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978-1-108-01096-2 - Ancient Empires of the East: Herodotos I-III

Edited by Archibald Henry Sayce Herodotus

Excerpt

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HERODOTOS.

BOOK I.

*Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ ἰ
γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα
μεγάλα τε καὶ θωυμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλῆσι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι
ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην
ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.*

Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι¹ Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι

¹ We know from other sources that the Persians had historians who occupied themselves with the history of foreign nations. Ktésias, the gainsayer of Herodotos, professed to draw his information from the Persian archives and historians; and the Persian forms of several of the names he gives, as well as the fact that much of what he calls Assyrian "history" is really a rationalised account of Assyrian mythology, show that there was much truth in his claim. As in the case of Assyria, so also in the case of Greece, if we may judge from the specimen in the text, the Persian writers seem to have troubled themselves with little else than the myths of their neighbours, which they rationalised after the fashion of the Abbé Banier. Hence Herodotos was fully justified in calling them *λόγιοι* "proser." The alphabet in which they wrote is unknown to us, since the cuneiform alphabet introduced by Darius Hystaspis was used only for public monuments. How Herodotos came to be acquainted with their statements is difficult to conjecture, since he was not likely to have a better knowledge of the Persian language than he had of

Egyptian. The Greeks were notoriously bad linguists, and Themistoklés stands almost alone in learning Persian. In fact Ktésias implied that Herodotos was not acquainted with the contents of Persian literature. Though born, according to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, a little before the Persian wars, he was a mere child when the deliverance of the Asiatic Greeks took place. At the same time, passages like iii. 80, or i. 95, may imply a closer acquaintance with the Persian language and literature upon his part than we are inclined to suppose. From what follows, however, he would seem to have had much the same knowledge of the statements of Phœnician historians as he had of those of Persia. It is possible, therefore, that Greek translators of foreign literature, like Menander of Ephesos, already existed among the Asiatic Greeks of his day. At any rate the earliest Ionic philosophers derived their doctrines from Babylonia through the medium of either the Phœnicians or the Lydians. The systems of Thales and Anaximander, for instance, had long been anticipated in Babylonia, where they fitted in with the mythology and

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HERODOTOS.

[BOOK

τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τῆνδε τὴν θάλασσαν,² καὶ οἰκίσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῆσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγνέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγυπτία τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια³ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος· τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρῃ· ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος⁴

theological and philosophic development of the country. The style of the earliest Greek writers is as oriental as their matter. The short sentences, either devoid of conjunctions or connected by the simple "and," are Semitic, not Greek, in character. So, too, are the obscure and oracular utterances of a Hérakleitos.

² The "Red Sea" of Herodotos is the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf. According to vii. 89, the Phœnicians themselves asserted that they came from the Assyrian Gulf. The same is asserted by Strabo, i. 2, 35; xvi. 3, 4; 4, 27; Justin, xviii. 3, 2; Pliny, N. H. iv. 36; Dion. Periegetes, 906; Solinus, *Polyhist.* 26; [Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀζωρος]; Schol. to Hom. Od. iv. 84. Kepheus, *i.e.* Kef-t, the Egyptian name of Phœnicia, is made a Babylonian monarch, who gave his name to the Chaldeans (Hellanikos, *Fr.* 159, 160, ed. Müller). Justin says that the Phœnicians migrated from their old homes on account of an earthquake, and settled by "the Assyrian Lake" (the Sea of Nedjif). Strabo places Phœnician cities in the islands of Tyros and Arados (*Bahrain*), in the Persian Gulf. But the similarity of name probably gave rise to the whole legend, the true name of the island of Tyros being Tylos (according to Ptolemy and Pliny), while Tyre was properly *Tsur*, "the rock." The Phœnician Arados was really Arvad. The tradition, however, rested on fact, since philological evidence shows that the primitive seat of the Semites was in Arabia, on the western side of the Euphrates (see Hommel, "Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den Südsemitschen

Völkern," 1879; Guidi, "Della Sede primitiva dei Popoli Semitici," 1879), whence the Phœnicians moved westward, settling on the coast, which they called Canaan, or "the lowlands," in contradistinction to the "highlands" of Aram. Agenor (Baal), the father of Phœnix, was also called Khna, and Philo Byblios stated that Khna changed his name to Phœnix (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10). Eupolemos made Kanaan the father of Phœnix (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17); while S. Augustine says that the Phœnician settlers in Africa called themselves Canaanites (*Ep. ad Rom.* Op. iii. p. 932). Phœnicia is called Canaan on a coin of Laodikeia, and in Isaiah xxiii. 11 (A. V., "merchant city").

³ This is strictly true, and shows that the legends quoted by Herodotos had a historical basis. Phœnician art and culture are a mixture of Egyptian and "Assyrian" (*i.e.* Babylonian), and the discoveries made at Mykênæ and on other prehistoric sites show that the objects brought to Greece by Phœnician traders were partly Babylonian and partly Egyptian in character.

⁴ This statement, again, has been confirmed by Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Mykênæ, if we understand by Argos the Argolis, with its feudal capitals of Tiryns, Mykênæ, and Argos, which mark successive epochs in the history of Akhæan power and civilisation. In the Peloponnêsos, at all events, the Akhæan dynasty of Mykênæ took the lead. The Argolis was naturally the first part of the country to which the art and culture of Asia were brought across the sea. It is noteworthy that Argos is here made

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THE EMPIRES OF THE EAST.

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τοῦτο διατίθεται⁵ τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρη ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναικας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τωὐτὸ τὸ καὶ "Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Ἴου⁶ τὴν Ἰνάχου. ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνεῖσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοινίκας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμήσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλέοντας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἴου⁷ σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. οὕτω μὲν Ἴου⁸ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς "Ἕλληνας, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι. μετὰ δὲ τάστα Ἕλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην.⁷ εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. τάστα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι⁸ γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τάστα "Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης

the leading power of prehistoric Hellas, and not Kadmeian Thebes, which Greek legends connected with the dissemination of the alphabet and Phœnician civilisation, or the neighbouring capital of the Minyans at Orkhomenos. The extent of the Akropolis on the latter site shows that at one time the Minyan power must have been as great as that of the Akhæans; while the beehive tomb, known as the Treasury of Minyas, proves that the period in question coincided with the latter portion of the prehistoric period of Mykênæ. It is clear, therefore, that the Minyans of northern Greece must have been quite as powerful a people as the Akhæans, and at the same time (as was natural, from the proximity of Phœnician Thebes) a more cultured people, but only during the later part of the prehistoric age in Argolis. The statement, accordingly, made by Herodotos, which relates to the beginning and not to the close of Akhæan supremacy, is strictly accurate.

⁵ διατίθεται "arrange for sale." Cp. ch. 194; also Od. 15, 415.

⁶ Ἴο may be derived, like Ἰάδες, from the root *ya*, "to go," and signify "the wanderer." At any rate, she was origin-

ally the moon goddess, watched by Argos, "the bright" sky, with his myriad eyes of stars. When the name of the city Argos (really derived from a different root from that of ἀργός, Ἄργω, ἀργεννός, *argentum*, etc.) was confounded with the old epithet of the sky, the myth of Ἴο was localised in the Argolis, and Ἴο herself made the daughter of the Argive river, Inakhos.

⁷ Εὐρώπα was the Phœnician moon goddess, Astarte or Ashtoreth, "with the crescent horns," wooed by the sun god, whose symbol was the bull. Hence she was the daughter of Phoenix, "the Phœnician," also called Khna, "Canaan," or Agenor, the Greek rendering of the Phœnician Baal Melkarth, and the sister of Kadmos, "the eastern." The name Εὐρώπα was first given to "the broad" plain of Thebes, occupied in early times by Phœnician Kadmeians, and from hence was gradually extended to denote the whole of the European continent. The legends connected with the name of Minos show that Krête was at one time occupied by Phœnician settlements.

⁸ ἴσα σφι, etc., "tit for tat." Cp. ix. 48; Soph. *Antig.* 142.

γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἴαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεύτην, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτεῖν τε, δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἴους τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν 3 ἐκείνοισι. δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ τάοτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοῦτα τάοτα, ἐβελῆσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους δίδοναι. οὕτω δὲ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτεῖν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτεῖν. τοὺς δὲ προῖσχομένον τάοτα προφέρειν σφὶ Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφὶ 4 παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι. μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισῶν σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρεῖν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισῶν σωφρόνων· δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομένον τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι. Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλου μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγῆσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον· τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα [βάρβαρα] οἰκηέονται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἠγῆνται κεχωρίσθαι.

5 Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίον ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εἶδον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἴους οὐκ ὁμολογεύουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγὴ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος εἶδον, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὲ ἐβελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Τάοτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως τάοτα

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THE EMPIRES OF THE EAST.

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ἐγένετο, τὸν⁹ δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστυα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξῖον. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμέο ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρὰ. τὴν ἀνθρωπηὴν ὡν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τωτῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττει, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων¹ τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίει πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροῖσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων² στρατεύμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροῖσου ἐὼν πρᾶξύτερον οὐ

⁹ *i.e.* Kroisos. The scepticism of Herodotos in regard to the assertions of oriental writers seems to have been in the mind of Ktésias when he claimed superior authority for his own statements as being derived from the Persian archives. The history given by Herodotos is parodied by Aristoph. *Akharn.* 523 *sq.*

¹ The Syrians here are the "White Syrians" of Strabo, whom the Greek geographer contrasts with the Black Syrians, or Semitic Arameans, east of the Amanus (Strab. pp. 533, 544, 737. See Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. i. 948). We now know that they were really the Hittites of Carchemish, who did not belong to the Semitic race at all, and had originally descended from the mountainous region of the north. They have left monuments behind them at Boghaz Keui (? Pteria) and Eyuk (? Tavium), on the east bank of the Halys. Herodotos tells us (i. 72, vii. 72) that the inhabitants of Kappadokia and Kilikia were Syrians, and Hittite remains in the shape of sculptures and inscriptions have been found in these countries. The tribes inhabiting them probably belonged to

the same race as the Hittites, and spoke cognate dialects. Sinôpé, according to Skymnos of Khios (943), was founded among the Syrians, and a promontory a little to the north of Sinôpé was called Syrias. Pindar (Fr. 150, ed. Bergk) speaks of "a spear-armed Syrian host" at the mouth of the Thermôdôn, meaning the Amazons, the Hittite priestesses of the Asiatic goddess, Nana-Istar of Babylon, and Atargatis of Carchemish, whose worship they had carried to Ephesos and the west.

² For the Kimmerians, the Gimirrai of the Assyrian inscriptions, and their inroads in Asia Minor, see Appendix IV. What Eusebios calls the first capture of Sardes by the Kimmerians in B.C. 1078 is probably a tradition of the conquest of Lydia and Sardes by the Hittites before the rise of the dynasty of the Hêracleids. It is possible that the same event is meant by Strabo (i. p. 90), when he says that the Kimmerian chief Lygdamis ruled in Kilikia—a Hittite district—while his followers overran Lydia and captured Sardes. According to Plesykhios, Lygdamis burnt the temple of Artemis.

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HERODOTOS.

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καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ. ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιῆλθε, εἴουσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον³ ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου⁴ πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστατος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος, ἀπ' οὗτο ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μήϊων καλεόμενος.⁵ παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου,⁶ ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος,⁷ ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι

³ The father of Kandaulês was Myrsos (Melês in Eusebios). The termination *-ilos*, therefore, seems to have been gentile in Lydian. Καν-δαύλης was identified with Hêrmes or Hêraklês by Hesykhios, and is translated σκυλλοπνικτης (Tzetzes in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* 3, 351); cp. κύων, *canis*, *hound*, Skt. *çwan*. Tzetzes quotes a line from Hippônax: Ἐρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μηροιστι Κανδαύλα. Nikolaos Damascenus calls Kandaulês Sadyattês.

⁴ The words ὁ Νίνου—Ἀλκαίου have dropped out of the text in three late MSS. (Stein's R *b d*). As the Assyrians knew nothing of the country west of the Halys before the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and Assur-bani-pal states that when the ambassadors of Gyges arrived at Nineveh (B.C. 660) none knew who they were, or had heard the name of Lydia (*Luddi*), or could interpret their language, the names of Ninus (Nineveh) and Bêlos (Bel-Merodach of Babylon) cannot refer to an early Assyrian conquest of Lydia. Babylonian art and culture, however, as modified at Carchemish, the Hittite capital, was carried by the Hittites throughout Asia Minor at the time to which the rise of the Herakleid dynasty would go back, according to the chronology of Herodotos; and as Carchemish is called "Ninus vetus" by Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 8; see, too, Diod. ii. 3, 7), it is clear that the genealogy given in the text is a legendary reminiscence

of the Hittite occupation of Lydia and introduction of civilisation and writing among the nations of the west. The Herakleids would seem to have grown into power when the Hittite empire began to decay and could no longer support the satraps of Sardes. Hêraklês, the sun god of Babylonia and Assyria, the Melkarth of Tyre, had been adopted by the Hittites into their system of worship, like the Asiatic goddess, and then carried into Asia Minor. Hence we find the Lydian name of the deity to have been Sandan (Joh. Lydus, *De Mag.* iii. 64), the Sandan, Sandês, or Sandakos of the Kilikians and Hittites. With Alkaios, "the strong one," comp. the Alkimos of Xanthos.

⁵ The name of Mêies or Mæônes may be connected with the Lydian *μῶς* "earth." Comp. also the name of Mæander.

⁶ Probably a confusion with the oracle delivered to Gyges (ch. 13).

⁷ Iardanos was the husband, or, according to other accounts, the father, of Omphalê, which may perhaps be the Lydian (or Hittite) name of the Asiatic goddess (the Ephesian Artemis or Kybelê). Hêraklês or Sandan, the sun god, while serving Omphalê, had a son Akelis (or Agelaos) by Malis, or Damalis, one of her slaves (Hellan. *Fr.* 102). According to Diodoros (iv. 31), Hêraklês first had Kleodæos by a slave, then Lamos by Omphalê.

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γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.⁸ οὗτος δὲ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ τάοτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικός ὑπερπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. “Γύγῃ, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πειθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικός (ὅσα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποιεῖ ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυμνήν”. ὁ δ’ ἀμβώσας εἶπε “δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύω με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μαυθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τῷδε ἐστὶ, σκοπεῖν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀνόμων.” ὁ μὲν δὲ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “θάρσει, Γύγῃ, καὶ μὴ φοβέο μήτε ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τούδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθείσαν ὑπὸ σέο. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὄπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στησώ.

⁸ The average of twenty-three years to a reign seems a long one. Herodotos does not mean that a generation lasted only twenty-three years, but that, as son succeeded father regularly, the twenty-two reigns corresponded to twenty-two generations. Xanthos, the Lydian historian, mentioned among them the reigns of Kamblēs or Kamblitas, who ate his wife while asleep, and Akiamos, whose general, Askalos, founded Askalon, where Mopsos or Moxos, the Lydian, drowned the goddess Atargatis in the sacred lake. Nikolaos Damascenus makes Tylōn, Sadyattēs, and Lixos the successors of Omphalē. Eusebios (*Chron. Can.* i. 15) makes the four predecessors of Kandalulēs, (1) Alyattēs, (2) Ardys for thirty-six years, (3) Alyattēs II. for fourteen years, and (4) Melēs for twelve years.

In Nikolaos Damascenus the order is Adyattēs I., Ardys, Adyattēs II., Melēs, and Myrsos, the father of Sadyattēs, by whom Kandalulēs must be meant. In the reign of Ardys a feud broke out between the Herakleidaē and the Mermnadā, then represented by Daskylos, son of Gygēs, the favourite of Ardys, who was murdered by Adyattēs II. In the fifth generation the Mermnad Gygēs avenged the murder, excited by fear of punishment for the insult he had offered to the daughter of the Mysian prince, Arnossos, whom he had been sent to bring to Lydia in order that she might be married to the Lydian king. Considering the meaning of the name Kandalulēs, and his identification with the Greek Hermēs, it is possible that it was a nickname given to a prince whom Nikolas calls by his real name, Sadyattēs.

- μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμῇ ἐς κοῖτον. κείται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἕν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένη,⁹ σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μὴ σε
- 10 ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, καὶ μετὰ τάοτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθείσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρει ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόφ' ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι,
- 11 καὶ ἀνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγγόνει, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἐωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλει τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἤλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθει γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. “νῦν τοι δυῶν ὀδῶν παρεουσέων, Γύγη, δίδωμι αἴρεσιν, ὀκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνεις ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἦτοι κείνόν γε τὸν τάοτα βουλεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεσάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθούμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ' ὦρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἰρεῖται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. “ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέφ' καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.” ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη “ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὀρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκείνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν,
- 12 ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχειρήσις ἔσται.” ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδει ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα)

⁹ “You are behind her.”

εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῆ γυναικί. καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ τὰοτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης· [τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη].¹ ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύθη ¹³ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστήριου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιούοντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὕπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσούδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούοντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελεσθῆ.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαί τοὺς ¹⁴ Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυρανεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι,² παρέξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἔστί, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειο ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίῳ θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἔστί ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ

¹ This sentence is regarded as spurious by Wesseling and Stein. Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 17) and Plutarch (*Mor.* ii. 470 c) quote from Arkhilokhos the following line, which was put into the mouth of one of his characters: Ὅ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει (*Fr.* 25, ed. Bergk). Arkhilokhos also referred to the destruction of Magnesia by the Kimmerians, and is stated to have been a contemporary of Gyges, and therefore, as Gelzer has shown (*Das Zeitalter des Gyges*), to have flourished b.c. 687-53. We learn from the Assyrian inscriptions that the Kimmerians first invaded Lydia in the reign of Gyges, not of Ardys, as Herodotos supposed. With the name of Gygés (Assyrian, Gugu; Hebrew, Gog), compare the Karian names Gygos and Ida-gygos in the Halikarnassian inscription pub-

lished by Newton (*Essays on Art and Archaeology*, pp. 427 sq.)

² "Most of the silver offerings at Delphi were his." Silver seems to have had a special attraction for the Hittites, whose monuments in Asia Minor are usually met with in the neighbourhood of old silver mines, and their fancy for the metal may have been communicated to the Lydians. In the time of Herodotos gold was to silver as 13½ to 1 (not 13 to 1, as stated in iii. 95, see Mommsen: "Note sur la système métrique des Assyriens," appended to the "Hist. Mon. Rom.," ed. Blacas, i. p. 407); in that of Plato and of Xenophon 10 to 1, owing to the quantity of gold introduced into Greece by the Persian War. See, too, Liv. 38, 11. Under Theodosius II. it was as 18 to 1.

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Excerpt

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10

HERODOTOS.

[BOOK

Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφούς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετα Μίδην τὸν Γορδίω Φρυγίης βασιλέα.³ ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκασε, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέτον· κέται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλεῖται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

- 15 Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπέιτε⁴ ἦρξε, ἔς τε Μίλιτον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην⁵ καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ'

³ Midas and Gordios are common names among the Phrygian kings. Phrygians and Greeks were allied in both language and race; and myths which became part of Greek mythology told of a Gordios who was raised from a peasant to be a king, and tied a knot about the yoke of his cart which could be undone only by him who was destined to be lord of Asia; as well as of a Midas who turned all that he touched into gold, and of whom the reeds whispered that his ears had become those of an ass because he had esteemed the singing of Pan above that of Apollo. Another Midas is made by Eusebios to have ascended the throne in B.C. 738. He married Damodikē, daughter of Agamemnōn, the Greek king of Kymē, and seems to have been the Midas meant by Herodotos. He killed himself by drinking bull's blood when Phrygia was invaded by the Kimmerians. He is probably to be distinguished from the Midas whose tomb was adorned with a bronze image of a girl (Plato, *Phaedr.* 264 D). Among the tombs of the Phrygian kings in the valley of Doghanlı (between Yazılı Kaia and Sidi Ghazi, the ancient Prynēssos and Midæon) is one at Kumbet, with an inscription of two lines in Phrygian letters, which reads (1) Ates Arkiaevais Akenanogavos Midai gavag-taei vanaktei edaes; (2) Baba Memevais Proitavos kphi Zanavezos Sikeneman elaes. This may be translated: "Ates Arkiaevais, the son of Akenanos, built this for Midas the . . . the king: Baba Memevais, the son of Proitas, and Zana-

vezos, a native of Sikan, planned it." See Mr. W. M. Ramsay's paper on the *Phrygian Inscriptions* in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" for 1882. During his visit to Phrygia in 1881 he recopied the inscriptions already known, found others, and discovered a new Phrygian necropolis near Ayazeen, twenty miles south of that of Midas.

⁴ ἐπέιτε, like ὅστε, ὅστις τε, οἷός τε, ὅσος τε, ὥστε, ὥσει τε, ἄτε, ἴνα τε. Ἵσπε, "and so," shows how the use of the enclitic originated in the primitively demonstrative sense of the relative. Ἐπέι is a compound of the preposition ἐπ' for ἐπι, used like the Sanskrit prefix *api*, and *ei* for *Fei*, i.e. *σFei*, from the same root as the reflexive Sanskrit pronoun *sua*, the Latin *sui* and *si*. The original ἐπ-Fei explains the occasional length of the first syllable of ἐπέι in Homer.

⁵ This was Old Smyrna, on a hill above Burnabat, on the north side of the Bay of Smyrna. The modern Smyrna had no existence till the age of Alexander the Great and his successors. Old Smyrna was said to have been built by the Amazons, in whom we may see a tradition of the Hittite occupation of Lydia, along with Ephesos, Kymē, and Myrina. The name of the part of Ephesos which owed its foundation to the Amazons was Samorna or Smyrna, and Myrina is apparently the same word, initial σ being lost, as in *μικρός* for *σμικρός*. The tomb of the Amazon Myrina was pointed out in the Troad (*Il.* ii. 814). The Amazons were primarily the priest-