnys of thy ſons deſtroy.
Eurip. Medea. Potter, 1523.

afterwards in the iſland of Thera, to the deſcendants of this tribe.

CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows, is related on the authority of the latter only:—Grinus, ſon of Æſanius, and deſcended from the above Theras, was prince of the iſland; he went to Delphi, carrying with him an hecatomb for ſacrifice, and accompanied, amongſt other of his citizens, by Battus the ſon of Polymneſtus, of the family of Euthymus a Minyan; Grinus, conſulting the oracle about ſomewhat of a different nature, was commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Africa. "I," replied the prince "am too old and too infirm for ſuch an "undertaking; ſuffer it to devolve on ſome of "theſe younger perſons who accompany me;" at the ſame time he pointed to Battus. On their return they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the ſituation of Africa, and not caring to ſend from them a colony on ſo precarious an adventure.

Or the manes themſelves became furies for that purpoſe:

Their ſhades ſhall pour their vengeance on thy head.

Ib. 1503.

Oreſtes in his madneſs calls Electra one of his furies; that is, one of thoſe which attended to torment him:

Off, let me go: I know thee who thou art,
One of *my* furies, and thou grappleſt with me,
To whirl me into Tartarus.—Avaunt!

Oreſtes, 270.

It ſtands at preſent in the verſion *the* furies, which is wrong.

CLI.

CLI. For seven years after the above event it never rained in Thera; in consequence of which every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle, when the sending a colony to Africa was again recommended by the Pythian: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into Crete, to enquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing amongst them had ever visited Africa. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city Itanus [150], where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was Corobius; this man informed them, that he was once driven by contrary winds into Africa, and had landed there, on the island of Platea: they therefore bargained with him for a certain sum, to accompany them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera upon this business; they who did go were conducted by Corobius, who was left upon the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of the party made their way back by sea as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event.

CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest

[150] *Itanus.*]—Some of the dictionaries inform, that this place is now called Paleo-Castro; but Savary, in his Letters on Greece, remarks, that the modern Greeks give this name to all ancient places.—*T.*

distress;

distress; it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Ægypt, driven upon the island of Platea; these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island, with a wish to go to Ægypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing without intermission, carried them beyond the columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tarteſſus [151]. As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous; so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an Argolic goblet, round the brim of which the heads of griffins [152] were regularly disposed: this was deposited

[151] *Tarteſſus.*]—This place is called by Ptolemy, Cateia, and is seen in d'Anville's maps under that name, at the entrance of the Mediterranean: mention is made in Ovid of Tarteſſia littora.—*T.*

[152] *Griffins.*]—In a former note upon this word I neglected to inform the reader, that in Sir Thomas Brown's Vulgar Errors there is a chapter upon the subject of griffins, very curious and entertaining, p. 142. This author satisfactorily explains the Greek word Γρυψ or Gryps, to mean no more than a particular kind of eagle or vulture: being compounded of a lion and an eagle, it is a happy emblem of valour and magnanimity, and therefore applicable to princes, generals, &c. and from

ſited in the temple of Juno, where it is ſupported by three coloſſal figures, ſeven cubits high, reſting on their knees. This was the firſt occaſion of the particular intimacy, which afterwards ſubſiſted between the Samians and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans having left Corobius behind, returned and informed their countrymen that they had made a ſettlement in an iſland belonging to Africa: they, in conſequence, determined, that from each of their ſeven cities a ſelect number ſhould be ſent, and that if theſe happened to be brothers, it ſhould be determined by lot who ſhould go; and that finally, Battus ſhould be their prince and leader: they ſent accordingly to Platea two ſhips of fifty oars.

CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus; here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction, the following hiſtory:—There is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king; having loſt his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a ſecond time: no ſooner did his laſt wife take poſſeſſion of his houſe, than ſhe proved herſelf to Phronima a ſtep-mother indeed. Not content with injuring her by every ſpecies of cruelty and ill-treat-

from this it is borne in the coat of arms of many noble families in Europe.—T.

ment,

ment, ſhe at length upbraided her with being unchaſte, and perſuaded her huſband to believe ſo. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity againſt his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whoſe name was Themiſon; of him, after ſhewing him the uſual rites of hoſpitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he ſhould require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the ſea. Themiſon reflected with unfeigned ſorrow on the artifice which had been practiſed upon him, and the obligation impoſed; he determined, however, what to do: he took the damſel, and having ſailed to ſome diſtance from land, to fulfil his oath, ſecured a rope about her, and plunged her into the ſea; but he immediately took her out again, and carried her to Thera.

CLV. Here Polymneſtus, a Therean of ſome importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had by her a ſon, remarkable for his ſhrill and ſtammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans aſſert, was Battus [153], but I think it was ſomething elſe. He was not,

[153] *Battus.*]—Battus, according to Heſychius, alſo ſignifies, in the Lybian tongue, a king: from this perſon, and his defect of pronunciation, comes, according to Suidas, the word Βατταριζειν, to ſtammer. There was alſo an ancient fooliſh poet of this name, from whom, according to the ſame authority, Βαττολογια ſignified an unmeaning redundance of expreſſion. Neither muſt the Battus

not, I think, called Battus till after his arrival in Africa; he was then ſo named, either on account of the anſwer of the oracle, or from the ſubſequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the African tongue, ſignifies a prince; and I ſhould think that the Pythian, foreſeeing he was to reign in Africa, diſtinguiſhed him by this African title. As ſoon as he grew up he went to Delphi, to conſult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice: the anſwer he received was this:

Hence, Battus! of your voice enquire no more;
But found a city on the Lybian ſhore.

This is the ſame as if ſhe had ſaid in Greek, "Enquire no more, Oh king, concerning your "voice." To this Battus replied, "Oh king, "I came to you on account of my infirmity "of tongue; you, in return, impoſe upon me "an undertaking which is impoſſible; for how "can I, who have neither forces nor money, eſtab-"liſh a colony in Africa?" He could not, however, obtain any other anſwer, which, when he found to be the caſe, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards he, with the reſt of the Thereans, were viſited by many and great calamities; and not knowing to what cauſe they ſhould impute them, they ſent to Delphi, to conſult the oracle on

Battus here mentioned be confounded with the Battus whom Mercury turned into an index, and whoſe ſtory is ſo well told by Ovid.—T.

the

the ſubject. The Pythian informed them, that if they would colonize Cyrene in Africa, under the conduct of Battus, things would certainly go better with them; they accordingly diſpatched Battus to accompliſh this, with two fifty-oared veſſels. Theſe men acting from compulſion, ſet ſail for Africa, but ſoon returned to Thera; but the Thereans forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumſtanced, they again ſet ſail, and founded a city in an iſland contiguous to Africa, called, as we have before remarked, Platea[154]; this city is ſaid to be equal in ſize to that in which the Cyreneans now reſide.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the ſpace of two years, but finding their ill fortune ſtill purſue them, they again ſailed to Delphi to enquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them: when they deſired to know why, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in Africa, they had experienced no favourable reverſe of fortune, the Pythian made them this anſwer:—

Know'ſt thou then Lybia better than the God,
Whoſe fertile ſhores thy feet have never trod?
He who has well explor'd them thus replies;
I can but wonder at a man ſo wiſe!

[154] *Platea.*]—This name is written alſo *Platæa:* Stephanus Byzantinus has it both in that form, and alſo *Platēa* or *Plateia.* Pliny ſpeaks of three *Plateas,* and a *Plate,* off the coaſt of Troas; but they muſt have been very inconſiderable ſpots, and have not been mentioned by any other author. The beſt editions of Herodotus read *Platĕa* here; but I ſuſpect *Plateia* to be right, for Scylax has it ſo as well as Stephanus.—The place of the celebrated battle in Bœotia was Platææ.

On

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity ſtill perſevered in requiring them to form a ſettlement in Africa, where they had not yet been: touching, therefore, at Platea, they took on board him whom they had left, and eſtabliſhed their colony in Africa itſelf. The place they ſelected was Aziris, immediately oppoſite to where they had before reſided; two ſides of which were encloſed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued ſix years; when at the deſire of the Africans, who promiſed to conduct them to a better ſituation, they removed. The Africans accordingly became their guides, and had ſo concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks ſhould paſs through the moſt beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was weſtward, the name of the country they were not permitted to ſee was Traſa.—They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo [155]:—"Men of Greece," ſaid the Africans, "the "heavens are here opened to you, and here it will "be proper for you to reſide."

CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arceſilaus his ſon,

[155] *Fountain of Apollo.*]—The name of this fountain was Cyre, from which the town of Cyrene had afterwards its name. Herodotus calls it, in the ſubſequent paragraph, Theſtis, but there were probably many fountains in this place.—*Larcher.*

who reigned ſixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony without any alteration with reſpect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was alſo called Battus, and who was ſurnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propenſity in the Greeks to migrate to Africa, and join themſelves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a ſhare of their poſſeſſions, but the oracle had alſo thus expreſſed itſelf:

Who ſeeks not Libya 'till the lands are ſhar'd,
Let him for ſad repentance ſtand prepar'd.

The Greeks, therefore, in great numbers, ſettled themſelves at Cyrene. The neighbouring Africans, with their king Adicran, ſeeing themſelves injuriouſly deprived of a conſiderable part of their lands, and expoſed to much inſulting treatment, made a tender of themſelves and their country to Apries, ſovereign of Ægypt: this prince aſſembled a numerous army of Ægyptians, and ſent them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themſelves up at Iraſa, near the fountain Theſtis, and in a fixed battle routed the Ægyptians, who till now, from their ignorance, had deſpiſed the Grecian power. The battle was ſo deciſive, that very few of the Ægyptians returned to their country; they were on this account ſo exaſperated againſt Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arceſilaus, the ſon of this Battus, ſucceed-

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ed to the throne; he was at firſt engaged in ſome conteſt with his brothers, but they removed themſelves from him to another part of Africa, where, after ſome deliberation, they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it ſtill retains. Whilſt they were employed upon this buſineſs, they endeavoured to excite the Africans againſt the Cyreneans. Arceſilaus without heſitation commenced hoſtilities both againſt thoſe who had revolted from him, and againſt the Africans who had received them; intimidated by which, theſe latter fled to their countrymen, who were ſituated more to the eaſt: Arceſilaus perſevered in purſuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Africans diſcovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were ſo effectually routed, that ſeven thouſand of their men in arms fell in the field. Arceſilaus, after this calamity, fell ſick, and was ſtrangled by his brother Aliarchus, whilſt in the act of taking ſome medicine. The wife of Arceſilaus, whoſe name was Eryxo [156], revenged by ſome ſtratagem on his murderer the death of her huſband.

CLXI. Arceſilaus was ſucceeded in his authority by his ſon Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwiſe an infirmity in his feet. The Cy-

[156] *Eryxo.*]—The ſtory is related at conſiderable length by Plutarch, in his treatiſe on the virtues of women. Inſtead of Aliarchus, he reads Learchus; the woman he calls Eryxene; and the murderer he ſuppoſes to have been not the brother, but the friend of Arceſilaus.—*T.*

reneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, ſent to Delphi, deſiring to know what ſyſtem of life would moſt effectually ſecure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply recommended them to procure from Mantinea [157], in Arcadia, ſome one to compoſe their diſturbances. Accordingly, at the requeſt of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans ſent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the univerſal eſteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his firſt care was to make himſelf acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three diſtinct tribes: the firſt comprehended the Thereans and their neighbours; the ſecond the Peloponneſians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the iſlands. He aſſigned a certain portion of land, with ſome diſtinct privileges, to Battus; but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themſelves, he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. In this ſituation things remained during the life of Battus: but in the time of his ſon an ambitious ſtruggle for power was the occaſion of great diſturbances. Arceſilaus, ſon of the lame Battus, by Pheretime, refuſed to ſubmit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be reſtored to the dignity of his anceſtors. A great tumult was excited, but the conſequence was, that Arceſilaus was compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilſt his mother Pheretime fled to Salamis

[157] *Mantinea.*]—This place became celebrated by the death of Epaminondas, the great Theban general, who was here ſlain. —*T.*

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in Cyprus. Euelthon had at this time the government of Salamis: the ſame perſon who dedicated at Delphi a moſt beautiful cenſer now depoſited in the Corinthian treaſury. To him Pheretime made application, intreating him to lead an army againſt Cyrene, for the purpoſe of reſtoring her and her ſon. He made her many preſents, but refuſed to aſſiſt her with an army. Pheretime accepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavoured to convince him that his aſſiſting her with forces would be much more honourable. Upon her perſevering in this requeſt, after every preſent ſhe received, Euelthon was at length induced to ſend her a gold ſpindle, and a diſtaff with wool; obſerving, that for a woman this was a more ſuitable preſent than an army.

CLXIII. In the mean time Arceſilaus was indefatigable at Samos; by promiſing a diviſion of lands, he aſſembled a numerous army: he then ſailed to Delphi, to make enquiry concerning the event of his return. The Pythian made him this anſwer: "To four Batti[158], and to as many of "the name of Arceſilaus, Apollo has granted the "dominion of Cyrene. Beyond theſe eight gene-"rations the deity forbids even the attempt to

[158] *To four Batti.*]—According to the Scholiaſt on Pindar, the Battiades reigned at Cyrene for the ſpace of two hundred years. Battus, ſon of the laſt of theſe, endeavoured to aſſume the government, but the Cyreneans drove him from their country, and he retired to the Heſperides, where he finiſhed his days.—*Larcher.*

" reign: to you it is recommended to return, and
" live tranquilly at home. If you happen to find
" a furnace filled with earthen veſſels, do not ſuffer
" them to be baked, but throw them into the air:
" if you ſet fire to the furnace, beware of entering
" a place ſurrounded by water. This injunction,
" if you diſregard, you will periſh yourſelf, as will
" alſo a very beautiful bull."

CLXIV. The Pythian made this reply to Arceſilaus: he however returned to Cyrene with the forces he had raiſed at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to inſtitute a perſecution againſt thoſe who taking up arms againſt him had compelled him to fly. Some of theſe ſought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into cuſtody and ſent to Cyprus, to undergo the puniſhment of death. Theſe the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their iſland in their paſſage, and they were afterwards tranſported to Thera: a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus, but Arceſilaus deſtroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No ſooner had he perpetrated this deed than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to ſet fire to a furnace filled with earthen veſſels: fearing therefore to ſuffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he conſidered as ſurrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce, to him therefore he went; but upon his appearing in public, the Barceans, in

conjunction

conjunction with ſome Cyrenean fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arceſilaus, he having, deſignedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilſt the ſon was thus haſtening his deſtiny at Barce, Pheretime[159] his mother enjoyed at Cyrene the ſupreme authority; and amongſt other regal acts preſided in the ſenate. But as ſoon as ſhe received intelligence of the death of Arceſilaus, ſhe ſought refuge in Ægypt. Her ſon had ſome claims upon the liberality of Cambyſes, ſon of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Ægypt, ſhe preſented herſelf before Aryandes in the character of a ſuppliant, and beſought him to revenge her cauſe, pretending that her ſon had loſt his life merely on account of his attachment to the Medes.

CLXVI. This Aryandes had been appointed præfect of Ægypt by Cambyſes; but afterwards, preſuming to rival Darius, he was by him put to death. He had heard, and indeed he had ſeen, that Darius was deſirous to leave ſome monument of himſelf, which ſhould exceed all the efforts of his predeceſſors. He thought proper to attempt ſomewhat ſimilar, but it coſt him his life. Darius had

[159] *Pheretime.*]—See this ſtory well related in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, book viii. c. 47.—*T.*

iſſued a coin [160] of the very pureſt gold: the præfect of Ægypt iſſued one of the pureſt ſilver, and called it an Aryandic. It may ſtill be ſeen, and is much admired for its purity. Darius hearing of this, condemned him to death, pretending that he had rebelled againſt him.

[160] *Darius had iſſued a coin.*]—"About the ſame time ſeem to have been coined thoſe famous pieces of gold called Darics, which by reaſon of their fineneſs were for ſeveral ages preferred before all other coin throughout the eaſt: for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hyſtaſpes, as ſome have imagined, but a more ancient Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the eaſt, excepting only this Darius, whom the ſcripture calls Darius the Median; and therefore it is moſt likely he was the author of this coin, and that during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was abſent on his Syrian, Ægyptian, and other expeditions, he cauſed it to be made there out of the vaſt quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treaſury; from hence it became diſperſed all over the eaſt, and alſo into Greece, where it was of great reputation: according to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineneſs added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at leaſt very little, alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold and ſilver now ſtands with us, to be worth twenty-five ſhillings of our money. In thoſe parts of the ſcripture which were written after the Babyloniſh captivity, theſe pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim; and in the Talmudiſts, by the name of Darkoneth, both from the Greek Δαρεικοι, Daries. And it is to be obſerved, that all thoſe pieces of gold which were afterwards coined of the ſame weight and value by the ſucceeding kings, not only of the Perſian but alſo of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius who was the firſt author of them. And there were either whole Darics or half Darics, as with us there are guineas and half-guineas."—*Prideaux.*

CLXVII.

CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compaſſion on Pheretime, delivered to her command all the land and ſea forces of Ægypt. To A'maſis, a Maraphian, he entruſted the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Paſargadian [161] by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition, a herald was diſpatched to Barce, demanding the name of the perſon who had aſſaſſinated Arceſilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this anſwer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hoſtilities; but I am rather inclined to think that he had the ſubjection of the Africans in view. The nations of Africa are many and various; few of them had ever ſubmitted to Darius, and moſt of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Ægypt, the Africans are to be enumerated in the order following.—The firſt are the Adyrmachidæ, whoſe manners are in every reſpect Ægyptian; their dreſs African. On each leg their wives wear a ring of braſs. They ſuffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they firſt bite and then throw them away. They are the only people of Africa who do this.

[161] *Paſargadian.*]—There was a city in Perſia called Paſargada, which doubtleſs gave its name to the nation of Paſargades. The place is now, in the Arabian tongue, called Data-begend.—*T.*

It is alſo peculiar to them to preſent their daughters to the king juſt before their marriage[162], who may enjoy the perſons of ſuch as are agreeable to him. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Ægypt and the port of Pleunos.

CLXIX. Next to theſe are the Giligammæ, who dwell towards the weſt as far as the iſland of Aphrodiſias. In the midſt of this region is the iſland of Platea, which the Cyreneans built. The harbour of Menelaus and Aziris, poſſeſſed alſo by the Cyreneans, is upon the continent. Silphium[163] begins

[162] *Before their marriage.*]—A play of Beaumont and Fletcher is founded upon the idea of this obſcene and unnatural cuſtom. The following note is by Mr. Theobald upon the "Cuſtom of the Country." *Beaumont and Fletch.* 1778.

The cuſtom on which a main part of the plot of this comedy is built, prevailed at one time, as Bayle tells us, in Italy, till it was put down by a prudent and truly pious cardinal. It is likewiſe generally imagined to have obtained in Scotland for a long time; and the received opinion hath hitherto been, that Eugenius, the third king of Scotland, who began his reign A. D. 535, ordained that the lord or maſter ſhould have the firſt night's lodging with every woman married to his tenant or bondſman. This obſcene ordinance is ſuppoſed to have been abrogated by Malcolm the third, who began his reign A. D. 1061, about five years before the Norman Conqueſt, having laſted in force ſomewhat above five hundred years.—See Blount in his Law Dictionary, under the word Mercheta. Another commentator remarks, that Sir David Dalrymple denies the exiſtence of this cuſtom in Scotland.—Judge Blackſtone is of opinion that this cuſtom never prevailed in England, but that it certainly did in Scotland.

[163] *Silphium.*]—Either M. Larcher or myſelf muſt be groſsly miſtaken in the interpretation of this paſſage. "The plant Silphium,"

begins where these terminate, and is continued from Platea to the mouth of the Syrtes [164]. The manners

Silphium," says his version, "begins in this place to be found, and is continued," &c. This in my opinion neither agrees with the context, nor is in itself at all probable. In various authors mention is made of the Silphii, and reference is made by them to this particular passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

[164] *Syrtes.*]—The Great Syrtes must be here meant, which is in the neighbourhood of Barce, and nearer Ægypt than the Small Syrtes.—*Larcher.*

There were the Greater and the Lesser Syrtes, and both deemed very formidable to navigators. Their nature has never been better described than in the following lines from Lucan, which I give the reader in Rowe's version.

When nature's hand the first formation try'd,
When seas from lands she did at first divide,
The Syrts, not quite of sea nor land bereft,
A mingled mass uncertain still she left;
For nor the land with sea is quite o'erspread,
Nor sink the waters deep their oozy bed,
Nor earth defends its shore, nor lifts aloft its head;
The scite with neither, and with each complies,
Doubtful and inaccessible it lies;
Or 'tis a sea with shallows bank'd around,
Or 'tis a broken land with waters drown'd:
Here shores advanc'd o'er Neptune's rule we find,
And there an inland ocean lags behind;
Thus nature's purpose, by herself destroy'd,
Is useless to herself, and unemploy'd,
And part of her creation still is void.
Perhaps, when first the world and time began,
Her swelling tides and plenteous waters ran;
But long confining on the burning zone,
The sinking seas have felt the neighbouring sun;
Still by degrees we see how they decay,
And scarce resist the thirsty god of day.

Perhaps,

ners of theſe people nearly reſemble thoſe of their neighbours.

CLXX. From the weſt, and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Aſbyſtæ. They are above Cyrene, but have no communication with the ſea coaſts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans: They are beyond all the Africans remarkable for their uſe of chariots drawn by four horſes; and in moſt reſpects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the weſtern borders of this people dwell the Auſchiſæ; their diſtrict commences above Barce, and is continued to the ſea, near the Eueſperides. The Cabales, an inconſiderable nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Auſchiſæ, and extend themſelves to the ſea coaſt near Tauchira, a town belonging to Barce. The Cabales have the ſame cuſtoms as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the Naſamones border on the Auſchiſæ towards the weſt. This people during the ſummer ſeaſon leave their cattle on the ſea coaſt, and go up the country to a place called Augila to gather dates. Upon this

Perhaps, in diſtant ages 'twill be found,
When future ſuns have run the burning round,
Theſe Syrts ſhall all be dry and ſolid ground:
Small are the depths their ſcanty waves retain,
And earth grows daily on the yielding main.

ſpot

ſpot the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they alſo hunt for locuſts [165], which having dried in the ſun, they reduce them to a powder, and eat mixed with milk. Each perſon is allowed to have ſeveral wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Maſſagetæ, firſt fixing a ſtaff in the earth before their tent. When the Naſamones marry, the bride on the firſt night permits every one of the gueſts to enjoy her perſon, each of whom makes her a preſent brought with him for the purpoſe. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs [166] of thoſe who have been moſt eminent for their integrity and virtue, and ſwear by their names.

[165] *Locuſts.*]—The circumſtance of locuſts being dried and kept for proviſion, I have before mentioned: the following appoſite paſſage having ſince occurred to me from Niebuhr, I think proper to inſert it.

On vendit dans tous les marchés des ſauterelles à vil prix: car elles etoient ſi prodigieuſement repandues dans la plaine près de Jerim, qu'on pouvoit les prendres à pleines mains. Nous vimes un payſan qui en avoit rempli un ſac, et qui alloit les ſecher pour ſa proviſion d'hyver.

[166] *On the tombs.*]—The following ſingular remark from Niebuhr ſeems particularly applicable in this place.

Un marchand de la Mecque me fit ſur ſes ſaints une réflection, qui me ſurprit dans la bouche d'un Mahométan. "Il faut toujours à la populace," me dit-il, "un objet viſible qu'elle puiſſe honorer et craindre. C'eſt ainſi qu'à la Mecque tous les ſermens ſe ſont au nom de Mahomet, au lieu qu'on devroit s'adreſſer à Dieu. A Molcha je ne me fierois pas a un homme qui affirmeroit une choſe en prenant Dieu à témoin; mais je pourrois compter plutôt ſur la foi de celui qui jureroit par le nom de Schaedeli, dont la moſquée et le tombeau ſont ſous ſes yeux."

When

When they exercise divination, they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose themselves to sleep. They regulate their subsequent conduct by such visions as they may then have. When they pledge their word, they drink alternately from each other's hands [167]. If no liquid is near, they take some dust from the ground, and lick it with their tongue.

CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the Psylli [168], who formerly perished by the following accident:

[167] *Each other's hands.*]—The ancient ceremony of the Nasamenes to drink from each other's hands, in pledging their faith, is at the present period the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines.—*Shaw.*

[168] *The Psylli.*]—A measure like this would have been preposterous in the extreme. Herodotus therefore does not credit it: "I only relate," says he, "what the Africans inform me," which are the terms always used by our historian when he communicates any dubious matter. It seems very probable that the Nasamones destroyed the Psylli to possess their country, and that they circulated this fable amongst their neighbours.—See *Pliny*, book vii. chapter 2.—*Larcher.*

Herodotus makes no mention of the quality which these people possessed, and which in subsequent times rendered them so celebrated, that of managing serpents with such wonderful dexterity.—See Lucan, book ix. Rowe's version, line 1523.

Of all who scorching Afric's sun endure,
None like the swarthy Psyllians are secure.
Skill'd in the lore of powerful herbs and charms,
Them, nor the serpent's tooth nor poison harms;
Nor do they thus in arts alone excel,
But nature too their blood has temper'd well,
And taught with vital force the venom to repel.

§ With

accident: A ſouth wind had dried up all their reſervoirs, and the whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was deſtitute of water. They reſolved accordingly, after a public conſultation, to make a hoſtile expedition againſt this ſouth wind; the conſequence was (I only relate what the Africans inform me) that on their arrival in the deſerts, the ſouth wind overwhelmed them beneath the ſands. The Pſylli being thus deſtroyed, the Naſamones took poſſeſſion of their lands.

CLXXIV. Beyond theſe ſouthward, in a country infeſted by ſavage beaſts, dwell the Garamantes [169], who avoid every kind of communication with

With healing gifts and privileges grac'd,
Well in the land of ſerpents were they plac'd:
Truce with the dreadful tyrant, Death, they have,
And border ſafely on his realm, the grave.

See alſo Savary, vol. i. p. 63.

"You are acquainted with the Pſylli, thoſe celebrated ſerpent-eaters of antiquity, who ſported with the bite of vipers, and the credulity of the people. Many of them inhabited Cyrene, a city weſt of Alexandria, and formerly dependent on Ægypt. You know the pitiful vanity of Octavius, who wiſhed the captive Cleopatra ſhould grace his triumphal car; and, chagrined to ſee that proud woman eſcape by death, commanded one of the Pſylli to ſuck the wound the aſpic had made. Fruitleſs were his efforts; the poiſon had perverted the whole maſs of blood, nor could the art of the Pſylli reſtore her to life."

[169] *Garamantes.*]—Theſe people are ſaid to have been ſo named from Garamas, a ſon of Apollo.—See Virgil, vi. 794.

Supra Garamantas et Indos
Proferet inferium. T.

men,

men, are ignorant of the uſe of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themſelves.

CLXXV. Theſe people live beyond the Naſamones; but towards the ſea coaſt weſtward are the Macæ[170]. It is the cuſtom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully ſhaving the reſt. When they make war, their only coverings are the ſkins of oſtriches. The river Cinyps riſes amongſt theſe in a hill ſaid to be ſacred to the Graces, whence it continues its courſe to the ſea. This hill of the Graces is well covered with trees; whereas the reſt of Africa, as I have before obſerved, is very barren of wood. The diſtance from this hill to the ſea is two hundred ſtadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes are next to the Macæ. Of the wives of this people it is ſaid that they wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have known men. The more of theſe each poſſeſſes, the more ſhe is eſteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other ſex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which ſtretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the ſea, is poſſeſſed by the Lotophagi, who live entirely upon the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the

[170] *Macæ.*]—Theſe people are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

Tum primum caſtris Phœnicum tendere ritu
Cinyphiis didicêre Macæ, ſquallentia barbâ
Ora viris, humeroſque tegunt velamina capri. T.

ſize of the maſtick, and ſweet like the date; and the Lotophagi make of it a kind of wine.

CLXXVIII. Towards the ſea, the Machlyes border on the Lotophagi. They alſo feed on the lotos, though not ſo entirely as their neighbours. They extend as far as a great ſtream called the Triton, which enters into an extenſive lake named Tritonis, in which is the iſland of Phla. An oracular declaration, they ſay, had foretold that ſome Lacedæmonians ſhould ſettle themſelves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are theſe: when Jaſon had conſtructed the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion, he carried on board a hecatomb for ſacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he ſailed round the Peleponneſe, with the intention to viſit Delphi. As he approached Malea, a north wind drove him to the African coaſt [171]; and before he could diſcover land, he got amongſt the ſhallows of the lake of Tritonis: not being able to extricate himſelf from this ſituation, a Triton [172] is ſaid to have appeared to him,

[171] *To the African coaſt.*]—"Some references to the Argonautic expedition," ſays Mr. Bryant, "are interſperſed in moſt of the writings of the ancients; but there is ſcarce a circumſtance concerning it in which they are agreed. In reſpect to the firſt ſetting out of the Argo, moſt make it paſs northward to Lemnos and the Helleſpont; but Herodotus ſays that Jaſon firſt ſailed towards Delphi, and was carried to the Syrtic ſea of Lybia, and then purſued his voyage to the Euxine. Neither can the æra of the expedition be ſettled without running into many difficulties.—See the *Analyſis*, vol. ii. 491.

[172] *A Triton.*]—From various paſſages in the works of Lucian,

him, and to have promiſed him a ſecure and eaſy paſſage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jaſon aſſented, and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jaſon and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Amongſt other things, he ſaid, that whenever a deſcendant of theſe Argonauts ſhould take away this tripod, there would be infallibly an hundred Grecian cities near the lake of Tritonis [173]. The

cian, Pliny, and other authors of equal authority, it ſhould ſeem that the ancients had a firm belief of the exiſtence of Tritons, Nereids, &c. The god Triton was a diſtinct perſonage, and reputed to be the ſon of Neptune and the nymph Salacia; he was probably conſidered as ſupreme of the Tritons, and ſeems always to have been employed by Neptune for the purpoſe of calming the ocean.

Mulcet aquas rector Pelagi, ſupraque profundum
Exſtantem atque humeros innato murice tectum
Cæruleum Tritona vocat, cunctæque ſonaci
Inſpirare jubat fluctuſque et flumina ſigno
Jam revocare dato, &c.—*Metamorph.* l. 334. *T.*

[173] *Lake Tritonis.*]—From this lake, as we are told in ſome very beautiful lines of Lucan, Minerva took her name of Tritonia.—See book ix. 589; Rowe's verſion:

And reach in ſafety the Tritonian lake.
Theſe waters to the tuneful god are dear,
Whoſe vocal ſhell the ſea-green Nereids hear.
Theſe Pallas loves, ſo tells reporting fame;
Here firſt from heaven to earth the goddeſs came,
Here her firſt footſteps on the brink ſhe ſtaid,
Here, in the watery glaſs, her form ſurvey'd,
And call'd herſelf, from hence, the chaſte Tritonian maid. *T.*

Africans,

Africans, hearing this prediction, are said to have concealed the tripod.

CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Auſenſes. The above two nations inhabit the oppoſite ſides of lake Tritonis. The Machlyes ſuffer their hair to grow behind the head, the Auſenſes before. They have an annual feſtival in honour of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themſelves into two ſeparate bands, engage each other with ſtones and clubs. Theſe rites, they ſay, were inſtituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in conſequence of wounds received in this conteſt, they ſay that ſhe was no virgin. Before the concluſion of the fight they obſerve this cuſtom: ſhe who by common conſent fought the beſt, has a Corinthian helmet placed upon her head, is clothed in Grecian armour, and carried in a chariot round the lake. How the virgins were decorated in this ſolemnity, before they had any knowledge of the Greeks, I am not able to ſay; probably they might uſe Ægyptian arms. We may venture to affirm, that the Greeks borrowed from Ægypt the ſhield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from ſome trifling diſagreement with her father ſhe put herſelf under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. The connection of this people with their women is promiſcuous, not confining themſelves to one, but living with the ſex in brutal

licentiouſneſs. Every three months [174] the men hold a public aſſembly, before which each woman who has had a ſtrong healthy boy produces him, and the man whom he moſt reſembles is conſidered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Africans who inhabit the ſea-coaſt are termed Nomades. The more inland parts of Africa, beyond theſe, abound with wild beaſts; remoter ſtill, is one vaſt ſandy deſart, from the Ægyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules [175]. Penetrating this deſert to the ſpace of a ten days journey, vaſt pillars of ſalt are diſcovered, from the ſummits of which flows a ſtream of water equally cool and ſweet. This diſtrict is poſſeſſed by the laſt of thoſe who inhabit the deſerts beyond the centre and ruder part of Africa. The Ammonians, who poſſeſs the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people neareſt from this place to Thebes, from

[174] *Every three months.*]—This prepoſterous cuſtom brings to mind one, deſcribed by Lobo, in his Voyage to Abyſſinia, practiſed by a people whom he calls the Galles, a wandering nation of Africans. If engaged in any warlike expedition, they take their wives with them, but put to death all the children who may happen to be born during the excurſion. If they ſettle quietly at home, they bring up their children with proper care.—*T.*

[175] *Columns of Hercules.*]—In a former note upon the columns of Hercules, I omitted to mention that more anciently, according to Ælian, theſe were called the columns of Briareus. This is alſo mentioned by Ariſtotle. But when Hercules had, by the deſtruction of various monſters, rendered eſſential ſervice to mankind, they were out of honour to his memory named the columns of Hercules.—*T.*

which

which they are distant a ten days journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat.—The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point, they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines, its coldness diminishes; at sun-set, it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the Sun [176].

CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians, into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt [177] occurs; it resembles that which is found

[176] *Fountain of the Sun.*]—Diodorus Siculus describes this fountain nearly in the same terms with Herodotus. It is thus described by Silius Italicus:

> Stat fano vicina, novum et memorabile, lympha
> Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,
> Quæque riget medium cum Sol accendit Olympum
> Atque eadem rursus nocturnis fervet in umbris.

Herodotus does not tell us that the Ammonians venerated this fountain; but as they called it the fountain of the Sun, it is probable that they did. In remoter times, men almost universally worshipped streams and fountains, if distinguished by any peculiar properties: all fountains were originally dedicated to the sun, as to the first principle of motion.—*T.*

[177] *Hill of salt.*]—I find the following description of the plain of salt, in Abyssinia, in Lobo's Voyage: "These plains

found amongſt the Ammonians, and has a ſpring of water; the place is inhabited, and called Angila, and here the Naſamones come to gather their dates.

CLXXXIII. At another ten days diſtance from the Angilæ, there is another hill of ſalt with water, as well as a great number of palms, which, like thoſe before deſcribed, are exceedingly productive: this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamantes; they cover the beds of ſalt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very ſhort diſtance; but from theſe latter it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a ſpecies of oxen, which walk backwards whilſt they are feeding; their horns [178] are ſo formed

are ſurrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds, which the ſun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into ſalt. Nothing can be more curious, than to ſee the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, ſo exact, and of ſuch admirable contrivance, that they ſeem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyſſinia are continually reſorting, to carry ſalt into all parts of the empire, which they ſet a great value upon, and which in their country is of the ſame uſe as money."

[178] *Their horns.*]—In the Britiſh Muſeum is a pair of horns ſix feet ſix inches and a half long, it weighs twenty-one pounds, and the hollow will contain five quarts; Lobo mentions ſome in Abyſſinia which would hold ten; Dallon ſaw ſome in India ten feet long: they are ſometimes wrinkled, but often ſmooth.—*Pennant.*

Pliny, book xi. chap. 38. has a long diſſertation upon the horns

formed that they cannot do otherwiſe, they are before ſo long, and curved in ſuch a manner, that if they did not recede as they fed, they would ſtick in the ground; in other reſpects they do not differ from other animals of the ſame genus, unleſs we except the thickneſs of their ſkins. Theſe Garamantes, fitting in carriages drawn by four horſes, give chace to the Æthiopian Troglodytæ [179], who, of all the people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the ſwifteſt of foot: their food is lizards, ſerpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no reſemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the ſcreaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes, it is another ten days journey to the Atlantes, where alſo is a hill of ſalt with water. Of all mankind of

horns of different animals; he tells us that the cattle of the Troglodytæ, hereafter mentioned, had their horns curved in ſo particular manner, that when they fed they were obliged to turn their necks on one ſide.—*T.*

[179] *Troglodytæ.*]—Theſe people have their names from τρωγλη, a cave, and δυω, to enter; Pliny ſays they were ſwifter than horſes; and Mela relates the circumſtance of their feeding upon reptiles. I cannot omit here noticing a ſtrange miſtake of Pliny, who, ſpeaking of theſe people, ſays, "Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Æthiopum ſecundum flumen Aſtapum ad ſeptentrionem vergentem;" as if ad ſeptentrionem vergentem could poſſibly be applicable to any ſituation in Æthiopia. I may very properly add in this place, that one of the moſt entertaining and ingenious fictions that was ever invented, is the account given by Monteſquieu in his Perſian Letters of the Troglodytæs.—*T.*

whom we have any knowledge, the Atlantes [180] alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation: when the sun is at the highest they heap upon it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep; it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well as winter invelope it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes: it is said of them, that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they are ignorant what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes, beyond these I have no knowledge. There is, however, from hence, an habitable country, as far as the co-

[180] *Atlantes.*]—Concerning the reading of this word, learned men have been exceedingly divided; Valknaer, and from him also M. Larcher, is of opinion that mention is here made of two distinct nations, the Atarantes and the Atlantes; but all the peculiarities enumerated in this chapter are, by Pliny, Mela, and Solinus, ascribed to the single people of the Atlantes. There were two mountains, named Atlas Major and Atlas Minor, but these were not at a sufficient distance from each other to solve the difficulty.—*T.*

lumns

lumns of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of a ten days journey, there is a bed of ſalt, and inhabitants whoſe houſes are formed from maſſes of ſalt [181]. In this part of Africa it never rains, for if it did theſe ſtructures of ſalt could not be durable; they have here two ſorts of ſalt, white and purple [182]. Beyond this ſandy deſert, ſouthward, to the interior parts of Africa, there is a vaſt and horrid ſpace without water, wood, or beaſts, and totally deſtitute of moiſture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Ægypt, as far as lake Tritonis, the Africans lead a paſtoral life, living on fleſh and milk, but, like the Ægyptians, will neither eat bulls fleſh nor breed ſwine. The women of Cyrene alſo eſteem it impious to touch

[181] *Maſſes of ſalt.*]—Gerrha, a town on the Perſian Gulph, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of ſalt: the ſalt of the mountain Had-deffa, near lake Marks, in Africa, is hard and ſolid as a ſtone.—*Larcher.*

[182] *Salt, white and purple.*]—Had-deffa is a mountain entirely of ſalt, ſituate at the eaſtern extremity of lake Marks, or lake Tritonis of the ancients; this ſalt is entirely different from ſalts in general, being hard and ſolid as a ſtone, and of a red or violet colour: the ſalt which the dew diſſolves from the mountain changes its colour, and becomes white as ſnow; it loſes alſo the bitterneſs which is the property of rock ſalt.—*See Shaw's Travels.*

One of the moſt curious phænomena in the circle of natural hiſtory, is the celebrated ſalt-mine of Wielitſka in Poland, ſo well deſcribed by Coxe: the ſalt dug from this mine is called green ſalt, "I know not," ſays Mr. Coxe, "for what reaſon, for its colour is an iron-grey."—*See Travels into Poland.*

an heifer, on account of the Ægyptian Iſis, in whoſe honour they ſolemnly obſerve both faſt-days and feſtivals. The women of Barce abſtain not only from the fleſh of heifers, but of ſwine.

CLXXXVII. The Africans, to the weſt of lake Tritonis, are not ſhepherds, they are diſtingiſhed by different manners, neither do they obſerve the ſame ceremonies with reſpect to their children. The greater number of theſe African ſhepherds follow the cuſtom I am about to deſcribe, though I will not ſay that it is the caſe indiſcriminately with them all:—As ſoon as their children arrive at the age of four years, they burn the veins either of the top of the ſcull, or of the temples, with uncleanſed wool: they are of opinion, that by this proceſs all watery humours are prevented [183]; to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It muſt be acknowledged, whatever may be the cauſe, that the Africans are more exempt from diſeaſe than any other men.—If the operation throws the children into convulſions, they have a remedy at hand; they ſprinkle them with goats urine [184], and they recover.

[183] *Watery humours are prevented.*]—According to Hippocrates, the Scythians apply fire to their ſhoulders, arms, and ſtomachs, on account of the humid and relaxed ſtate of their bodies; this operation dries up the exceſs of moiſture about the joints, and renders them more free and active. Weſſeling remarks from Scaliger, that this cuſtom ſtill prevails amongſt the Æthiopian Chriſtians, Mahometans, and Heathens.—*Larcher.*

[184] *Goats urine.*]—I have heard of cows urine being applied as

ver.—I relate what the Africans themſelves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of ſacrifice, having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their firſt fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they ſacrifice, are the ſun and moon, who are adored by all the Africans; they who live near lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the laſt.

CLXXXIX. From theſe Africans the Greeks borrowed the veſt, and the Ægis, with which they decorate the ſhrine of Minerva: the veſts, however, of the African Minervas, are made of ſkin, and the fringe hanging from the Ægis is not compoſed of ſerpents, but of leather; in every other reſpect the dreſs is the ſame: it appears by the very name, that the robe of the ſtatues of Minerva was borrowed from Africa. The women [185] of this country wear below

as a ſpecific in ſome dangerous obſtructions; and I find in Lobo's Voyage to Abyſſinia an account of goats urine being recommended in an aſthmatic complaint; their blood was formerly eſteemed of benefit in pleuriſies, but this idea is now exploded. —*T.*

[185] *The women.*]—Apollonius Rhodius, who was an exact obſerver of manners, thus deſcribes the three Lybian heroines who appeared to Jaſon—See Fawkes's verſion:

Attend, my friends:—Three virgin forms, who claim
From heaven their race, to ſooth my ſorrows came;
Their

below their garments goat-ſkins without the hair fringed and ſtained of a red colour; from which part of dreſs the word Ægis [186] of the Greeks is unqueſtionably derived. I am alſo inclined to believe, that the loud cries [187] which are uttered in the temples of that goddeſs have the ſame origin; the African women do this very much, but not diſagreeably. From Africa alſo the Greeks borrowed the cuſtom of harneſſing four horſes to a carriage.

CXC. Theſe African Nomades obſerve the ſame ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead; we muſt except the Naſamones, who bury their deceaſed in a ſitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined poſture. Their dwellings are eaſily moveable, and are formed of

Their ſhoulders round were ſhaggy goat-ſkins caſt,
Which low deſcending girt their ſlender waiſt.

[186] *Ægis.*]—From αιξ αιγος, a goat, the Greeks made αιγις αιγιδος, which ſignifies both the ſkin of a goat, and the Ægis of Minerva.

[187] *Loud cries.*]—See Iliad vi. 370: Pope's verſion.

Soon as to Ilion's topmoſt tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome,
Antenor's conſort, fair Theano, waits
As Pallas' prieſteſs, and unbars the gates.
With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,
They fill the dome with *ſupplicating cries.*

In imitation of which, M. Larcher remarks, Virgil uſes the expreſſion of ſummoque ululârunt vertice nymphæ.

the

the aſphodel ſhrub, ſecured with ruſhes.—Such are the manners of theſe people.

CXCI. The Auſenſes, on the weſtern part of the river Triton, border on thoſe Africans who cultivate the earth and have houſes, they are called Maxyes; theſe people ſuffer their hair to grow on the right ſide of the head, but not on the left; they ſtain their bodies with vermillion, and pretend to be deſcended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more weſtern parts of Africa, is much more woody, and infeſted with wild beaſts, than where the African Nomades reſide; for the abode of theſe latter, advancing eaſtward, is low and ſandy. From hence weſtward, where thoſe inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beaſts; here are found ſerpents of an enormous ſize, lions, elephants, bears [188], aſps, and aſſes with horns. Here alſo are the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali [189], who, if

[188] *Bears.*]—Pliny pretends that Africa does not produce bears, although he gives us the annals of Rome, teſtifying that in the conſulſhip of M. Piſo, and M. Meſſala, Domitius Ænobarbus gave during his ædileſhip public games, in which were an hundred Numidian bears.

Lipſius affirms, that the beaſts produced in the games of Ænobarbus, were lions, which is the animal alſo meant by the Lybiſtis urſa of Virgil: "The firſt time," ſays he, "that the Romans ſaw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears." Virgil mentions lions by its appropriate name in an hundred places; Shaw alſo enumerates bears amongſt the animals which he met in Africa.—*Larcher.*

[189] *Cynocephali as well as the Acephali.*]—Herodotus mentions a nation

if the Africans may be credited, have their eyes in their breasts; they have, moreover, men and women

a nation of this name in Lybia, and speaks of them as a race of men with the heads of dogs. Hard by, in the neighbourhood of this people, he places the Acephali, men with no heads at all; to whom, out of humanity, and to obviate some very natural distresses, he gives eyes in the breast; but he seems to have forgot mouth and ears, and makes no mention of a nose. Both these and the Cynocephali were denominated from their place of residence, and from their worship; the one from Cahen-Caph-El, the other from Ac-Caph-El, each of which appellations is of the same import, the right noble or sacred rock of the sun.—*Bryant.*

See also the speech of Othello in Shakespeare:

> Wherein of antars vast and desarts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heav'n,
> It was my hint to speak, such was my process;
> And of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi; and men whose heads
> Did grow beneath their shoulders. *T.*

The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboons, remarkble for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, St. Augustin assures us, that he had seen them himself of both sexes. That holy father would have done well to have considered, that in pretending to be eye-witness of such a fable he threw a stain on the veracity of his other works. If there really be a nation in Africa which appear to be without a head, I can give no better account of the phænomenon, than by copying the ingenious author of Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans.

"There is," says he, "in Canibar, a race of savages who have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial, and to give it to their

women who are wild and ſavage; and many ferocious animals whoſe exiſtence cannot be diſputed [190].

CXCII. Of the animals above mentioned, none are found amongſt the African Nomades; they have however pygargi [191], goats, buffaloes, and aſſes, not of

their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, ſo as to make the vertebræ of the neck enter (if we may ſo ſay) the channel-bone (clavicule). Theſe barbarians, from a diſtance, ſeem to have their mouth in the breaſt, and might well enough, in ignorant or enthuſiaſtic travellers, ſerve to revive the fable of the Acephali, or men without heads."—The above note is from Larcher; who alſo adds the following remark upon the preceding note, which I have given from Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant, imagining that theſe people called themſelves Acephali, decompoſes the word, which is purely Greek, and makes it come from the Ægyptian Ac-Caph-El, which he interprets "the ſacred rock of the ſun." The ſame author, with as much reaſon, pretends that Cynocephali comes from Cahen-Caph-El, to which he aſſigns a ſimilar interpretation: here, to me at leaſt, there ſeems a vaſt deal of erudition entirely thrown away.

In the fifth century, the name of Acephali was given to a conſiderable faction of the Monophyſites, or Eutychians, who by the ſubmiſſion of Mongus were deprived of their leader.—*T.*

Apollonius Rhodius calls theſe people ημικυνες, or half dogs; and it is not improbable but that the circumſtance of their living entirely by the produce of the chace, might give riſe to the fable of their having the heads of dogs.—*T.*

[190] *Cannot be diſputed.*]—We may, I think, fairly infer from this expreſſion, that Herodotus gave no credit to the ſtories of the Cynocephali and Acephali.—*T.*

[191] *Pygargi.*]—Ariſtotle claſſes the pygargus amongſt the birds of prey; but as Herodotus in this place ſpeaks only of quadrupeds,

of that ſpecies which have horns, but a particular kind which never drink. They have alſo oryxes [192] of the ſize of an ox, whoſe horns are uſed by the Phœnicians to make the ſides of their citharæ. In

quadrupeds, it is probable that this alſo was one. Hardouin makes it a ſpecies of goat.—Thus far Larcher. Ælian alſo ranks it amongſt the quadrupeds, and ſpeaks of its being a very timid animal.—See alſo Juvenal, Sat. xi. 138.

Sumine cum magno, lepus atque aper, et pygargus.

See alſo Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. verſe 5. "The hart and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois."

It may probably be the gazelle, a ſpecies of antelope.—*T.*

[192] *Oryxes.*]—Pliny deſcribes this animal as having but one horn; Oppian, who had ſeen it, ſays the contrary. Ariſtotle claſſes it with the animals having but one horn. Bochart thinks it was the aram, a ſpecies of gazelle; but Oppian deſcribes the oryx as a very fierce animal.—The above is from *Larcher.*

The oryx is mentioned by Juvenal, Sat. xi. 140.

Et Gætulus oryx:

And upon which line the Scholiaſt has this remark:

Oryx animal minus quem bubalus quem Mauri uncem vocant, cujus pellis ad citoras proficit ſcuta Maurorum minora.—From the line of Juvenal above mentioned it appears that they were eaten at Rome, but they were alſo introduced as a ferocious animal in the amphitheatre. See Martial, xiii. 95.

Matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum
Sævus oryx, conſtat quot mihi mute canum.

That it was an animal well known and very common in Africa, is moſt certain; but, unleſs it be what Pennant deſcribes under the name of the leucoryx, or white antelope, I confeſs I know not what name to give it.—*T.*

this

this region likewiſe there are baſſaria [193], hyenæ, porcupines, wild boars, dictyes [194], thoes [195], panthers, boryes [196], land crocodiles [197] three cubits long, reſembling lizards, oſtriches, and ſmall ſerpents, hav-

[193] *Baſſaria.*]—Ælian makes no mention of this animal, at leaſt under this name. Larcher interprets it foxes, and refers the reader to the article βασσαρις, in Heſychius, which we learn was the name which the people of Cyrene gave to the fox. —*T.*

[194] *Dictyes.*]—I confeſs myſelf totally unable to find out what animal is here meant.

[195] *Thoes.*]—Larcher is of opinion that this is the beaſt which we call a jack-all, which he thinks is derived from the Arabian word *chatall.* He believes that the idea of the jackall's being the lion's provider is univerſally credited in this country; but this is not true. The ſcience of natural hiſtory is too well and too ſucceſsfully cultivated amongſt us to admit of ſuch an error, except with the moſt ignorant. I ſubjoin what Shaw ſays upon this ſubject.

The black cat (ſcyah ghuſh) and the jackall, are generally ſuppoſed to find out proviſion or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider; yet it may very much be doubted, whether there is any ſuch friendly intercourſe between them. In the night, indeed, when all the beaſts of the foreſt do move, theſe, as well as others, are prowling after ſuſtenance; and when the ſun ariſeth, and the lion getteth himſelf away to his den, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing ſuch carcaſes as the lion is ſuppoſed to have fed upon the night before. This, and the promiſcuous noiſe which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumſtances I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion.—*T.*

[196] *Boryes.*]—Of this animal I can find no account in any writer, ancient or modern.

[197] *Land crocodiles,*] or Κροκοδειλος χερσαιος, ſo called in contradiſtinction from the river crocodile, which by way of eminence was called Κροκοδειλος only.—*T.*

§ ing

ing each a single horn. Besides these animals, they have such as are elsewhere found, except the stag and the boar[198], which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes[199], others are called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There are moreover to be seen a kind of weazel produced in Silphium, and very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the African Nomades, which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zaueces, whose women guide the chariots of war.

[198] *Boar.*]—This animal must have been carried to Africa since the time of Herodotus, for it is now found there: according to Shaw, it is the chief food and prey of the lion, against which it has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side, the carcases of them both having been found lying the one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.—*Shaw.*

[199] *Dipodes.*]—Shaw is of opinion that this is the jerboa of Barbary. "That remarkable disproportion," observes this writer, "betwixt the fore and hinder legs of the jerboa, or δίπους, though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves upon the latter, may induce us to take it for one of the δίποδες, or two-footed rats which Herodotus and other writers describe as the inhabitants of these countries, particularly (τὰ Σιλφια) of the province of Silphium." Accordingly Mr. Pennant has set down the μυς δίπους of Theophrastus and Ælian among the synonyma of the jerboa.—*Hist. of An.* p. 427. N° 291.

CXCIV.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zygantes, amongſt whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees; but of this they ſay a great deal more is made by the natives[200]. They all ſtain their bodies with vermilion, and feed upon monkies, with which animal their mountains abound.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians, we next meet with an iſland called Cyranis, two hundred ſtadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is eaſy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake from which the young women of the iſland draw up gold duſt[201] with bunches of feathers beſmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not anſwer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it ſeems the more probable, after having ſeen at Zacynthus[202] pitch drawn from the bottom of

[200] *Made by the natives.*]—"I do not ſee," ſays Reiſke on this paſſage, "how men can poſſibly make honey. They may collect, clarify, and prepare it by various proceſſes for uſe, but the bees muſt firſt have made it."

I confeſs I ſee no ſuch great difficulty in the above. There were various kinds of honey, honey of bees, honey of the palm, and honey of ſugar, not to mention honey of grapes; all the laſt of which might be made by the induſtry of man.—See Lucan:

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine ſuccos. *T.*

See Shaw's Travels, p. 339.

[201] *Gold duſt.*]—See a minute account of this in Achilles Tatius.—*T.*

[202] *Zacynthus.*]—The modern name of this place is Zante.

of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largeſt of which is ſeventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyiæ. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the pitch attaches itſelf to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous ſmell, but is in other reſpects preferable to that of Pieria[203]. The pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpoſe by the ſide of the lake; and when a ſufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in caſks. Whatever falls into the lake

Its tar ſprings, to uſe the words of Chandler, are ſtill a natural curioſity deſerving notice.

The tar is produced in a ſmall valley about two hours from the town, by the ſea, and encompaſſed with mountains, except toward the bay, in which are a couple of rocky iſlets. The ſpring which is moſt diſtinct and apt for inſpection, riſes on the farther ſide near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A ſhining film, like oil mixed with ſcum, ſwims on the top: you remove this with a bough, and ſee the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the ſurface, working up, it is ſaid, out of a fiſſure in the rock; the bubbles ſwelling gradually to the ſize of a large cannon-ball, when they burſt, and the ſides leiſurely ſinking, new ones ſucceed, increaſe, and in turn ſubſide. The water is limpid, and runs off with a ſmart current: the ground near is quaggy, and will ſhake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. We filled ſome veſſels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immerſed, and this is the method uſed to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the ſun, to be barrelled when the quantity is ſufficient. The odour reaches a conſiderable way.—See *Chandler's Travels.*

[203] *That of Pieria.*]—This was highly eſteemed. Didymus ſays that the ancients conſidered that as the beſt which came from Mount Ida; and next to this, the tar which came from Pieria. Pliny ſays the ſame.—*Larcher.*

paſſes under ground, and is again ſeen in the ſea, at the diſtance of four ſtadia from the lake. Thus what is related of this iſland contiguous to Africa, ſeems both conſiſtent and probable.

CXCVI. We have the ſame authority of the Carthaginians to affirm, that beyond the columns of Hercules there is a country inhabited by a people with whom they have had commercial intercourſe[204]. It is their cuſtom, on arriving amongſt them, to unload their veſſels, and diſpoſe their goods along the ſhore. This done, they again embark, and make a great ſmoke from on board. The natives, ſeeing this, come down immediately to the ſhore, and placing a quantity of gold by

[204] *Commercial intercourſe.*]—It muſt be mentioned to the honour of the weſtern Moors, that they ſtill continue to carry on a trade with ſome barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without ſeeing the perſons they trade with, or without having once broke through that original charter of commerce which from time immemorial has been ſettled between them. The method is this: at a certain time of the year, in the winter, if I am not miſtaken, they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glaſs beads, bracelets of horn, knives, ſciſſars, and ſuch like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on ſuch a day of the moon, they find in the evening ſeveral different heaps of gold duſt lying at a ſmall diſtance from each other, againſt which the Moors place ſo many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians the next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets and leave the gold duſt, or elſe make ſome deduction from the latter. In this manner they tranſact their exchange without ſeeing one another, or without the leaſt inſtance of diſhoneſty or perfidiouſneſs on either ſide.—*Shaw.*

way of exchange for the merchandize, retire. The Carthaginians then land a ſecond time, and if they think the gold equivalent, they take it and depart; if not, they again go on board their veſſels. The inhabitants return and add more gold, till the crews are ſatisfied. The whole is conducted with the ſtricteſt integrity, for neither will the one touch the gold till they have left an adequate value in merchandize, nor will the other remove the goods till the Carthaginians have taken away the gold.

CXCVII. Such are the people of Africa whoſe names I am able to aſcertain; of whom the greater part cared but little for the king of the Medes, neither do they now. Speaking with all the preciſion I am able, the country I have been deſcribing is inhabited by four nations only: of theſe two are natives and two ſtrangers. The natives are the Africans and Æthiopians; one of whom poſſeſs the northern the other the ſouthern parts of Africa. The ſtrangers are the Phœnicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the diſtrict of Cinyps, which bears the name of the river flowing through it, Africa in goodneſs of ſoil cannot, I think, be compared either to Aſia or Europe. Cinyps is totally unlike the reſt of Africa, but is equal to any country in the world for its corn. It is of a black ſoil, abounding in ſprings, and never troubled with drought. It rains in this part of Africa, but the rains, though violent, are never injurious. The produce

duce of corn is not exceeded by Babylon itſelf. The country alſo of the Eueſperitæ is remarkably fertile; in one of its plentiful years it produces an hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Africa poſſeſſed by the Nomades, the diſtrict of Cyrene is the moſt elevated. They have three ſeaſons, which well deſerve admiration: the harveſt and the vintage firſt commence upon the ſea-coaſt; when theſe are finiſhed, thoſe immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requiſite labour has been here finiſhed, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progreſſion, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the firſt produce of the earth is conſumed, the laſt will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Perſians who were ſent by Aryandes to avenge the cauſe of Pheretime proceeding from Ægypt to Barce, laid ſiege to the place, having firſt required the perſons of thoſe who had been acceſſary to the death of Arceſilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in deſtroying him, paid no attention. The Perſians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were diſcovered by a ſmith, by means of a brazen ſhield. He made a

circuit of the town; where there were no miners beneath the ſhield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug countermines, and ſlew the Perſians ſo employed. Every attempt to ſtorm the place was vigorouſly defeated by the beſieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus conſumed with conſiderable ſlaughter on both ſides (as many being killed of the Perſians as of their adverſaries) Amaſis, the leader of the infantry, employed the following ſtratagem:—Being convinced that the Barceans were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he ſunk in the night a large and deep trench: the ſurface of this he covered with ſome ſlight pieces of wood, then placing earth over the whole, the ground had uniformly the ſame appearance. At the dawn of the morning he invited the Barceans to a conference; they willingly aſſented, being very deſirous to come to terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty, of which theſe were the conditions: it was to remain valid[205] as long as the earth upon which the agreement was made ſhould retain its preſent appearance. The Barceans were to pay the Perſian monarch a certain reaſonable

[205] *It was to remain valid.*]—Memini ſimilem fœderis formulam apud Polybium legere in fœdere Hannibalis cum Tarentinis, ſi bene memini.—*Reiſke.*

Reiſke's recollection appears in this place to have deceived him. Tarentum was betrayed to Hannibal by the treachery of ſome of its citizens; but in no manner reſembling this here deſcribed by Herodotus.—*T.*

tribute;

tribute; and the Perſians engaged themſelves, to undertake nothing in future to the detriment of the Barceans. Relying upon theſe engagements, the Barceans, without heſitation, threw open the gates of their city, going out and in themſelves without fear of conſequences, and permitting without reſtraint ſuch of the enemy as pleaſed to come within their walls. The Perſians, withdrawing the artificial ſupport of the earth, where they had ſunk a trench, entered the city in crouds; they imagined by this artifice that they had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were brought back to the ſituation in which they were mutually before. For in reality, this ſupport of the earth being taken away, the oath they had taken became void.

CCII. The Perſians ſeized and ſurrendered to the power of Pheretima ſuch of the Barceans as had been inſtrumental in the death of her ſon. Theſe ſhe crucified on different parts of the walls; ſhe cut off alſo the breaſts of their wives, and ſuſpended them in a ſimilar ſituation. She permitted the Perſians to plunder the reſt of the Barceans, except the Battiadæ, and thoſe who were not concerned in the murder. Theſe ſhe ſuffered to retain their ſituations and property.

CCIII. The reſt of the Barceans being reduced to ſervitude, the Perſians returned home. Arriving at Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free paſſage through their territories, from reverence to ſome oracle. Whilſt they were on

their paſſage, Bares, commander of the fleet, ſolicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was oppoſed by Amaſis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only againſt Barce. When, paſſing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycean Jupiter[206], they expreſſed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavoured a ſecond time to enter the place; but the Cyreneans would not ſuffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Perſians were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that returning in haſte, they encamped at the diſtance of about ſixty ſtadia from the city. Whilſt they remained here a meſſenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. Upon this, the Perſians made application to the Cyreneans for a ſupply of proviſions; which being granted, they returned to Ægypt. In their march they were inceſſantly harraſſed by the Africans for the ſake of their clothes and utenſils. In their progreſs to Ægypt, whoever was ſurprized or left behind was inſtantly put to death.

CCIV. The fartheſt progreſs of this Perſian army was to the country of the Eueſperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Ægypt to king Darius, who aſſigned them for their reſidence a portion of land in the Bactrian diſtrict, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has

[206] *Lycean Jupiter.*]—Lycaon erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhaſia, and inſtituted games in his honour, which the Lyceans called Λυκαια. No one was permitted to enter this temple; he who did was ſtoned.—*Larcher.*

within

within my time contained a great number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life, however, of Pheretima had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge upon the Barceans, ſhe returned from Africa to Ægypt, and there periſhed miſerably. Whilſt alive, her body was the victim of worms [297]: thus it is that the gods puniſh thoſe who have provoked their indignation; and ſuch alſo was the vengeance which Pheretima, the wife of Battus, exerciſed upon the Barceans.

[297] *Victim of worms.*]—This paſſage, with the reaſoning of Herodotus upon it, cannot fail to bring to the mind of the reader the miſerable end of Herod, ſurnamed the Great.

And he went down to Cæſarea, and there abode: and upon a ſet day Herod arrayed in royal apparel ſat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a ſhout, ſaying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord ſmote him, becauſe he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghoſt.—See Lardner's obſervations upon the above hiſtorical incident.—*T.*

ADDENDA

ADDENDA

TO

MELPOMENE.

WHEN the fourth book of Herodotus was nearly printed off, a ſmall tract fell into my hands, publiſhed in Germany, under the title of Geographia Africæ Herodotea; the name of the author is Schlichthorſt; and it attracted my attention, from being introduced by a preface, with the reſpectable name of Chr. G. Heyne. After a cloſer examination, I found that it contained what, to me at leaſt, ſeemed worthy of attention. The geography of Africa, always obſcure, has not in modern times been ſufficiently inveſtigated; much remains to be known concerning this quarter of the globe: I feel it therefore a duty to the reader to give ſuch extracts from the tract above mentioned as appear to illuminate this intricate part of geographical ſcience, and to make us better acquainted with the places and inhabitants of ancient Lybia.

In Chap. CLXVIII. Herodotus ſpeaks of the Adyrmachidæ. —It is well known, that in the age which followed, the Greeks drove theſe Adyrmachidæ into the higher parts of Lybia, and took poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt. When, therefore, Ptolemy deſcribes the Adyrmachidæ as inhabiting the interior parts of Lybia, there is no contradiction betwixt his account and that of Herodotus. The manners of this people are deſcribed by Herodotus, and they are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:—

Veriſicolor contra cetra et falcatus ab arte
Enſis Adyrmachidæ ac lævo tegmina crure;

Sed

Sed menſis aſper populus, victuque maligno
Nam calida triſtes epulæ torrentur arena.—
L. ii. 278.

They are again mentioned by the ſame author, book ix. 223, 224.

—— ferro vivere lætum
Vulgus Adyrmachidæ.

Chap. CLXIX. *Aziris.*]—See the hymn of Callimachus to Apollo, verſe 89, where this place is written Ἄζιλις.

Herodotus in this place ſpeaks of two iſlands, inhabited by the Giligammæ, Platea, and Aphrodiſias; it is not certain whether the firſt of theſe is what Ptolemy called Ædonis: the ſecond was afterwards named Læa, and was, according to Scylax, a good harbour for ſhips.

The country of the Giligammæ produced a ſpecies of the ſilphium, called by the Latins laſerpiticum, from which a medical drug was extracted; ſee Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. xix. 3. "In the country of the Cyrene (where the beſt ſilphium grew) none of late years has been found, the farmers turning their cattle into the places where it grew: one ſtem only has been found in my time, this was ſent as a preſent to Nero."

Chap. CLXXI. *Cabales.*]—This word is ſometimes written Bacales; and Weſſeling heſitates what reading to prefer.

What Herodotus ſays of the Naſamones, c. 173, is confirmed by Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. vii. c. 2; Silius Italicus, i. 408; Lucan, ix. 439, &c.

Concerning their manner of plighting troth, c. 172, Shaw tells us, that the drinking out of each others hands is the only ceremony which the Algerines at this time uſe in marriage.

The ſtory which Herodotus relates of the Pſylli, 173, is told alſo by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 16.—11. It ſeems more probable that they were deſtroyed by the Naſamones.—See Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. viii. 1.—See alſo Hardouin ad Plin. and Larcher, vii. 312.

Concerning τα Ιρασα, called by Herodotus, 158, καλλιστος των χωρων, ſee Callimach. Hymn to Apollo, 88, 89.

Tauchira.]—Called by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, Teuchira; afterwards it was known by the name of Arſinoe, and laſtly by Antony

Antony it was named Cleopatris, in honour of Cleopatra: in modern times it has been called Teukera (d'Anville); Trochare (de la Croix); Trochara (Hardouin); Tochara (Simlenus); Trochata (Dapper).

Eueſperides.]—The city was afterwards named Berenice; of this appellation ſome veſtiges now remain, for the place is called Bernic, Berbic, and by ſome Beric.

The fertility of the contiguous country gave riſe to the Grecian fable of the gardens of the Heſperides.

Chap. CLXXII. *Barce.*]—Many of the ancients believed that this place was anciently called Ptolemais, as Strabo, Pliny, Servius, and others.

Of Cyrene, about which Strabo ſpeaks leſs fabulouſly than Herodotus, but few traces now remain; they are differently mentioned under the names of Keroan, Curin, and Guirina.

Chap. CLXXIV. *Garamantes*]—Mentioned by Mela, book viii. and by him called Gamphaſantes.

Chap. CLXXV. *Macæ.*]—Amongſt theſe people was the fountain of Cinyps, called by Strabo and Ptolemy Κινυφος, by Pliny Cinyps; its modern name, according to d'Anville, is Wadi-Quaham.

Chap. CLXXVI. *Girdanes.*]—This people, according to Stephanus, lived on the lotus, as well as the Lotophagi.

Chap. CLXXVII. *Lotophagi.*]—Whether from the ſame lotus the Lotophagi obtained both meat and wine, is laborioufly diſputed by Voſſius ad Scyll. 114. and Stapel. ad Theophraſt. l. iv. c. 4. p. 327. A delineation of the lotus may be ſeen in Shaw and De la Croix: it is what the Arabs of the preſent day call ſeedra, and is plentiful in Barbary, and the deſarts of Barbary.

Chap. CLXXVIII. *Machlyes.*]—There were a people of this name alſo in Scythia; the name, however, is written different ways.—See Weſſeling ad Herod. 178.

The river Triton is the ſame with that now called Gabs.—See Shaw.

Stephanus Byzantinus confounds the Phla of Herodotus with the iſland of Phila, which was in Æthiopia, not far from Ægypt.—See alſo Shaw on this iſland, 129, 4to. edit.

Chap. CLXXXI. *Ammonians.*]—Bochart derives the name of

of Ammonians from Cham, the ſon of Noah, who was long reverenced in the more barren parts of Africa, under the title of Ham or Hammon, one of the names of Jupiter.

That the name of Ammon was very well known in Arabia, and throughout Africa, we may learn from the river Ammon, the Ammonian promontory, the Ammonians, the city Ammon, &c.—See Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c.

Some remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon are ſtill to be ſeen, if the travellers to Mecca may be believed; the place is called Heſach-bir (or mole lapidum).

In the ſame chapter Herodotus mentions η κρηνη Ηλιου, the temple of the ſun, concerning which ſee Diodorus, xvii. 528.—See alſo Arrian, l. iii. c. 4.—Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.—Mela, l. i. c. 8.

Chap. CLXXXII. *Angilæ.*]—Herodotus ſays that this country abounded in dates; and the Africans of the preſent day go there to gather them.—*See Marmot*, vol. iii. p. 53.

Concerning the ſituation of the Angilæ, ſee Pliny, lib. v. c. 4; and Dapper, p. 323.

Amongſt all the countries of Lybia, mentioned by the ancient Greek writers, Angila is the only one which to this day retains its primitive name without the ſmalleſt variation.

Chap. CLXXXIII. Of the cattle, which whilſt they grazed walked backwards, Mela ſpeaks, lib. i. c. 8.—Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 45.—Ariſtotle Hiſtory of Animals, lib. vii. c. 21.—See alſo Voſſius ad Melæ, loc. p. 41.

Chap. CLXXXIV. *Atrantes.*]—Some manuſcripts read Atlantes, but this cannot be the genuine reading, which alſo is the opinion of Salmaſius, Valknaer, Weſſeling, and Larcher.—See Voſſius ad Melæ, locum laudatum.

Atlantes.]—The Atlantei, mentioned by Diodorus, l. iii. 187, if ever they exiſted, muſt be diſtinct from the Atlantes of Herodotus. Of mount Atlas, and its extreme height, Homer ſpeaks, Odyſſ. i. 52, 4.

Chap. CXCV. I have deſcribed at ſome length the tarſprings of Zante, from Dr. Chandler: I did not mention that ſome account of them is alſo to be found in Antigonus Caryſtius, p. 169, and Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3.

Cyraunis.]—The ſame with the Cercinna of Strabo, now called Querqueni,

Querquenŝ, or Chercheni; concerning this iſland conſult Diodorus, l. v. 294; but Diodorus, we ſhould remark, confounded Cercinna with Cerne, an iſland of the Atlantic.

Chap. CXCVI. *Columns of Hercules.*]—The Libyan column was by ancient writers called Abyla; that on the Spaniſh ſide, Calpe.—*See P. Mela*, l. ii. c. 6.

Chap. CXCIX. *Cyrene.*]—About the limits of this diſtrict the ancients were not at all agreed, they are no where defined by Herodotus: the province of Cyrene, formerly ſo populous, is the contrary now; the ſea-coaſts are ravaged by pirates, the inland parts by the Arabians; ſuch inhabitants as there are are rich by the ſale of the Europeans who fall into their hands to the Æthiopians.—*See La Croix*, tom. ii. 252.

Of the abundant fertility of Cyrene, Diodorus Siculus alſo ſpeaks, p. 183, c. cxxviii.—Concerning the fountain of Cyre, one of the Fontes Cyrenaicæ, ſee Callimachus's Ode to Apollo, 88; and Juſtin, lib. xiii. c. 7.

Concerning the Aſbyſtæ, of whom Herodotus ſpeaks, c. 170, 1, Salmaſius has collected much, ad Solinum, 381; ſo alſo has Euſtathius, ad Dionyſ. Perieg. 211.—See too Larcher, vol. vii. 43.

Of the people with whom the Carthaginians traded, beyond the columns of Hercules, without ſeeing them, I have ſpoken at length, and given from Shaw the paſſage introduced by Schlichthorſt. The place, whoſe name is not mentioned by Herodotus, is, doubtleſs, what we now call Senegambia. All the part of Lybia deſcribed by Herodotus is now comprehended under the general name of Barbary, and contains the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli: the maritime part of Lybia, from Carthage weſtward, was unknown to Herodotus.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHORE.

CHAP. I.

THE Perſians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hoſtilities on the Helleſpont with the conqueſt of the Perinthii [1], who had refuſed to acknowledge the authority of Darius, and had formerly been vanquiſhed by the Pæonians [2]. This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the

[1] *Perinthii.*]—Perinthus was firſt called Mygdonia, afterwards Heraclea, and then Perinthus.—*T.*

[2] *Pæonians.*]—As the ancients materially differed in opinion concerning the geographical ſituation of this people, it is not to be expected that I ſhould ſpeak deciſively on the ſubject. Herodotus here places them near the river Strymon; Dio, near mount Rhodope; and Ptolemy, where the river Haliacmon riſes. Pæonia was one of the names of Minerva, given her from her ſuppoſed ſkill in the art of medicine.—*T.*

Strymon,

Strymon, had been induced by an oracle to make war on the Perinthians: if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge; if otherwiſe, they were to decline all conteſt. It happened accordingly, that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians, and encamping before their town, ſent them three ſpecific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horſe with a horſe, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former conteſts, ſung with exultation a ſong of triumph[3]; this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle: "Now," they exclaimed, "the oracle will be fulfilled; this "is the time for us." They attacked, therefore, the Perinthians, whilſt engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained ſo ſignal a victory that few of their adverſaries eſcaped.

II. Such was the overthrow which the Perin-

[3] *Song of triumph.*]—Larcher renders this paſſage "Sung the pæon," and ſubjoins this note: "Of this ſong there were two kinds, one was chaunted before the battle, in honour of Mars, the other after the victory, in honour of Apollo; this ſong commenced with the words "Io Pæan." The alluſion of the word Pæon to the name of the Pæonians, is obvious, to preſerve which I have rendered it "ſung the Pæon."—The uſage and application of the word Pæan, amongſt the ancients, was various and equivocal: the compoſition of Pindar, in praiſe of all the gods, was called Pæan; and Pæan was alſo one of the names of Apollo. To which it may be added, that Pæan, being originally a hymn to Apollo, from his name Pæan, became afterwards extended in its uſe to ſuch addreſſes to other gods.

thians

thians received, in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly, in defence of their liberties, against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus over-ran Thrace with his forces, and reduced all its cities and inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable[4]: if the inhabitants were either under the government of an individual, or united amongst themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi[5], and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who

[4] *Most considerable.*]—Thucydides ranks them after the Scythians, and Pausanias after the Celtæ.—*Larcher.*

[5] *Trausi.*]—These were the people whom the Greeks called Agathyrsi.—*T.*

lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he muſt neceſſarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate [6]; but whenever any one dies, the body is committed to the ground with clamorous joy, for the deceaſed, they ſay, delivered from his miſeries, is then ſupremely happy.

V. Thoſe beyond the Creſtonians have theſe obſervances:—Each perſon has ſeveral wives; if the huſband dies, a great conteſt commences amongſt his wives, in which the friends of the deceaſed intereſt themſelves exceedingly, to determine which of them

[6] *Particularly enumerate.*]—A ſimilar ſentiment is quoted by Larcher, from a fragment of Euripides, of which the following is the verſion of Cicero:—

Nam nos decebat cætum celebrantes domus
Lugere, ubi eſſet aliquis in lucem editus
Humanæ vitæ varia reputatantes mala
At qui labores morte finiſſet graves
Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitia exſequi.

See alſo on this ſubject Gray's fine Ode on a diſtant Proſpect of Eton College:—

Alas! regardleſs of their doom,
The little victims play;
No ſenſe have they of ills to come,
Nor care beyond to-day:
Yet ſee how all around them wait
The miniſters of human fate,
And black misfortune's baleful train.
Ah! ſhew them where in ambuſh ſtand,
To ſeize their prey, the murtherous band;
Ah! tell them they are men.—
Theſe ſhall the fury paſſions tear? &c. T.

had

had been moſt beloved. She to whom this honour is aſcribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then ſacrificed by her neareſt relation on the tomb of her huſband [7], with whom ſhe is afterwards

[7] *Tomb of her huſband.*]—This cuſtom was alſo obſerved by the Getæ: at this day, in India, women burn themſelves with the bodies of their huſbands, which uſage muſt have been continued there from remote antiquity. Propertius mentions it;

Et certamen habent leti quæ viva ſequatur
Conjugium, pudor eſt non licuiſſe mori
Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent
Imponuntque ſuis ora peruſta viris.

Cicero mentions alſo the ſame fact. Larcher quotes the paſſage from the Tuſculan Queſtions, of which the following is a tranſlation.

"The women in India, when their huſband dies, eagerly contend to have it determined which of them he loved beſt, for each man has ſeveral wives. She who conquers, deems herſelf happy, is accompanied by her friends to the funeral pile, where her body is burned with that of her huſband; they who are vanquiſhed depart in ſorrow."—The civil code of the Indians, requiring this ſtrange ſacrifice, is to this effect: "It is proper for a woman, after her huſband's death, to burn herſelf in the fire with his corpſe, unleſs ſhe be with child, or that her huſband be abſent, or that ſhe cannot get his turban or his girdle, or unleſs ſhe devote herſelf to chaſtity and celibacy: every woman who thus burns herſelf ſhall, according to the decrees of deſtiny, remain with her huſband in paradiſe for ever."—"This practice," ſays Raynal, "ſo evidently contrary to reaſon, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the reſurrection of the dead, and of a future life: the hope of being ſerved in the other world by the ſame perſons who obeyed us in this has been the cauſe of the ſlave being ſacrificed on the tomb of his maſter, and the wife on the corpſe of her huſband; but that the Indians, who firmly believed in the tranſmigration of ſouls, ſhould give

wards buried: his other wives eſteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great diſgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a cuſtom of ſelling their children, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, ſuffering them to connect themſelves indiſcriminately with men; but they keep a ſtrict guard over their wives, and purchaſe them of their parents at an immenſe price. To have punctures on the ſkin[8] is with them a mark of nobility, to be without theſe is a teſtimony of mean deſcent: the moſt honourable life with them is a life of indolence; the moſt contemptible that of an huſbandman. Their

way to this prejudice, is one of thoſe numberleſs inconſiſtencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind."—*See Raynal*, vol. i. 91. The remark, in the main, is juſt, but the author, I fear, meant to inſinuate that practices contrary to reaſon naturally proceed from the doctrines he mentions; a ſuggeſtion which, though very worthy of the claſs of writers to which he belongs, has not reaſon enough in it to deſerve a ſerious reply.—*T.*

[8] *Punctures on their ſkin.*]—If Plutarch may be credited, the Thracians in his time made theſe punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus, whom they had murdered. Phanocles agrees with this opinion, in his poem upon Orpheus, of which a fragment has been preſerved by Stobæus. If this be the true reaſon, it is remarkable that what in its origin was a puniſhment, became afterwards an ornament, and a mark of nobility.—*Larcher.*

Of ſuch great antiquity does the cuſtom of tattaowing appear to have been, with deſcriptions of which the modern voyages to the South Sea abound.—*T.*

ſupreme

ſupreme delight is in war and plunder.—Such are their more remarkable diſtinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worſhip are Mars, Bacchus [9], and Diana: beſides theſe popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worſhip Mercury. They ſwear by him alone, and call themſelves his deſcendants.

VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: For three days the deceaſed is publicly expoſed; then having ſacrificed animals of every deſcription, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feaſt [10], and the body is finally either

[9] *Bacchus.*]—That Bacchus was worſhipped in Thrace, is atteſted by many authors, and particularly by Euripides: in the Rheſus, attributed to that poet, that prince, after being ſlain by Ulyſſes, was tranſported to the caverns of Thrace by the muſe who bore him, and becoming a divinity, he there declared the oracles of Bacchus. In the Hecuba of the ſame author, Bacchus is called the deity of Thrace. Some placed the oracle of Bacchus near mount Pangæa, others near mount Hæmus.—*Larcher.*

[10] *Celebrate a feaſt.*]—It appears from a paſſage in Jeremiah, that this mixture of mourning and feaſting at funerals was very common amongſt the Jews:—

"Both the great and the ſmall ſhall die in this land: they ſhall not be buried, neither ſhall men lament for them, nor cut themſelves, nor make themſelves bald for them.

"Neither ſhall men tear themſelves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither ſhall men give them the cup of conſolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

either burned or buried. They afterwards raiſe a mound of earth [11] upon the ſpot, and celebrate games [12] of various kinds, in which each particular conteſt has a reward aſſigned ſuitable to its nature.

IX. With reſpect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet deciſively aſcertained. What lies beyond the Iſter, is a vaſt and almoſt endleſs ſpace. The whole

" Thou ſhalt not alſo go into the houſe of feaſting, to ſit with them to eat and to drink."—xvi. 6, 7, 8.

The ſame cuſtom is ſtill obſerved in the countries of the eaſt. —*T.*

[11] *Mound of earth.*]—Over the place of burial of illuſtrious perſons, they raiſed a kind of tumulus of earth. This is well expreſſed in the " ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus," of Virgil. —*Larcher.*

The practice of raiſing barrows over the bodies of the deceaſed was almoſt univerſal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans. Virgil alludes to it as uſual in the times treated of in the Æneid. Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Perſians. The Roman hiſtorians record that the ſame mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no leſs among the ancient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations.—See *Coxe's Travels through Poland*, &c.

[12] *Celebrate games.*]—It is impoſſible to ſay when funeral games were firſt inſtituted. According to Pliny, they exiſted before the time of Theſeus; and many have ſuppoſed that the famous games of Greece were in their origin funeral games. The beſt deſcription of theſe is to be found in Homer and in Virgil. In the former, thoſe celebrated by Achilles in honour of Patroclus; in the latter, thoſe of Æneas in memory of his father.—*T.*

of

of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dreſs reſemble the Medes; their horſes are low in ſtature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits; they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their ſwiftneſs, for which reaſon carriages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almoſt to the Eneti [13] on the Adriatic. They call themſelves a colony of the Medes [14]; how this could be, I am not able to determine, though in a long ſeries of time it may not have been impoſſible. The Sigynæ are called merchants [15] by the Ligurians,

[13] *Eneti,*] or rather Heneti, which aſpirate, repreſented by the Æolic digamma, forms the Latin name Veneti. Their horſes were anciently in great eſtimation. See the Hippolytus of Euripides, ver. 230. Homer ſpeaks of their mules.—*T.*

[14] *Colony of the Medes.*]—Strabo ſays that this people obſerved in a great meaſure the cuſtoms of the Perſians: thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes might be conſidered as genuine Perſians, according to his cuſtom of confounding their names, if Diodorus Siculus had not decided the matter.

[15] *Called merchants.*]—The whole of this ſentence Larcher omits, giving as his opinion, that it was inſerted by ſome Scholiaſt in the margin, and had thence found its way into the text. For my part, I ſee no reaſon for this; and I think the explication given by the Abbe Bellanger, in his Eſſais de Critique ſur les Traduct. d'Herodote, may fairly be accepted. Herodotus means, ſays he, to inform his reader, that Sigynæ is not an unuſual word; the Ligurians uſe it for merchants, the Cyprians for ſpears."—But if this be true, the following verſion by Littlebury muſt appear abſurd enough: "The Ligurians," ſays he, "who inhabit beyond Marſeilles, call the Sigynes brokers; and the Cyprians give them the name of javelins."—*T.*

who live beyond Maſſilia: with the Cyprians, Sigynæ is the name for ſpears.

X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Iſter are poſſeſſed wholly by bees, and that a paſſage beyond this is impracticable. To me this ſeems altogether impoſſible, for the bee is an inſect known to be very impatient of cold [16]; the extremity of which, as I ſhould think, is what renders the parts to the north uninhabitable. The ſea-coaſt of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Perſia.

XI. Darius having croſſed the Helleſpont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the ſervice of Hiſtiæus, nor the advice of Coës of Mitylene. He accordingly ſent for theſe two perſons, and deſired them to aſk what they would. Hiſtiæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wiſhed for no acceſſion of power; he merely required the Edonian [17] Myncinus, with the view of building there

[16] *Impatient of cold.*]—This remark of Herodotus concerning bees, is in a great meaſure true, becauſe all apiaries are found to ſucceed and thrive beſt, which are expoſed to a degree of middle temperature: yet it would be difficult perhaps to aſcertain the preciſe degree of cold in which bees would ceaſe to live and multiply. Modern experiments have made it obviouſly appear, that in ſevere winters this inſect has periſhed as frequently from famine as from cold. It is alſo well known that bees have lived in hollow trees in the colder parts of Ruſſia. —*T.*

[17] *Edonian.*]—This diſtrict is by ſome writers placed in Thrace,

there a city: Coës, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wiſhed to be made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they ſeverally deſired, they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumſtance of which he was accidentally witneſs, required Megabyzus to tranſport the Pæonians from Europe to Aſia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With theſe views, when Darius had paſſed over into Aſia, they betook themſelves to Sardis, carrying with them their ſiſter, a perſon of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was ſitting publicly in that diviſion of the city appropriate to the Lydians, they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their ſiſter in the beſt manner they were able, and ſent her to draw water; ſhe had a veſſel upon her head[18], ſhe led a horſe

Thrace, by others in Macedonia. The *o* is uſed long by Virgil, and ſhort by Lucan:

Ac velut Edoni Boreæ cum ſpiritus alto.
Æn. xii. 365.

Nam qualis vertice Pindi
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyæo.
Luc. i. 674. T.

[18] *Upon her head.*]—Nicolas Damaſcenus tells a ſimilar ſtory of Alyattes king of Sardis. This prince was one day ſitting before the walls of the town, when he beheld a Thracian woman with an urn on her head, a diſtaff and ſpindle in her hand, and behind her a horſe ſecured by a bridle. The king, aſtoniſhed,

a horſe by a bridle faſtened round her arm, and ſhe was moreover ſpinning ſome thread. Darius viewed her as ſhe paſſed with attentive curioſity, obſerving that her employments were not thoſe of a Perſian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Aſiatic female. He was prompted by what he had ſeen to ſend ſome of his attendants, who might obſerve what ſhe did with the horſe. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when ſhe came to the river, gave her horſe ſome water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, ſhe returned by the way ſhe came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horſe faſtened by a bridle to her arm, and as before employed in ſpinning.

XIII. Darius, equally ſurprized at what he heard from his ſervants and had ſeen himſelf, ſent for the woman to his preſence. On her appearance, the brothers, who had obſerved all from a convenient ſituation, came forwards, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their ſiſter. Upon

niſhed, aſked her who and of what country ſhe was? She replied, ſhe was of Myſia, a diſtrict of Thrace. In conſequence of this adventure, the king by his ambaſſadors deſired Cotys prince of Thrace to ſend him a colony from that country, of men, women, and children.—*Larcher.*

The Myſia mentioned in the above account is called by ſome Greek writers *Myſia in Europe*, to diſtinguiſh it from the province of that name in Aſia Minor; but Pliny, and moſt of the Latin writers, diſtinguiſh it more effectually, by writing it Mœſia; in which form it will be found in the maps, extending along the ſouthern ſide of the Danube, oppoſite to Dacia: being the tract which forms the modern Servia and Bulgaria.

this

this Darius enquired who the Pæonians were; where was their country, and what had induced themſelves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, "that as to themſelves, their only motive was a de- "ſire of entering into his ſervice; that Pæonia "their country was ſituated on the banks of the "river Strymon, at no great diſtance from the Hel- "leſpont." They added, "that the Pæonians were "a Trojan colony." Darius then enquired if all the women of their country were thus accuſtomed to labour; they replied without heſitation in the affirmative, for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In conſequence of the above, Darius ſent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier ſent with this meſſage inſtantly made his way to the Helleſpont, which having paſſed, he preſented Megabyzus with the orders of his maſter. Megabyzus accordingly loſt no time in executing them; but taking with him ſome Thracian guides [19], led his army againſt Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians being aware of the intentions of the Perſians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the ſea, imagining the enemy would

[19] *Thracian guides.*]—The French tranſlators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, miſtaking the Latin verſion, ſumptis e Thraciâ ducibus, have rendered this paſſage, "commanda aux capitaines de Thrace."—*T.*

there

there make their attack: thus they prepared themſelves to reſiſt the invaſion of Megabyzus: but the Perſian general being informed that every approach from the ſea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly upon their towns, of which, as they were generally deſerted, he took poſſeſſion without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, diſperſed themſelves, and returning to their families ſubmitted to the Perſians. Thus, the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who poſſeſs the country as far as the Praſian lake, were removed from their habitations, and tranſported to Aſia.

XVI. The people in the vicinity of mount Pangæus[20], with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ, Odomanti, and thoſe of the Praſian lake, Megabyzus was not able to ſubdue. They who lived upon the lake, in dwellings of the following conſtruction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake ſtrong piles[21] are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the ſhore. Theſe erections were in former times made at the public expence; but a law afterwards paſſed, obliging a man for every wife whom he ſhould marry

[20] *Pangæus.*]—This place, as Herodotus informs us in the ſeventh book, poſſeſſed both gold and ſilver mines.—*T.*

[21] *Strong piles,* &c.]—Exemplum urbis in fluvio ſuper tignis et tabulatis ſtructæ in America habet Teixeira.—*Reiſke.*

(and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally with fish [22], of which there is such abundance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people, Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasis to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for upon the very brink of the lake is found the mine which in after-times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dysian mount, which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas, when

[22] *With fish.*]—Torffæus, in his History of Norway, informs us, that in the cold and maritime parts of Europe cattle are fed with fish.—*Wesseling.*

they

they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the meſſengers hoſpitably into his family, gave them a ſplendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindneſs. When after the entertainment they began to drink, one of the Perſians thus addreſſed Amyntas: "Prince of Ma-"cedonia, it is a cuſtom with us Perſians, when-"ever we have a public entertainment, to intro-"duce our concubines and young wives. Since "therefore you have received us kindly, and with "the rites of hoſpitality, and have alſo acknow-"ledged the claims of Darius, in giving him earth "and water, imitate the cuſtom we have men-"tioned." "Perſians," replied Amyntas, "our "manners are very different, for our women are "kept ſeparate from the men. But ſince you are "our maſters, and require it, what you ſolicit ſhall "be granted." Amyntas therefore ſent for the women, who on their coming were ſeated oppoſite to the Perſians. The Perſians obſerving them beautiful, told Amyntas that he was ſtill defective: "For it were better," they exclaimed, "that they "had not come at all, than on their appearing "not to ſuffer them to ſit near us, but to place "them oppoſite, as a kind of torment to our "eyes[23]." Amyntas, acting thus under compul-

ſion,

[23] *Torment to our eyes.*]—This paſſage has been the occaſion of much critical controverſy. Longinus cenſures it as frigid. Many learned men, in oppoſition to Longinus, have vindicated the

ſion, directed the women to ſit with the Perſians. The women obeyed, and the Perſians, warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their boſoms, and to kiſs them.

the expreſſion. Pearce, in his Commentaries, is of opinion that thoſe who in this inſtance have oppoſed themſelves to Longinus have not entered into the preciſe meaning of that critic. The hiſtorian, he obſerves, does not mean to ſay that the beauty of theſe females might not excite dolores oculorum, but they could not themſelves properly be termed dolores oculorum. Pearce quotes a paſſage from Æſchylus, where Helen is called μαλθακον ομμάτων βελος, the tender dart of the eyes. Alexander the Great called the Perſian women βολιδας ομματων, the darts of the eyes. After all, to me at leaſt, conſidering it was uſed by natives of Perſia, and making allowance for the warm and figurative language of the eaſt, the expreſſion ſeems to require neither comment nor vindication. In ſome claſſical lines written by Cowley, called The Account, I find this ſtrong expreſſion:

When all the ſtars are by thee told,
The endleſs ſums of heavenly gold;
Or when the hairs are reckon'd all,
From ſickly Autumn's head that fall;
Or when the drops that make the ſea,
Whilſt all her ſands thy counters be,
Thou then, and then alone, may'ſt prove
Th' arithmetician of my love.
An hundred loves at Athens ſcore;
At Corinth write an hundred more;
Three hundred more at Rhodes and Crete,
Three hundred 'tis I'm ſure complete,
For arms at Crete each face does bear,
And every eye's an archer there, &c.

When we conſider that the Cretan archers were celebrated beyond all others, this expreſſion will not ſeem much leſs bold or figurative than that of Herodotus.—*T.*

XIX.

XIX. Amyntas obſerved this indecency, and with great vexation, though his awe of the Perſians induced him not to notice it. But his ſon Alexander, who was alſo preſent, and witneſſed their behaviour, being in the vigour of youth, and hitherto without experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. "Sir," ſaid he to Amyntas, being much incenſed, "your age is a ſufficient excuſe for your retiring; leave me to preſide at the banquet, and to pay ſuch attention to our gueſts as ſhall be proper and neceſſary." Amyntas could not but obſerve that the warmth of youth prompted his ſon to ſome act of boldneſs; he accordingly made him this reply: "I can plainly ſee your motive for ſoliciting my abſence; you deſire me to go, that you may perpetrate ſomewhat to which your ſpirit impels you; but I muſt inſiſt upon it[24], that you do not occaſion our ruin by moleſting theſe men; ſuffer their indignities patiently.—I ſhall however follow your advice, and retire." With theſe words Amyntas left them.

XX. Upon this Alexander thus addreſſed the Perſians: "You are at liberty, Sirs, to repoſe yourſelves with any or with all of theſe females; I

[24] *Inſiſt upon it.*]—The reader will in this place, I preſume, be naturally ſuſpicious that the good old king Amyntas was well aware what his ſon Alexander intended to perpetrate. If he ſuſpected what was about to be done, and had not wiſhed its accompliſhment, he would probably, notwithſtanding his age, have ſtayed and prevented it.—T.

have

"have only to require, that you will make your "choice known to me. It is now almoſt time to "retire, and I can perceive that our wine has had "its effect upon you. You will pleaſe therefore "to ſuffer theſe women to go and bathe them-"ſelves, and they ſhall afterwards return." The Perſians approved of what he ſaid, and the women retired to their proper apartments; but, in their room, he dreſſed up an equal number of ſmooth-faced young men, and arming each with a dagger, he introduced them to the company. "Per-"ſians," ſaid he, on their entering, "we have given "you a magnificent entertainment, and ſupplied "you with every thing in our power to procure. "We have alſo, which with us weighs more than "all the reſt, preſented you with our matrons and "our ſiſters, that we might not appear to you in "any reſpect inſenſible of your merits; and that "you may inform the king your maſter with what "liberality a Greek and prince of Macedonia has "entertained you at bed and at board." When he had thus ſaid, Alexander commanded the Macedonians, whom he addreſſed as females, to ſit by the ſide of the Perſians; but on their firſt attempt to touch them, the Macedonians put every one of them to death.

XXI. Theſe Perſians with their retinue thus forfeited their lives; they had been attended on this expedition with a number of carriages and ſervants, all of which were ſeized and plundered. At no great interval of time, a ſtrict inquiſition was made

by the Perſians into this buſineſs; but Alexander, by his diſcretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris[25], a native of Perſia, and one of thoſe[26] who had been ſent to enquire into the death of his countrymen, he made very liberal preſents, and gave his ſiſter in marriage. By theſe means the aſſaſſination of the Perſian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. Theſe Greeks were deſcended from Perdiccas: this they themſelves affirm, and indeed I myſelf know it, from certain circumſtances which I ſhall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is alſo confirmed by the determination of thoſe who preſide at the Olympic games[27]: for when Alexander, with

[25] *Bubaris.*]—It appears from book the ſeventh, chap. 21, of our author, that this Bubaris was the ſon of Megabyzus. —*T.*

[26] *One of thoſe.*]—It is contended by Valknaer, and who is anſwered by Larcher, in a very long note, that inſtead of τῶν στρατηγῶν, it ſhould be τῷ στρατηγῷ, that is in fact, whether it ſhould be "one of thoſe," &c. or "chief of thoſe," &c. Which of theſe is the more proper reading, is not, I think, of ſufficient importance to warrant any haſty ſuſpicion, not to ſay alteration of the text. That Bubaris was a man of rank we know, for he was the ſon of Megabyzus; that he was the chief of thoſe employed on this occaſion, may be preſumed, from his receiving from Alexander many liberal preſents, and his own ſiſter in marriage.—*T.*

[27] *Preſide at the Olympic games.*]—The judges who preſided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times; they were a long time ten, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but it finally reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiſcuouſly at every conteſt, but only ſuch as were deputed to do

with an ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, expreſſed a deſire of entering the liſts, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with ſcorn, aſſerting, that this was a conteſt, not of Barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himſelf to be an Argive, and was conſequently allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was paired with the firſt combatant [28].

do ſo. Their deciſions might be appealed from, and they might even be accuſed before the ſenate of Olympia, who ſometimes ſet aſide their determinations. They who were elected Hellanodicæ were compelled to reſide ten months ſucceſſively in a building appropriated to their uſe at Olympia, and named from them the Hellanodicæon, in order to inſtruct themſelves, previous to their entering on their office.—*Larcher.*

[28] *With the firſt combatant.*]—See Lucian, Hermotimus, vol. i. p. 782-3.—Hemſterhuſius.

Lycinus.—Do not, Hermotimus, tell me what anciently was done, but what you yourſelf have ſeen at no great diſtance of time.

Hermotimus.—A ſilver urn was produced ſacred to the god, into which ſome ſmall lots of the ſize of beans were thrown: two of theſe are inſcribed with the letter A, two more with B, two others with G, and ſo on, according to the number of competitors, there being always two lots marked with the ſame letter. The combatants then advanced one by one, and calling on the name of Jupiter, put his hand into the urn, and drew out a lot. An officer ſtood near with a cudgel in his hand, and ready to ſtrike if any one attempted to ſee what letter he had drawn. Then the Alytarch, or one of the Hellanodicæ, obliging them to ſtand in a circle, paired ſuch together as had drawn the ſame letter. If the number of competitors was not equal, he who drew the odd letter was matched againſt the victor, which was no ſmall advantage, as he had to enter the liſts quite freſh againſt a man already fatigued.

XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pœonians along with him, paſſed the Helleſpont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period, Hiſtiæus the Mileſian was engaged in defending with a wall the place which had been given him by Darius, as a reward for his preſerving the bridge; it is called Myncinus[29], and is near the river Strymon. Megabyzus, as ſoon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with reſpect to Hiſtiæus, thus addreſſed Darius: "Have you, Sir, done wiſely, in permitting a "Greek of known activity and abilities to erect a "city in Thrace? in a place which abounds with "every requiſite for the conſtruction and equip-"ment of ſhips; and where there are alſo mines of "ſilver? A number of Greeks are there, mixed "with Barbarians, who, making him their leader, "will be ready on every occaſion to execute his "commands. Suffer him therefore to proceed no "farther, leſt a civil war be the conſequence. Do "not, however, uſe violent meaſures; but when "you ſhall have him in your power, take care to "prevent the poſſibility of his return to Greece."

XXIV. Darius was eaſily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whoſe ſagacity he entirely approved. He immediately therefore ſent him a meſſage to the following purport: "Hiſ-"tiæus, king Darius conſiders you as one of the

[29] *Myncinus.*]—This place in ſome books of geography is written Myncenus.—T.

"ableſt

"ableſt ſupports of his throne, of which he has "already received the ſtrongeſt teſtimony. He "has now in contemplation a buſineſs of great "importance, and requires your preſence and ad-"vice." Hiſtiæus believed the meſſenger, and, delighted with the idea of being invited to the king's councils, haſtened to Sardis, where on his arrival Darius thus addreſſed him: "Hiſtiæus, "my motive for ſoliciting your preſence is this; "my not ſeeing you at my return from Scythia "filled me with the extremeſt regret; my deſire to "converſe with you continually increaſed, being "well convinced that there is no treaſure ſo great "as a ſincere and ſagacious friend, for of your truth "as well as prudence I have received the moſt ſa-"tisfactory proofs. You have done well in coming "to me; I therefore intreat that, forgetting Miletus, "and leaving the city you have recently built in "Thrace, you will accompany me to Suſa; you "ſhall there have apartments in my palace, and "live with me, my companion and my friend."

XXV. Darius having thus accompliſhed his wiſhes, took Hiſtiæus with him, and departed for Suſa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father's ſide, was left governor of Sardis; Otanes was entruſted with the command of the ſea-coaſt. Siſamnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the royal judges; but having been guilty of corruption in the execution of his office, was put to death by Cambyſes. By order of this prince, the entire ſkin was taken from his body, and fixed over the

tribunal[30] at which he formerly presided. Cambyses gave the office of Sisamnes to his son Otanes, commanding him to have constantly in memory in what tribunal he sat.

XXVI. Otanes having at first the above appointment, succeeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took also Lamponium[31] and Antandros[32], which latter is in the province of Troy. With the assistance of a fleet from Lesbos, he made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous resistance, but were at length subdued. Over such as survived the conflict the Persians appointed Lycaretus governor; he was the brother of Mæander, who had

[30] *Fixed over the tribunal.*]—This it seems was a common custom in Persia; and corrupt judges were sometimes flayed alive, and their skins afterwards thus disposed. Larcher quotes a passage from Diodorus Siculus, which informs us that Artaxerxes punished some unjust judges precisely in this manner. —*T.*

[31] *Lamponium.*]—Pliny, and I believe Strabo, call this place Lamporea. It was an island of the Chersonese.

[32] *Antandros.*]—

Classemque sub ipsâ
Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.
Virg. Æn. iii. 5.

This place has experienced a variety of names, Assos, Apollonia, and now Dimitri.—*T.*

reigned

reigned at Samos, but he died during his government. All the above-mentioned people were reduced to ſervitude: it was pretended that ſome had been deſerters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harraſſed Darius in his retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

XXVIII. The Ionians were ſoon viſited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos [33]. Of all the iſlands, Naxos was the happieſt; but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its proſperity. In the two preceding ages it had been conſiderably weakened by internal factions, but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally reſtored by the interpoſition of the Parians [34], whom the Mileſians had preferred on this occaſion to all the other Greeks.

XXIX.

[33] *Naxos.*]—This place was firſt called Strongyle, afterwards Dia, and then Naxos; there was a place of this name alſo in Sicily. The Naxos of the Ægean is now called Naxia; it was anciently famous for its whetſtones, and Naxia cos became a proverb. In claſſical ſtory, this iſland is famous for being the place where Theſeus, returning from Crete, forſook Ariadne, who afterwards became the wife of Bacchus: a very minute and ſatisfactory account of the ancient and modern condition of this iſland, is to be found in Tournefort. Stephens the geographer ſays, that the women of Naxos went with child but eight months, and that the iſland poſſeſſed a ſpring of pure wine.—*T.*

[34] *Parians.*]—The inhabitants of Paros have always been accounted people of good ſenſe, and the Greeks of the neighbouring

XXIX. To heal the diſorders which exiſted amongſt them, the Parians applied the following remedy:—Thoſe employed in this office were of conſiderable diſtinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole ſtate was involved in extreme confuſion, they deſired to examine the condition of their territories: wherever, in their progreſs through this deſolate country, they obſerved any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole diſtrict, however, they found but few eſtates ſo circumſtanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an aſſembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of thoſe who had beſt cultivated their lands; for they concluded, that they would be watchful of the public intereſt who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Mileſians who had before been factious, to obey theſe, and they thus reſtored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from theſe cities were of this nature:—Some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos were driven by the common people into baniſhment; they ſought a refuge at Miletus; Miletus was then governed by Ariſtagoras, ſon of Molpagoras, the ſon-in-law and couſin of Hiſtiæus, ſon of Lyſagoras, whom Darius detained at Suſa: Hiſtiæus was

bouring iſlands often make them arbitrators of their diſputes. —See Tournefort, who gives an excellent account of this iſland.

prince

prince of Miletus, but was at Suſa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions. Theſe exiles petitioned Ariſtagoras to aſſiſt them with ſupplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea, that by accompliſhing their return, he might eventually become maſter of Naxos. He thought proper, however, to remind them of the alliance which ſubſiſted betwixt Hiſtiæus and their countrymen; and he addreſſed them as follows: "I am not maſter of adequate force "to reſtore you to your country, if they who are "in poſſeſſion of Naxos ſhall think proper to op-"poſe me: the Naxians, I am told, have eight "thouſand men in arms, and many ſhips of war; "I, nevertheleſs, wiſh to effect it, and I think it "may be thus accompliſhed—Artaphernes, ſon of "Hyſtaſpes, and brother of Darius, is my particu-"lar friend; he has the command of all the ſea-"coaſt of Aſia, and is provided with a numerous "army, and a powerful fleet; he will, I think, do "all that I deſire." The Naxians inſtantly intruſted Anaxagoras with the management of the buſineſs, intreating him to complete it as he could: they engaged to aſſiſt the expedition with forces, and to make preſents to Artaphernes; and they expreſſed great hopes that as ſoon as they ſhould appear before the place, Naxos, with the reſt of the iſlands, would immediately ſubmit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Ariſtagoras went immediately to Sardis, where

where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the iſland of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he repreſented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently ſituated with reſpect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous.—" It will be worth your while," ſaid he, " to make an expedition againſt it, under pretence " of reſtoring its exiles; to facilitate this, I already " poſſeſs a conſiderable ſum of money, beſides " what will be otherwiſe ſupplied. It is proper " that we who ſet the expedition on foot ſhould " provide the contingent expences; but you will " certainly acquire to the king our maſter, Naxos " with its dependencies, Paros and Andros, with " the reſt of the iſlands called the Cyclades: from " hence you may eaſily attempt the invaſion of " Eubœa [35], an iſland large and fertile, and not at " all inferior to Cyprus; this will afford you an " eaſy conqueſt, and a fleet of an hundred ſhips " will be ſufficient to effect the whole." To this Artaphernes replied, " What you recommend " will, unqueſtionably, promote the intereſt of the " king, and the particulars of your advice are rea- " ſonable and conſiſtent; inſtead of one hundred, a " fleet of two hundred veſſels ſhall be ready for you " in the beginning of ſpring; it will be proper,

[35] *Eubœa.*]—This large iſland is now commonly called Negropont or Negrepont, by the Europeans; which is a corruption of its proper appellation *Egripo:* anciently it had, at different times, a great variety of names, Macris, Chalcis, Aſopis, &c. At Artemiſium, one of its promontories, the firſt battle was fought betwixt Xerxes and the Greeks.—*T.*

" however,

" however, to have the ſanction of the king's au-
" thority."

XXXII. Pleaſed with the anſwer he received, Ariſtagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes ſent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Ariſtagoras, which met his approbation; he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Perſians and partly with their allies: Megabates had the command of the whole, a Perſian of the family of the Achæmenides, related to Darius and himſelf, whoſe daughter, if report may be credited [36], was, in ſucceeding times, betrothed to Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian, ſon of Cleombrotus, who aſpired to the ſovereignty of Greece. Theſe forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were ſent by Artaphernes to Ariſtagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates embarking at Miletus, with Ariſtagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to ſail towards the Helleſpont; but arriving at Chios, he laid-to near Caucaſa [37], meaning,

[36] *If report may be credited.*]—It appears by this, that when Herodotus compoſed this work, he had no knowledge of the letter in which Pauſanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage.—It may be ſeen in Thucydides.—*Larcher.*

[37] *Near Caucaſa.*]—This paſſage has been erroneouſly rendered, by the French tranſlators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, as well as by our countryman Littlebury, " over-againſt mount Caucaſus;" but whoever will be at the pains to attend to the

meaning, under the favour of a north wind, to paſs from thence to Naxos. The following circumſtance, however, happened, as if to prove that it was not ordained for the Naxians to ſuffer from this expedition:—Megabates, in going his rounds, found a Myndian veſſel deſerted by its crew; he was ſo exaſperated, that he commanded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in ſuch a ſituation, that his head ſhould appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar paſſed, his body remaining in the veſſel. Ariſtagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuſe, and obtain his liberty; but as his expoſtulations proved ineffectual, he went himſelf and releaſed Scylax. Megabates was much incenſed, and expreſſed his diſpleaſure to Ariſtagoras; from whom he received this reply: "Your "authority," ſaid Ariſtagoras, "does not extend "ſo far as you ſuppoſe; you were ſent to attend "me, and to ſail wherever I ſhould think expe-"dient;—you are much too officious." Megabates took this reproach ſo ill, that at the approach of night he diſpatched ſome emiſſaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invaſion.

the geographical diſtances of mount Caucaſus and the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, Chios and Naxos, will eaſily perceive that the place here meant muſt be ſome ſtrait in the iſland of Chios, or ſome ſmall iſland in its vicinity.—See the Eſſais de Critique ſur les Traductions d'Herodote, by the Abbé Bellanger.—T.

XXXIV. Of this attack the Naxians had not the remoteſt expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them, and provided againſt a ſiege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a ſtore of water and proviſions, and, laſtly, by repairing their walls; they were thus prepared againſt every emergence, whilſt the Perſians, paſſing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect ſtate of defence. Having waſted four months in the attack, and exhauſted all the pecuniary reſources which themſelves had brought, together with what Ariſtagoras ſupplied, they ſtill found that much was wanting to accompliſh their purpoſe; they erected, therefore, a fort for the Naxian exiles, and returned to the continent greatly diſappointed.

XXXV. Ariſtagoras thus found himſelf unable to fulfil his engagements with Artaphernes; and he was alſo, to his great vexation, called upon to defray the expence of the expedition: he ſaw, moreover, in the perſon of Megabates, an accuſer, and he feared that their ill ſucceſs ſhould be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus; all theſe motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilſt he was in this perplexity, a meſſenger arrived from Hiſtiæus, at Suſa, who brought with him an expreſs command to revolt; the particulars of which were impreſſed in legible

legible characters upon his ſcull [38]. Hiſtiæus was deſirous to communicate his intentions to Ariſtagoras, but as the ways were ſtrictly guarded, he could deviſe no other method; he therefore took one of the moſt faithful of his ſlaves, and inſcribed what we have mentioned upon his ſcull, being firſt ſhaved; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he ſent him to Miletus, deſiring him to be as expeditious as poſſible; and ſimply requeſting Ariſtagoras to examine his ſcull, he diſcovered the characters which commanded him to commence a revolt. To this meaſure Hiſtiæus was induced, by the vexation

[38] *Upon his ſcull.*]—Many curious contrivances are on record, of which the ancients availed themſelves to convey ſecret intelligence. Ovid mentions an example of a letter inſcribed on a perſon's back:

Caveat hoc cuſtos, pro charta, conſcia tergum
Præbeat, inque ſuo corpore verba ferat.

The circumſtance here mentioned by Herodotus is told at greater length by Aulus Gellius, who ſays that Hiſtiæus choſe one of his domeſtics for this purpoſe who had ſore eyes, to cure which he told him that his hair muſt be ſhaved, and his head ſcarified; having done which, he wrote what he intended on the man's head, and then ſent him to Ariſtagoras, who, he told him, would effect his cure by ſhaving his head a ſecond time. Joſephus mentions a variety of ſtratagems to effect this purpoſe; ſome were ſent in coffins, during the Jewiſh war, to convey intelligence; others crept out of places diſguiſed like dogs; ſome have conveyed their intentions in various articles of food: and in biſhop Wilkin's Mercury, where a number of examples of this nature are collected, mention is made of a perſon, who rolled up a letter in a wax candle, bidding the meſſenger inform the party that was to receive it, that the candle would give him light for his buſineſs.—*T.*

he

he experienced from his captivity at Suſa. He flattered himſelf, that as ſoon as Ariſtagoras was in action he ſhould be able to eſcape to the ſea-coaſt; but whilſt every thing remained quiet at Miletus, he had no proſpect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With theſe views Hiſtiæus diſpatched his emiſſary; the meſſage he delivered to Ariſtagoras was alike grateful and ſeaſonable, who accordingly ſignified to his party, that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands of Hiſtiæus: his intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the aſſembly, Hecatæus the hiſtorian being the only one who diſſented. To diſſuade them from any act of hoſtility againſt the Perſian monarch, he enumerated the various nations which Darius had ſubdued, and the prodigious power he poſſeſſed: when he found theſe arguments ineffectual, he adviſed them to let their fleet take immediate poſſeſſion of the ſea, as the only means by which they might expect ſucceſs. He confeſſed that the reſources of the Mileſians were but few; but he ſuggeſted the idea, that if they would make a ſeizure of the wealth depoſited by Crœſus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple [39], they might promiſe themſelves theſe two advanta-

[39] *Branchidian temple.*]—For an account of the temple of Branchidæ, ſee vol. i. p. 47. "If Ariſtagoras," ſays Larcher, "had followed the prudent counſel of Hecatæus, he would have had an increaſe of power againſt the Perſian, and deprived Xerxes of the opportunity of pillaging this temple, and employing its riches againſt Greece."—*T.*

ges;

ges; they would be able to make themſelves maſters of the ſea, and by thus uſing theſe riches themſelves would prevent their being plundered by the enemy.—That theſe riches were of very conſiderable value, I have explained in my firſt book. This advice, however, was as ill received, although the determination to revolt was fixed and univerſal: it was agreed, that one of their party ſhould ſail to the army, which, on its return from Naxos, had diſembarked at Myus [40], with the view of ſeizing the perſons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the perſon employed in this buſineſs; who ſo far ſucceeded, that he captured Oliatus the Mylaſſenſian, ſon of Ibanolis, Hiſtiæus of Termene [41], ſon of Tymnis, Coës the ſon of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylene, together with Ariſtagoras the Cymæan, ſon of Heraclides, with many others. Ariſtagoras thus commenced a regular revolt, full of indignation againſt

[40] *Myus.*]—This city was given to Themiſtocles, to furniſh his table with fiſh, with which the bay of Myus formerly abounded: the bay, in proceſs of time, became a freſh-water lake, and produced ſuch ſwarms of gnats, that the inhabitants deſerted the place, and were afterwards incorporated with the Mileſians. Chandler, who viſited this place, complains that the old nuiſance of Myus tormented him and his companions exceedingly, and that towards the evening the inſide of their tent was made quite black by the number of gnats which infeſted them.—*T.*

[41] *Termene.*]—Larcher remarks on this word, that no ſuch place exiſted in Caria as Termere, which is the common reading: it certainly ought to be Termene.—*T.*

Darius. To engage the Mileſians to act in concert with him, he eſtabliſhed among them a republican form of government. He adopted a ſimilar conduct with reſpect to the reſt of Ionia; and to excite a general prejudice in his favour, he expelled the tyrants from ſome places, and he alſo ſent back thoſe who had been taken in the veſſels which ſerved againſt Naxos, to the cities to which they ſeverally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene had no ſooner got Coës into their hands, than they put him to death, by ſtoning him. The Cymeans ſent their tyrant back again; and the generality of thoſe who had poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority being driven into exile, an equal form of government was eſtabliſhed: this being accompliſhed, Ariſtagoras the Mileſian directed magiſtrates [42], elected by the people, to be eſtabliſhed in the different cities; after which he himſelf ſailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the neceſſity of procuring ſome powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, ſon of Leontes, did not then ſit upon the throne of Sparta; he was deceaſed, and his ſon Cleomenes had ſucceeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues: Anaxan-

[42] *Magiſtrates.*]—The original is στρατηγος, which, as M. Larcher remarks, does not in this place mean the leader of an army, but a magiſtrate, correſponding with the archons of Athens, &c.—T.

drides had married his niece, of whom he was exceedingly fond, though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: "If you do not feel for your-"self, you ought for us, and not suffer the race of "Eurysthenes to be extinguished. As the wife which "you now have is barren, repudiate her and marry "another, by which you will much gratify your "countrymen." He replied, that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them to be justified in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made him this reply: "We observe your excessive "attachment to your wife; but if you would avoid "the resentment of your countrymen, do what we "advise: we will not insist upon your repudiating "your present wife,—behave to her as you have "always done; but we wish you to marry ano-"ther, by whom you may have offspring."—To this Anaxandrides assented, and from that time had two wives[43], and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

XLI. At no great interval of time the woman whom he last married produced him this Cleome-

[43] *Two wives.*]—"He was the only Lacedæmonian," says Pausanias, "who had two wives at the same time, and had two separate dwellings."—*See Pausanias, Lacon.* lib. iii. chap. 3. 211.—*T.*

nes,

nes, the presumptive heir of his dominions; about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report, that she had not conceived, but intended to impose upon them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations, the ephori distrusted and narrowly observed her; she was, however, delivered first of Dorieus, then of Leonidas [44], and lastly of Cleombrotus; by some it has been affirmed, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported, that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne by valour and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides [45], the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes [46], as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly

[44] *Leonidas.*]—This was the Leonidas who died with so much glory at the straits of Thermopylæ.—*T.*

[45] *Anaxandrides.*]—An apophthegm of this Anaxandrides is left by Plutarch: being asked why they preserved no money in the exchequer; "That the keepers of it," he replied, "might not be tempted to become knaves."—*T.*

[46] *Cleomenes.*]—This Cleomenes, as is reported by Ælian,

greatly diſguſted Dorieus, who did not chooſe to become the dependant of his brother; taking with him, therefore, a number of his countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but ſo impetuous was his reſentment, that he neglected to enquire of the Delphic oracle where he ſhould fix his reſidence; nor did he obſerve any of the ceremonies [47] uſual on ſuch occaſions. Under the conduct of ſome Thereans, he ſailed to Africa, and ſettled on the banks of a river near Cinyps [48], one of the moſt

uſed to ſay that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, and Heſiod the poet of the Helots: one taught the art of war, the other of agriculture.—*T.*

[47] *Of the ceremonies.*]—Amongſt other ceremonies which they obſerved, when they went to eſtabliſh a colony, they took ſome fire from the Prytaneum of the metropolis; and if in the colony this ever was extinguiſhed, they returned to the metropolis to re-kindle it.—*Larcher.*

[48] *Cinyps.*]—The vicinity of this river abounded in goats, and was celebrated for its fertility.—See Virgil:

> Nec minus interea barbas, incanaque menta
> Ciniphii tondent hirci.

It may be proper to obſerve, that this paſſage, quoted from Virgil, has been the occaſion of much literary controverſy.—See Heyne on Georgic. lib. iii. 312.

The fertility of the places adjoining to the Cinyps, is thus mentioned by Ovid:

> Ciniphiæ ſegetis citius numerabis ariſtas.

This river is in the diſtrict belonging to the modern Tripoli.

The Cinyps fell into the ſea, near Leptis, in Proper Africa; Claudian has called it *Vagus*, without much appropriation of his epithet; for its courſe is ſhort, and not wandering:

Quos

moſt delightful ſituations in that part of the world: in the third year of his reſidence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Maci, Afri, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponneſe.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis adviſed him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius [49], to found Heraclea in Sicily; affirming, that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ, as having belonged to Hercules [50]: he accordingly went to Delphi to conſult the oracle, whether the

> Quos Vagus humectat Cinyps, et proximus hortis
> Heſperidum Triton, et Gir notiſſimus amnis,
> Æthiopum, ſimili mentitus gurgite Nilum.—
> *De Laud. Stil.* 251.—*T.*

49 *Oracles of Laius.*]—The Greek is εκ των Λαιϊ χρησμων:—this M. Larcher has rendered "the oracles declared to Laius."—*T.*

50 *Belonged to Hercules.*]—When Hercules came into the country of Eryx, Eryx the ſon of Venus, and Bula the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wreſtle with him: both ſides propoſed the wager to be won and loſt. Eryx laid to ſtake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen: Eryx at firſt diſdained ſuch an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other ſide, anſwered, that if he loſt them, he ſhould loſe his immortality with them, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the conteſt; but he was overcome, and ſo was ſtripped of the poſſeſſion of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own uſe, till ſome one of his poſterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; for, many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, ſailing into Sicily, recovered his anceſtor's dominion, and there built Heraclea.—*Booth's Diodorus Siculus.*

country where he was about to reſide would prove a permanent acquiſition. The reply of the Pythian being favourable, he embarked in the ſame veſſels which had accompanied him from Africa, and ſailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys their king, meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of Crotona; apprehenſive of which, theſe latter implored the aſſiſtance of Dorieus; he liſtened to their ſollicitations, and joining forces, he marched with them againſt Sybaris [51], and took it [52]. The Sybarites ſay,

[51] *Sybaris,*]—was founded by the Achæans, betwixt the rivers Crathis and Sybaris; it ſoon became a place of great opulence and power; the effeminacy of the people became proverbial: ſee Plutarch.—"It is reported," ſays he, in his Banquet of the Seven Wiſe Men, "that the Sybarites uſed to invite their neighbours wives a whole twelvemonth before their entertainments, that they might have convenient time to dreſs and adorn themſelves."—See alſo Athenæus, book xii. c. 3. by whom many whimſical things are recorded of the Sybarites. Their attendants at the bath had fetters, that they might not by their careleſs haſte burn thoſe who bathed; all noiſy trades were baniſhed from their city, that the ſleep of the citizens might not be diſturbed; for the ſame reaſon, alſo, they permitted no cocks to be kept in their city. An inhabitant of this place being once at Sparta, was invited to a public entertainment, where, with the other gueſts, he was ſeated on a wooden bench: "Till now," he remarked, "the bravery of the Spartans has excited my admiration; but I no longer wonder that men living ſo hard a life ſhould be fearleſs of death." This place was afterwards called Thurium.—*T.*

[52] *And took it.*]—The cauſe of the war, according to Diodorus

ſay, that Dorieus and his companions did this; but the people of Crotona deny that in their conteſt with the Sybarites they availed themſelves of the aſſiſtance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a prieſt of the family of the Iamidæ [53]. He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, becauſe on ſome ſolemn ſacrifice he was not able from the entrails of the victim to promiſe ſucceſs againſt Crotona.—The matter is thus differently ſtated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they ſeverally aſſert are theſe:—The Sybarites ſhew near the river Craſtis, which is ſometimes dry, a ſacred edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus after the capture of his city, and conſecrated to the Craſtian [54] Minerva. The death of Dorieus himſelf is another, and with

rus Siculus, was this; "Telys perſuaded the Sybarites to baniſh five hundred of their moſt powerful citizens, and to ſell their effects by public auction; the exiles retired to Crotona. Telys ſent ambaſſadors to demand the fugitives, or in caſe of refuſal to denounce war; the people were diſpoſed to give them up, but the celebrated Pythagoras perſuaded them to engage in their defence: Milo was very active in the conteſt, and the event was ſo fatal to the Sybarites, that their town was plundered and reduced to a perfect ſolitude.—*Larcher.*

[53] *Iamidæ.*]—To Iamus and his deſcendants, who were after him called Iamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination.—See the fifth Olympic of Pindar.

[54] *Craſtian.*]—The city Craſtis, or, as it is otherwiſe called, Craſtus, was celebrated for being the birth-place of the comic poet Epicharmus, and of the courteſan Lais.—*T.*

them the ſtrongeſt teſtimony, for he loſt his life whilſt acting in oppoſition to the expreſs commands of the oracle. For if he had confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually ſecured, the poſſeſſion of the region of Eryx, and thus have preſerved himſelf and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are ſatisfied with exhibiting certain lands, given to the Elean Callias, in the diſtrict of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the deſcendants of Callias poſſeſs: this was not the caſe with Dorieus, nor any of his poſterity. It muſt be obvious, that if this Dorieus, in the war above mentioned, had aſſiſted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different teſtimonies, every perſon is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongſt thoſe who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Theſſalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon, all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phœnicians and Ægiſtans, on their happening to touch at Sicily: this man, collecting ſuch as remained of his companions, took poſſeſſion of Minoas, a Selinuſian colony, which he delivered from the oppreſſion of Pythagoras. Euryleon, putting the tyrant to death, aſſumed his ſituation and authority. Theſe, however, he did not long enjoy, for the Selinuſians roſe in a body againſt him, and

flew

ſlew him before the altar of Jupiter Forenſis [55], where he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip [56], a native of Crotona, and ſon of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and his death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with a daughter of Telys of Sybaris, but not chooſing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence alſo he departed, in ſearch of Dorieus, in a three-oared veſſel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expence: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confeſſedly the handſomeſt man in Greece. On account of his accompliſhments of perſon [57], the people of Ægeſtus diſtinguiſhed

[55] *Jupiter Forenſis.*]—That is to ſay, in the public forum, where the altar of this god was erected.—*T.*

[56] *Philip.*]—"There ſeems in this place," ſays Reiſke, "to be ſomething wanted: how did Philip come amongſt the Ægeſtans; or how did he obtain their friendſhip; or, if he was killed with Dorieus, in Italy, how did he eſcape in a battle with the Ægeſtans? Theſe," concludes Reiſke, "are difficulties which I am totally unable to reconcile."

[57] *Accompliſhments of perſon.*]—For καλλος in this place, ſome are for reading κλεος; but Euſtathius quotes the circumſtance and paſſage at length, a ſtrong argument for retaining the reading of καλλος:—"Deſignatur," ſays Weſſeling, "quid fieri ſolebat Egeſtæ:" but that it was uſual in various places to honour perſons for their beauty, is evident from various paſſages in ancient authors. A beautiful paſſage from Lucretius, which I have before quoted in this work, ſufficiently atteſts this, —Καθιστων δε κ πολλοι τες καλλιστες βασιλεας: many nations aſſign the ſovereignty to thoſe amongſt them who are the moſt beautiful,

guiſhed him by very unuſual honours; they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered ſacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have ſubmitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have ſucceeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very ſhort reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo[58].

XLIX. During the reign of Cleomenes, Ariſtagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that deſiring to have a conference with their ſovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of braſs in his hand, upon which was inſcribed every known part of the habitable world, the ſeas, and the rivers. He thus addreſſed the Spartan monarch: "When you know my bu-"ſineſs, Cleomenes, you will ceaſe to wonder at "my zeal in deſiring to ſee you. The Ionians,

tiful, ſays Athenæus. Beauty, declares Euripides, is worthy of a kingdom—πρωτον μεν ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος.—See a very entertaining chapter on this ſubject in Athenæus, book xiii. c. 2. —*T.*

[58] *Gorgo.*]—She married Leonidas. When this prince departed for Thermopylæ, Gorgo aſked him what commands he had for her; "Marry," ſays he, "ſome worthy man, and become the mother of a valiant race."—He himſelf expected to periſh. This princeſs was remarkable for her virtue, and was one of the women whom Plutarch propoſed as a model to Eurydice.—*Larcher.*

" who ought to be free, are in a ſtate of ſervitude,
" which is not only diſgraceful, but alſo a ſource
" of the extremeſt ſorrow to us, as it muſt alſo be
" to you, who are ſo pre-eminent in Greece.—I
" intreat you, therefore, by the gods of Greece,
" to reſtore the Ionians to liberty, who are con-
" nected with you by ties of conſanguinity. The
" accompliſhment of this, will not be difficult; the
" Barbarians are by no means remarkable for
" their valour, whilſt you, by your military virtue,
" have attained the ſummit of renown. They ruſh
" to the combat armed only with a bow and a
" ſhort ſpear[59]; their robes are long, they ſuffer their
" hair to grow, and they will afford an eaſy con-
" queſt; add to this, that they who inhabit the
" continent are affluent beyond the reſt of their
" neighbours. They have abundance of gold, of
" ſilver, and of braſs; they enjoy a profuſion of
" every article of dreſs, have plenty of cattle, and
" a prodigious number of ſlaves[60]: all theſe, if you
" think

[59] *Bow and a ſhort ſpear.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations, is given in the ſeventh book of Herodotus, in which place he minutely deſcribes the various people which compoſed the prodigious army of Xerxes. It may not be improper to add, that the military habits of the Greeks and Romans very much reſembled each other.—*T.*

[60] *Number of ſlaves.*]—The firſt ſlaves were doubtleſs captives taken in war, who were employed for menial purpoſes; from being ſought after for uſe, they finally were purchaſed and poſſeſſed for oſtentation. A paſſage in Athenæus informs us, that he knew many Romans who poſſeſſed from ten to twenty thouſand ſlaves. According to Tacitus, four hundred ſlaves were

" think proper, may be yours. The nations by " which they are ſurrounded I ſhall explain; next " to theſe Ionians are the Lydians, who poſſeſs a " fertile territory, and a profuſion of ſilver." Saying this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand, to the particular diſtrict of which he ſpake. " Contiguous to the Lydians," continued Ariſtagoras, " as " you advance towards the eaſt, are the Phrygians, " a people who, beyond all the nations of whom I " have any knowledge, enjoy the greteſt abundance " of cattle, and of the earth's produce. The " Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, join to the " Phrygians; then follow the Cilicians, who poſ- " ſeſs the ſcattered iſlands of our ſea, in the vicinity " of Cyprus: theſe people pay annually to the " king a tribute of five hundred talents. The Ar- " menians, who have alſo great plenty of cattle, " border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have " for their neighbours the Matieni, who inhabit

were diſcovered in one great man's houſe at Rome, all of whom were executed for not preventing the death of their maſter. Some nations marked their ſlaves like cattle; and in Menjan's hiſtory of Algiers, the author repreſents a Turk ſaying ſcornfully to a Chriſtian, " What, have you forgot the time when a Chriſtian at Algiers was ſcarce worth an onion?" We learn from Sir John Chardin, that when the Tartars made an incurſion into Poland, and carried away as many captives as they could, perceiving they would not be redeemed, they ſold them for a crown a head. To enter into any elaborate diſquiſition on the rights of man, would in this place be impertinent; and the reader will perceive that I have rather thrown together ſome detached matters on this intereſting ſubject, perhaps not ſo generally known.

§ " the

" the region contiguous to Ciſſia: in this latter diſ-
" trict, and not far remote from the river Choaſpes,
" is Suſa, where the Perſian monarch occaſionally
" reſides, and where his treaſures are depoſited.
" —Make yourſelves maſters of this city, and you
" may vie in affluence with Jupiter himſelf. Lay
" aſide, therefore, the conteſt in which you are en-
" gaged with the Meſſenians, who equal you in
" ſtrength, about a tract of land not very extenſive,
" nor remarkably fertile. Neither are the Arca-
" dians, nor the Argives, proper objects of your
" ambition, who are deſtitute of thoſe precious
" metals [61], which induce men to brave dangers
" and death: but can any thing be more deſira-
" ble, than the opportunity now afforded you, of
" making the entire conqueſt of Aſia?" Ariſtago-

[61] *Precious metals.*]—I have always been much delighted with the following paſſage in Lucretius, wherein he informs his readers that formerly braſs was ſought after and valued, and gold held in no eſtimation, becauſe uſeleſs.

Nam fuit in pretio magis æs, aurumque jacebat
Propter inutilitatem hebeti mucrone retuſum
Nunc jacet æs, aurum in ſummum ſucceſſit honorem
Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum
Quod fuit in pretio, fit nullo denique honore:
Porro aliud ſuccedit et e contemptibus exit
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum
Laudibus, et miro 'ſt mortaleis inter honore.

Again,

Tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis
Exercent hominum vitam belloque fatigant. T.

ras

ras here finiſhed. "Mileſian friend," replied Cleomenes, "in the ſpace of three days you ſhall have "our anſwer."

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes enquired of Ariſtagoras, how many days journey it was from the Ionian ſea to the dominions of the Perſian king. Ariſtagoras, though very ſagacious, and thus far ſucceſsful in his views, was here guilty of an overſight. As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incurſion into Aſia, it was his intereſt to have concealed the truth, but he inconſiderately replied, that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himſelf, Cleomenes interrupted him; "Stranger of Miletus," ſaid he, "depart from "Sparta before ſun-ſet: what you ſay cannot be "agreeable to the Lacedæmonians, deſiring to lead "us a march of three months from the ſea." Having ſaid this, Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Ariſtagoras taking a branch of olive [62] in his hand, preſented himſelf before the houſe of Cleomenes, entering which as a ſuppliant, he requeſted an

[62] *Branch of olive.*]—It would by no means be an eaſy taſk to enumerate the various uſes to which the olive was anciently applied, and the different qualities of mind of which it was the ſymbol. It rewarded the victors at the Olympic games; it was ſacred to Minerva, and ſuſpended round her temples; it was the emblem

an audience, at the ſame time deſiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was preſent, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the preſence of the child might be no obſtruction to what he had to ſay. Ariſtagoras then promiſed to give him ten talents, if he

emblem of peace; it indicated pity, ſupplication, liberty, hope, &c. &c. The invention of it was imputed to Minerva.

Oleæque Minerva
Inventrix.

Statius calls it ſupplicis arbor olivæ.—Directions for the mode of planting them had place amongſt the inſtitutes of Solon: he who pulled up for his own private uſe more than two olives in the year, paid a fine of one hundred drachmæ. They were not known till a very late period at Rome, but when introduced their fruit became an indiſpenſable article of luxury, and was eaten before and after meals. See Martial:

Inchoat atque eadem finit oliva dapes.

It ſhould ſeem from a paſſage in Virgil, that the ſuppliant carried a wreath of olive in his hands:

Præferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum.

Of its introduction into the weſtern world, Mr. Gibbon ſpeaks thus: "The olive followed the progreſs of peace, of which it was conſidered as the ſymbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome both Italy and Africa were ſtrangers to that uſeful plant; it was naturalized in thoſe countries, and at length carried into the heart of Spain, and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, in ſuppoſing that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flouriſh in the neighbourhood of the ſea, were inſenſibly exploded by induſtry and experience."—*T.*

would

would accede to his requeſt. As Cleomenes refuſed, Ariſtagoras roſe in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "Father, unleſs "you withdraw, this ſtranger will corrupt you." The prince was delighted with the wiſe ſaying of his daughter, and inſtantly retired. Ariſtagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in diſguſt.

LII. In that ſpace of country about which Cleomenes had enquired, the Perſian king has various ſtathmi, or manſions, with excellent inns [63]; theſe are all ſplendid and beautiful, the whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and ſecure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, twenty of the above ſtathmi occur, within the ſpace of ninety paraſangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are ſtrongly defended, but which muſt be neceſſarily paſſed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to

[63] *Excellent inns.*]—There can be little doubt, but that theſe are the ſame with what are now called caravanſeras, and which abound in all oriental countries; theſe are large ſquare buildings, in the centre of which is a ſpacious court. The traveller muſt not expect to meet with much accommodation in theſe places, except that he may depend upon finding water: they are eſteemed ſacred, and a ſtranger's goods, whilſt he remains in one of them, are ſecure from pillage.

Such exactly are alſo the *choultries* of Indoſtan, many of which are buildings of great magnificence, and very curious workmanſhip. What the traveller has there to expect is little more than mere ſhelter.—*T.*

the

the confines of Cilicia, in the ſpace of one hundred and four paraſangs, there are eight-and-twenty ſtathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; paſſing beyond which through the country, are three ſtathmi in the ſpace of fifteen paraſangs and a half: Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only paſſable in veſſels. In Armenia, and within the ſpace of fifty-ſix paraſangs and a half, there are fifteen ſtathmi, in which alſo are guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the paſſage of which is indiſpenſable, but can only be effected in boats. Of theſe the firſt is the Tigris; by the ſame name alſo the ſecond and the third are diſtinguiſhed, though they are by no means the ſame, nor proceeding from the ſame ſource: of theſe latter the one riſes in Armenia, the other from amongſt the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and ſixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni, are four ſtathmi: from hence, through Ciſſia, as far as the river Choaſpes, there are eleven ſtathmi, and a ſpace of forty-two paraſangs and a half. The Choaſpes is alſo to be paſſed in boats, and beyond this Suſa is ſituated. Thus it appears, that from Sardis to Suſa are one hundred and eleven [64] ſtations, or ſtathmi.

LIII.

[64] *One hundred and eleven.*]—According to the account given by Herodotus in this chapter.

LIII. If this meaſurement of the royal road by paraſangs, be accurate, and a paraſang be ſuppoſed equal to thirty ſtadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal reſidence of Memnon are thirteen thouſand five hundred ſtadia, or four hundred and fifty paraſangs: allowing, therefore, one hundred and fifty ſtadia to each day, the whole diſtance will be a journey of ninety entire days.

LIV. Ariſtagoras was, therefore, correct in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months march to the reſidence of the Perſian monarch. For the benefit of thoſe who wiſh to have more ſatisfactory information on the ſubject, it may not be amiſs to add the particulars of the diſtance betwixt Sardis and Epheſus. From the Greek ſea to Suſa, the name by which the city of Memnon [65] is generally known, is fourteen thouſand

	Stathmi.	Paraſangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia are - -	20 - - -	94½
In Cappadocia - - - - - - -	28 - - -	104
In Cilicia - - - - - - - - -	3 - - -	15½
In Armenia - - - - - - -	15 - - -	56½
In the country of the Matieni - -	4	
In Ciſſia - - - - - - - - -	11 - - -	42½

So that here muſt evidently be ſome miſtake, as inſtead of 111 ſtathmi, we have only 81; inſtead of 450 paraſangs, only 313. Weſſeling remarks on the paſſage, that if the numbers were accurate, much advantage might be derived from knowing the exact proportion of diſtance between a ſtathmus and a paraſang. The ſame defect is obſervable in the Anabaſis of Xenophon, which Hutchinſon tries in vain to explain.—*T.*

[65] *Of Memnon.*]—Strabo ſays that Suſa was built by Titron, the

ſand and forty ſtadia: from Epheſus to Sardis is five hundred and forty ſtadia; thus three days muſt be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta Ariſtagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty: Ariſtogiton and Harmodius [66], who were Gephyreans

the father of Memnon; Herodotus alſo, in another place, calls Suſa the city of Memnon.

[66] *Ariſtogiton and Harmodius.*]—To the reader of the moſt common claſſical taſte the ſtory of theſe Athenians muſt be too familiar to require any repetition in this place. An extract from a poem of Sir William Jones, in which the incident is happily introduced, being leſs common, may not perhaps be unacceptable. It is entitled,

Julii Meleſigoni ad Libertatem Carmen.

Virtus renaſcens quem jubet ad ſonos
Spartanam avitos ducere tibiam?
Quis fortium cætus in auras
Athenias juvenum ciebit;

Quos Marti amicos, aut hyacinthinis
Flava in palæſtra conſpicuos comis
Aut alma libertas in undis
Egelidis agiles videbat,

Plauſitque viſos? Quis modulabitur
Excelſa plectro carmina Leſbio,
Quæ dirus Alcæo ſonante
Audiit, et tremuit dynaſtes?

reans by deſcent, had put to death Hipparchus, ſon of Piſiſtratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a viſion [67] of the diſaſter which afterwards

Quis myrteâ enſem fronde reconditum
Cantabit? Illum civibus Harmodi
Dilecte ſervatis, nec ullo
Interiture die tenebas:

Vix ſe refrœnat fulmineus chalybs,
Mox igne cœleſti emicat, exilit
Et cor reluctantis tyranni
Perforat ictibus haud remiſſis.

O ter placentem Palladi victimam, &c.

The reader will perceive that Julii Meleſigoni is an anagram of William Jones.

A more particular account of theſe deliverers of their country may be found in Thucydides, book vi. c. 12. Pauſanias, book i. and in Suidas.—*T.*

[67] *In a viſion.*]—The ancients imagined that a diſtinct dream was a certain declaration of the future, or that the event was not to be averted, but by certain expiatory ceremonies. See the Electra of Sophocles, and other places.—*Larcher.*

One method which the ancients had of averting the effects of diſagreeable viſions, was to relate them to the Sun, who they believed had the power of turning aſide any evils which the night might have menaced.—*T.*

From Larcher's prolix note on the ſubject of Ariſtogiton and Harmodius, I extract ſuch particulars as I think will be moſt intereſting to an Engliſh reader.

Harmodius is reported to have inſpired the tyrant Hipparchus with an unnatural paſſion, who loving and being beloved by Ariſtogiton, communicated the ſecret to him, and joined with him in his reſolution to deſtroy their perſecutor. This is ſufficiently

afterwards befel him; though for four years after his death the people of Athens ſuffered greater oppreſſion than before.

LVI. The particulars of the viſion which Hipparchus ſaw are thus related: in the night preceding the feſtival of the Panathenæa[68], Hipparchus beheld

ſufficiently contradicted, with reſpect to the attachment betwixt Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which appears to have been the true emotions of friendſhip only.

The courtezan Leæna, who was beloved by Harmodius, was tortured by Hippias, to make her diſcover the accomplices in the aſſaſſination of Hipparchus. Diſtruſting her own fortitude, ſhe bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in honour of her memory, erected in the veſtibule of the citadel a ſtatue in bronze of a lioneſs without a tongue.

Thucydides ſeems willing to impute the action which cauſed the death of Hipparchus to a leſs noble motive than the love of liberty; but the cotemporaries of the conſpirators, and poſterity, have rendered Harmodius and Ariſtogiton the merit which was their due.

Popular ſongs were made in their honour, one of which is preſerved in Athenæus, book xv. chap. 15. It is alſo to be ſeen in the Analecta of Brunck, i. 155. This ſong has been imputed to Alcæus, but falſely, for that poet died before Hipparchus.

The deſcendants of the conſpirators who deſtroyed the tyrant were maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

One of the poſterity of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproached Iphicrates with the meanneſs of his family: "My nobility," anſwered Iphicrates, "commences with me, yours terminates in you." In the very time of the decline of Athens, the love of liberty was there ſo hereditary and indelible, that they erected ſtatues to the aſſaſſins of Cæſar.

[68] *Panathenæa.*]—On this ſubject I give, from different writers, the more intereſting particulars.

beheld a tall and comely perſonage, who addreſſed him in theſe ambiguous terms:

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd ſoul compoſe
To meet unmov'd intolerable woes:
In vain th' oppreſſor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is ſure, though late.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, he diſcloſed what he had ſeen to the interpreters of dreams. He however ſlighted the viſion, and was killed in the celebration of ſome public feſtival.

LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the aſſaſſins of Hipparchus, came, as themſelves affirm, originally from Eretria. But the reſult of my enquiries enables me to ſay that they were Phœnicians, and of thoſe who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they ſettled, having the diſtrict of Tanagria aſſigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians en-

The feſtival was in honour of Minerva. There were the greater and leſſer Panathenæa. The leſſer originated with Theſeus; theſe were celebrated every year in the month Hecatombeon; the greater were celebrated every five years. In the proceſſion on this occaſion old men, ſelected for their good perſons, carried branches of olive. There were alſo races with torches both on horſe and foot; there was alſo a muſical contention. The conqueror in any of theſe games was rewarded with a veſſel of oil. There was alſo a dance by boys in armour. The veſt of Minerva was carried in a ſacred proceſſion of perſons of all ages, &c. &c.—*T.*

rolled them amongſt their citizens, under certain reſtrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their reſidence in Greece various articles of ſcience; and amongſt other things letters [69], with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before

[69] *Amongſt other things letters.*]—Upon the ſubject of the invention of letters, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething; but ſo much has been written by others, that the taſk of ſelection, though all that is neceſſary, becomes ſufficiently difficult.

The firſt introduction of letters into Greece has been generally aſſigned to Cadmus; but this has often been controve ted, no arguments on either ſide have been adduced ſufficiently ſtrong to be admitted as deciſive. It is probable that they were in uſe in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan, in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt, than is implied in the words famæ ſi creditur, wrote thus:

Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, auſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
Noverat, et ſaxis tantum, volucreſque feræque
Sculptaque ſervabant magicas animalia linguas.

Phœnicians firſt, if ancient fame be true,
The ſacred myſtery of letters knew;
They firſt by ſound, in various lines deſign'd,
Expreſt the meaning of the thinking mind,
The power of words by figures rude convey'd,
And uſeful ſcience everlaſting made.
Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,
Engrav'd her precepts and her arts in ſtone;
While animals, in various order plac'd,
The learned hieroglyphic column grac'd. *Rowe.*

before unacquainted. Theſe were at firſt ſuch as the Phœnicians themſelves indiſcriminately uſe; in proceſs of time, however, they were changed both in ſound and form[70]. At that time the Greeks

To this opinion, concerning the uſe of hieroglyphics, biſhop Warburton accedes, in his Divine Legation of Moſes, who thinks that they were the production of an unimproved ſtate of ſociety, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writing. With reſpect to this opinion of Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the reſemblance betwixt the old Eaſtern and earlieſt Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of ſome weight.

No European nation ever pretended to the honour of this diſcovery; the Romans confeſſed they had it from the Greeks, the Greeks from the Phœnicians.

Pliny ſays the uſe of letters was eternal; and many have made no ſcruple of aſcribing them to a divine revelation. Our countryman Mr. Aſtle, who has written perhaps the beſt on this complicated ſubject, has this expreſſion, with which I ſhall conclude the ſubject.

"The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the moſt early civilization; but ſuch is the uncertainty of ancient hiſtory, that it is difficult to determine to whom the honour is due. It ſhould ſeem, however, that the conteſt may be confined to the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, and Cadmeans."—*T.*

[70] *In ſound and form.*]—The remark of Dr. Gillies on this paſſage ſeems worthy of attention,

"The eaſtern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much diſputed whether the ancient orientals uſed any characters to expreſs them: their languages therefore had an inflexible thickneſs of ſound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumſtance denotes in the Greeks organs of perception more acute, elegant, and diſcerning. They felt ſuch faint variations of liquid ſounds as eſcaped the dulneſs of Aſiatic ears, and invented marks to expreſs them. They diſtinguiſhed in this manner not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their muſical intonation."

moſt

moſt contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned theſe letters of the Phœnicians, and, with ſome trifling variations, received them into common uſe. As the Phœnicians firſt made them known in Greece, they called them, as juſtice required, Phœnician letters. By a very ancient cuſtom, the Ionians call their books diphteræ or ſkins, becauſe at a time when the plant of the biblos was ſcarce [71], they uſed inſtead of it the ſkins of goats and ſheep. Many of the barbarians have uſed theſe ſkins for this purpoſe within my recollection.

LIX. I myſelf have ſeen, in the temple of the Iſmenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, theſe Cadmean letters inſcribed upon ſome tripods, and having a near reſemblance to thoſe uſed by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inſcription [72]: Amphytrion's

[71] *Biblos was ſcarce.*]—Je ne parlerai point ici de toutes les matieres ſur leſquelles on a tracé l'écriture. Les peaux de chevre et de mouton, les differens eſpeces de toile furent ſucceſſivement employeés: on a fait depuis uſage du papier tiſſu des couches interieures de la tige d'une plante qui croit dans les marais de l'Egypte, ou au milieu des eaux dormantes que le Nil laiſſe apres ſon inondation. On en fait des rouleaux, a l'extremité, deſquels eſt ſuſpendre une etiquette contenant le titre du livre. L'écriture n'eſt tracée que ſur une des faces de chaque rouleau; et pour en faciliter la lecture, elle s'y trouve diviſée en pluſieurs compartimens ou pages, &c.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis.*

Every thing neceſſary to be known on the ſubject of paper, its firſt invention, and progreſſive improvement, is ſatisfactorily diſcuſſed in the edition of Chambers's Dictionary by Rees.—*T.*

[72] *This inſcription.*]—Some curious inſcriptions upon the ſhields of the warriors who were engaged in the ſiege of the capital

Amphytrion's preſent from Teleboan ſpoils.

This muſt have been about the age of Laius, ſon of Labdacus, whoſe father was Polydore, the ſon of Cadmus.

LX. Upon the ſecond tripod, are theſe hexameter verſes:—

Scæus, victorious pugiliſt, beſtow'd
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scæus was the ſon of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another perſon of the ſame name, cotemporary with Œdipus the ſon of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inſcription in hexameters:—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' ſhrine
This tripod gave, of workmanſhip divine.

Under this Laodamas, the ſon of Eteocles, who had the ſupreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Encheleans[73]. The Gephyræans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens[74]. Here they built

capital of Eteocles, are preſerved in the "Seven againſt Thebes of Æſchylus," to which the reader is referred.

[73] *Encheleans.*]—The Cadmeans and Encheleans of Herodotus are the Thebans and Illyrians of Pauſanias.

[74] *To Athens.*]—They were permitted to ſettle on the borders of the Cephiſſus, which ſeparates Attica from Eleuſis; there they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication on both ſides. I am of opinion that bridges, γέφυραι, took their name

built temples for their own particular uſe, reſembling in no reſpect thoſe of the Athenians, as may be ſeen in the edifice and myſteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the viſion of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conſpirators againſt Hipparchus were deſcended: but it will here be proper to explain more at length the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had ſucceeded to the ſupreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly reſented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcmæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Piſiſtratidæ: they had, in conjunction with ſome other exiles, made an effort to recover their former ſituations, and to deliver their country from its oppreſſors, but were defeated with conſiderable loſs. They retired to Lipſydrium beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, ſtill meditating vengeance againſt the Piſiſtratidæ. Whilſt they were thus circumſtanced, the Amphictyons[75] engaged them upon certain terms to

name from theſe people. The author of the Etymologicum Magnum pretends that the people were called Gephyreans from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they ſettled in Attica.—*Larcher.*

[75] *Amphictyons.*]—The Amphictyons were an aſſembly compoſed of deputies from the different ſtates of Greece. Each ſtate ſent two deputies, one to examine into what related to the ceremonies of religion, the other to decide diſputes betwixt individuals.

to conſtruct that which is now the temple of Delphi[76], but which did not exiſt before. They were not deficient in point of wealth; and, warmed with the generous ſpirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in ſplendour and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to conſtruct it of the ſtone of Porus[77], but they built the veſtibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. Theſe men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi bribed the Py-

individuals. Their general reſidence was at Delphi, and they determined diſputes betwixt the different ſtates of Greece. Before they proceeded to buſineſs, they ſacrificed an ox cut into ſmall pieces; their deciſions were ſacred, and without appeal. They met twice in the year, in ſpring and in autumn. In ſpring at Delphi, in autumn at Thermopylæ.

This council repreſented but a certain number of the ſtates of Greece; but theſe were the principal and moſt powerful. Demoſthenes makes mention of a decree where the Amphictyonic council is called το κοινον των Ελληνων συνεδριον; and Cicero alſo calls them commune Græciæ concilium.—*T.*

[76] *Temple of Delphi.*]—The temple of Delphi was in its origin no more than a chapel made of the branches of laurel growing near the temple. One Pteras of Delphi afterwards built it of more ſolid materials: it was then conſtructed of braſs; the fourth time it was erected of ſtone.—*Larcher.*

[77] *Stone of Porus.*]—This ſtone reſembled the Parian marble in whiteneſs and hardneſs; but, according to Pliny and Theophraſtus, it was leſs ponderous. Of the marble of Paros I have ſpoken elſewhere. Larcher remarks that Phidias, Praxiteles, and the more eminent ſculptors of antiquity, always preferred it for their works. Tournefort without heſitation prefers the marbles of Italy to thoſe of Greece.

thian

thian to propoſe to every Spartan who ſhould conſult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing inceſſantly the ſame thing repeated to them, ſent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, ſon of After, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Piſiſtratidæ from Athens. They in this reſpect violated ſome very ancient ties of hoſpitality; but they thought it better became them to liſten to the commands of Heaven, than to any human conſideration. Theſe forces were diſpatched by ſea, and being driven to Phalerus, were there diſembarked by Anchimolius. The Piſiſtratidæ being aware of this, applied for aſſiſtance to the Theſſalians, with whom they were in alliance. The people of Theſſaly obeyed the ſummons, and ſent them a thouſand horſe [78], commanded by Cineas their king,

[78] *Thouſand horſe.*]—The cavalry of Theſſaly were very famous.—See *Theocritus, Id.* xviii. 30.

Η καπῳ κυπαρισσος, η αρματι Θεσσαλος ιππος
Ωδε και ροδοκρως Ελενα Λακεδαιμονι κοσμος.

As the cypreſs is an ornament to a garden, as a Theſſalian horſe to a chariot, ſo is the lovely Helen the glory of Lacedæmon.—*Larcher.*

Amongſt other ſolemnities of mourning which Admetus prince of Theſſaly orders to be obſerved in honour of his deceaſed wife, he bids his ſubjects cut the manes of all the chariot horſes:

Τεθριππα τε ζευγνυσθε ἡ μοναμπυκας
Πωλες σιδηρῳ τεμνετ αυχενων φοβην.

From which incident it may perhaps be inferred, that the Theſſalians held their horſes in no ſmall eſtimation: the ſpeech of Admetus being as much as to ſay, "All that belongs to me, all

king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies, the Piſiſtratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus, and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they ſent them againſt the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed ſeveral, amongſt whom was Anchimolius. Thoſe who eſcaped were driven to their veſſels. Thus ſucceeded the firſt attempt of the Lacedæmonians: the tomb of Anchimolius is ſtill to be ſeen near the temple of Hercules, in Cynoſarges[79], in the diſtrict of Alopece[80], in Attica.

LXIV.

all that have any ſhare of my regard, ſhall aid me in deploring my domeſtic loſs."—See vol. i. 215.—*T.*

[79] *Cynoſarges.*]—This place gave name to the ſect of the Cynics. It was a gymnaſium, or place for public exerciſes, annexed to a temple, and ſituated near one of the gates of Athens. The origin of its appellation *Cynoſarges* is thus related: an Athenian named Didymus was performing a ſacrifice in his houſe, but was interrupted by a large white dog, which coming in unexpectedly, ſeized the victim, carried it off, and left it in another place. Much diſturbed by an accident ſo inauſpicious, Didymus conſulted the oracle in what manner he might avert the omen; he was told to build a temple to Hercules in the place where the dog had depoſited the victim: he did ſo, and called it *Cynoſarges*, απο τε κυνος αργυ, from the *white dog*, which that name expreſſes. When Antiſthenes founded his ſect, he hired this place as conveniently ſituated for his lectures; and from the name of the place, added to the conſideration of the ſnarling doggiſh nature of thoſe philoſophers, was derived the appellation *Cynic*, which means *doggiſh*. Antiſthenes himſelf was ſometimes called ἁπλοκυων, *mere* or *genuine dog*. The expreſſion ad Cynoſarges was proverbial.—See this explained at length in the Adagia of Eraſmus; it ſignified the ſame as abi ad cervos, ad malam rem, &c.—*T.*

[80] *Alopece.*]—This place was appropriated to the tribe of Antiochis,

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards ſent a greater body of forces againſt Athens, not by ſea but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, ſon of Anaxandrides. Theſe, on their firſt entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Theſſalian horſe, who were preſently routed[81], with the loſs of forty of their men: the remainder retired without any further efforts into Theſſaly. Cleomenes advancing to the city, was joined by thoſe Athenians who deſired to be free; in conjunction with whom he beſieged the tyrants in the Pelaſgian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themſelves finally inadequate to the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a ſiege, whilſt their adverſaries were well provided with neceſſaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for a few days, they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party as favourable to the other. The children of the Piſiſtratidæ in their attempts privately to eſcape, were taken priſoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity, ſo that finally, to recover their children, they ſubmitted to ſuch terms

Antiochis, and according to Diogenes Laertius, was celebrated for being the birth-place of Socrates.—*T.*

[81] *Preſently routed.*]—Frontinus, in his Stratagemata, relates that Cleomenes obſtructed the paſſage of the Theſſalian horſe, by throwing branches of trees over the plain. This delivery of the Athenians by Cleomenes, is alluded to by Ariſtophanes, in his play called Lyſiſtratus.—*Larcher.*

as

as the Athenians impoſed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the ſupreme authority for thirty-ſix years, they retired to Sigeum beyond the Scamander. They were in their deſcent Pylians, of the family of Peleus; they were by birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had alſo arrived at the principality of Athens, though ſtrangers like themſelves. In memory of which Hippocrates, the father of Piſiſtratus, had named his ſon from the ſon of Neſtor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppreſſion; and it will now be my buſineſs to commemorate ſuch proſperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Ariſtagoras the Mileſian had arrived at Athens to ſupplicate aſſiſtance.

LXVI. Athens was conſiderable before, but, its liberty being reſtored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Cliſthenes, of the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Iſagoras, ſon of Tiſander, who was certainly of an illuſtrious origin, but whoſe particular deſcent I am not able to ſpecify. The individuals of this family ſacrifice to the Carian Jupiter[82]: theſe two men, in their contention for ſuperiority,

[82] *Carian Jupiter.*]—The Carians were exceedingly contemned, and they were regarded as ſlaves, becauſe they were the

riority, divided the ſtate into factions: Cliſthenes, who was worſted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favour of the people. The four tribes[83], which were before named from the ſons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he divided into ten, naming them according to his fancy, from

the firſt who let out troops for hire; for which reaſon they were expoſed to the moſt perilous enterprizes. This people had a temple common to themſelves, with the Lydians and Myſians; this was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. They who ſacrificed to the Carian Jupiter acknowledged themſelves to have been originally from Caria. Plutarch does not omit this opportunity of reproaching Herodotus; and indeed this is amongſt the very few inſtances of his having juſtice on his ſide. As early as in the time of Homer, the following proverb was current:

——— τιω δε μιν εν Καρος αισῃ,

I value him no more than a Carian. *Larcher.*

This interpretation has, however, been juſtly conſidered as doubtful. See Dr. Clarke's excellent note on that paſſage. *Il.* ix. 378.—*T.*

[83] *The four tribes.*]—The names of the four ancient tribes of Athens varied at different times: they were afterwards, as in this place repreſented, multiplied into ten; two others were then added. Each of theſe ten tribes, like ſo many different republics, had their preſidents, officers of police, tribunals, aſſemblies, and different intereſts. Fifty ſenators were elected as repreſentatives of each tribe, which of courſe made the aggregate repreſentation of the ſtate of Athens amount to five hundred. The motive of Cliſthenes in dividing the Athenians into ten tribes, was a remarkable inſtance of political ſagacity; till then any one tribe uniting with a ſecond muſt have rendered any conteſt equal. The names here inſerted have been the ſubject of much learned controverſy. See the Ion of Euripides, ver. 1576, and the commentators upon it. An inſcription publiſhed by Count Caylus has at length removed many of the difficulties.—*T.*

the heroes of his country. One however he called after Ajax [84], who had been the neighbour and ally to his nation.

LXVII. In this particular, Cliſthenes ſeems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the ſame name by his mother's ſide, who was prince of Sicyon: this Cliſthenes having been engaged in hoſtilities with the Argives, aboliſhed at Sicyon the poetical conteſts of the rhapſodiſts [85], which he was

[84] *Ajax.*]—Ajax, ſon of Telamon, had been prince of Ægina, an iſland in the neighbourhood of Attica.—*Larcher.* This is a moſt remarkable miſtake in Larcher: Ajax was of Salamis, not of Ægina. See the well-known line in Homer:

Αιας δ' εκ Σαλαμινος αγεν δυοκαιδεκα νηας.

[85] *Rhapſodiſts.*]—This word is compounded either of ῥαπτω, to ſew, or ῥαβδος, a rod or branch, and ᾠδη, a ſong or poem. According to the firſt derivation it ſignifies a poet, author of various ſongs or poems which are connected together, making one poem, of which the different parts may be detached and ſeparately recited. According to the ſecond, it ſignifies a ſinger, who holding in his hand a branch of laurel, recites either his own compoſitions or thoſe of ſome celebrated poet.

Heſiod inclines to the former etymology. Homer, Heſiod, &c. were rhapſodiſts in this ſenſe; they compoſed their poems in different books and parts, which uniting together made one perfect compoſition. The ancient poets went from country to country, and from town to town, to inſtruct and amuſe the people by the recital of their verſes, who in return treated them with great honours and much liberality. The moſt ancient rhapſodiſt on record is Phemius, whom Homer, after being his diſciple, immortalizes in his Odyſſey. The moſt probable opinion is, that in ſinging the verſes which they themſelves compoſed, they carried in their hand a branch of laurel. The rhapſodiſts of the ſecond kind were invited to feaſts and public ſacrifices, to ſing the poems of Orpheus, Muſæus, Heſiod, Archilochus,

was induced to do, becauſe in the verſes of Homer, which were there generally ſelected for this purpoſe, Argos and its inhabitants were ſuch frequent objects of praiſe. From the ſame motive he was ſolicitous to expel the relics of Adraſtus, an Argive, the ſon of Talaus, which were depoſited in the forum of Sicyon [86]; he went therefore to enquire of the Delphic oracle, whether he might expel Adraſtus. The Pythian ſaid in reply, that Adraſtus was a prince of Sicyon, whilſt he himſelf was a robber. Meeting with this repulſe from the oracle, he on his

chilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and in particular of Homer. Theſe were ſatisfied with reciting the compoſitions of others, and certainly carried a branch of laurel, which particularly has been diſputed with reſpect to the firſt.

They were alſo called Homerides or Homeriſts, becauſe they generally recited verſes from Homer.

They ſung ſitting on a raiſed chair, accompanying their verſes with a cithera or ſome other inſtrument, and in return a crown of gold was given them. In proceſs of time the words rhapſodiſt and rhapſody became terms of contempt, from the abuſe which the rhapſodiſts made of their profeſſion; and at the preſent day the term rhapſody is applied to a number of vile pieces ill put together.—*Larcher.*

The note above given from Larcher will neceſſarily bring to the mind of the Engliſh reader the character and office of our ancient bards, whom the rhapſodiſts of old in many reſpects reſembled. Of the two, the bards were perhaps the more honourable, as they confined themſelves to the recital of the valorous actions of heroes, and of ſuch ſentiments as inſpired bravery and virtue. In our language alſo, rhapſody is now always uſed in a bad ſenſe; but it was not ſo with our more ancient writers, and our poets in particular.—*T.*

[86] *Forum of Sicyon.*]—Dieutychidas relates that Adraſtus was buried at Megara, and that at Sicyon there was only a cenotaph of this hero. See Scholiaſt to Pindar. ad Nem. 30.—*Larcher.*

return concerted other means to rid himſelf of Adraſtus. Thinking he had accompliſhed this, he ſent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus[87], a native of Sicyon, and ſon of Aſtacus. By the conſent of the Thebans, his requeſt was granted; he then etected to his honour a ſhrine in the Prytaneum, and depoſited his remains in a place ſtrongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was the great enmity which ſubſiſted betwixt him and Adraſtus, and farther, becauſe Melanippus had been acceſſary to the deaths of Meciſtes the brother, and Tydeus the ſon-in-law of Adraſtus. When the ſhrine was completed, Cliſthenes aſſigned to Melanippus the ſacrifices and feſtivals which before had been appropriated to Adraſtus, and ſolemnized by the Sicyonians with the greateſt pomp and magnificence. This diſtrict had formerly been under the ſovereignty of Polybus, who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adraſtus, his grandſon by a daughter. Amongſt other marks of honour which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adraſtus, they commemorated in tragic choruſes[88] his

[87] *Melanippus.*]—When the Argives attacked Thebes, this warrior ſlew Tydeus and Meciſtus, the brother of Adraſtus, whilſt he himſelf periſhed by the hands of Amphiaraus.

[88] *Tragic choruſes.*]—It may be inferred, ſays Larcher, from this paſſage, that Theſpis was not the inventor of tragedy; and he quotes Themiſtius as ſaying, "The Sicyonians were the inventers of tragedy, but the Athenians brought it to perfection." Suidas alſo, at the word Θεσπις, ſays, that Epigenes of Sicyon was the firſt tragedian, and Theſpis only the ſixteenth. M. Larcher

his perſonal misfortunes, to the neglect even of Bacchus. But Cliſthenes appropriated the choruſes to Bacchus, and the other ſolemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed alſo the names of the Doric tribes, that thoſe of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from thoſe of the Argives, by which means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He diſtinguiſhed the other tribes by

Larcher is of a contrary opinion, but avoids any diſcuſſion of the argument, as beyond the propoſed limits of his plan.

To exhibit a chorus, was to purchaſe a dramatic piece of an author, and defray the expence of its repreſentation. This at Athens was the office of the archon, at Rome of the ædiles. The following paſſage from Lyſias may ſerve to explain the ancient chorus with regard to its variety and expence.

"When Theopompus was archon, I was furniſher to a tragic chorus, and I laid out 30 minæ—afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it coſt me 20 minæ. When Glaucippus was archon, I laid out eight minæ upon the pyrrichiſts; when Diocles was archon, I laid out upon the cyclian chorus three minæ; afterwards, when Alexias was archon, I furniſhed a chorus of boys, and it coſt me fifteen minæ; and when Euclides was archon, I was at the charge of ſixteen minæ on the comedians, and of ſeven upon the young pyrrichiſts."

From which it appears that the tragic was the moſt expenſive chorus, and its ſplendour in after-times became ſo extravagant, that Horace complains the ſpectators minded more what they ſaw than what they heard:

Dixit adhuc aliquid, nil ſane, quid placet ergo
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

The buſineſs of the chorus at its firſt inſtitution was to ſing dithyrambic verſes in honour of Bacchus. How it afterwards became improved and extended, has been too often and too well diſcuſſed to require any elaborate diſcuſſion in this place.—*T.*

the words Hys and Onos [89], ſuperadding only their reſpective terminations: to his own tribe he prefixed the word Arche, expreſſive of authority; thoſe of his own tribe were therefore termed Archelaens; of the others, ſome were called Hyatæ, ſome Oneatæ, others Chæræatæ. The Sicyonians were known by theſe appellations during the time of Cliſthenes, and for ſixty years afterwards. After this period, in conſequence of a conſultation held amongſt themſelves, they changed theſe names to Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatæ. To theſe they added a fourth tribe, which in honour of Ægialeus, ſon of Adraſtus, they called Ægialeans.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of Cliſthenes of Sicyon. The Cliſthenes of Athens, grandſon of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, deſirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To ſhew his contempt of the Ionians, he would not ſuffer the tribes of Athens to bear any reſemblance to thoſe of Ionia. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averſe to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increaſed their number. Inſtead of four phylarchi he made ten, into which number of tribes he alſo divided the people; by which means he ſo conciliated their favour, that he obtained a decided ſuperiority over his opponents [90].

LXX.

[89] *Hys and Onos.*]—Literally, a ſwine and an aſs.

[90] *Over his opponents.*]—Cliſthenes and Iſagoras had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the Piſiſtratidæ from Athens: but they were not at all the more harmonious on this account. The firſt deſired to eſtabliſh a democracy,

LXX. Iſagoras, though overcome, endeavoured to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to Cleomenes the Spartan, with whom he had formed the tie of hoſpitality whilſt he was beſieging the Piſiſtratidæ, and who has been ſuſpected of an improper connection with Iſagoras's wife. The Lacedæmonian prince, ſending a herald before him, pronounced ſentence of expulſion againſt Cliſthenes, and many other Athenians, on pretence of their being polluted by ſacrilegious murder. Iſagoras prevailed upon him to make this his excuſe, becauſe the Alcmæonidæ, with thoſe of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither Iſagoras nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reaſon why theſe Athenians were called polluted [91], was this: Cylon, a native of Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of deſigns upon the government, for, having procured a number of young men of the ſame age with himſelf, he endeavoured to ſeize the citadel; diſappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themſelves

cracy, and to accompliſh it he gave the people more authority than they ever poſſeſſed before, by diſtributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by theſe means leſs eaſy to be gained. Iſagoras, on the contrary, wiſhed to eſtabliſh an ariſtocracy; and as he could not poſſibly ſucceed in his views, unleſs by force, he therefore invited the Lacedæmonians to aſſiſt him.—*Larcher.*

[91] *Polluted.*]—Literally *Enagees*, that is, polluted by their crime, and therefore devoted to the curſe of the goddeſs whom they had offended: the term implies a ſacrilegious offence.—*T.*

before the ſhrine of Minerva, as ſuppliants. The Prytanes of the Naucrari [92], who then governed Athens, perſuaded them to leave this ſanctuary, under a promiſe that their lives ſhould not be forfeited. Their being ſoon afterwards put to death [93] was

[92] *The Prytanes of the Naucrari.*]—I ſhall endeavour, as conciſely as poſſible, to make this intelligible to the Engliſh reader.

The magiſtrates of Athens were compoſed of the Archons, the Areopagites, and the ſenate of five hundred. When the people of Athens conſiſted only of four tribes, one hundred were elected by lot from each tribe; when afterwards they were divided into ten, fifty were choſen from each tribe; theſe were the Prytanes, and they governed the city by turns. Each body of fifty, according to Solon's eſtabliſhment, ruled for the ſpace of thirty-five days, not all at once, but in regular diviſions of their body for a certain limited time. To expatiate on the ſubject of the Prytanes, the particulars of their duty, and their various ſubdiviſions into other reſponſible magiſtracies, would require a long diſſertation.

Of the Naucrari, or, as it is ſometimes written, Naucleri, what follows may perhaps be ſufficient.

To the ten tribes of Cliſthenes, two more were afterwards added; theſe twelve were divided into Δημοι, or boroughs, who anciently were named Naucrariæ: of theſe the magiſtrates were called Naucrari; each Naucraria furniſhed for the public ſervice two horſemen and one veſſel. Each Athenian borough had anciently its own little ſenate; thus the Prytanes of the Naucrari were a ſelect number, preſiding in each of theſe ſenates. With reſpect to the paſſage before us, "Many," ſays Larcher, "are of opinion that Herodotus uſes the expreſſion of Prytanes of the Naucrari in a particular ſenſe, meaning by Naucrari the Athenians in general; and by Prytanes, the Archons.—*T.*

[93] *Put to death.*]—The particulars of this ſtrange buſineſs are related at length by Thucydides; much alſo concerning it may be found in the Sera numinis vindicta of Plutarch, and in the

was generally imputed to the Alcmæonidæ.—Theſe events happened before the time of Piſiſtratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulſion of Cliſthenes, and the other *Enagees*, though Cliſthenes had privately retired [94], came ſoon afterwards to Athens with a ſmall number of attendants. His firſt ſtep was, to ſend into exile as polluted ſeven hundred Athenian families [95], which Iſagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to diſſolve the ſenate, and to entruſt the offices of government with three hundred of the faction of Iſagoras. The ſenate exerted themſelves, and poſitively refuſed to acquieſce in his projects; upon which Cleomenes, with Iſagoras and his party,

the Life of Solon. The detail in this place would not be intereſting; the event happened 612 years before the Chriſtian æra.—*T.*

94 *Voluntarily retired.*]—We are told by Ælian, that Cliſthenes, having introduced the law of the oſtraciſm, was the firſt who was puniſhed by it. Few Engliſh readers will require to be informed, that the oſtraciſm was the Athenian ſentence of baniſhment, determined by the people writing the name of the perſon to be baniſhed on an oyſter-ſhell.

The puniſhment itſelf was not always deemed diſhonourable, for the victim, during the term of his baniſhment, which was ten years, enjoyed his eſtate. A perſon could not be baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, unleſs an aſſembly of ſix thouſand were preſent. —*T.*

95 *Athenian families.*]—This expreſſion is not ſo unimportant as it may appear to a careleſs reader. There were at Athens many domeſticated ſtrangers, who enjoyed all the rights of citizens, except that they could not be advanced to a ſtation of any authority in the ſtate.—*Larcher.*

ſeized

ſeized the citadel: they were here, for the ſpace of two days, beſieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the ſenate. Upon the third day certain terms were offered, and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens: thus was an omen which had happened to Cleomenes accompliſhed. For when he was employed in the ſeizure of the citadel, he deſired to enter the adytum and conſult the goddeſs; the prieſteſs, as he was about to open the doors, roſe from her ſeat, and forbade him in theſe terms: "Lacedæmonian, re-"turn, preſume not to enter here, where no ad-"mittance is permitted to a Dorian." "I," returned Cleomenes, "am not a Dorian, but an "Achean." This omen, however, had no influence upon his conduct; he perſevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a ſecond time [96] foiled. The Athenians who had joined themſelves to him were put in irons, and condemned to die; amongſt theſe was Timeſitheus of Delphi, concerning whoſe gallantry and ſpirit I am able to produce many teſtimonies.—Theſe Athenians were put to death in priſon.

LXXIII. The Athenians having recalled Cliſthenes, and the ſeven hundred families expelled by

[96] *Second time.*]—See chapter lxiv. and lxv.—See alſo the Lyſiſtratus of Ariſtophanes, verſe 273.

"Non memini," ſays Reiſke, "de primo Cleomenis irrito conatu Athenas occupandi in ſuperioribus legere. Nam quod, p. 308, narravit non Cleomeni, ſed Anchimolio id evenit."

Cleomenes,

Cleomenes, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with the Perſians; for they were well convinced that they ſhould have to ſupport a war againſt Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of their commiſſion, Artaphernes, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and chief magiſtrate of Sardis, enquired of them who they were, and where they lived, deſiring to become the allies of Perſia. Being ſatisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt propoſition: if the Athenians would ſend to Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them, if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the ſubject, they acceded to the terms propoſed, for which, on their return to Athens, they were ſeverely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponneſe, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He propoſed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Iſagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himſelf took poſſeſſion of Eleuſis, whilſt the Bœotians, as had been agreed upon, ſeized Oenoë and Hyſias [97], towns in the extremity

[97] *Hyſias.*]—Larcher thinks that Hyſias never conſtituted a part of Attica, and therefore, with Weſſeling, wiſhes to read Phyle.—See Weſſeling's note.

of Attica: on another ſide the Chalcidians laid waſte the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by theſe different attacks, deferred their revenge on the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and marched with their army againſt the Peloponneſians at Eleuſis.

LXXV. Whilſt the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians firſt of all, as if conſcious of their having acted an unjuſtifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, ſon of Ariſton, who was alſo a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had ſeconded Cleomenes in all his meaſures. On account of this diſſenſion between their princes, the Spartans paſſed a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the ſame time. They determined alſo, that one of the Tyndaridæ [98] ſhould remain with the prince who was left at home, both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The reſt of the confederates at Eleuſis, perceiving this diſunion of the princes, and the ſeceſſion of the Corinthians, returned to their reſpective homes.

[98] *One of the Tyndaridæ.*]—It may perhaps be inferred from this paſſage, that the ſymbol or image repreſenting Caſtor and Pollux, which before was one piece of wood, was ſeparated into two diſtinct emblems. See Abbé Winckelman:—"Chez les Lacedæmoniens Caſtor et Pollux avoient la forme de deux morceaux de bois paralleles, joints par deux baguettes de traverſe; et cette ancienne figure s'eſt conſervée juſqu'à nous par le ſigne ♊, qui denote ces frères gemeaux du zodiaque.—*T.*

LXXVI.

LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica, twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their firſt expedition was to eſtabliſh a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus [99] reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the ſecond and third time to expel the Piſiſtratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponneſians attacked Eleuſis.

LXXVII. The Athenians, obſerving the adverſary's army thus ignominiouſly diminiſh, gave place to the deſire of revenge, and determined firſt to attack the Chalcidians, to aſſiſt whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus [100]. On ſight of them the Athenians reſolved to attack them before

[99] *Codrus.*]—Of this Codrus the following ſtory is related:—The Dorians of the Peloponneſe, as here mentioned, marched againſt the Athenians, and were promiſed ſucceſs from the oracle of Delphi, provided they did not kill Codrus the Athenian prince. Cleomantis of Delphi gave intimation of this to the Athenians; upon which Codrus left his camp, in the habit of a beggar, mingled with the enemy's troops, and provoked ſome amongſt them to kill him; when the Athenians ſent to demand the body of their prince, the Peloponneſians, on hearing the incident, retreated.—*T.*

[100] *Euripus.*]—This was the name of the very narrow ſtreight between Bœotia and Eubœa, where the ſea was ſaid by the ancients to ebb and flow ſeven times a day. It was rendered more memorable, becauſe Ariſtotle was reported here to have deſtroyed himſelf from mortification, being unable to explain the cauſe of this phænomenon. It afterwards became an appellation for any ſtreight of the ſea.

The

fore the Chalcidians: they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians; over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ [101], by which name the most opulent of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement: they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ a man, suspending their chains from the citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated, with it they purchased a chariot of brass [102] for four horses: it was placed at the left hand side of the entrance of the citadel, with this inscription:—

The circumstance of the ebb and flow of the sea in this place happening seven times a day, is thus mentioned in the Hercules of Seneca:

> Euripus undas flectit instabilis vagas
> Septemque cursus volvit et totidem refert
> Dum lassa Titan mergat oceano juga. T.

[101] *Hippobotæ*]—literally means keepers of horses, from ἱππος, a horse, and βοσκω, to feed.

[102] *Chariot of brass.*]—From the tenth of the spoils of the Bœotians, and of the people of Chalcis, they made a chariot of brass.—*See Pausanias, Attic.* chap. xxviii.

Her

Her arms, when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,
Athens in chains and darkneſs quell'd their pride:
Their ranſom paid, the tenths are here beſtow'd,
A votive gift to fav'ring Pallas ow'd.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to encreaſe in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various inſtances, it may be made appear that an equal form of government is the beſt. Whilſt the Athenians were in ſubjection to tyrants, they were ſuperior in war to none of their neighhours, but when delivered from their oppreſſors, they far ſurpaſſed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilſt under the reſtraint of a maſter, they were incapable of any ſpirited exertions, but as ſoon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealouſly exerciſed his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, deſirous of obtaining revenge, ſent to conſult the oracle. In reply, the Pythian aſſured them, that of themſelves they would be unable to accompliſh this. She recommended them to conſult their popular aſſembly, and to apply to their neareſt neighbours [103] for aſſiſtance. Thoſe employed in this buſineſs called on their return an aſſembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to aſk aſſiſtance of their neighbours, they deliberated amongſt themſelves.

[103] *Neareſt neighbours.*]—The term τῶν ἀγχιστα is ambiguous, and may be underſtood either of neighbours or relations.

ſelves. "What," ſaid ſome of them, "do not the Ta-
"nagræi [104], the Coronæi [105], and the Theſpians [106],
"who are our neighbours, conſtantly act in con-
"cert with us; do they not always aſſiſt us in war,
"with the moſt friendly and ſpirited exertions?
"To theſe there can be no occaſion to apply; the
"oracle muſt therefore have ſome other mean-
"ing."

LXXX. Whilſt they were thus debating, ſome one amongſt them exclaimed, "I think that I am "able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle; Aſo-"pus [107] is reported to have had two daughters, "Thebe,

[104] *Tanagræi.*]—The country of Tanagra, according to Pliny and others, was very celebrated for a breed of fighting cocks.—Jam ex his quidam (galli) ad bella tantum et prœlia aſſidua naſcuntur quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum ac Tanagram.—*Pliny*, x. 21.

Its modern name is Anatoria.—*T.*

[105] *Coronæi.*]—Of Coronea a very ſingular circumſtance is related, that whereas all the reſt of Bœotia abounded with moles, not one was ever ſeen in Coronea.—*T.*

[106] *Theſpians.*]—Theſpia was one of thoſe cities conſidered by the ancients as ſacred to the muſes, whence one of their names Theſpiades.—*T.*

[107] *Aſopus.*]—Oceanus and Tethys, as the ſtory goes, amongſt other ſons after whom rivers were named, had alſo Peneus and Aſopus; Peneus remained in the country now called Theſſaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Aſopus reſiding at Phlyus, married Merope, the daughter of Laden, by whom he had two ſons, Pelaſgus, and Iſmenus, and twelve daughters, Cencyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Theſpia, Aſopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina

was

" Thebe and Ægina; as theſe were ſiſters, I am " inclined to believe that the deity would have us " apply to the Æginetæ, to aſſiſt us in obtaining " revenge." The Thebans not being able to deviſe any more plauſible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle, by ſending to the Æginetæ for aſſiſtance, as to their neareſt neighbours, who, in return, engaged to ſend the Æacidæ [108] to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the aſſiſtance of the Æacidæ, commenced hoſtilities with the Athenians, but they met with ſo ill a reception, that they determined to ſend back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of ſome troops. The application was favourably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hoſtilities againſt them, without any formal declaration of war. Whilſt the forces of Athens were ſolely employed againſt the Bœotians, they paſſed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only plundered Phaleros [109], but

was carried away by Jupiter to the iſland which was called after her.

Aſopus, informed of this by Siſyphus, purſued her; but Jupiter ſtruck him with his thunder.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

[108] *Æacidæ.*]—M. Larcher, comparing this with a paragraph in the following chapter, is of opinion that Herodotus here ſpeaks not of any perſons, but of images repreſenting the Æacidæ, which the Æginetæ ſent the Thebans.

[109] *Phaleros.*]—This place is now called Porto Leone.—*T.*

almoſt all the inhabitants of the coaſt; by which the Athenians ſuſtained conſiderable injury.

LXXXII. The firſt occaſion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this:—The Epidaurians being afflicted by a ſevere and continued famine, conſulted the Delphic oracle; the Pythian enjoined them to erect ſtatues to Damia and Auxeſia [110], promiſing that their ſituation would then be amended. The Epidaurians next enquired, whether they ſhould conſtruct theſe ſtatues of braſs or of ſtone. The prieſteſs replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden olive. The Epidaurians, in conſequence, applied to the Athenians for permiſſion to take one of their olives, believing theſe of all others the moſt ſacred; indeed it is ſaid, that at this period olives were no where elſe to be found [111]. The Athenians granted their requeſt, on condition that they ſhould every year

[110] *Damia and Auxeſia.*]—Theſe were the ſame as Ceres and Proſerpine: theſe goddeſſes procured fertility, and had a temple in Tegea, where they were called Carpophoræ. Pauſanias relates the ſame fact as Herodotus, except that he calls the two goddeſſes Auxeſia and Lamia.

They were alſo worſhipped at Trœzene, but for different reaſons: Damia was the Bona Dea of the Romans; ſhe was, alſo, according to Valcnaer, the ſame as the Roman Maia.—*Larcher.*

[111] *To be found.*]—This aſſertion was by no means true, and, as Larcher remarks, Herodotus knew it, but not chooſing to hurt the pride of the Athenians, he admits the report, qualifying it with, "it is ſaid."

furniſh

furniſh a ſacrifice to Minerva Polias [112], and to Erectheus [113]. The Epidaurians acceding to theſe terms, conſtructed of the Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined, and as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period, the Ægineta were ſo far in ſubjection to the Epidaurians, that all ſubjects of litigation betwixt themſelves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In proceſs of time they built themſelves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance; becoming ſtill more powerful, they made themſelves maſters of the ſea, and plundered their former maſters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxeſia. Theſe they depoſited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œa, about twenty ſtadia from their city: having done this, they inſtituted ſacrifices in their honour, with ludicrous choruſes of women [114], aſſigning to each of theſe

[112] *Minerva Polias.*]—Patroneſs of the city, for the ſame reaſon ſhe was called Polioüchos.

[113] *Erectheus.*]—Was the ſixth king of Athens, in whoſe reign Ceres came to Athens, and planted corn; not only he, but his daughters were received into the number of the gods.

Noſtri quidem publicani cum eſſent in Bœotiâ deorum immortalium excepti lege cenſoria negabant immortales eſſe ullos qui aliquando homines fuiſſent.—Sed ſi ſunt hi dii, eſt certe Erectheus cujus Athenis et delubrum vidimus et ſacerdotem.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* iii. 19.

[114] *Ludicrous choruſes of women.*]—If Herodotus, where he

theſe goddeſſes ten men, who were to preſide over the choruſes. Theſe choruſes did not inſult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances ſimilar to theſe, with other ceremonies which were myſterious.

LXXXIV. From the time of their loſing theſe images, the Epidaurians ceaſed to obſerve their engagements with the Athenians, who ſent to remonſtrate with them on the occaſion. They made reply, that in this reſpect they were guilty of no injuſtice, for as long as they poſſeſſed the images, they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having loſt theſe, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Æginetæ. On receiving this anſwer, the Athenians ſent to Ægina to demand the images, but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any buſineſs with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians relate, that after this refuſal of their demand, they ſent the perſons before employed in this buſineſs in a veſſel to Ægina. As theſe images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commiſſioned to carry them away from the place where they ſtood; but their attempt to

ſays that the Epidaurians honoured the goddeſſes Damia and Auxeſia, χορροισι γυναικηϊοισι κερτομοισι, with choruſes of women, that uſed to abuſe and burleſque the women of the country, had called them χορροισι κωμικοισι, comical choruſes, he had ſaid nothing unworthy of a great hiſtorian; becauſe thoſe choruſes of women, were much of the ſame ſort that were afterwards called comical.—*Bentley on Phalaris.*

do

do this not prevailing, they endeavoured to remove them with ropes: in the midſt of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, and loud claps of thunder; thoſe employed were ſeized with a madneſs, which cauſed them to kill one another; one only ſurvived, who immediately fled to Phaleros.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm, that this expedition was not made in a ſingle veſſel, for the attacks of one, or even of many veſſels, they could eaſily have repelled, even if they had poſſeſſed no ſhips of their own; but they ſay that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in conſequence of which they retired, not chooſing to hazard a naval engagement. It is, however, by no means evident, whether they declined a ſea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from deſign. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced to the place where the images ſtood, and not able to ſeparate them from their baſes, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what ſeems incredible to me, whatever it may to others [115]. They aſſert, that they

[115] *Whatever it may to others.*]—This is one of the numerous examples in Herodotus, which concur to prove, that the character of credulity, ſo univerſally imputed to our hiſtorian, ought to be ſomewhat qualified. For my own part, I am able to recollect very few paſſages indeed, where, relating any thing marvellous, or exceeding credibility, he does not at the ſame time intimate, in ſome form or other, his own ſuſpicions of the fact.—*T.*

both fell upon their knees, in which attitude they have ever ſince remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hoſtile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the Argives ſhould be ready to aſſiſt them. As ſoon, therefore, as the Athenians landed at Ægina, the Argives were at hand, and unperceived by the enemy, paſſed over from Epidaurus to the iſland, whence intercepting their retreat to their ſhips, they fell upon the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumſtances, the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowledge, that one only of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man, the Argives ſay, was the ſole ſurvivor of a defeat, which they gave the Athenians; whilſt theſe affirm, that he eſcaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which, however, he did not long elude, for he afterwards periſhed in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the deſtruction of his countrymen, the wives of thoſe who had been engaged in the expedition againſt Ægina were extremely exaſperated that he alone ſhould ſurvive; they accordingly ſurrounded the man, and each of them aſking for her huſband, they wounded him with the claſps [116] of their garments, till he died.

This

[116] *With the claſps.*]—The Greeks called the claſp or buckle with

This behaviour of their women was to the Athenians more afflicting than the misfortune which preceded it; all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident, the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics.

with which they fastened their garments, περονη, and sometimes πορπη; the Latins for the same thing used the word fibula. Various specimens of ancient clasps or buckles may be seen in Montfaucon, the generality of which resemble a bow that is strung. Montfaucon rejects the opinion of those who affirm, that the buckles of which various ancient specimens were preserved, were only styli, or instruments to write with.—"The styli," he adds, "were long pins, and much stronger than the pins with which they fastened the buckles anciently." When Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he defended himself with his stylus, and thrust it through the arm of Casca. When the learned Frenchman says, that the ancient clasps or buckles could not possibly serve for offensive weapons, he probably was not acquainted with the fact here mentioned by Herodotus. An elegant use is made by Homer, of the probability of a wound's being inflicted by a clasp: when Venus, having been wounded by Diomed, retires from the field, Minerva says sarcastically to Jupiter,

Permit thy daughter, gracious Jove, to tell
How this mischance the Cyprian queen befell;
As late she tried with passion to inflame
The tender bosom of a Grecian dame,
Allur'd the fair with moving thoughts of joy,
To quit her country for some youth of Troy;
The clasping zone, with golden buckles bound,
Razed her soft hand with this lamented wound. T.

LXXXVIII. It ſeems reaſonable to believe, that this veſt was not originally Ionian but Carian: formerly the dreſs of the Grecian females was univerſally the ſame with what we now call Dorian. It is reported, that the Argives and the Æginetæ, in oppoſition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear claſps, almoſt twice as large as uſual, and ordained theſe to be the particular votive offering made by the women, in the temples of the above divinities. They were ſuffered to offer there nothing which was Attic, even the common earthen veſſels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to uſe none but what were made in their own country. Such, even to my time, has been the contradictory ſpirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with reſpect to thoſe of Athens, that the former have perſevered in wearing their claſps larger than before.

LXXXIX. This which I have related, was the origin of the animoſity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter ſtill having in mind the old grievance of the ſtatues, readily yielded to the ſolicitations of the Thebans, and aſſiſted the Bœotians, by ravaging the coaſts of Attica. Whilſt the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle, to refrain from all hoſtilities with the people of Ægina for the ſpace of thirty years: at the termination of this period, they were to erect a fane to Æacus, and might then commence offenſive operations againſt the Æginetæ with ſuc-

ceſs;

ceſs; but if they immediately began hoſtilities, although they would do the enemy eſſential injury, and finally ſubdue them, they would in the interval ſuffer much themſelves. On receiving this communication from the oracle, the Athenians erected a ſacred edifice to Æacus [117], which may now be ſeen in their forum; but notwithſtanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the proſecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whilſt they were thus preparing for revenge, their deſigns were impeded by what happened at Lacedæmon. The Spartans having diſcovered the intrigues between the Alcmæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this laſt had done againſt the Piſiſtratidæ and themſelves, perceived that they were involved in a double diſappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were alſo ſeriouſly impreſſed by certain ora-

[117] *Æacus.*]—The genealogy of Æacus is related in Ovid, book xiii. The circumſtance of Jupiter, at the requeſt of Æacus, turning ants into men, who were called from thence Myrmidons, may be found in Ovid, book vii.—

Myrmidonaſque voco, nec origine nomina fraudo;
Corpora vidiſti, mores quos ante gerebant
Nunc quoque habent, parcum genus eſt patienſque laborum,
Quæſitique tenax, et qui quæſita reſervent.

The word Myrmidons has been angliciſed, and is uſed to expreſs any bold hardy ruffians, by no leſs authority than Swift —*T.*

cles,

cles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were entirely ignorant, till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations, the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them; they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants, the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations, they sent for Hippias the son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken refuge. On his arrival, they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: "We confess to you, friends and allies, that under the impression of oracles, which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The men who had claims upon our kindness, and who would have rendered Athens obedient to our will, we have banished from their country, and have delivered that city into the power of an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully from amongst them, us and

" our king. They are endeavouring, we hear, to
" make themſelves more and more formidable;
" this their neighbours the Bœotians and Chalci-
" dians have already experienced, as will others
" alſo who may happen to offend them. To atone
" for our paſt errors and neglect, we now profeſs
" ourſelves ready to aſſiſt you in chaſtiſing them:
" for this reaſon, we have ſent for Hippias, and
" aſſembled you; intending, by the joint opera-
" tions of one united army, to reſtore him to
" Athens, and to that dignity of which we for-
" merly deprived him."

XCII. Theſe ſentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of ſilence, Soſicles of Corinth made this reply: " We may henceforth certainly expect
" to ſee the heavens take the place of the earth [118],
" the earth that of the heavens; to ſee mankind
" exiſting in the waters, and the ſcaly tribe on
" earth, ſince you, oh Lacedæmonians, meditate
" the ſubverſion of free and equal governments, and
" the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power; than which

[118] *Take the place of the earth.*]—With a ſentiment ſimilar to this, Ovid commences one of his moſt beautiful elegies:-

In caput alta ſuum labentur ab æquore retro
Flumina, converſis ſolque recurret equis,
Terra feret ſtellas, cœlum findetur aratro,
Unda dabit flammas et dabit ignis aquas;
Omnia naturæ præpoſtera legibus ibunt,
Parſque ſuum mundi nulla tenebit iter.
Omnia jam fient, fieri quæ poſſe negabam,
Et nihil eſt de quo non ſit habenda fides. T.

" ſurely

" ſurely nothing can be more unjuſt in itſelf, or " more ſanguinary in its effects. If you conſider " tyranny with ſo favourable an eye, before you " think of introducing it elſewhere, ſhew us the " example, and ſubmit firſt to a tyrant yourſelves; " at preſent, you are not only without a tyrant, " but it ſhould ſeem, that in Sparta, nothing can be " guarded againſt with more vigilant anxiety; why " then wiſh to involve your confederates in what " to you appears ſo great a calamity; a calamity " which like us if you had known, experience " would doubtleſs have prompted a more ſagacious " counſel. The government of Corinth was for- " merly in the hands of a few; they who were " called the Bacchiadæ [119] had the adminiſtration of " affairs. To cement and confirm their authority, " they were careful to contract no marriages but " amongſt themſelves. One of theſe, whoſe name " was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda [120], " who

[119] *Bacchiadæ*.]—Pauſanias and Diodorus Siculus are a little at variance with our author in their accounts of the Bacchiadæ. The matter however ſeems from them all to be this: Bacchis was one of the Heraclidæ, and prince of Corinth; on account of his ſplendid character and virtues, his deſcendants took the name of Bacchiadæ, which with the ſovereignty of Corinth, they retained till they were expelled by Cypſelus.—*T.*

[120] *Labda*.]—This, ſays M. Larcher, was not her real name, but was given her on account of the reſemblance which her lameneſs made her bear to the letter L, or Lambda. Anciently the letter Lambda was called Labda. It was a common cuſtom amongſt the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. Æſop was called Theta, by his maſter Iadmus, from his ſuperior acuteneſs, Thetes being alſo a name for ſlaves. Galerius Craſſus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius,

" who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were " willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion, ſon " of Echecrates, who, though of the low tribe of " Petra, was in his origin one of the Lapithæ [121], " deſcended from Cæneus [122]. As he had no children " by this or by any other wife, he ſent to Delphi to " conſult the oracle on this ſubject. At the mo- " ment of his entering the temple, he was thus ad- " dreſſed by the Pythian:—

" Eetion, honour'd far below thy worth;
" Know Labda ſhall produce a monſtrous birth,
" A ſtone, which, rolling with enormous weight,
" Shall cruſh uſurpers, and reform the ſtate.

" This prediction to Eetion came by accident to " the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had before " ſpoken concerning Corinth, which though dark

berius, was called Beta, becauſe he loved Beet (poirée). Orpyllis, a courteſan of Cyzicum, was named Gamma; Anthenor, who wrote the hiſtory of Crete, was called Delta; Apollonius who lived in the time of Philopater, was named Epſilon, &c.—*Larcher.*

[121] *Lapithæ.*]—The Lapithæ were celebrated in antiquity, as being the firſt people who uſed bridles and harneſs for horſes:

Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ gyroſque dedere
Impoſiti dorſo. *Virgil.*

[122] *Cæneus.*]—The ſtory of Cæneus is this: Cænis was a virgin, and was raviſhed by Neptune, who afterwards, at her requeſt, turned her into a man, and cauſed her to be invulnerable. After this change of ſex his name alſo was changed to Cæneus; he then fought with the Lapithæ againſt the Centaurs, who not able otherwiſe to deſtroy him, overwhelmed him beneath a pile of wood. Ovid ſays he was then turned into a bird; Virgil, on the contrary, aſſerts, that he reſumed his former ſex.—*T.*

" and obſcure, was evidently of the ſame tendency
" with that declared to Eetion: it was this:—
" Amidſt the rocks an eagle [123] ſhall produce
" An eagle, who ſhall many knees unlooſe,
" Bloody and ſtrong: guard then your meaſures
" well,
" Ye who in Corinth and Pirene [124] dwell!
" When this oracle was firſt delivered to the Bacchi-
" adæ, they had no conception of its meaning; but
" as ſoon as they learned the particulars of that given
" to Eetion, they underſtood the firſt from the laſt.
" The reſult was, that they confined the ſecret to
" themſelves, determining to deſtroy the future child
" of Eetion. As ſoon as the woman was delivered,
" they commiſſioned ten of their number to go to
" the place where Eetion lived, and make away with
" the infant. As ſoon as they came to where the tribe
" of Petra reſided, they went to Eetion's houſe, and
" aſked for the child: Labda, ignorant of their in-
" tentions, and imputing this viſit to their friendſhip
" for her huſband, produced her infant, and gave it
" to the arms of one of them. It had been con-
" certed, that whoever ſhould firſt have the child in
" his hands, was to daſh it on the ground: it hap-
" pened, as if by divine interpoſition, that the infant
" ſmiled in the face [125] of the man to whom the mo-
" ther

[123] *An eagle.*]—Eetion is derived from the Greek word αετος, an eagle.

[124] *Pirene.*]—This fountain was ſacred to the muſes, and remarkable for the ſweetneſs of its waters.

[125] *Smiled in the face.*]—The effects of an infant ſmiling in the

" ther had entruſted it. He was ſeized with an emo-
" tion of pity, and found himſelf unable to deſtroy it;
" with theſe feelings, he gave the child to the perſon
" next him, who gave it to a third, till thus it paſſed
" through the hands of all the ten: none of them
" was able to murder it, and it was returned to the
" mother. On leaving the houſe, they ſtopped at the
" gate, and began to reproach and accuſe each other,
" but particularly him who firſt receiving the child,
" had failed in his engagements. After a ſhort inter-
" val, they agreed to enter the houſe again, and jointly
" deſtroy the child: but fate had determined that the
" offspring of Eetion ſhould ultimately prove the de-
" ſtruction of Corinth. Labda, ſtanding near the gate,
" had overheard their diſcourſe, and fearing that as
" their ſentiments were changed, they would infal-
" libly, if they had opportunity, murder her infant,
" ſhe carried it away, and hid it in a place little ob-
" vious to ſuſpicion, namely in a corn-meaſure [126].

" She

the face of rude untutored men, is delightfully expreſſed in part of an ode on the uſe and abuſe of poetry, preſerved by Warton, in his Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

Father of peace and arts—he firſt the city built;
No more the neighbour's blood was by his neighbour ſpilt;
He taught to till and ſeparate the lands;
He fix'd the roving youths in Hymen's myrtle bands,
Whence dear domeſtic life began,
And all the charities that ſoftened man:
The babes that in their fathers faces ſmil'd,
With liſping blandiſhments their rage beguil'd,
And tender thoughts inſpired.

[126] *In a corn meaſure.*]—The deſcription of this cheſt, which was preſerved in the temple of Juno at Olympia, employs ſeveral chapters in the fifth book of Pauſanias. He tells us that the

" She was satisfied, that on their return they would " make a strict search after the child, which accord- " ingly happened: finding however all their dili- " gence ineffectual, they thought it only remained for " them to return and acquaint their employers, that " they had executed their commission. When the " son of Eetion grew up, he was called Cypselus, in " memory of the danger he had escaped in the " 'corn-measure,' the meaning of the word Cypsela. " On his arrival at manhood, he consulted the Del- " phic oracle: the answer he received was ambi- " guous; but confident of its favourable meaning, " he attacked and made himself master of Corinth. " The oracle was this:—

" Behold a man whom fortune makes her care,
" Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion's heir;
" Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,
" But there the glories of his race must fail.

" When Cypselus had obtained possession of the go- " vernment, he persecuted the inhabitants of Co- " rinth, depriving many of their wealth, and more " of their lives. After an undisturbed reign of thirty " years, he was succeeded by his son Periander, " who at first adopted a milder and more mode- " rate conduct; but having by his emissaries formed " an intimate connection with Thrasybulus, sove-

the chest was made of cedar, and that its outside was enriched with animals, and a variety of historical representations in cedar, ivory, and gold. " It is not likely," says M. Larcher, " that the chest described by Pausanias was the real chest in which Cypselus was preserved, but one made on purpose to commemorate the incident."—T.

" reign

" reign of Miletus he even exceeded his father in " cruelty. The object of one of his embaſſies was " to enquire of Thraſybulus what mode of govern- " ment would render his authority moſt ſecure and " moſt honourable. Thraſybulus conducted the " meſſenger to a corn-field without the town, " where, as he walked up and down, he aſked ſome " queſtions of the man relative to his departure from " Corinth; in the mean while, wherever he diſ- " cerned a head of corn taller than the reſt [127], he " cut it off, till all the higheſt and the richeſt were " levelled with the ground. Having gone over the " whole field in this manner, he retired, without " ſpeaking a word to the perſon who attended him. " On the return of his emiſſary to Corinth, Perian- " der was extremely anxious to learn the reſult of " his journey, but he was informed, that Thraſybu- " lus had never ſaid a word in reply; that he even " appeared to be a man deprived of his reaſon, and " bent on the deſtruction of his own property. The " meſſenger then proceeded to inform his maſter of " what Thraſybulus had done. Periander immedi- " ately conceived the meaning of Thraſybulus to be, " that he ſhould deſtroy the moſt illuſtrious of his " citizens. He in conſequence exerciſed every " ſpecies of cruelty, till he completed what his fa-

[127] *Taller than the reſt.*]—A ſimilar ſtory is told of Tarquin the Proud, and his ſon Sextus, who ſtriking off the heads of the talleſt poppies in his garden, thus intimated his deſire that his ſon ſhould deſtroy the moſt eminent characters of Gabii, of which he was endeavouring by ſtratagem to make himſelf maſter.—See *Livy*, b. i. ch. 54. It is remarkable that Ariſtotle in his Politics twice mentions this enigmatical advice as given by Periander to Thraſybulus.—*T.*

" ther Cypſelus had begun, killing ſome, and driv-
" ing others into exile. On account of his wife
" Meliſſa, he one day ſtripped all the women of
" Corinth of their cloaths. He had ſent into Theſ-
" protia near the river Acheron, to conſult the
" oracle of the dead* concerning ſomething of
" value which had been left by a ſtranger. Meliſſa
" appearing, declared that ſhe would by no means
" tell where the thing required was depoſited, for
" ſhe was cold and naked; for the garments in
" which ſhe was interred were of no ſervice to her,
" not having been burned. In proof of which ſhe
" aſſerted, that Periander had 'put bread into a
" cold oven;' Periander, on hearing this, was ſa-
" tisfied of the truth of what ſhe ſaid, for he had
" embraced Meliſſa after her deceaſe. On the re-
" turn therefore of his meſſengers, he commanded
" all the women of Corinth to aſſemble at the tem-
" ple of Juno. On this occaſion the women came
" as to ſome public feſtival, adorned with the great-
" eſt ſplendour. The king having placed his guards
" for the purpoſe, cauſed them all to be ſtripped,
" free women and ſlaves, without diſtinction. Their
" cloaths were afterwards diſpoſed in a large trench,
" and burned in honour of Meliſſa, who was ſolemn-
" ly invoked on the occaſion. When this was done,
" a ſecond meſſenger was diſpatched to Meliſſa, who

* *The oracle of the dead.*]—Νεκυομαντῖον, a place where divination was carried on by calling up the dead with magical rites. Pauſanias places this oracle at Aornos in Theſprotia. The ſuperſtitions of Italy ſeem to have been borrowed from that country; hence Cicero mentions an oracle of the ſame kind at the lake Avernus in Italy.—*Tuſc.* i. 16.

" now

" now vouchſafed to ſay where the thing required " might be found.—Such, oh men of Sparta, is a " tyrannical government, and ſuch its effects. Much " therefore were we Corinthians aſtoniſhed, when " we learned that you had ſent for Hippias; but " the declaration of your ſentiments ſurpriſes us ſtill " more. We adjure you therefore, in the names of " the divinities of Greece, not to eſtabliſh tyranny " in our cities. But if you are determined in your " purpoſe, and are reſolved in oppoſition to what " is juſt, to reſtore Hippias, be aſſured that the Co- " rinthians will not ſecond you."

XCIII. Soſicles, the deputy of the Corinthians, having delivered his ſentiments, was anſwered by Hippias. He having adjured the ſame divinities, declared, that the Corinthians would moſt of all have occaſion to regret the Piſiſtratidæ, when the deſtined hour ſhould arrive, and they ſhould groan under the oppreſſion of the Athenians. Hippias ſpoke with the greater confidence, becauſe he was beſt acquainted with the declarations of the oracles. The reſt of the confederates, who had hitherto been ſilent, hearing the generous ſentiments of Soſicles, declared themſelves the friends of freedom, and favourers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They then conjured the Lacedæmonians to introduce no innovations which might affect the liberties of a Grecian city.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta, Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a reſidence Anthemos, as did the Theſſalians Iol-

cos [128]; but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Piſiſtratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegeſiſtratus, his natural ſon by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his ſituation, but after much and violent conteſt. The people of Mitylene and of Athens iſſuing, the one from the city of Achillea [129], the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hoſtilities. They of Mitylene inſiſted on the reſtoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was anſwered, that the Æolians had no ſtronger claims upon the territories of Troy than the Athenians themſelves, and the reſt of the Greeks, who had aſſiſted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

XCV. Among their various encounters it happened, that in a ſevere engagement, in which the Athenians had the advantage, the poet Alcæus [130] fled

[128] *Iolcos.*]—This place is now called Iaco; we learn from Horace, that it was formerly famous for producing poiſonous plants:

Herbaſque quas Iolcos atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax.

[129] *Achillea.*]—In the fourth book, Herodotus calls this place the Courſe of Achilles. Its modern name is Fidoniſi.—*T.*

[130] *Alcæus.*]—Was a native of Mitylene, in the iſland of Leſbos; he was cotemporary with Sappho, and generally is conſidered as the inventor of lyric poetry. Archilochus, Alcæus, and Horace, were all unſucceſsful in their attempts to diſtinguiſh themſelves as ſoldiers; and all of them ingenuouſly acknowledged their inferiority in this reſpect. Bayle doubts whether Horace would have confeſſed his diſgrace, if he had not been ſanctioned by the great examples above-mentioned. However that may be, he writes thus of himſelf:

Tecum

fled from the field. The Athenians obtained his arms, and ſuſpended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Senſi, relicta non bene parmula
Quum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe ſolum tetigere mento.

Of Alcæus we have very few remains; but it is underſtood that Horace in many of his odes minutely imitated him. The principal ſubjects of his muſe ſeem to have been the praiſe of liberty and a hatred of tyrants. The ancient poets abound with paſſages in his honour, and his memory receives no diſgrace from the following apoſtrophe by Akenſide, in his ode on lyric poetry:

Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting ſhame and vengeance to her lords,
With louder impulſe and a threatening hand
The Leſbian patriot ſmites the ſounding chords.
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye curſed of gods and free-born men,
Ye murderers of the laws,
Tho' now ye glory in your luſt,
Tho' now ye tread the feeble neck in duſt,
Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cauſe.

After all, Alcæus does not appear to have been one of the faireſt characters of antiquity, and has probably received more commendation than he deſerved. His houſe, we learn from Athenæus, was filled with military weapons, his great deſire was to attain military glory; but in his firſt engagement with an enemy, he ignominiouſly fled. The theme of his ſongs was liberty, but he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a ſecret friend to ſome who meditated the ruin of their country. I ſay nothing of his ſuppoſed licentious overture to Sappho, thinking with Bayle, that the verſes cited by Ariſtotle have been too hardly conſtrued. Of theſe verſes the following is an imperfect tranſlation:

which he ſent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus the particulars of his misfortune. Periander the ſon of Cypſelus at length reunited the contending nations: he being choſen arbiter, determined that each party ſhould retain what they poſſeſſed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to Aſia, where he uſed every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them ſubject to him and to Darius. As ſoon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens, the Athenians diſpatched emiſſaries to Sardis, intreating the Perſians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wiſhed for peace, they muſt recal Hippias. Rather than accede to theſe conditions, the Athenians choſe to be conſidered as the enemies of Perſia.

XCVII. Whilſt they were reſolving on theſe meaſures, in conſequence of the impreſſion which had been made to their prejudice in Perſia, Ariſtagoras the Mileſian, being driven by Cleomenes

ALCÆUS.

I wiſh to ſpeak, but ſtill thro' ſhame conceal
The thoughts my tongue moſt gladly would reveal.

SAPPHO.

Were your requeſt, oh bard, on virtue built,
Your cheeks would wear no marks of ſecret guilt;
But in prompt words the ready thought had flown,
And your heart's honeſt meaning quickly ſhewn.

I give them, with ſome ſlight alteration, from Bayle.—*T.*

9 from

from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the reſt of its neighbours. When Ariſtagoras appeared in the public aſſembly, he enumerated, as he had done at Sparta, the riches which Aſia poſſeſſed, and recommended a Perſian war, in which they would be eaſily ſucceſsful againſt a people uſing neither ſpear nor ſhield [131]. In addition to this, he remarked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that conſequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they poſſeſſed in favour of the Mileſians. He proceeded to make uſe of the moſt earneſt intreaties and laviſh promiſes, till they finally acceded to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with juſtice, that it was far eaſier to delude a great multitude than a ſingle individual; he was unable to prevail upon Cleomenes, but he won to his purpoſe no leſs than thirty thouſand [132] Athenians. The people of A-

[131] *Spear nor ſhield.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations may be found in the ſeventh book of Herodotus, where he ſpeaks of the nations which compoſed the prodigious armament of Xerxes.—*T.*

[132] *Thirty thouſand.*]—Herodotus is the only ancient author who makes the aggregate of the Athenians amount to more than twenty-one thouſand individuals. Is this, inquires M. Larcher, a fault of the copyiſts, or were the Athenians more populous before the Perſian and Peloponneſian wars? "The narrow policy," obſerves Mr. Gibbon, "of preſerving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and haſtened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aſpiring genius of Rome ſacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own, whereſoever they were found, among ſlaves or ſtrangers, enemies or barbarians."

thens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians, twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthius, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities [133] which afterwards ensued to the Greeks and Barbarians.

XCVIII. Before their departure, Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed, his principal motive was to distress Darius. He dispatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them:— "Men of Pæonia, I am commissioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to say, that if you will "follow his counsel, you may be free. The whole "of Ionia has revolted from Persia, and it becomes "you to seize this opportunity of returning to your "native country. You have only to appear on "the banks of the ocean; we will provide for the

[133] *Source of the calamities.*]—This is another of the examples which Plutarch adduces in proof of the malice of Herodotus. "He has the audacity," says Plutarch, "to affirm, that the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from the Persians, were the cause of the evils which afterwards ensued, merely because they endeavoured to deliver so many, and such illustrious Grecian cites from servitude." In point of argument, a weaker tract than this of Plutarch was never written, and this assertion in particular is too absurd to require any formal refutation.—*T.*

"rest."

" reſt." The Pæonians received this information with great ſatisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the ſea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind. From the ſea-coaſt they paſſed over to Chios: here they had ſcarce diſembarked, before a large body of Perſian cavalry, ſent in purſuit of them, appeared on the oppoſite ſhore. Unable to overtake them, they ſent over to them at Chios, ſoliciting their return. This however had no effect: from Chios they were tranſported to Leſbos, from Leſbos to Doriſcus [134], and from hence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture, Ariſtagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty veſſels, who were alſo accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. Theſe latter did not engage in the conteſt from any regard for the Athenians, but to diſcharge a ſimilar debt of friendſhip to the Mileſians. The Mileſians had formerly aſſiſted the Eretrians againſt the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them againſt the Eretrians and Mileſians. When theſe and the reſt of his confederates were aſſembled, Ariſtagoras commenced an expedition againſt Sardis: he himſelf continued at Miletus, whilſt his brother Charopinus commanded the Mileſians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

[134] *Doriſcus.*]—Doriſcus is memorable for being the place where Xerxes numbered his army.—*T.*

C. The

C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Epheſus, diſembarked at Coreſſus, a place in its vicinity. Taking ſome Epheſians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayſter [135]. Paſſing over mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no reſiſtance, they made themſelves maſters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himſelf, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preſerved the city from plunder: the houſes of Sardis [136] were in general conſtructed of reeds; ſuch few as were of brick had reed coverings. One of theſe being ſet on fire by a ſoldier, the flames ſpread from houſe to houſe, till the whole city was conſumed. In the midſt of the conflagration, the Lydians, and ſuch Perſians as were in the city, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded by the flames, and without the poſſibility of eſcape, ruſhed in crowds to the forum, through the center of which flows the Pactolus. This river

[135] *Cayſter.*]—This river was very famous in claſſic ſtory. It anciently abounded with ſwans, and from its ſerpentine courſe has ſometimes been confounded with the Mæander; but the Mæander was the appropriate river of the Mileſians, as was the Cayſter of the Epheſians. The name the Turks now give it is Chiay.—*T.*

[136] *Sardis.*]—The reader will recollect that Sardis was the capital of Cræſus, which is here repreſented as conſiſting only of a number of thatched houſes, a proof that architecture had as yet made no progreſs.—*T.*

brings,

brings, in its deſcent from mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold duſt [137]; paſſing, as we have deſcribed, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally loſt in the ſea. The Perſians and Lydians thus reduced to the laſt extremity, were compelled to act on the defenſive. The Ionians ſeeing ſome of the enemy prepared to defend themſelves, others advancing to attack them, were ſeized with a panic, and retired to mount Tmolus [138], from whence, under favour of the night, they retreated to their ſhips.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddeſs of the country, was totally deſtroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Perſians for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Perſians who dwell on this ſide the Halys were acquainted with the above invaſion, they determined to aſſiſt the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at Epheſus. A general engagement enſued, in which the Ionians were defeated with

[137] *Gold duſt.*]—It had ceaſed to do this in the time of Strabo, that is to ſay, in the age of Auguſtus.—*Larcher.*

[138] *Tmolus.*]—Strabo enumerates mount Tmolus amongſt the places which produced the moſt excellent vines. It was alſo celebrated for its ſaffron.—See Virgil,

Nonne vides croceos ut Tmolus odores, &c.

It was alſo called Timolus. See Ovid,

Deſeruere ſui nymphæ vineta Timoli.

It is now named Timolitze.—*T.*

great

great ſlaughter. Amongſt others of diſtinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians: he had frequently been victorious in many conteſts, of which a garland was the reward, and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos [139]. They who eſcaped from this battle took refuge in the different cities.

CIII. After the event of the above expedition, the Athenians withdrew themſelves entirely from the Ionians, and refuſed all the ſolicitations of Ariſtagoras by his ambaſſadors, to repeat their aſſiſtance. The Ionians, though deprived of this reſource, continued with no leſs alacrity to perſevere in the hoſtilities they had commenced againſt Darius. They ſailed to the Helleſpont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighbouring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of

[139] *Simonides of Ceos.*]—There were ſeveral poets of this name; the celebrated ſatire againſt women was written by another and more modern Simonides. The great excellence of this Simonides of Ceos was elegiac compoſition, in which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus does not ſcruple to prefer him to Pindar. The invention of local memory was aſcribed to him, and it is not a little remarkable, that at the age of eighty, he contended for and won a poetical prize. His moſt memorable ſaying was concerning God. Hiero aſked him what God was? After many and reiterated delays, his anſwer was, "The longer I meditate upon it, the more obſcure the ſubject appears to me!" He is reproached for having been the firſt who proſtituted his muſe for mercenary purpoſes. Bayle ſeems to have collected every thing of moment relative to this Simonides, to whom for more minute particulars, I refer the reader.—*T.*

the inhabitants joined them in their offenſive operations. The city of Caunus, which at firſt had refuſed their alliance, after the burning of Sardis added itſelf to their forces.

CIV. The confederacy was alſo farther ſtrengthened by the voluntary acceſſion of all the Cyprians, except the Amathuſians [140]. The following was the occaſion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes: Gorgus prince of Salamis, ſon of Cherſis, grandſon of Siromus, great grandſon of Euelthon, had a younger brother, whoſe name was Oneſilus; this man had repeatedly ſolicited Gorgus to revolt from the Perſians; and on hearing of the ſeceſſion of the Ionians, he urged him with ſtill greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, aſſiſted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making an excurſion from Salamis to ſhut the gates againſt him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge amongſt the Medes. Oneſilus uſurped his ſtation, and perſuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathuſians, who alone oppoſed him, he cloſely beſieged.

CV. At this period, Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Ariſtagoras of Miletus was the principal

[140] *Amathuſians.*]—From Amathus, which was ſacred to Venus, the whole iſland of Cyprus was ſometimes called Amathuſia.—According to Ovid, it produced abundance of metals:

Gravidamque Amathunta metallis. *T.*

inſtigator

inſtigator of the confederacy againſt him. On firſt receiving the intelligence, he is ſaid to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impoſſible for them to eſcape his indignation; but he deſired to know who the Athenians were? on being told, he called for his bow, and ſhooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed:—"Suffer me, oh Jupiter, to be revenged "on theſe Athenians." He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he ſat down to table, "Sir, remember "the Athenians."

CVI. After giving theſe orders, Darius ſummoned to his preſence Hiſtiæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addreſſed him thus: "I am informed, Hiſtiæus, that the man to whom "you entruſted the government of Miletus, has "excited a rebellion againſt me; he has procured "forces from the oppoſite continent, and ſeduced "the Ionians, whom I ſhall unqueſtionably chaſtiſe, "from their duty. With their united aſſiſtance, "he has deſtroyed my city of Sardis. Can ſuch a "conduct poſſibly meet with your approbation? "or unadviſed by you, could he have done what "he has? Be careful not to involve yourſelf in a "ſecond offence againſt my authority." "Can "you, Sir, believe," ſaid Hiſtiæus in reply, "that "I would be concerned in any thing which might "occaſion the ſmalleſt perplexity to you? What "ſhould I, who have nothing to wiſh for, gain by "ſuch conduct? Do I not participate all that you "yourſelf

" yourſelf enjoy; and have I not the honour of
" being your counſellor and your friend? If my
" repreſentative has acted as you alledge, it is en-
" tirely his own deed; but I cannot eaſily be per-
" ſuaded that either he, or the Mileſians, would
" engage in any thing to your prejudice. If, ne-
" vertheleſs, what you intimate be really true, by
" withdrawing me from my own proper ſtation,
" you have only to blame yourſelf for the event.
" I ſuppoſe that the Ionians have taken the oppor-
" tunity of my abſence, to accompliſh what they
" have for a long time meditated. Had I been
" preſent in Ionia, I will venture to affirm, that not
" a city would have revolted from your power:
" you have only therefore to ſend me inſtantly to
" Ionia, that things may reſume their former ſitu-
" ation, and that I may give into your power the
" preſent governor of Miletus, who has occaſioned
" all this miſchief. Having firſt effected this, I
" ſwear by the deities of Heaven, that I will not
" change the garb in which I ſhall ſet foot in Ionia,
" without rendering the great iſland of Sardinia [141]
" tributary to your power."

[141] *Sardinia.*]—It has been doubted by many, whether on account of the vaſt diſtance of Sardinia from the Aſiatic continent, the text of Herodotus has not here been altered. Rollin in particular is very incredulous on the ſubject; but as it appears by the preceding paſſages of our author, that the Ionians had penetrated to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and were not unacquainted with Corſica, all appearance of improbability in this narration ceaſes.—*T.*

CVII.

CVII. Hiſtiæus made theſe proteſtations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he ſaid, only requiring his return to Suſa as ſoon as he ſhould have fulfilled his engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the meſſenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had done with his bow what we have deſcribed; and when, after conferring with Hiſtiæus, he had diſmiſſed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Oneſilus of Salamis being engaged in the ſiege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artybius, a Perſian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Perſians. On hearing this, Oneſilus ſent meſſengers to different parts of Ionia, expreſſing his want and deſire of aſſiſtance. The Ionians, without heſitation, haſtened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilſt they were already at Cyprus, the Perſians had paſſed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phœnicians in the mean time had paſſed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilſt things were in this ſituation, the princes of Cyprus aſſembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addreſſed them:—"Men of Ionia, we ſubmit "to your own determination, whether you will en- "gage the Phœnicians or the Perſians. If you "rather chuſe to fight on land and with the Per- "ſians, it is time for you to diſembark, that we "may go on board your veſſels, and attack the "Phœnicians.

" Phœnicians.—If you think it more adviſeable to " encounter the Phœnicians, it becomes you to do " ſo immediately.—Decide which way you pleaſe, " that as far as our efforts can prevail, Ionia and " Cyprus may be free." " We have been com- " miſſioned," anſwered the Ionians, " by our coun- " try, to guard the ocean, not to deliver up our " veſſels unto you, nor to engage the Perſians by " land.—We will endeavour to diſcharge our duty " in the ſtation appointed us; it is for you to diſ- " tinguiſh yourſelves as valiant men, remembering " the oppreſſions you have endured from the " Medes."

CX. When the Perſians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus againſt the auxiliaries of the enemy, ſelecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppoſe the Perſians: Oneſilus voluntarily ſtationed himſelf againſt Artybius the Perſian General.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armour: Oneſilus hearing this, called to him his ſhield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—" I hear," ſays he, " that the horſe of Artybius, by his feet " and his teeth, materially aſſiſts his maſter againſt " an adverſary; deliberate on this, and tell me " which you will encounter, the man or the horſe." " Sir," ſaid the attendant, " I am ready to engage " with either, or both, or indeed to do whatever

" you command me; I ſhould rather think it will
" be more conſiſtent for you, being a prince and a
" general, to contend with one who is a prince
" and general alſo.—If you ſhould fortunately
" kill a perſon of this deſcription, you will acquire
" great glory, or if you ſhould fall by his hand,
" which heaven avert, the calamity is ſomewhat
" ſoftened by the rank of the conqueror: it is for
" us of inferior rank to oppoſe men like ourſelves.
" As to the horſe, do not concern yourſelf about
" what he has been taught; I will venture to ſay,
" that he ſhall never again be troubleſome to any
" one."

CXII. In a ſhort time afterwards, the hoſtile forces engaged both by ſea and land; the Ionians, after a ſevere conteſt, obtained a victory over the Phœnicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably conſpicuous. Whilſt the armies were engaged by land, the following incident happened to the two generals:—Artybius, mounted on his horſe, ruſhed againſt Oneſilus, who, as he had concerted with his ſervant, aimed a blow at him as he approached: and whilſt the horſe reared up his feet againſt the ſhield of Oneſilus, the Carian cut them off with an ax.—The horſe, with his maſter, fell inſtantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midſt of the battle, Steſenor, prince of Curium, with a conſiderable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is ſaid that the Curians are an Argive colony); their example was followed

followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war [142]; from which events the Perſians obtained a deciſive victory. The Cyprians fled. Amongſt the number of the ſlain was Oneſilus, ſon of Cherſis, and principal inſtigator of the revolt; the Solian prince, Ariſtocyprus, alſo fell, ſon of that Philocyprus [143], whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verſe amongſt other ſovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his beſieging them, the Amathuſians took the head of Oneſilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: ſome time afterwards, when the inſide of the head was decayed, a ſwarm of bees ſettling in it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus conſulted the oracle on the occaſion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to ſacrifice to Oneſilus as to an hero. their obedience involved a promiſe of future proſperity; and even within my

[142] *Chariots of war.*]—Of theſe chariots, frequent mention is made in Homer: they carried two men, one of whom guided the reins, the other fought.—Various ſpecimens of ancient chariots may be ſeen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

[143] *Philocyprus.*]—Philocyprus was prince of Soli, when Solon arrived at Cyprus; Solis was then called Æpeia, and the approaches to it were ſteep and difficult, and its neighbourhood unfruitful. Solon adviſed the prince to rebuild it on the plain which it overlooked, and undertook the labour of furniſhing it with inhabitants. In this he ſucceeded, and Philocyprus, from gratitude, gave his city the name of the Athenian philoſopher. Solon mentions this incident in ſome verſes addreſſed to Philocyprus, preſerved in Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

remembrance, they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although ſucceſsful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as ſoon as they heard of the defeat and death of Oneſilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were cloſely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had reſtored to Gorgus, their former ſovereign, returned with all poſſible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the longeſt and moſt vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Perſians obtained poſſeſſion after a five months ſiege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberties for the ſpace of a year, were a ſecond time reduced to ſervitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition againſt Sardis were afterwards vigorouſly attacked by Dauriſes, Hymees, Otanes, and other Perſian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they firſt drove them to their ſhips, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided amongſt themſelves.

CXVII. Dauriſes afterwards turned his arms againſt the cities of the Helleſpont, and in as many ſucceſſive days made himſelf maſter of Abydos, Percotes, Lampſacus[144], and Pæſon. From this latter

[144] *Lampſacus.*]—This place was given to Themiſtocles to furniſh

latter place he proceeded to Parion, but learning on his march, that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Perſia, he turned aſide from the Helleſpont, and led his forces againſt Caria.

CXVIII. Of this motion of Dauriſes the Carians had early information, in conſequence of which they aſſembled at a place called the white columns, not far from the river Marſyas, which, paſſing through the diſtrict of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various ſentiments were on this occaſion delivered; but the moſt ſagacious in my eſtimation was that of Pixodarus, ſon of Mauſolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daugh- of Syenneſis, prince of Cilicia. He adviſed, that paſſing the Mæander, they ſhould attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all poſſibility of retreat, they ſhould from compulſion ſtand their ground, and make the greater exertions of valour. This advice was not accepted; they choſe rather that the Perſians ſhould have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquiſhed the enemy in the field, they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Perſians advanced, and paſſed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of

furniſh him wine, and was memorable in antiquity for producing many eminent men.—Epicurus reſided here a long time. —T.

the

the Marſyas, when a ſevere and well fought conteſt enſued. The Perſians had ſo greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thouſand Perſians, and ten thouſand Carians fell in the battle; they who eſcaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a ſacred wood of planes, ſurrounding a temple of Jupiter Stratius [145]. The Carians are the only people, as far as I have been able to learn, who ſacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated amongſt themſelves, whether it would be better to ſurrender themſelves to the Perſians, or finally relinquiſh Aſia.

CXX. In the midſt of their conſultation, the Mileſians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians reſumed their courage, and again prepared for hoſtilities; they a ſecond time advanced to meet the Perſians, and after an engagement more

[145] *Jupiter Stratius*—(*or Jupiter the warrior.*)—The Carians were the only people, in the time of Herodotus, who worſhipped Jupiter under this title. He was particularly honoured at Labranda, and therefore Strabo calls him the Labrandinian Jupiter. He held a hatchet in his hand, and Plutarch (in his Greek Queſtions) relates the reaſon; he was afterwards worſhipped in other places under the ſame appellation. Amongſt the marbles at Oxford, there is a ſtone which ſeems to have ſerved for an altar, having an ax, and this inſcription; ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΡΑΥΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ—Of the Labraindian Jupiter and of the very Great Jupiter. It was found in a Turkiſh cemetery, between Aphrodiſias and Hieropolis, and conſequently in Caria, though at a great diſtance from Labranda. —*Larcher.*

obſtinate than the former, ſuſtained a ſecond defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Mileſians, were ſlain.

CXXI. The Carians ſoon recruited their forces, and in a ſubſequent action, ſomewhat repaired their former loſſes. Receiving intelligence that the Perſians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themſelves in ambuſcade, in the road to Pidaſus. The Perſians by night fell into the ſnare, and a vaſt number were ſlain, with their generals Dauriſes, Amorges, and Siſimaces; Myrſes, the ſon of Gyges, was alſo amongſt the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuſcade was entruſted to Heraclides, ſon of Ibanolis, a Mylaſſian. —The event has been related. Hymees, who was engaged amongſt others in the purſuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Myſian city. Receiving intelligence that Dauriſes had quitted the Helleſpont, to march againſt Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Helleſpont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan diſtrict; he vanquiſhed alſo the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teucri. Hymees himſelf, after all theſe ſucceſſes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous

ous to it; they made themſelves maſters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of theſe places, Ariſtagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confuſion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a total want of intrepidity; theſe loſſes confirmed him in the belief, that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to ſeek his ſafety in flight. He aſſembled his party, and ſubmitted to them whether it would not be adviſeable to have ſome place of retreat, in caſe they ſhould be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine, whether, they ſhould eſtabliſh a colony in Sardinia, or whether they ſhould retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Hiſtiæus, to whom Darius had preſented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the hiſtorian, who was the ſon of Hegaſander, was not for eſtabliſhing a colony at either of theſe places; he affirmed, that if they ſhould be expelled from Miletus, it would be more expedient for them to conſtruct a fort in the iſland of Leros, and there to remain till a favourable opportunity ſhould enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Ariſtagoras himſelf was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he conſided therefore the adminiſtration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly

ceedingly popular, and taking with him all thoſe who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took poſſeſſion of the diſtrict which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of ſome other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previouſly entered into terms to reſign their city into his power [146].

[146] I cannot diſmiſs this book of Herodotus without remarking, that it contains a great deal of curious hiſtory, and abounds with many admirable examples of private life. The ſpeech of Soſicles of Corinth, in favour of liberty, is excellent in its kind; and the many ſagacious, and indeed moral ſentiments, which are ſcattered throughout the book, cannot fail of producing both entertainment and inſtruction.—*T.*

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.