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INTENDING to give a short Account of Herodotus, and of his History which is here presented to the Publick in English, I think myself oblig'd in the first Place to say something of History in general. For what can be more just, than to shew the Value and Usefulness of this kind of Writing, when I am to speak of the Man who first plac'd it in true Dignity and Lustre; and by the native Strength of his own Genius rais'd at once that noble and beautiful Structure, which has serv'd for a Model to succeeding Ages? Before his Time, whatever had the Title of History, was, for the most part, either Fable and Poetical Fiction; or, at best, but a naked Register of publick Events; hardly more than a bare List of the Names of the principal Actors, and of the Places of Action; without Ornament, without Life; affecting the Eye rather than informing the Understanding, or moving the Heart, by specifying the Causes, Councils, and Circumstances, which give Rise to every Action, influence the various Turns, and produce the final Issue of all publick Enterprizes. Herodotus found out the Art of collecting the rough Materials, shaping them in just Proportion,
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Proportion, ranging them in exact Order, and giving the whole Frame majestic Beauty and immortal Strength.

I may venture to say, that whatever is truly useful, cannot but be pleasing to human Nature. And, as nothing in the World is so useful and beneficial as Government founded on common Equity and Prudence; so nothing is so delightful to the Mind, as the Contemplation of the Happiness of bearing a Part in a well-regulated Community. There is such a Charm in good Order and steady Discipline, that whole Nations have been ravish'd with it to such a Degree, as to seem for several Ages, to have been insensible of all other Pleasure: And by how much any Man excell'd others in Elevation and Greatness of Soul, by so much more was he inflam'd with a Zeal to contribute to the Preservation of that good Order, and in Consequence to the general Felicity.

THOSE who are acquainted with the Actions of the ancient Grecians and Romans, will readily assent to this Truth: Which will by a natural Inference lead them to another, and demonstrate, That of all kinds of Writing none is so useful and entertaining as History.

THE Poets were quick to observe this in the earliest and rudest Times; and therefore seiz'd a Province so fertile of Incidents proper to inspire the sublimest Thoughts in themselves, and by the means of their powerful Art to work upon the Passions of others; and were the first who set up for Historians. But the Richness of the Soil, prov'd the Ruin of the luxuriant Discoverers: The innate Lustre of great Actions wrought so strongly on Minds too susceptible of the lightest Impressions, that they overheated their Imaginations, quitted the common
common Theatre of Human Life, and soaring out of Reason's View from Hyperbole to Fable, loft themselves in the Clouds to which they had exalted their Bacchus, their Hercules, and the rest of their Heroes.

I have said that 'tis natural, from the Benefit and Happiness arising from good Government, to infer the Use and Pleasure of History. 'Tis indeed most natural; seeing the one was the very Cause and Parent of the other. 'Twas good Government which gave Life and Being to History; and rescued Mankind from the Delusion of Fable. The political Institutions of Solon and Lycurgus, produc'd a long Series of more beautiful and glorious Scenes of real Actions, than all the Poets inspir'd by their Apollo, had ever been able to figure to themselves in Idea, and deliver in Fiction.

THE Mind of Man does not willingly endure Deception: The Poets could no longer amuse with monstrous Shadows, Eyes which had seen the native Force of good Order establish'd on impartial Reason and natural Equity. In a Word, the just Lawgiver prepar'd the Way for the judicious Historian: And (to come close to my present Purpose) Herodotus happily found, in the Times immediately preceding his own, a Subject which supplied him at once with all the Rules for writing History; and had only the plain (tho' that be the difficult) Task, to suit his Composition and Stile to the Conduct of the Nations whose Actions and Manners he undertook to relate.

EXPERIMENT and Comparison render Men capable of finding the true Value of every Thing. On the first Appearance of Herodotus, all the fabulous Legends of the Poets, with the inanimate Registers of dry Annalists, were found to bear
bear no Proportion, either in Profit or Delight, when thrown into the Balance against his History. And in like manner, the Comparison which every Man who reads his Work cannot but make, of the different Effects of an Equal and Tyrannical Government, of firm and slack Discipline, of Caution and Presumption, of Fortitude and Meaneness of Spirit, of Dissoluteness and Sobriety, in short, of all kinds of Virtue and Vice, upon all Conditions and Degrees of Men, from Monarchs and States down to private Persons; that Comparison, I say, has been the principal Rule of Writing (from which the rest are easily deduc'd) to all the Historians who have succeeded him, and must be the eternal Measure to others for judging of all Human Affairs. As will appear amply, from a general View of the Instruction and Entertainment of History.

NO Passion is so strong in Man, and so universal in all Ages and Nations, as that of acquiring Glory by publick Services. Not only Triumphs and Statues, but even Crowns of Leaves, bestowed as a national Acknowledgment of distinguished Merit, have been pursued with as much Eagerness and Danger, as ever the Rewards of Titles and Riches possibly can: And I believe few Men are so sordid or profligate, as not to own themselves affected with a Desire of Reputation, in such a modest Degree as is suitable to their Station in the World; at least, that they are disposed to live with some Decency, however privately. Now in whatever Station a Man is placed, whether publick or private, he will find himself more or less qualified to manage his own Affairs, or those of the Community to which he belongs, as his Knowledge of Men and Things is more or less extensive. The
The Means of acquiring Knowledge are of two Sorts, Experience or Information. The first is never very considerable in Men, till they are past the Exercise of almost all Virtues: And Themistocles seems reasonably to complain of the miserable Condition of Man, who must die as soon as he begins to know how to live. Besides all who attain to old Age, do not arrive at Experience: The Employments that lead to it are not many: And the longest Life affords but few Opportunities of extraordinary Actions. As for personal Information from others, it can at best only reach to such Affairs as have pass'd in their own Time, and that imperfectly; but what is this in Comparison to so many Thousand Years included in the Historical Registers of the World? Which bring all Human Things under the Eye of the Reader within a small Compass; teach him to form his Conduct by the best Examples; and represent such a Variety of Conjunctures and Accidents, as consider'd with Judgment creates a Habit of Prudence, without the Help of Age or actual Experience. History is so far preferable to the longest Experience, as the past Ages comprehend more Examples than the Age of one Man. The Dead are the best Counsellors; not to be corrupted by Money; not to be terrified by Power; not to be persuaded by Intreaty; not deceiving by false Colours. They will faithfully instruct us by what means Empires are erected, decay, and perish: How a small State may become great: With what Judgment Wars are to be undertaken; and with what Diligence pursued: With what Caution to treat of Peace, or engage in Leagues, without Injustice, Dishonour, or Damage. In short, would we know what Fate attends
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extends any State or Kingdom? History only will teach us, from a thousand Examples, to exercise the Art of Divination innocently and surely: And at least cannot but have this Effect, that hardly any thing can seem new, astonishing, or dreadful to us. In History, as in the Book of Fate, stand recorded the Glory of good Men, and the eternal Infamy of the Bad: By which every private Person is taught how to acquit himself in all Conditions so as to deserve the Name of a Man; and Princes are warn'd that they are no more than Men, and that Fame is always just to the Dead, however partial to the Living. The Art of Government is best learnt from History; or rather that 'tis no Art, but that the same Causes ever did and will produce the same Effects. So that Statesmen can never be at a Loss how to exert the Virtues of Fortitude, Constancy, and Integrity, to prevent or cure the publick Disorders and Calamities. Generals are instruφted by the Delays of Fabius, and the Celerity of Cæsar; the Stratagems of Lysander, and the Industry of Hannibal. Even Nations learn, from the Description they find of Servitude, how to value Liberty: Phalaris, Dionysius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and too many others, are the terrifying Examples; and by the fraudulent Practices of a Philip, are taught to stop their Ears against the most specious Promises of one accustomed to deceive.

To conclude, nothing can be more delightful, than by the means of History to enter the Athenian Areopagus, and the Roman Senate: To be present with Leonidas at Thermopyle, with Aristides at Platea, with Scipio at Carthage, and with Alexander at Arbela: To be plac'd as a Spectator out of all Hazard, to learn Wisdom from the Dangers.
HERODOTUS was born at Halicarnassus, a Grecian Colony in the lower Asia, a little before the Invasion of Greece by Xerxes; and lived to the Times of the Peloponnesian War. He withdrew from the Place of his Nativity to Samos, to avoid the Tyranny of Lygdamis, Grandson of the famous Artemisia so often mention'd in his History. From thence returning after some Time to his own Country, he had a principal Part in the Expulsion of the Tyrant: But soon finding himself envied and us'd with Ingratitude, he went to Italy with a Colony sent by the Athenians to build a City, which they call'd Thurium, near the Ruins of the ancient Sybaris.

WHETHER he wrote his History at Samos or Thurium, is not certain: But both those Places being govern'd in a popular manner, left him free from all Impressions of Hope or Fear, which might incline him to Flattery or Detraction. And as for Truth, he spair'd no Pains to collect the best Information that could possibly be had. To that End he travel'd into Ægypt, saw all the principal Cities, and convers'd with the Priests of that Country: He spent some Time in visiting the several Parts of Greece; went to Babylon and Tyre; and was in Thrace, Scythia, Arabia, and Palestine.

HAVING compos'd his History from the Materials he had with so great Labour collected, he resolv'd to expose it to the Censure of Men, who were not only well inform'd of the main Facts, but perfectly
perfectly qualified to judge of his Performance. He went to the Olympian Exercises, for which the Grecians were assembled from all Parts. Many of these doubtless had been personally in one or other of the Battles against the Persians; and not a Man, could be ignorant, at the distance of so few Years, of the chief Circumstances of a War so important to all Greece. To this Assembly, compos'd of Men, own'd by the most knowing Part of the World to have been their Masters in all the noblest Arts, he read his History, which with infinite Applause was universally approv'd.

AFTER a Judgment so solemn and in every Respect so valuable, 'tis unnecessary to collect all the Suffrages of the best Writers of succeeding Times among the Grecians and Romans, in Praise of Herodotus. Yet I am unwilling to omit, that Cicero to shew bis Esteem for our Author uses the highest Expression the Roman Language is capable of, stiling him the Father of History; not because he was the most ancient, for besides others of less Fame, Hellanicus of Mitylene and Charon of Lamplacus were before him; but judging him the Prince of Historians, he gave him the Title of Father, which the Romans ever us'd to denote a Person most illustrious and highly deserving of the Commonwealth: The Name of Lord being held in Abhorrence, till the Suppression of their Liberty introduc'd the Name with the Thing. Nor can I without Injustice suppress the Testimony given to him by Dionysius the Halicarnassian; because his own admirable History is the highest Proof of his Ability to speak justly on this Argument.

THIS Writer in his Critical and Rhetorical Works, extols the Happiness of Herodotus in choos-ing a Subject of the greatest Dignity, that shew'd bis
his Country in the utmost Glory; and prov'd to a
Demonstration, by the uniform Successes of the
Battles of Marathon, Salamis, Platæa, and My-
cale, that Superiority of Numbers was but a feeble
Defence to the Great King against the military
Virtue and excellent Discipline of the Grecians. He
commends the Smoothness and unaffected Simplicity
of his Narration; the Decency of his Speeches,
most artfully adapted to the Character of every Per-
son speaking; together with the beautiful Order and
Composition of his History, which by following
Things, not Time, ever charms to the last Syllable,
and leaves the Reader with a desire of more: Pre-
ferring him to Thucydides in every thing, except
Brevisity, Vehemence, and close Reasoning; Talents,
if I mistake not, more proper to an Orator than a
Historian; and probably for that Reason so much
esteem'd and imitated by Demosthenes, that he is
said to have written over his History eight times
with his own Hand.

AS Herodotus us'd the properest Means not to
be impos'd upon, so in many Places of his History
he has prov'd himself to be free, as well from Cre-
dulity, as from any Intention to impose upon others,
by insinuating and sometimes by arguing the Improb-
bility, either of general Reports, or of some par-
ticular Informations he himself had receiv'd. In
his 2d Book he says, These Things are related by
the Ægyptians; and if any Man think them credi-
ble, he is at Liberty: For me, I am oblig'd
to write what I have heard. In another Place,
These Things I relate after the Libyans. And
though many like Warnings are drop'd in divers
Parts of his Work; yet out of abundant Caution
be thinks fit to make this plain Declaration in his
7th Book, I am oblig'd to relate what is said,
I am not oblig'd to believe every thing without Distinction; which I desire may be consider'd in all the course of this History. To this let it be added, That several things which he relates, and were formerly disbelieve'd, have by the modern Navigations been found to be true, as well as other things more strange than most of those he mentions: That Length of Time, Alteration of Manners, various Revolutions, and in many Places a total Change of the Face of Things, render us in some measure incompetent judges of what may have really been in Nature and Custom, especially in the most remote and unfrequented Parts of the World: I say, let all this be consider'd, and I believe no ingenious Man will think Herodotus stands in need of a more labour'd Apology. But besides, the Ground of his History was, the Wars between the Grecians and Barbarians; and all the strange Customs and Religions which he takes Occasion to describe, seem intended rather to give us a Notion of what human Nature is capable, than for an essential Part of his main Design: And therefore no wise Man will interest himself any farther in those Relations, or lay any greater Stress upon them, than he thinks reasonable; but will attend chiefly to the Excellence and Instruction of the substantial and vital Part of the History.

I am not ignorant that Plutarch has left behind him a whole Book against Herodotus, in which he accuses him of speaking too favourably of the Barbarians, and cenfuring the Conduct of all the Grecians in general; but most especially defaming the Bœotians and Corinthians: Of attributing, without Reason, the Original of the Grecian Gods to Ægypt; and giving too much Credit to the Relations of the Ægyptians: Of Impiety, in attributing
ting to Solon his own irreligious Sentiments; and, infinuating, or rather affirming, that the Delphian Oracle was several times corrupted, and guilty of Imposture: With many more Imputations of various Kinds. Now one would think, that in order to ruin the Reputation of Herodotus, Plutarch ought to have shewn, that when he commends or approves any part of the Conduct or Manners of the Barbarians, he had no good Ground for his Opinion; and when he mentions the Faults and mutual Animosities of the Grecians, his Allegations were untrue: He might at least have produc'd some plausible Arguments, to shew that the Religion of Greece was not deriv'd from Ægypt; and have acknowledg'd with the Sincerity which becomes a Philosopher, that the Account of the Ægyptian Affairs, to the Reign of Pharameticus, was by the Historian's own Declaration entirely owing to the Relations he had from the Priests of that Country: He ought to have brought some Authority to prove that the Words attributed to Solon, had been by some or other accounted supposititious: And that, to accuse the Oracle of Obliquity, double Meaning, and Corruption, was a mere Abuse: But he was too angry to take such Measures, as might serve to shew his Judgment or Ingenuity: And because he found his Countrymen the Thebans, and all the rest of the Boeotians, except the Platæans and Theffians, branded by the Historian with the Infamy of betraying the Common Cause, and openly siding with the sworn Enemy of the Grecian Name, he could not bear the Reproach, however just. Yet, the Fact is so notorious, that not only Demosthenes appeals to it in one of his * Philippics as to a

* Second Philip. Truth
An EXPLANATION of some Words occurring in this History.

AMPHORA, is a Measure containing about a Twelfth Part of our Hogshead.

Artabe, about a Bushel and half of our Measure.

Cataupians, so call'd, because they inhabit near the Cataracts.

Chaenix, a Grecian Measure, containing about two Pints or Pounds.

Cubit, is a Measure one Foot and half in Length.

Cypselia, a Sort of Chest, containing about 9 of our Bushels, in which the Corn for the present Use of the Family was constantly kept.

Foot, consists of 4 Palms, and is two Thirds of a Cubit.

Ichthyophages, Ægyptians of Elephantis, who eat Fish.

Libation, Wine or other Liquor pour'd out on the Sacrifices, in Honour of the Gods.

Medimnus, a Measure containing about a Bushel and half.

Mine, (Attick) worth about 26 of our Shillings.

Macrobian, certain Æthiopians, so call'd from their long Life; which commonly extended to 120 Years, according to our Author.

Nomades, so call'd because they were Keepers of Cattle.

Orgyza, which is translated Perch or Fathom, was the Measure of 6 Foot or 4 Cubits.

Parasange, contains 30 Stades in Length.

Palm, is the 4th Part of a Foot.

Plethron, six of these make a Stade.

Scheene, consists of 60 Stades.

A Stade, is generally accounted equal to 125 Geometrical Paces, and allowing 5 Foot to each Pace, the Stade amounts to 625 Foot.

Stater of Gold, a Persian Coin of the Value of about 26 of our Shillings.

Talent, (Attick) is by some accounted worth 60 Pound weight of Silver; by others 80.

'Tis not pretended that this Calculation is entirely exact: But it may possibly serve to prevent some gross Mistakes, which Men unacquainted with these Words might otherwise make in reading the History.

THE
HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus writes this History, that the Memory of Things past may not be extinguish'd by Length of Time, nor the great and admirable Actions of the Grecians and Barbarians remain destitute of Glory; relating, with other Things, the Causes of the Wars that happen'd between those People.

Men of celebrated Fame among the Persians say, that the Original of this Enmity is to be imputed to the Phœnicians; who, coming from the Red Sea, and settling in the Regions they now inhabit, presently applied themselves to make long Voyages; and being us'd to carry the Merchandizes of Ægypt and Assyria into divers Parts, came also to Argos, which was then the principal City of those Countries that now go under the Name of Greece; that, after they had expos'd their Goods
Goods to Sale during five or six Days, and had sold almost all, a great Company of Women came down to the Shore, and among them the Daughter of King Inachus, both by the Persians and Grecians call'd Io; that, while these Women were standing about the Stern of the Ship, and buying what they most desir'd, the Phenicians having mutually encourag'd each other to the Attempt, laid Hands upon as many as they could; and, tho' the greater Part made their Escape by Flight, yet having seiz'd Io, with several others, they secur'd them on board, and immediately set Sail for Ægypt. In this Manner the Persians, differing from the Grecians, relate the Story of Io's Passage into Ægypt; and say, that this was the first Injury done on either Part. To these Things they add, that certain Grecians, whose Country they know not (but who indeed were of Crete) arriving at Tyre in Phenicia, carried away Europa the King's Daughter, and by that means brought Things to an Equality on both Sides. After which the Grecians became guilty of a second Injury: For arriving with a Ship at Aia in Colchis on the River Phasis, and having dispatch'd their other Affairs, they carried off Medea the King's Daughter; and when the King sent an Herald to Greece to require Satisfaction for that Violence, and to demand his Daughter, the Grecians return'd for Answer, that they would make him no Reparation, because they had receiv'd none for the Rape of the Argian Io. They say also, that in the next succeeding Age, Alexander the Son of Priamus hearing the Relation of these Things, resolv'd to have a Wife from Greece by the like Means, persuading himself that he should not be con-
constrain'd to any Reparation, since all these had escap'd with Impunity; but that, after he had taken away Helena, the Grecians determin'd in the first Place to send Ambassadors to demand her, and to require Satisfaction for the Wrong; which when they had done, the Trojans objected the Rape of Medea; wond'ring at the Unreasonableness of those, who having neither restor'd that Woman, nor made any kind of Reparation, should have the Confidence to demand Satisfaction from others: That hitherto, however, no other kind of Violence had happen'd between these People; but that the Grecians became afterwards highly injurious, by ent'ring Asia with an Army, before Europe was invaded by any People of that Country; who are persuaded, that tho' all Violences of this Nature be unjust, yet to revenge such Injuries is as evidently the Part of Madmen, as of the Wise to have no Regard for those Women; because nothing is more manifest, than that they had never been carried off, unless they had consented. For these Reasons the Persians say that the People of Asia scorn'd to concern themselves about such Women; but that the Grecians assembled a numerous Fleet, pass'd over to Asia, and destroy'd the Kingdom of Priamus, for the sake of a Lacedemonian Woman; from which Time they account the Grecians to have been their Enemies. For the Persians consider Asia as their own, with all the barbarous Nations that inhabit those Regions, and think they have no manner of Society with Greece and Europe. Thus the Persians relate the Fact, and derive the Original of their Hatred to the Grecians from the Destruction of Troy. But the Phœnicians dis-
agreeing with them concerning Io, deny that they carried her away by Force into Aegypt; and affirm, that falling in Love with the Commander of their Ship, and finding herself with Child by him, she voluntarily departed, for fear of being detected by her Parents. These Things are said by the Persians and by the Phoenicians; and I shall not enter into a Dispute concerning the Truth of their Relations: But beginning with the Person who we are certain attack'd the Grecians unjustly without any Provocation, I shall proceed in my Narration, and give an Account, as well of the little Cities and Republicks, as of those of more Power and Extent. For many which are now small, were formerly great; and others, which are great at this Day, were once small and inconsiderable. Knowing therefore that human Prosperity cannot always continue in the same State, I shall speak of the one sort, as well as of the other.

CRŒSUS, by Birth a Lydian, and Son to Alyattes, was King of those Nations that are situate on this side the River Halys, which descending from the South, and passing Northward between the Syrians and Paphlagonians, falls into the Euxin Sea. He was the first of all the Barbarians we know, who render'd some of the Grecians tributary to him, and receiv'd others into his Alliance; for he subdued the Ionians and Æolians, with the Dorians that inhabit in Asia, and made the Lacedemonians his Friends: Whereas before his Reign, all the Grecians were free. For the Irruption of the Cimmerians into Ionia with an Army, which happen'd before the Time of Cræsus, ended, not in the Destruction.
tion of Cities; but only in Ravages, incident to a sudden Invasion. This Kingdom belong'd to the Heraclides, and pass'd into the Family of Cræsus, call'd Mermnades, in the following Manner.

**CANDAULES**, by the Grecians nam'd Myrsilus, being descended from Alcaeus the Son of Hercules, was King of the Sardians; and as Argon the Son of Ninus, Grandson to Bélus, and great Grandson to Alcaeus, was the first of the Heraclides that reign'd in Sardis, so Candaules the Son of Myrsus was the last. Those who had been Kings of this Country before Argon, were descended from Lydus the Son of Atys, who gave his Name to the whole Nation, which before his Time were call'd Meones. Under these, the Heraclides descending from Hercules and a Slave of Iardanus, were educated; and having obtain'd the Kingdom by means of an Oracle, held it five hundred and five Years, during two and twenty Generations of Men, the Son always succeeding the Father, to the Time of Candaules the Son of Myrsus. This Candaules so passionately lov'd his Wife, that he thought her the most beautiful of all Women; and in this Persuasion extoll'd her Beauties above measure to Gyges the Son of Daçylus, who was one of his Guard, much in his Favour, and intrusted with his most important Affairs. But not long after, being mark'd out by Fate for Destruction, he open'd himself farther to Gyges in these Terms; “Since thou seemest to me not to believe the Things I have said concerning the Beauty of my Wife, and because I know the Eye to be a more proper Instrument of Conviction than the Ear; I resolve thou shalt see...”
"see her naked." Gyges amaz'd at this Language, cried out, "What strange Disorder, Sir, has possess'd your Mind, that you should command me to view the Queen my Mistress naked? For a Woman puts off her Modesty with her Garments. Many excellent Precepts have been convey'd down to us by Men of former Ages, for our Instruction, and this one among the rest, That **every Man should look into his own Affairs. ** As for me, I believe the Queen to be the most beautiful of all Women; but I earnestly ** desire you would not command me to do an unlawful Thing." Thus Gyges dreading lest the Consequences should be fatal to him, endeavour'd to dissuade the King from his ill-conceiv'd Design. But he, persisting in his Resolution, replied in these Words; "Be confident, Gyges, and think not that I have said this to make Trial of thee, nor fear the Resentment of my Wife; for I will so contrive the Matter that she shall never know she was seen by thee. To this End I will place thee behind the open Door of our Apartment; into which my Wife will not fail to come, so soon as she hears I am there; and as she uses to undress at a Chair, where she lays down her Garments one after another, she will give thee Time to take a full View of her at Leisure; only when thou shalt see her going to the Bed, with her Back turn'd towards thee, be careful that she may not discover thee afterwards repassing thro' the Doors." Gyges finding all he could say to have no Effect, resolv'd to obey; and at the usual Hour the King going to his Apartment, took Gyges with
with him. The Queen came immediately after, and whilst she undressed, and laid down her clothes, afforded Gyges a sufficient view of herself. But as she turned her back to go towards the bed, and Gyges endeavoured at the same time to retire, she saw him going out. And tho' she plainly perceiv'd that this was her husband's contrivance, shame restrain'd her from making the least exclamation: But she resolv'd within herself, to be reveng'd upon Candaules: For among the Lydians, and almost all barbarous nations, 'tis a great dishonour even for a man to be seen naked. She pass'd the night in a seeming tranquillity, and having suppress'd her resentment till the morning, sent some of the most faithful of her servants to bring Gyges to her. He, not suspecting the Queen to be acquainted with what had pass'd, and being accustomed to go to her as often as she sent for him, fail'd not to obey her order. When he was come to her chamber, she said to him: "Gyges, two ways lie before thee; choose which thou wilt, for I leave the choice to thy discretion. Either kill Candaules, and take possession of me, together with the kingdom of Lydia, or resolve to die immediately; that by obeying Candaules without reserve, thou may'st not hereafter behold what ought not to be seen by thee: For either the contriver of this thing must perish, or thou, who hast seen me naked, and been guilty of a criminal action." Gyges at first stood amaz'd at these words; and afterwards earnestly begg'd of her, that she would not drive him to the necessity of making so hard a choice. But when he saw he could not prevail,
prevail, and that he must either kill his Master, or die himself by the Hands of others, he chose to save his own Life. " Since then, said he to " the Queen, you compel me, against my " Will, to kill my Master, let me know how " we shall execute this Enterprize." " From " that very Place, replied she, where he expos'd me " naked to thy View, thou shalt fall upon him " as he sleeps." When they had thus concerted the Attempt, and Night came, Gyges plainly seeing he must either kill Candaules, or inevitably perish, because he had not been permitted to go out, follow'd the Queen to her Bedchamber; where she gave him a Dagger with her own Hand, and plac'd him behind the Door, as Candaules had done. After some Time he went softly to the Bed; kill'd the King as he slept, and posses's'd himself of his Wife and Kingdom. He is mention'd in the Iambick Verses of Archilocus the Parian, who liv'd at the same Time. In this Manner Gyges obtain'd the Kingdom, and was confirm'd in his Acquisition by the Oracle of Delphi. For when the Lydians, highly resenting the Death of Candaules, had assembled together in Arms, an Agreement was at last concluded between them and the Soldiers of Gyges, that if the Oracle should pronounce him King of Lydia, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should restore the Kingdom to the Heraclides. The Answer of the Oracle was favourable to Gyges, and he was universally acknowledg'd to be King. But the Pythian added this Clause; " That " the Heraclides should be aveng'd, in the Time " of the fifth Descendant of Gyges;" tho' neither the Lydians nor their Kings had any
Regard to this Prediction, before it was actually accomplished. Thus the Mermnades depriv’d the Heraclides of the Sovereignty, and made themselves Masters of Lydia.

After Gyges had obtain’d the Kingdom, he sent many Presents to Delphi; for he not only dedicated the greatest part of the Silver seen in that Place, but also made an Offering of a vast Quantity of Gold; among all which nothing better deserves to be remembred, than six Bowls of Gold, weighing thirty Talents, plac’d in the Treasury of the Corinthians; tho’ to say the Truth, that Treasury was not founded by the People of Corinth, but by Cypselus the Son of Ætion. For this Cause Gyges is accounted the first of all the Barbarians we know, who dedicated Donations at Delphi; except only Midas the Son of Gordius King of Phrygia, who presented the Royal Tribunal from whence he us’d to administer Justice, which is a piece of Workmanship that deserves to be consider’d, and stands by the Cups of Gyges. The Gold and Silver, of which these Dedications consist, is call’d Gygian, from the Name of the Donor. He made War against Miletus and Smyrna, and took Colophon by Force; but as he perform’d no other memorable Action during all the Time of his Reign, which was eight and thirty Years, we shall content our selves with what we have said of him, and proceed to give some Account of Ardyes, his Son and Successor; who took the City of Priene, and invaded the Territories of Miletus. In his Time the Cimmerians, who had been disposfes’d of their own Country by the Scythian Nomades, pass’d into Asia, and possefs’d themselves of Sardis, the Fort
Fort only excepted. He reign'd forty nine Years, and his Son Sadyattes succeeded him, and reign'd twelve Years. Alyattes succeeding Sadyattes, made War upon Cyaxares Grandson of Deiocrates, King of the Medes. He expell'd the Cimmerians out of Asia; and having taken the City of Smyrna, founded by the Colophonians, he invaded the Territories of the Clazomenians. But not finding the Event answerable to his Desires, he was oblig'd to return with considerable Loss. He did many other Actions during his Reign, which deserve to be remembred in History. He continued the War which his Father had begun against the Milesians, and entring their Country, distress'd the Inhabitants in this Manner. When their Corn and Fruits were ripe, he took the Field with his Army, attended in his March with Pipes, Harps, and Flutes of both sorts; and advancing into the Territory of the Milesians, he neither demolish'd nor burnt their Country Houses, nor broke their Doors; but suffering all these to stand un-touch'd, he cut down the Trees, destroy'd the Corn upon the Ground, and then return'd home; for he knew 'twas in vain to sit down before the City, because they were Masters of the Sea. He would not destroy their Houses, to the End that the Milesians having those Habititations, might apply themselves to sow and cultivate their Lands, and by that Means he might have something to ravage, when he should invade them with his Army. This War was thus manag'd eleven Years, during which the Milesians receiv'd two great Blows, one at Limeneion within their own Territories, and the other in the Plains of the Maeander. Six of these
these eleven Years Sadyattes the Son of Ardyes, who began the War, and invaded the Milesians with an Army, was King of the Lydians. But during the last five Years, the War was prosecuted with much more Vigour by his Son Alyattes. The Milesians had no Support all that Time from any of the Ionians, except the Chians only, who came to their Assistance, in Requital for the Succour they had receiv'd, when the Erythraeans made War against them. In the twelfth Year when the Army of Alyattes had set Fire to the Corn, the Wind happening to blow hard, carried the Flames to the Temple of Minerva at Assesius, and burnt it to the Ground. This Accident was little regard'd at that Time; but after the Return of Alyattes with his Army, he fell sick at Sardis; and finding his Distemper not easy to remove, he sent to consult the Oracle of Delphi, touching his Condition; either mov'd by his own Judgment, or else by the Persuasion of others. However, when his Messengers arriv'd at Delphi, the Pythian told them she would give no Answer, 'till they should rebuild the Temple of Minerva at Assesius in the Country of the Milesians, which they had burnt. This Relation I had from the Delphians: And the Milesians add, that Periander the Son of Cypselus hearing what Answer had been made to Alyattes, dispatch'd a Messenger to Thraisybulus, Tyrant of Miletus, and his particular Friend, with Advice to make the best Use he might of the present Conjuncture; which according to the Report of the Milesians, he effected in this Manner. When Alyattes had receiv'd Information of what had pass'd at Delphi, he sent Ambassadors
bassadors to Miletus, with Orders to agree upon a Truce with Thrasylulus and the Milesians, for all the Time the Temple should be rebuilding. But, Thrasylulus having had the preceding Intelligence, and perceiving the Design of Alyattes, no sooner heard that the Ambassadors were coming, than he gave Order, that all the Corn which was in the City, either of his own or belonging to private Persons, should be brought into the Market, and that all the Inhabitants should eat and drink cheerfully together, upon a Signal to be given by him. This was done by the Contrivance of Thrasylulus, to the End that the Sardian Ambassadors seeing so great a Quantity of Corn, and the People every where diverting themselves, might make their Report accordingly, which happen'd as he design'd. For when the Ambassadors had seen these Things, and deliver'd their Message to Thrasylulus, they return'd to Sardis; and this alone, as I am inform'd, was the Cause of the ensuing Peace; because Alyattes, who thought the People of Miletus were in extreme Want of Corn, receiv'd a quite contrary Account from his Ambassadors at their Return: By which means an Agreement was made between them, that for the future they should be good Friends and Confederates. Whereupon Alyattes, instead of one, having built two Temples at Alesus, dedicated to Minerva, recover'd his Health: And thus a Period was put to the War, which Alyattes made against Thrasylulus and the Milesians.
PERIANDER the Son of Cypselus, who acquainted Thrasylulus with the Answer of the Oracle, was King of Corinth: And the Corinthians say, that a most astonishing Thing happen'd there in his Time, which is also confirm'd by the Lesbians. Those People give out, that Arion of Methymna, who was Second to none of his Time in playing on the Harp, and first Inventor of Dithyrambicks, both Name and Thing, which he taught at Corinth, was brought by a Dolphin to Tænarus; and thus they tell the Story: Arion having continu'd long with Periander, resolv'd to make a Voyage to Italy and Sicily, where when he had acquir'd great Riches, determining to return to Corinth, he went to Tarentum, and hir'd a Ship of certain Corinthians, because he put more Confidence in them than in any other Nation. But these Men, when they were in their Passage, conspir'd together to throw him into the Sea, that they might get his Money: Which he no sooner understood, than offering them all his Treasure, he only begg'd they wou'd spare his Life. But the Seamen being inflexible, commanded him either to kill himself, that he might be buried ashore, or to leap immediately into the Sea. Arion seeing himself reduc'd to this hard Choice, most earnestly desir'd, that having determin'd his Death, they would permit him to drefs in his richest Apparel, and to sing standing on the Side of the Ship, promising to kill himself when he had done. The Seamen highly pleas'd that they should hear a Song from the best Singer of the World, granted his Request, and went from the Stern to the middle of the Vessel. In the mean Time Arion having put on all
all his Robes, took up his Harp, and began an * Orthian Ode; which when he had finish'd, he leap'd into the Sea as he was dress'd, and the Corinthians continued their Voyage homeward. They say, a Dolphin receiv'd him on his Back, from the Ship, and carried him to Tœnarus; where he went ashore, and thence proceeded to Corinth, without changing his Cloaths; that upon his Arrival there, he told what had happen'd to him; but that Periander giving no Credit to his Relation, put him under a close Confinement, and took especial Care to find out the Seamen: That when they were found and brought before him, he inquir'd of them concerning Arion; and they answer'd, that they had left him with great Riches at Tarentum, and that he was undoubtedly safe in some part of Italy, Arion in that Instant appear'd before them in the very Dress he had on when he leap'd into the Sea; at which they were so astonish'd, that having nothing to say for themselves, they confess'd the Fact. These Things are reported by the Corinthians and Lesbians; in Confirmation of which, a Statue of Arion, made of Brass, and of a moderate Size, representing a Man sitting upon a Dolphin, is seen at Tœnarus. Alyattes the Lydian having put an End to the Miletian War, died, after he had reign'd fifty seven Years. He was the second of his Family that

* Eustathius in his Commentary upon Homer, Page 827. of the Roman Edition, says, the Orthian Song was a kind of Ode contriv'd to inflame the Mind with a Desire of Fighting; and for a Proof adds, that Timotheus using that sort of Mufick in the Presence of Alexander, forc'd him on a sudden to start up and run to his Armi.
made Offerings at Delphi; which he did upon the Recovery of his Health; dedicating a large Silver Ewer, with a Basin of Iron so admirably inlay'd, that 'tis justly esteem'd one of the most curious Pieces of Art among all the Donations at Delphi. This Basin was made by Glaucus the Chian, who first invented the Way of working Iron in that Manner.

After the Death of Alyattes, his Son Cræsus having attain'd the Age of thirty five Years, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and made War upon the Ephesians, before he attack'd any other People of Greece. The Ephesians being besieged by him, consecrated their City to Diana, and tied their Walls by a Rope to her Temple, which was seven Stades distant from the ancient City, then besieged. When Cræsus had reduc'd the Ephesians, he attack'd the several Cities of the Ionians and Æolians one after another, under various Pretences, the best he could find, though some were exceedingly frivolous: And after he had compell'd all the Grecians of Asia to be tributary to him, he form'd a Design to build a Fleet, and by that means to invade the Islanders. But when all Things were prepar'd for the building of Ships, Bias of Priene, (or, as others say, Pittacus of Mitylene,) arriving at Sardis, put a stop to his intended Project. For Cræsus inquiring what News he had from Greece, receiv'd this Answer; "Sir, said he, the Islanders have bought up ten thousand Horses, with Intention to make War upon you, and to attack Sardis." Cræsus thinking he had spoken the Truth, "May the Gods, replied he, inspire the Grecians with a Resolution to attack the Lydians"
It seems then, said Bias, you would wish above all things to see the Islanders on Horseback upon the Continent; and not without reason. But what can you imagine the Islanders will more earnestly desire, after having heard of your resolution to build a Fleet, in order to attack their Islands, than to meet the Lydians by sea; and to revenge the misfortune of those Greeks, who have been enslave'd by you on the Continent? Croesus was so well pleas'd with the acuteness and reason of this discourse, that he not only laid aside the design of building a Fleet, but made an Alliance with all the Ionians who inhabit the Islands. In the course of some years, he became Master of all the Nations that lie within the River Halys, except only the Cilicians and the Lycians: That is to say of the Lydians, the Phrygians, the Myrians, the Mariandynians, the Calybians, the Paphlagonians, the Thracians, the Thymians, the Bithynians, the Carians, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Æolians, and the Pamphylians. When these Nations were subdued, and the power of the Lydians was thus augmented by Croesus, many wise men of that time went from Greece to Sardis, which had then attain'd to the highest degree of prosperity; and among others Solon of Athens, who having made laws for the Athenians at their request, absented himself from his country, under colour of seeing the world, for the space of ten years, that he might not be driven to the necessity of abolishing any of the constitutions he had establish'd. For the Athenians of themselves could make no alteration, having taken a solemn
lemn Oath to observe the Laws he had instituted, during ten Years. With this Intention therefore, and to see the State of Things abroad, Solon went first to the Court of Amasis King of Ægypt, and afterwards to that of Cræsus at Sardis. Cræsus entertain'd him in his Palace with all Humanity, and on the third or fourth Day after his Arrival, order'd his Officers to shew him the Wealth and Magnificence of his Treasury; which when Solon had seen and consider'd, Cræsus said to him; "My Athenian Guest, having heard much Discourse of your Person; of your Wisdom; and of the Voyages you have undertaken, as a Philosopher, to see many Things in various Countries; I am very desirous to ask you, who is the most happy Man you have seen?" This Question he ask'd, because he thought himself the most happy of all Men. But Solon resolving to speak the Truth freely, without flattering the King, answer'd, "Tellus the Athenian." Cræsus astonish'd at his Answer, press'd him to declare what Reasons he had so to extol the Happiness of Tellus. "Because, replied Solon, Tellus liv'd in a well-govern'd Commonwealth; had several Sons who were valiant and good; his Sons had Children like to themselves, and all these surviv'd him; in a Word, when he had liv'd as happily as the Condition of human Affairs will permit, he ended his Life in a glorious Manner. For coming to the Assistance of his Countrymen in a Battle they fought at Eleusis against some of their Neighbours, he put the Enemy to flight, and died in the Field of Victory. He was buried by the Athenians at the publick Charge in the C Place.
"Place where he fell, and was magnificently honour'd at his Funeral." When Solon had said these and many other Things concerning the Felicity of Tellus, Croesus hoping at least to obtain the second Place, ask'd, who of those he had seen might be accounted next to him? "Cleobis, said he, and Biton, two Grecians of Argos, possesst of a plentiful Fortune, and withal so strong and vigorous of Body, that they were both equally victorius in the Olympian Exercises. Of these 'tis reported, that when the Argians were celebrating a Festival of Juno, and their Mother was oblig'd to go to the Temple in a Chariot drawn by a Yoak of Oxen, the two young Men finding that the Oxen were not brought time enough from the Field, and perceiving that the Hour was past, put themselves under the Yoak; drew the Chariot in which their Mother sat forty five Stades, and brought her in that manner to the Temple. After they had done this in the View of a great Concourfe of People met together to celebrate the Festival, a happy Period was put to their Lives; and God determin'd by this Event, that 'tis better for a Man to die than to live. For when the Men of Argos, who stood round, commended the Resolution of the two Brothers, and the Women magnified the Happiness of the Mother of such Sons, the Mother herself transported with Joy by the Action and the Honours she receiv'd on that Account, made it her Petition, as she stand before the Image of the Goddess, that her Sons Cleobis and Biton might be rewarded with that Thing which was.
was of most Advantage to Men. When
she had finish'd her Prayer, and her Sons
had sacrific'd and feasted with her, they fell
asleep in the Temple, and awak'd no more.
upon which the Argians, in Commemora-
tion of their Piety, caus'd their Statutes to be
made and dedicated at Delphi." Thus Solon
having adjudg'd the second Place of Felicity to
Cleobis and Biton, Crœsus said with Indignation,
"Is my Condition then so contemptible in your
Opinion, as not to be thought equal to that
of private Men?" "Crœsus, said Solon,
you ask me concerning human Affairs, and I
answer as one who thinks that all the Gods
are envious and Disturbers of Mankind. For
in the Course of a long Life, Men are con-
strain'd to see many Things they would not
willingly see, and to suffer many Things they
would not willingly suffer. Let us suppose
the Term of Man's Life to be seventy Years,
which consist of twenty five thousand and
two hundred Days, without including the
Intercalary Month; and if we add that
Month to every other Year, in order to fill
up the just Measure of Time, we shall find
thirty five Months more in the seventy Years,
which make one thousand and fifty Days.
Yet in all this Number of twenty six thou-
sand two hundred and fifty Days, that com-
pose these seventy Years, no one Day will be
found like another. So that upon the whole
Matter Mankind is a miserable Thing. You
appear to me to be Master of immense Treas-
ures, and King of many Nations; but I can-
not say that of you which you demand, 'till
I hear you have ended your Life honourably:
"For
For the richest of Men is not more happy than he that lives by the Day, unless his good Fortune attend him to the Grave, and he finish his Life in Honour. Many Men, who abound in Wealth, are unhappy; and many, who have only a moderate Competency, are fortunate. He that abounds in Riches, and is yet unhappy, exceeds the other only in two Things; but the other surpasses him in many more. The wealthy Man indeed is better furnish'd with Means to gratify his Passions, and to bear the Hatred of many. But if the other have not the same Power in these two Points, his good Fortune secures him from the Neccessity of doing either the one or the other. He is free from Troubles; free from Diseases; his Looks are serene; and he has good Children: And if all these Things come at last to be crown'd by a decent End, such a one is the Man you seek, and may justly be call'd happy. For to that Time we ought to suspend our Judgment, and not to pronounce him happy, but only fortunate. Now because no Man can possibly attain to this Perfection of Happines; as no one Region yields all good Things; but produces some and wants others, that Country being ever esteem'd best, which affords the greatest Plen-ty: And farther, because no human Body is in all Respects self-sufficient; but possesting some Advantages, is destitute of others; he therefore, who, after he has most constantly enjoy'd the greatest Part of these, finishes the last Scene of Life with a decent Serenity of Mind, is in my Judgment truly a King, and justly deserves the Name of Happy. For
Men ought to observe the End of all Things; because God frequently brings utter Destruction upon those he has shewn to the World in the Height of Prosperity. Solon having said these Things to Croesus, without the least Flattery or shew of Esteem, was dismiss'd, as a Man of no Experience; who without Regard to present Prosperity, counsell'd Men to observe the End of all Things.

After the Departure of Solon, the Indignation of the Gods fell heavy upon Croesus, probably because he thought himself the most happy of all Men; and as he slept he had a Dream, which pointed out to him the Misfortune that was ready to befall him in the Person of one of his Sons. For Croesus had two Sons, of whom one was dumb and unfit for any Thing; but the other, whose Name was Atys, far surpass'd all the young Men of his Age in rare Endowments. His Dream represented to him his Son Atys mortally wounded with an Iron Lance: So that when he awak'd and had consider'd the Thing, dreading the Consequence of the Vision, he provided a Wife for his Son; would no longer permit him to lead the Armies of the Lydians, as formerly he had done; and caus'd all the Spears, Lances, and other Weapons of War, to be remov'd from the publick Rooms where they hung, and laid up in private Chambers, that none of them might fall upon his Son. But when all Things were prepar'd for the Marriage of Atys, a Phrygian arriv'd at Sardis, of Royal Birth; yet polluted with Blood, and overwhelm'd with Affliction. This Man coming to the Palace of Croesus, desir'd he would purify him according to the Rites of the Coun-
had his Request; and having per-
form'd the usual Ceremonies, ask'd him whence
he came, and who he was; speaking to him in
the following Terms: "I desire to know who
thou art; from what Part of Phrygia thou
art come hither; and what Man or Woman
thou hast kill'd?" The Stranger made An-
twer; "I am, said he, the Son of Gordius,
Grandson to Midas, and my Name is Adrastus.
I kill'd my Brother by Accident, and on
that Account am banish'd by my Father, and
dispossess'd of all." "I perceive, replied
Crasus, you are born of Parents who are our
Friends, and therefore I assure you of your
Welcome. If you will stay with us you shall
want nothing, and if you can bear your Mis-
fortune with Courage, you will be a great
Gainer." So Adrastus resolv'd to stay in the
Court of Cræsus.

At this Time a Boar of a prodigious Bigness
was frequently seen in Mygia, coming down from
Mount Olympus, and destroying the Husbandry
of the Inhabitants. The Myrians had often at-
tack'd him, but always came off with Los,
and could not hurt him. At last they sent De-
puties to Cræsus, who deliver'd their Message in
these Words; "There is, O King, a monstrous
Boar in Mygia, that ravages all the Country;
and tho' we have often endeavour'd to take
him, yet all our Attempts have been unsuc-
cessful. We therefore earnestly beg, that
you would send your Son and some other
chosen young Men with Dogs, that our
Country may be deliver'd from this pernicious
Beast."
Beast." When they had spoken in this Manner, Crœsus remembering his Dream answer'd;

"Make no farther Mention of my Son; for I shall not send him, because he is lately married, and therefore otherwise employ'd. But I will send the most skilful of the Lydians, with Dogs and all Things necessary for hunting, and order them to assist you with their best Endeavours, to free your Country from the Boar." The Mysians were not contented with the Answer of Crœsus, and in that Instant his Son arriv'd, and being inform'd of their Request, and of his Father's Denial to send him with them, he address'd himself to the King in this Manner. "Father, said he, in Time past, I was permitted to signalize myself in the two most noble and most becoming Exercises, of War and Hunting; but now you keep me excluded from both, without having observ'd in me either Cowardise or Abjection of Mind. What Regard will Men have for me when I appear in Publick? What will the People say? And what kind of Man will the Wife I have so lately married think me to be? Either suffer me to go and take Part in this Enterprize, or convince me that you have better Reason to detain me at home." "My Son, answer'd Crœsus, the Resolution I have taken proceeds not from any Thing I have observ'd in you, displeasing to me; but I have been admonish'd in a Dream that you shall not live long, and must die by the Wound of a Spear. For that Reason I hasten'd your Marriage, and now refuse to send you to this Expedition; because during my Life I would take all possible Care to
“to prevent the Danger that threatens you.
“For I esteem you to be my only Son, and have
“no Regard to the other, who is render'd use-
“less by his Defects.” “Indeed, replied the
Youth, “I cannot blame you, if after such a
“Dream you take so much Care to preserve my
“Life: But because you have not discover'd the
“true Meaning, give me leave to be your In-
“terpreter. You say the Dream plainly signi-
“fied that I should die by an Iron Lance:
“But what Hand or what Lance has a Boar,
“to create such Fears in you? Had your Dream
“foretold I should lose my Life by a Tooth,
“or something of like Nature, you ought then
“to have done as you now do; but if I am to
“die by a Lance, you may safely let me go,
“because our Attempt is not to be made against
“Men.” “You have convinc'd me, said Cres-
“fus, “that you rightly understand my Dream;
“and therefore changing my Resolution, I per-
“mit you to undertake this Enterprize.” Thus
Cresfus having given his Consent, call'd for A-
drastrus the Phrygian, and when he came into
his Presence, spoke to him in this Manner;
“Aдрastrus, I receiv'd you in your Distress; I
“purified you from Blood, and now entertain
“you in my House at my Expence; which I
“say, not to upbraid you with Ingratitude;
“but having oblig'd you first by my Kindness,
“I think it just you should make me some Re-
“turn. I beg you would be my Son's Guard
in this Expedition, and take Care that no
“execrable Assasins may from their private
“Haunts surprize and fall upon you by the Way.
“Besides you ought to go for your own Sake,
in order to signalize yourself, and by your
“Actions
"Actions to imitate your Ancestors, because you are not in the Strength and Vigour of your Age." Adrafasus answer'd, "No other Reasons, Sir, could induce me to take part in this Enterprize: For one in my unfortu-nate Circumstances ought not to appear, nor desire to appear among those of his own Years, who are innocent and unblemish'd; and therefore I have often declin'd these Occasions al-ready. Nevertheless, because you so much desire it; and because I ought to shew my Gratitude for the Benefits I have receiv'd from your Hand, I am ready to obey your Order; and assure you no Care shall be wanting on my Part to bring home your Son in Safety."

After Adrafasus had made this Answer to Crœsus, they went away, attended by a chosen Company of young Lydians, and well furnish'd with Dogs for the Chace. When they arriv'd at Mount Olympus, they sought the Boar, and having found him, drew into the Form of a Circle, and from all Sides lanc'd their Javelins at him. Among the rest, the Stranger Adrafasus, who had been already expiated for Blood, throwing his Javelin at the Boar, mis's'd him, and struck the Son of Crœsus; by which Wound the Prediction of the Dream was accomplish'd. Upon this a Messenger ran back to Crœsus, and arriving at Sardis, gave him an Account of the Action, and of his Son's Fate; Crœsus violently disturb'd for the Death of his Son, bore the Disastfer with theless Patience, because he fell by the Hand of one, whom he himself had purified from the Blood he had shed before; and with loud Com plaints of the Indignity of his Misfortune, address'd himself to Jupiter the God of Expiation, attesting
attesting the Calamity brought upon him by this Stranger. He invok'd the same Deity again, by the Name of the God of Hospitality and private Friendship: As the God of Hospitality, because by receiving a Stranger into his House, he had harbour'd the Murderer of his Son: As the God of private Friendship, because he had entrusted the Care of his Son to one, whom he now found to be his greatest Enemy.

After this, the Lydians arriving with the Body of Atys, Adraustus, who had kill'd him, follow'd; and coming into the Presence of Croesus, plac'd himself before the Corpse, holding out both his Hands, and in that Manner surrendering his Person, begg'd of Croesus to kill him upon the dead Body, acknowledging his former Misfortune, and saying he ought to live no longer, since he had taken away the Life of his Benefactor, who had purg'd him from Bloodshed before. When Croesus heard this, tho' his own Affliction was above Measure great, he pitied Adraustus, and said to him, "You have made me full Satisfaction by condemning yourself to die. But no, Adraustus, you were not the Author of this Disaster, for you did the Fact unwillingly. But that God, whoever he was, that foretold my Misfortune, 'twas he that brought it upon me." Croesus celebrated the Funeral of his Son, as the Dignity of his Birth requir'd: But Adraustus, who had kill'd both his Brother and his Benefactor, judging himself the most miserable of all Men; went to the Sepulchre in the dead of Night, and kill'd himself upon the Grave.

CRÆSUS
C R Ö S U S continued disconsolate for the Loss of his Son during two Years; after which, the Prosperity of Cyrus the Son of Cambyes, who had dispossefed Asyages the Son of Cyaxares of his Kingdom, and the growing Greatness of the Persians, interrupted the Course of his Grief; and led him into a solicitous Care, how he might destroy the Persian Power, before it should become more formidable by farther Successes. In these Thoughts he determin'd to make Trial of the Oracles of Greece and Libya; and to that End sent some Persons to Delphi, and to Abe a City of Phocis; others to Amphiaras and Trophonius, and some to Branchis in the Territories of the Milesians. These were the Grecian Oracles, to which Crœsus sent; and at the same Time he dispatch'd other Men to consult that of Ammon in Lybia; designing to try the several Oracles, and if they should be found to give a true Answer, in that Case to send again, to inquire whether he should make War against the Persians. Before he dismiss'd the Lydians on this Message, he order'd, that computing the Days from the Time of their Departure from Sardis, they should in one and the same Day make Trial of all the Oracles, by asking this Question; “What is Crœsus the Son of Alyattes King of Lydia now doing?” Commanding moreover, that they should bring him the Answer of each Oracle in Writing. What were the Answers given by the other Oracles, is mention'd by none: But the Lydians no sooner enter'd the Temple of Delphi to consult the God, and to ask the Question they had in Charge, than the Pythian thus spoke in Heroick Verse.

I
I know the Number of the Lybian Sands;
The Ocean's Measure: I can penetrate
The Secret of the Silent, or the Dumb.
I smell 'tis ascending Odour of a Lamb
And Tortoise in a brazen Cauldron boil'd:
Brass lies beneath, and Brass above the Flesh.

The Lydians having receiv'd and written down
this Answer of the Pythian, return'd to Sardis.
And when the rest, who had been sent to other Places, were arriv'd, Cæsæus open'd and
view'd the Answers they brought, without being satisfied with any. But when he heard
the Words of the Delphian Oracle, acknowledging the Truth they contain'd, he ador'd the
God; believing that alone to be a real Oracle, which had discover'd the Thing he did at Sardis.
For after he had sent the Lydians to consult the Oracles, bearing in Mind the Time that had been fixed, he on that Day took a Lamb and a Tortoise, and boil'd them together in a Cauldron of Brass, which had a Cover of the same Metal; judging it an impossible Thing to imagine or guess at what he was doing. I can say nothing certain touching the Answer given to the Lydians by Amphiaræus, after they had perform'd the Ceremonies requir'd by the Custom of the Place: Only 'tis reported in general, that Cæsæus imputed no Falshood to his Oracle. After these Things he offer'd magnificent Sacrifices to the Delphian God, consisting of three Thousand Head of Cattle; and thinking to render him yet more propitious, he brought out Beds of Gold and Silver; Vials of Gold; with Robes of Purple, and other rich Apparel; and burnt
burnt all together on a Pile of Fire which he had prepar'd to that End; commanding all the Lydians to imitate his Example. In this Offering so great a Quantity of Gold was melted down, that one Hundred and seventeen Tiles were made out of it; of which the longest were six Palms in Length; the shortest three; and both sorts one Palm in Thickness. Four of these were of pure Gold, each weighing two Talents and a half; the rest were of a paler Gold, and weigh'd two Talents each. He also caus'd the Figure of a Lion to be made of fine Gold, weighing ten Talents; but while the Temple of Delphi was burning, the Lion fell down from the Tiles, on which it stood to that Time, and lies now in the Treasury of the Corinthians, reduc'd to the Weight of six Talents and a half, the rest having been melted off by the Fire. When these Things were finish'd, Crœsus sent them to Delphi, accompany'd with many other Donations, among which were two large Bowls, one of Gold and the other of Silver. That of Gold was plac'd on the right Hand as Men go into the Temple, and that of Silver on the left; but they were both remov'd when the Temple was burnt; and the golden Bowl, weighing eight Talents and a half and twelve Mines, is laid up in the Treasury of Clezomene; the other of Silver, containing six Hundred Amphoras, lies in a Corner of the Portico, and is us'd at Delphi for mixing the Wine on the Festival call'd Theophanea. The Delphians say it was made by Theodorus the Samian; which I think probable, because to me it appears to be the Work of an uncommon Hand. He also presented four Vessels of
of Silver, which are plac'd in the Treasury of the Corinthians; and gave two round Basons to contain the Holy Water us'd in the Temple, one of Gold, and the other of Silver. On the Bason of Gold is an Inscription, which attributes that Donation to the Lacedemonians; but wrongfully; for it was given by Croesus; though a certain Delphian, whose Name I know, and am not willing to mention, engrav'd those Words, in order to please the Lacedemonians. They gave indeed the Boy, through whose Hand the Water runs; but neither the one nor the other of the Basons. At the same Time Croesus sent many other Presents of less Value; with divers round Dishes of Silver; and the Image of a Woman, three Cubits high, which the Delphians say represents the Person that prepar'd his Bread: And to all these Things he added the Necklaces and Girdles of his Wife. These were the Donations he dedicated at Delphi; and to Amphiaras, on Account of his Virtue and Sufferings, he sent a Shield and a Spear, both of solid Gold, which remain to this Day at Thebes in the Temple of Ifmenian Apollo.

When the Lydians were upon their Departure, charg'd with these Presents for the two Oracles; Croesus commanded them to inquire of both, if he should undertake a War against the Persians, and if he should invite any other Nation to his Assistance. Accordingly arriving in the Places to which they were sent, they consulted the Oracles in these Words; "Croesus King of the Lydians and of other Nations, esteeming these to be the only Oracles among Men, sends these Presents in-
"Acknowledgment of the Thing you have discover'd; and demands, whether he shall lead an Army against the Persians, and whether he shall join any auxiliary Forces with his own?" To these Questions both the Oracles gave a like Answer, and foretold, "That if Crœsus would make War upon the Persians, he should destroy a great Empire;" counselling him at the same Time to engage the most powerful of the Grecians in his Alliance. When these Answers were brought and reported to Crœsus, he became so elevated, that not doubting to destroy the Kingdom of Cyrus, he sent more Presents to Delphi; and caus'd two Staters of Gold to be distributed to each of the Inhabitants, whose Number he had already learnt. In Consideration of which, the Delphians granted to Crœsus and the Lydians a Right to consult the Oracle, and to be dismiss'd before any other Nation; together with the first Place in the Temple; and the Privilege of being made Citizens of Delphi, to as many as should desire it in all future Time.

CRŒSUS having made these Presents at Delphi, sent a third Time to consult the Oracle. For after he had satisfied himself of the Oracle's Veracity, he was not sparing of his Questions. His Demand now was, whether he should long enjoy the Kingdom; to which the Pythian gave this Answer,

When o'er the Medes a Mule shall reign as King, Learn thou the Name of Coward to despise; And on thy tender Feet, O Lydian, fly To stony Hermus, and his Fury shun.
This Answer being brought to Croesus, pleas'd him much more than those he had receiv'd before. For he presum'd that a Mule should never be King of the Medes, and consequently that neither he nor his Posterity should ever be depriv'd of the Kingdom. In the next place he began to consider how he might induce the most powerful of the Grecians to be his Confederates; and upon Inquiry found that the Lacedemonians and Athenians were the principal Nations of Greece, the first being of Dorian, and the other of Ionian Descent. They were in ancient Time esteem'd the most considerable, when they went under the Names of Pelasgians and Hellenians; of which the latter constantly continued in one Country, while the former very often chang'd their Seat: For under the Reign of Deucalion the Pelasgians inhabited the Country of Pthiotis; and in the Time of Dorus the Son of Hellenes posses'd that Region which is call'd Ithiatis, lying at the Foot of the Mountains Ossa and Olympus. From thence being expell'd by the Cadmæans, they betook themselves to Macednum on Mount Pindus; which Place they afterwards abandon'd for another Settlement in Dryopis; and again changing their Country, came to inhabit in Peloponesus, where they were call'd Dorians. What Language the Pelasgians us'd I cannot certainly affirm; but if I may form a Conjecture by that which at present is spoken among those Pelasgians, who being now settled at Crotona beyond the Tyrrenians, were formerly Neighbours to those call'd at this Day Dorians, and dwelt in Thessaly when the Pelasgians founded Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, and liv'd in Society with the Athenians: If, I say, adding
adding to these such other Pelasgian Cities as have alter'd their Name, I may be permitted to give my Conjecture, the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous Language. And if the whole Pelasgian Body did so; the People of Attica, who are descended from them, must have unlearnt their own Mother Tongue, after they took the Name of Grecians. For the Language of the Crotoneians and of the Placians is the same; but different from that of all their Neighbours. By which it appears they have taken Care to preserve the Language they brought with them into those Places. But the Hellenians, as I think, have from the Time they were People, us'd the same Language they now speak: And tho', when separated from the Pelasgians, they were at first of no considerable Force; yet from a small Beginning they advance'd to a mighty Power, by the Conjunction of many Nations, as well Barbarians as others. Whereas, on the other hand, the Pelasgians being a barbarous Nation, seem to me never to have risen to any considerable Grandeur.

CRÆSUS had heard that the People of Attica, one of these Nations, was oppress'd under the Tyranny of Pisistratus the Son of Hippocrates then reigning in Athens: To this Hippocrates, a strange Prodigy happen'd, while as a private Man he was present at the Olympian Exercises. For having kill'd a Victim, and put the Flesh with Water into a Cauldron, the Liquor boil'd over without Fire. Chilon the Lacedemonian, who was accidentally there, and saw the Prodigy, advis'd Hippocrates not to marry any Woman by whom he might have Children; or, if he was already married, to divorce
orce his Wife; and if he had a Son, to abdi-
cate him. But Hippocrates not persuaded by
the Counsel of Chilon, had afterwards a Son,
whom he brought up, and nam’d Pisistratus.
After these Things, a Sedition happening be-
tween the Paralians led by Megacles the Son of
Alcmaeon, and the Pedieans headed by Lycur-
gus the Son of Aristolaides; Pisistratus design-
ing to make himself Tyrant, form’d a third
Party, and having assembled his Partizans un-
der Colour of protecting the Hyperacrians,
contriv’d this Stratagem. He wounded himself
and his Mules; and driving his Chariot into the
publick Place, as if he had escap’d from En-
emies that design’d to murder him in his Way to
the Country, he besought the People to grant
him a Guard, relying much on the Reputation
he had acquir’d, as well in the Expedition of
Megara, as by the taking of Nisaea, and other
signal Successes. With these Pretences the Peo-
ple of Athens were deluded, and appointed
some chosen Men of the City for his Guard,
who were to attend him arm’d with Clubs, and
not with Javelins. Nevertheless, by the Help
of this Guard Pisistratus seiz’d the Acropolis,
and then posses’d himself of the whole Power;
yet he neither disturb’d the ancient Magis-
tracies, nor alter’d the Laws; but leaving Things
as they were, administer’d the Government
with Order and Moderation. Notwithstanding
which, the Parties of Megacles and Lycurgus
being some Time after reconcil’d, join’d toge-
ther and drove him out. In this Manner Pi-
sistratus first made himself Master of Athens,
and was disposset’sd before his Power was well
establisht’d. But new Dissentions arising between
those
those who expell'd him, Megacles weary of such Disorders, sent a Message to Pisistratus, offering him the Dominion of Athens, if he would marry his Daughter. Pisistratus accepted the Proposition; and, in order to his Restitution, they two contriv'd the most ridiculous Project, that, I think, was ever imagin'd: Especially if we consider that the Grecians have long been accounted much more acute and free from all stupid Simplicity than the Barbarians; and that the Authors of this Contrivance were Athenians, who are esteem'd among the wisest of the Grecians. Phya, a Woman of the Pæanean Tribe, was four Cubits high, wanting three Digits, and in other Respects beautiful: This Person they dress'd in a compleat Suit of Armour; plac'd her on a Chariot; and having dispos'd all Things in such a Manner as might make her appear with all possible Advantage, they conducted her towards the City, sending Heralds before, with Order to speak to the People in these Terms; “Give a kind Reception, O Athenians, to Pisistratus, who is so much honour'd by Minerva above all other Men, that she her self condescends to bring him back to her Acropolis.” When the Heralds had publish'd this in several Places; the Report was presently spread through the adjoining Parts, that Minerva was bringing home Pisistratus; and in the City the Multitude believing this Woman to be the Goddess, address'd her with Prayers, and readily receiv'd Pisistratus; who having thus recover'd the Tyranny, married the Daughter of Megacles in Performance of his Agreement. But because he had Sons already; and knew besides, that the Alcmæonides were reported to be guilty of an unexpiated Crime,
Crime, he resolv'd to have no Children of this Marriage, and therefore would not use the Company of his new Wife according to Custom. The Woman for some Time conceal'd the Thing; but afterwards, either mov'd by her Mother's Sollicitation, or other Reasons, discover'd it to her, and she to her Husband. Megacles highly resenting the Disgrace, and transported with Anger against Pisistratus, reconcile'd himself to the adverse Party; which Pisistratus understanding to be done in Enmity to him, he withdrew quite out of the Country, and arriving in Eretria, consulted with his Sons about the State of their Affairs. In this Consultation the prevailing Opinion was that of Hippias, who advis'd to attempt the Reduction of Athens. Pursuant to whose Counsel, they sollicited the Cities, where they had an Interest, to supply them with Money; and many gave great Sums; but the Thebans surpass'd the rest in Liberality.

To be short, when all Things were ready for the Expedition, they were join'd by some Argian Troops which they had hir'd in Peloponnesus; and by Lygdamis a Naxian, who to their great Satisfaction came voluntarily in, and brought both Men and Money to their Assistance. In the eleventh Year of their Exile, departing from Eretria they arriv'd in Attica, and in the first Place posses'd themselves of Marathon: Where while they lay encamp'd, they were join'd not only by their seditious Partizans of the City; but by great Numbers from the adjoining Parts, who were more fond of Slavery than of Liberty. On the other Hand, the Athenians had shewn very little Concern all the Time Pisistratus was solliciting for Money; or even when he made himself
self Master of Marathon. But when they heard he was marching directly for Athens, they assembled all their Forces to defend themselves, and to repel the Invader. In the mean Time Pisistratus advancing with his Army from Marathon, arriv’d at the Temple of the Pallenian Minerva; and after they had plac’d their Arms before the Gates, Amphilytus a Prophet of Acarnania, by divine Impulse, went to him, and pronounced this Oracle in Hexameter Verse.

The Net is spread, and dextrously thrown;
By the clear Moonlight shall the Tunnies come.

When the Prophet had deliver’d these Words, Pisistratus comprehending the Oracle, and saying he accepted the Omen, broke up with his Army. In the mean Time the Athenians having drawn their Forces out of the City, and taken their Dinner, betook themselves afterwards to Dice or Sleep. So that the Army of Pisistratus falling upon them by Surprize, soon put them to Flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their Escape, Pisistratus contriv’d an artful Stratagem, in order to disperse them so entirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his Sons to ride before with Speed, and in his Name to inform all those they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every Man might return to his own Habitation. The Athenians readily embracing the Opportunity, Pisistratus took a third Time Possession of Athens; and establish’d himself more firmly in the Tyranny, partly by the Assistance of auxiliary Forces, and partly by Revenues collected at Home, or brought from the River Strymon.
Strymon. He compell'd those who resist'd in the Battle, and had not presently fled out of the Field, to deliver up their Sons to him as Hostages, and sent them to Naxus; which Island he had formerly conquer'd, and put into the Hands of Lygdamis. He likewise purify'd the Island of Delos, as he had been admonish'd by an Oracle; causing the dead Bodies to be taken up, and remov'd from all Places that lay within the Prospect of the Temple. In this Manner Pisistratus recover'd the Dominion of Athens; many of the Athenians having been kill'd in the Fight, and many others leaving the Country with the Alcmæonides.

CRÆSUS receiv'd Information that this was the present Condition of the Athenians; and that the Lacedemonians having extricat'd themselves out of great Difficulties, had been at last victorious against the Tegeans. For in the Time of Leon and Hegesicles, Kings of Sparta, they were successful in all other Wars except only against that People. But before their Reign, they had been the most disorderly People of all Greece; without any good Correspondence either among themselves, or with Strangers; 'till better Orders and Discipline were introduc'd by Lycurgus, in this Manner. Lycurgus, who was a Man much esteem'd in Sparta, arriving at Delphi to consult the Oracle; no sooner entred the Temple, than the Pythian spoke these Words,

Welcome, Lycurgus, to this happy Place;
Thou Favourite of Heav'n: I doubting stand,
Whether I shall pronounce thee God or Man:
Inclining yet to think thou art a God.

Some
Some Men say, that besides this, the Pythian at the same Time communicated to him that Form of good Government, which is now observ’d in Sparta. But the Lacedemonians affirm, that Lycurgus, being both Uncle and Tutor to Leobotes King of Sparta, brought those Institutions from Crete. However, after he had undertaken the Guardianship, he alter’d all their Customs, and caus’d his own Regulations to be punctually obey’d. He form’d a Militia, divided into Companies under distinct Names; establishing the Order of eating together in publick; and constituted the Ephori and the Senate: Which Change of Government was attended by such good Consequences, that the Lacedemonians built a Temple to Lycurgus after his Death, and paid him divine Honours. In a short Time, assisted by the natural Goodness of their Country, and Increase of their People, they grew considerable: And having attain’d to a great Measure of Prosperity, could be no longer contented to live in Peace; but thinking themselves more valiant than the Arcadians, sent to consult the Oracle of Delphi, touching the Conquest of all their Country, and receiv’d this Answer:

To ask Arcadia is a high Demand:
A hardy Race of Men defend that Land.
But against Tegca if thou wilt advance,
Upon her Plains thy sounding Feet shall dance;
And with a Line thou shalt trace out the Soil.

When the Lacedemonians heard the Report of their Messengers, they laid aside their Design against all Arcadia; and relying on this equivocal
cal Oracle, led an Army against Tegea only; carrying Fetters with them in their March, as if they had been sure of making all the Tegeans Prisoners. But coming to a Battle, they themselves were defeated, and all that were taken alive being bound with the same Fetters they brought, were compell'd to labour, and so to measure the Lands of the Country. Those Fetters were afterwards hung up by the Tegeans in the Temple of the Haliaean Minerva, and continued there to our Time. In this first War, which the Lacedemonians made against Tegea, they were always unprosperous; but in the Time of Croesus, and during the Reign of Anaxandrides and Arisbon, Kings of Sparta, they had better Success; by these Means: Having consider'd that they had always been beaten by the Tegeans, they sent to enquire of the Oracle at Delphi, what God they should address, in order to be victorious against that People. The Pythian answer'd, they should then be successful, when they should carry back the Bones of Orestes the Son of Agamemnon, to Sparta. The Lacedemonians not knowing where to find the Sepulchre of Orestes, sent again to inquire of the God in what Country he lay interr'd; and receiv'd this Answer by the Mouth of the Pythian:

In the Arcadian Plains lies Tegea,
Where two impetuous Winds are forc'd to blow:
Form resists Form: Mischief on Mischief strikes.
Here Mother Earth keeps Agamemnon's Son;
Carry him off, and be victorious.

The Lacedemonians having heard this Answer, were no less in Pain than before, tho' they us'd all
all possible Diligence in searching for the Sepulchre of Orestes: Till Liches, one of those Spartans who are call'd Agathoergoi (or well-deserving,) found it by an Accident. These Agathoergoi consist of Citizens who have serv'd in the Cavalry till they attain a considerable Age; and then five of the eldest are yearly exempted from that Duty; and that they may be still useful to the State, are sent Abroad during the first Year of their Dismission. Liches was one of these Persons, and his Prudence was not inferior to his good Fortune on this Occasion. For as the Lacedemonians had still the Liberty of going to Tegea, Liches was there at that Time; and entering one Day into the Shop of a Smith, attentively consider'd the Art of the Master in shaping his Iron: Which when the Artificer observ'd he ceas'd from his Work, and said; "You seem, Laconian Stranger, to admire my Work; but if you knew a certain Thing I know, you would be much more astonish'd. For as I was sinking a Well in this Inclosure, I found a Coffin seven Cubits long: And because I could not think that Men were ever of a higher Stature than in our Time, I open'd the Coffin, which I saw exactly fitted to the Body: And after I had taken the just Measure, I cover'd all again with Earth." Liches reflecting on his Discourse, conjectur'd from the Words of the Oracle, that this was the Body of Orestes; not doubting that the Smith's Bellows he saw, were the two Winds; the Anvil and Hammer the two contending Forms; and that the shaping of Iron was signified by the redoubled Mischiefs mention'd in the Oracle; because he imagin'd that the
the Invention of Iron had been destructive to Men. Having consider'd these Things, he return'd to Sparta, and gave the Lacedemonians an Account of the whole Matter; which when they had heard, they contriv'd in Concert with Licbes, to charge him with a fictitious Crime; and under that Colour banish'd him. The Spartan arriving in Tegea, related his Misfortune to the Smith; and hir'd the Inclosure of him, because he would not fell it. But after he had persuad'd him, and inhabit'd there for some Time, he open'd the Sepulchre; and having collected all the Bones, carried them away with him to Sparta. From that Time the Lacedemonians were always superior in War to the Tegeans; and besides, they had already subdued many Countries of Peloponnesus.

Crœsus being inform'd of all these Things, sent Ambassadors to the Spartans, with Presents, and Orders to desire their Alliance: Who when they were arriv'd, deliver'd their Message, as they were instructed, in these Words; "Cræsus King of the Lydians and of other Nations, having consult'd the Oracle, has been admonish'd to make the Grecians his Friends; and knowing you, O Lacedemonians, to be the principal People of Greece, has sent us to tell you, that in Obedience to the God he offers to become your Ally and Confederate without Fraud or Artifice." The Lacedemonians, who had Notice of this Oracle before, were pleas'd with the coming of the Lydians, and readily enter'd into a League of Amity and mutual Assistance with Cræsus; from whom they had formerly receiv'd some Kindness. For when they had resolv'd to erect that Statue of Gold to Apollo,
Apollo, which now stands at Thornace in Laconia, and dispatch’d certain Persons to purchase a sufficient Quantity at Sardis, Cræsus presented them with as much Gold as was necessary to that End. For which Cause, and the Honour he had done them in desiring their Friendship preferably to all the rest of the Grecians, they accepted the Offer of his Alliance; engaging to be ready with their Forces whenever he should desire their Assistance. And that they might make him some other Return, they caus’d a Basin to be made of Brass, capable of containing three hundred Amphoras, and wrought all over the exterior Part with the Figures of various Animals, which they sent away in order to be presented to Cræsus. But the Basin never reach’d Sardis, for one of these two Reasons: The Lacedemonians on their Part say, that the Samians being inform’d of their Design, fitted out divers long Ships; and falling upon them in the Road of Samos, robb’d them of the Present. On the other hand the Samians affirm, that the Lacedemonians, who were charg’d with the Basin, came too late; and hearing that Sardis was taken, and Cræsus himself made Prisoner, sold the intended Present at Samos to some private Persons, who dedicated it in the Temple of Juno: And that possibly when they were return’d to Sparta, they might say the Samians had taken it away.

In the mean time Cræsus mistaking the Oracle, resolv’d to invade Cappadocia with an Army, in hope to destroy the Power of Cyrus and of the Persians; and whilst he was preparing all Things for his Expedition, a Lydian nam’d Sandanis, who before that Time was esteem’d a wife Man, and
and on this Occasion acquire'd a great Addition of Reputation, gave him Advice in these Words: "O King, you are preparing to make War against a People who have no other Cloathing than Skins; who inhabit a barren Country; and eat not the Things they would chuse, but such as they can get. They use Water for Drink, and have neither Wine nor Figs, nor any delicious Thing among them. What Advantage can you gain by the Conquest of so poor a People? But if you are conquer'd, consider what your Condition will be. When they come to taste of our voluptuous Way of Living, they will establish themselves in this Country, and we shall never be able to drive them out. As for me, I thank the Gods that they have not inspir'd the Persians with Thoughts of attacking us." But all this was not sufficient to dissuade Croesus from making War against the Persians, who before they conquer'd the Lydians, possess'd nothing either delicious or commodious.

The Cappadocians, by the Grecians call'd Syrians, were subject to the Medes before the Establishment of the Persian Power; and in the Time of this War were under the Dominion of Cyrus. For the Kingdoms of Media and Lydia are separated by the River Halys, which descending from the Mountains of Armenia, passes thro' Cilicia; and leaving the Matienians on the Right and the Phrygians on the left Hand, tends to the Northward, and divides the Syrians of Cappadocia from the Paphlagonians; the former inhabiting on the Right, and the latter on the Left of that Stream. In this Manner the River Halys divides almost all the lower Asia, from the Cyprian
priam to the Euxin Sea, which is in Length as much as a strong Man can travel over in five Days. Cræsus was indeed very desirous to add the Country of Cappadocia to his own Territories; but his Confidence in the Oracle, and great Inclination to revenge the Disposition of Astyages upon Cyrus, were the principal Causes that induc'd him to invade the Cappadocians. For Cyrus the Son of Cambyses had defeated and taken Astyages the Son of Cyaxares, who was King of the Medes, and nearly related to Cræsus; in the following Manner. Upon a Sedition which happen'd amongst the Scythian Nomades, a Party of them escap'd into Media, where Cyaxares the Son of Phraortes, and Grandson to Dioces, was then King; who considering their Distress, receiv'd them at first with great Humanity; and having entertain'd a good Opinion of them, entrusted to their Care divers Youths, to learn the Use of the Bow and the Scythian Tongue. These Strangers exercis'd themselves with frequent Hunting, and were ever accustomed to return with Prey. But one Day, when they had taken nothing, and came back with empty Hands, Cyaxares, who, as plainly appear'd, was of a violent Temper, treated them with most opprobrious Language. The Scythians resenting this Usage with great Indignation, agreed among themselves to kill one of the Youths that were educated under their Care, and to prepare his Flesh for Cyaxares as they us'd to dress his Venison; and then to make their Escape immediately to Alyattes the Son of Sadyattes King of Lydia. These Things they executed as they design'd: Cyaxares and those who sat with him at the Table, tasted of the Flesh; and the Scythians
thians flying to Sardis, implor'd the Protection of Alyattes. After this Cyaxares sent to demand the Scythians; but not prevailing with Alyattes to deliver them up, he made War against him five Years with various Success, the Medes sometimes defeating the Lydians, and sometimes being defeated by them; during which Time, they fought once by Night. In the sixth Year, Things being hitherto well near equal on both sides, they came to another Battle, and whilst they were contending for Victory, the Day was suddenly turn'd into Night; which Alteration Thales the Milesian had foretold to the Ionians, and nam'd the Year when it should happen. The Lydians and Medes seeing Darkness succeeding in the Place of Light, desisted from fighting, and shew'd a great Inclination on both sides to make Peace. Syennenus of Celitia, and Labynetus the Babylonian were the Mediators of their Reconciliation: And because important Agreements require strong Securities, they not only oblig'd them to confirm the Treaty by Oath, but persuaded Alyattes to give his Daughter Aryenis in Marriage to Astyages the Son of Cyaxares. These Nations in their Federal Contracts observe the same Ceremonies as in Greece; except only, that both Parties cut themselves on the Arm till the Blood gushes out, and then mutually lick it from the Wounds.

When Cyrus had conquer'd and confin'd Astyages his Grandfather by the Mother, for Reasons which I shall hereafter relate, Cræsus was so much offended with him, that he sent to consult the Oracle, if he should make War against the Persians; and having receiv'd an illu-utory Answer, which he interpreted to his own Advantage,
Advantage, he led his Army towards their Territories. When he arriv'd at the River Halys, he caus'd his Forces to pass over, as I believe, by Bridges which were then built. But the common Opinion of the Grecians is, that Thales the Milesian procur'd him a Passage by other Means. For, say they, whilst Crœsus was in great Pain how his Army should pass over the River, on which no Bridges were then built, Thales, who was in his Camp, caus'd the Stream which ran along the Left of his Army, to pass likewise on the Right by this Invention. They began a deep Trench by his Direction at the Head of the Camp, which they carried round by the Rear in the Form of a Halfmoon to the antient Channel; and the Stream being thus suddenly divided, was found fordable in both Parts. Some say, that the antient Channel of the River became quite dry; but I cannot assent to their Opinion: For how then could those repass, who return'd from that Expedition? However, Crœsus having pass'd the River, enter'd with his Army into the Country of Pteria, the most populous Part of Cappadocia, and lying near the City of Sinope, which is situate on the Euxin Sea. Encamping in that Region he ravag'd the Lands of the Syrians; took the chief City of the Pterians, which he pillag'd, with all the adjacent Places, and expelled the Inhabitants, who had given him no Cause of Discontent.

Cyrus being inform'd of these Things, assembled his Army, and taking with him the Forces of those Countries thro' which he was to pass, resolv'd to march towards the Enemy. But before he began to advance, he sent Heralds to
to the Ionians, to persuade them to revolt from Crœsus, and receiv'd a positive Denial. When he arriv'd within View of the Enemy, he en-camp'd in the Territories of Pteria, and after several Skirmishes, the two Armies came to a bloody Battle; which continued with great Slaughter on both Sides, till Night parted them, and left it undetermin'd who had the better. But Crœsus being dissatisfied to see his Forces much inferior in Number to those of Cyrus, as indeed they were, and finding nothing attempted against him the Day after the Battle, retir'd to Sardis with his Army, designing to send to the Ægyptians for Succour, pursuant to the Confederacy he had made with Amasis King of Ægypt, before he treated with the Lacedemonians. In like manner, because the Babylonians, with their King Labynetus, were also his Allies, he resolv'd to require their Assistance, and to fix a Time for the coming of the Lacedemonians; determining with these Forces and his own to attack the Persians in the Beginning of the next Spring. With this Design he return'd Home; and after he had dispatch'd Ambassadors to his Confederates to require them to send their Forces to Sardis before the End of five Months, he separated his Army which had fought against the Persians, and sent Home all the foreign Troops; not imagining that Cyrus, who had not been able to beat him in the Field, would venture to advance to Sardis. While these Things were in Agitation, a great Number of Serpents were seen in the Lands about Sardis; which when the Horses found, they left their Pasture, and eat as many as they could take. Crœsus, not without Reason, thinking this to be
be a Prodigy, sent to consult the Interpreters at Telmissus by certain Persons, who arriving in that Place, receiv’d the Answer of the Telmissians; but could not deliver it to Crœsus, because he was taken Prisoner before they return’d to Sardis. The Interpretation of the Telmissians was that the Kingdom of Crœsus should soon be invaded by a foreign Army, which should conquer the Natives; because, said they, the Serpent is a Son of the Earth, and the Horse is an Enemy and a Stranger. This Answer they gave after the Disaster of Crœsus; yet without knowing what had happen’d to him and to Sardis.

CYRUS being inform’d that Crœsus was retir’d after the Battle of Pteria, with Design to separate his Army, call’d a Council, and resolv’d to march with all possible Expedition to Sardis, that he might surprize the Enemy, before the Lydian Forces could be drawn together; which Resolution was executed with so great Diligence, that Cyrus himself at the Head of his Army brought thither the News of his own Enterprize. Crœsus, tho’ extremely alarm’d at an Attempt which he neither foresaw nor expected, drew out the Lydians into the Field, who in that Time were as brave and warlike a People as any other of all Asia. They fought on Horseback arm’d with strong Lances, and manag’d their Horses with admirable Address. The Place where they assembled was a spacious Plain, lying before the City, and water’d by divers Rivers, particularly by the Hellus, which runs into the greatest of all call’d the Hermus. This River descending from a Mountain, sacred to Cybele Mother of the Gods, falls into the Sea near
near the City of Phocia. Cyrus seeing the Lydians drawn up in order of Battle, and apprehending the Efforts of their Horse, by the Suggestion of Harpagus a Mede made use of this Stratagem. He order'd all the Camels that follow'd the Army with Provisions and Baggage, to be brought together; and having caus'd their Loading to be taken down, commanded Men cloth'd after the Manner of the Cavalry to mount those Animals, and to march in the Van of his Forces against the Lydian Horse. Behind the Camels he plac'd his Infantry, and all his Cavalry in the Rear. And having made this Disposition, he gave out strict Order thro' the whole Army, not to spare any Lydian they should meet, Crœsus only excepted, whom they were forbidden to kill, even tho' he should resist single. Cyrus plac'd the Camels in the Front of his Army, in order to render useless the Enemies Cavalry, by which the Lydian hop'd to obtain a glorious Victory; for a Horse is afraid of a Camel, and cannot bear either to see or smell him. Accordingly the Battle no sooner began, than the Horses, impatient of the Scent and Sight of the Camels, turn'd their Heads and ran away; which Crœsus observing, gave all his Hope for lost. Nevertheless the Lydians, who perceiv'd the Cause of what had happen'd, were not presently discourag'd, but dismounting from their Horses, renew'd the Fight on Foot; till at last, after an obstinate Dispute, in which great Numbers fell on both Sides, they fled to Sardis, and shutting themselves up within the Walls of the City, were soon besieg'd by the Persians.
C L I O.

CRÆSUS thinking the Siege would be long, sent again to his Allies, and in Place of desiring their Assistance within five Months, solicited them to succour him with all Expedition, because he was already besieg'd in Sardis. Among the rest of his Confederates, he sent to the Lacedemonians; who at the same Time had a Contest with the Argians, about the Country of Thyrea, which the Spartans had seiz'd, tho' of Right belonging to Argos. And indeed, whatever lies Westward of that City, even to Malea, on the Continent, together with Cythera, and the other Islands, belongs to the Argians. This Affair depending, the Argians advanc'd with their Forces to recover Thyrea; but upon a Conference, the contending Parties agreed, that three Hundred Men on each Side should determine the Dispute by Combat, and the Country be adjudg'd to the Victorious. Yet in the first Place, both Armies were to depart, lest either Side finding their Countrymen in Distress, might come in to their Assistance. This Agreement being made, and the Armies retir'd, the Fight began; and was maintain'd with such equal Valour, that of the six Hundred, three Men only were left alive: Neither had these all surviv'd, if Night coming on had not sav'd them. Two of the three were Argians, Alcinor and Chromius by Name, who thinking themselves victorious ran to Argos with the News. But Othryades, the only Survivor on the Part of the Lacedemonians, after he had collected the Spoil of the Argians, and carried all their Arms into the Spartan Camp, continued in the Field. The next Day both Armies being inform'd of the Event, met again in the same Place, and both laid Claim,
Claim to the Victory. The Argians alleged, that they had more than one left alive. But the Lacedemonians urged, that the surviving Argians ran away; and that their Countryman alone had kept the Field and pillaged the dead. From Words they betook themselves to their Arms; and after a bloody Fight, in which many were killed on both sides, the Lacedemonians obtained the Victory. Upon this Disaster, the Argians cutting off their Hair, which to that Time they had been obliged to wear of a considerable Length, agreed to a Law, and made a solemn Vow, that they would not suffer their Hair to grow long, nor permit their Women to dress with Ornaments of Gold, till they should recover Thyrea. On the other Hand, the Lacedemonians made a contrary Order, enjoining all their People to wear long Hair, which they had never done before. As for Othryades, who was the only surviving Spartan of the three Hundred, they say, he killed himself at Thyrea, ashamed to return home after the Slaughter of all his Companions.

The Affairs of the Lacedemonians were in this Condition, when the Sardian Ambassador arriving in Sparta, pray’d their Assistance on the Part of Cræsus, who was besieged in Sardis; which they no sooner heard, than they resolved to succour him. But when they had made ready their Ships, and prepared all Things for the Expedition, they were informed by another Message, that the City of Sardis was taken, and Cræsus himself made Prisoner; which they took for a great Misfortune, and desisted from their Enterprise. The City of Sardis was taken in this Manner. On the fourteenth Day of the Siege, Cyrus
Cyrus order'd Proclamation to be made by Men on Horseback throughout his Camp, that he would liberally reward the Man who should first mount the Enemies Walls: Upon which several Attempts were made, and as often fail'd; 'till, after the rest had desisted, one Hyræades a Mardian found a Way to climb an Ascent on that Side of the Castle, which having been always judg'd impracticable and secure from all Attacks, was not defended by any Guard. To this Part alone of all the Fortifications, Males a former King of Sardis, never brought his Son Leo, whom he had by a Concubine; though the Telmissians had pronounc'd, that if he were carried quite round the Works, Sardis should be for ever impregnable; but having caus'd him to be brought to every other Part of the Place, totally neglected this, which faces the Mountain Tmolus, as altogether insuperable and inaccessible. Hyræades the Mardian had seen a Lydian come down this Precipice the Day before, to take up a Helmet that was drop'd, and after he had attentively observ'd and consider'd the Thing, he ascended the same Way, follow'd by divers Persians; and being soon supported by greater Numbers, the City of Sardis was thus taken and plunder'd.

CRÆSUS, as I have already said, had a Son who was dumb, though in all other Respects commendable; and as in the Time of his Prosperity, he omitted nothing that might contribute to deliver him from that Infirmity, among other Experiments, he sent to consult the Oracle of Delphi concerning him, and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian;
HERODOTUS. Book I.

O too imprudent Lydian! Wist no more
The charming Sound of a Son's Voice to hear:
Better for thee, could Things rest as they are;
For in an evil Day he first shall speak.

Upon the taking of the City, a certain Persian
not knowing Crœsus, advanc'd to kill him; and
when he, not caring to survive that Disaster,
eglected to avoid the Blow, his speechless Son,
seeing the Soldier ready to strike, and fearing
for the Life of his Father, in that Instant cried
out, Man, kill not Crœsus. These were the
first Words he ever utter'd; but from that
Time he continued to speak readily during all
the rest of his Life. In this Manner the Persians became Masters of Sardis, and made Crœsus their Prisoner; who having reign'd fourteen Years, and been besieg'd fourteen Days, put an End to his great Empire, as the Oracle had predicted.

The Persians having taken Crœsus, and brought
him to Cyrus, he commanded him to be fetter'd,
and plac'd on a great Pile of Wood already prepar'd, accompanied by fourteen young Lydians: Designing either to offer this Sacrifice to some God, as the first Fruits of his Victory; or to perform a Vow; or perhaps to see, because he had heard of his Devotion to the Gods, whether any Daemon would save him from the Fire. When Crœsus had ascended the Pile, notwithstanding the Weight of his Misfortunes, the Words of Solon reviving in his Memory, made him think he was inspir'd by some God, when he said, that no living Man could justly be call'd Happy. Revolving these Words in his Mind,
he sigh'd often in the Anguish of his Soul, and thrice pronounced the Name of Solon. Which when Cyrus heard, he commanded his Interpreters to ask him, whose Assistance he implored. They obey'd immediately; but Crœsus for a while kept Silence; yet at last being constrain'd to speak, he said, "I nam'd a Man, whose Discourses I more desire all Tyrants might hear, than to be Possessor of the greatest Riches." The Interpreters judging this Answer obscure, repeated their Demand; and persisting in their Importunity, press'd him earnestly to explain his Meaning. Upon which Crœsus acquainted them, that Solon an Athenian having formerly visited him, and view'd his immense Treasures, had despis'd all; and that the Truth of what he then said was now verified, though his Discourse was generally relating to all Mankind as much as to himself, and especially to those who vainly imagine themselves happy. After Crœsus had said these Words, and the Flames began to ascend on every Side, Cyrus, already inform'd by the Interpreters of what he had said, relented on a sudden; and considering that being but a Man, he was yet going to burn another Man alive, who had been no way inferior to himself in Prosperity; and fearing a Retaliation of Punishment, as one who was not ignorant of the Inconstancy of human Affairs; he commanded the Fire to be presently extinguish'd, and Crœsus, with those who were about him, to be taken down. Accordingly all Endeavours were us'd to execute his Orders; but they could not master the Fire. In this Distress, Crœsus, as the Lydians report, being inform'd that Cyrus had alter'd his Resolution, and see-
ing every Man toiling in vain to put out the Fire, burst into Tears; and with a loud Voice invoking Apollo, besought the God, if ever any of his Offerings had been agreeable to him, to protect and deliver him from the present Danger: That immediately Clouds were seen gathering in the Air, which before was serene, and a violent Storm of Rain ensuing, quite extinguished the Flames; by which Cyrus understanding that Cræsus was a good and pious Man, spoke to him as soon as he came down, in these Terms. "Tell me, Cræsus, who persuaded you to invade my Territories, and to be my Enemy, rather than my Friend?"

"This War, said Cræsus, as fortunate to you, O King, as unfortunate to me, I undertook by the Persuasion and Encouragement of the Grecian God. For no Man is so void of Understanding as to prefer War before Peace; because in Time of War Fathers bury their Children, and in Time of Peace Children perform that Office to their Parents. But such was the Will of the Daemon." When he had thus spoken, Cyrus commanded his Fetters to be taken off; and permitting him to sit down by his Side, shew'd him great Respect; for both he and all those that stood about him, were astonish'd at the Things they had seen and heard. Cræsus sat for some Time pensive and silent: But afterwards turning about, and seeing the Persians facking the City, he ask'd Cyrus, whether he might speak with Freedom, or whether he ought to suppress his present Thoughts; Cyrus bid him take Courage, and deliver his Opinion freely; upon which Cræsus ask'd him, what those great Numbers were now doing with
They are, said Cyrus, pillaging your City, and destroying your Riches and Magnificence. Not so, replied Croesus, they neither plunder my City, nor destroy my Riches: For I have now no Part in those Things; but they ravage and consume what belongs to you. This Answer made such an Impression on Cyrus, that taking Croesus aside, he asked him privately, what he thought should be done in this Conjuncture? Since the Gods, said Croesus, have made me your Servant, I am in Duty oblig'd to acquaint you with all that may conduce to your Advantage. If you permit the Persians, who are poor, and by Nature insolent, to plunder and possess great Riches; you may expect that those who enrich themselves most, will be most ready to rebel. Therefore, if you approve my Sentiment, place some of your Guards at every Gate, with Orders to take the Booty from all those who would go out, and to acquaint them that the Tenth must of Necessity be consecrated to Jupiter: By which Method you will avoid the Imputation of seizing their Plunder by Violence; and every one acknowledging your Intention to be just, will readily obey. Cyrus having heard the Proposition of Croesus with great Satisfaction, and entirely approving his Counsel; commanded the Guards to do as he advis'd; and then turning to him again, said; Because both your Words and your Actions are truly Royal, I permit you to ask immediately whatever Thing you chiefly desire. Sir, said Croesus, The most acceptable Favour you can bestow upon me, is, to let me send my Fetters
wholly innocent. In this Manner the Kingdom of Crœsus was conquer'd, and Ionia the first Time subdued.

Many other Donations were consecrated by Crœsus in Greece, besides those already mention'd. For at Thebes of Bœotia he dedicated a Tripos of Gold to Ithmenian Apollo: At Ephesus, he gave the golden Heifers, with the greater Part of the Pillars; and sent a large Shield of Gold to Delphi, which hangs in the Entrance of the Temple. All these remain to this Day; but others have been lost. The Offerings he dedicated in Branchis, a City belonging to the Milesians, were, as I am inform'd, equal in Weight to those he presented at Delphi. These last, together with those he sent to Amphiaranus, were the first Fruits of his domestic and patrimonial Riches. But the rest arose out of the Confiscations of an Enemy; who endeavouring to put the Kingdom of Lydia into the Hands of Pantaleon, form'd a Party against Crœsus, to hinder his Accession to the Throne. Pantaleon was the Son of Alyattes, and Brother to Crœsus, though not born of the same Mother; for Alyattes had Crœsus by a Carian, and Pantaleon by an Ionian Woman. But when Crœsus obtain'd the Kingdom, pursuant to the Designation of his Father, he kill'd the Conspirator in the House of a Fuller, and having already vow'd all his Treasure to the Gods, he perform'd his Promise by the Donations he made to the Places I mention'd before. And this I think sufficient to say touching these Things.

The Territories of Lydia have nothing admirable and deserving Mention, like other Countries; unless some Particles of Gold brought down
down from the Mountain Tmolus. But the Lydians shew one Building, which in Greatness much surpasses all others, except those of the Ægyptians and Babylonians: I mean the Sepulchre of Alyattes, Father to Cræsus; the Basis of which is compos'd of Stones of extraordinary Dimensions, and all the rest is a Terrass. This Fabrick was built by Artificers and mercenary Labourers, with the Assistance of young Maids; and on the uppermost Part of the Sepulchre five Monuments are plac'd for Boundaries, with Inscriptions seen to this Day, certifying the Measure of their Labour, and shewing that the Maids did more Work than the Men. The Daughters of the Lydians are accustom'd to acquire their Dowries by Prostitution; and are then permitted to marry as they please. This Sepulchre is six Stades and two Plethrons in Circumference, and thirteen Plethron in Breadth; standing near a spacious Lake, which the Lydians say is fed by perpetual Springs, and derives its Name from Gyges. The Customs of the Lydians differ little from those of the Grecians, except only that they prostitute their Daughters. They were the first of all the Nations we know, who introduc'd the Art of coining Gold and Silver to facilitate Trade, and first practis'd the Way of retailing Merchandize. They pretend to be the Inventors of divers Games, which are now common to them with the Grecians: And, as they say, were found out about the Time they sent a Colony to Tyrrhenia, on this Occasion. During the Reign of Atys the Son of Manes King of Lydia, a Scarcity of Provisions spread over the Kingdom, which the People for a Time support-
supported with Patience and Industry. But when they saw the Evil still continuing, they applied themselves to find out a Remedy; and some inventing one Game, and others another, they gradually introduc'd Dice, Balls, Tables, and all other Plays, Chess only excepted, of which the Lydians do not challenge the Invention: And to bear this Calamity better, they us'd to play one whole Day without Intermission, that they might not be disquieted with the Thoughts of Food; eating and drinking on the next Day, without amusing themselves with any kind of Game. After they had continued this alternate Manner during eighteen Years, and found their Wants rather increasing than abating; the King divided the People into two Parts, and order'd them to determine by Lot, which Division should relinquish the Country; and which should remain in Possession; he himself designing to reign over those who should have the Fortune to stay, and appointing his Son Tyrrhenus to command that Part which should be oblig'd to remove. Those who by Lot were constrain'd to depart, march'd down to Smyrna; where having built a sufficient Number of Ships, and put all Things necessary on Board, they set Sail in search of Food, and of a new Habitation; till having pass'd by many Nations, they arriv'd in Umbria, and built divers Cities, which they inhabit to this Day. There they chang'd their ancient Name, and were no longer call'd Lydians; but Tyrrenians, from their Leader Tyrrhenus the Son of their King.

Having already related in what Manner the Lydians were conquer'd by the Persians, I shall in
in the next Place shew, who Cyrus was, that destroy'd the Kingdom of Cæsas, and how the Persians became Masters of Asia. In which Narration I shall follow those Persians only, who without heightening the Actions of Cyrus, have spoken the Truth with Plainness and Sincerity; tho' I am not ignorant, that there are three other Ways of relating this History. After the Assyrians had possess'd the Empire of upper Asia five hundred and twenty Years, the Medes were the first that revolted from them; and strenuously contending for Liberty, shook off the Yoke of Servitude with such Courage, that other Nations imitated their Example. They made and enjoy'd their own Laws for some Time all over that Continent: But were again reduc'd under a Tyranny by the Artifice of Deioces a Mede, and Son to Phraortes: Who being a subtle Man, and aiming at absolute Power, effected his Design in this Manner. The Medes were at that Time distributed into several Districts; and Deioces having liv'd among them before in considerable Esteem, and now seeing all kind of Licentiousness spread over the whole Country, applied himself to the Exercise of Justice with great Zeal and Diligence; tho' he knew how much the Just were hated by Men of Violence. The Medes of the same District observing the Equity of his Conduct, chose him for their Judge; and he, aspiring to compass the Sovereign Power, perform'd that Office with all possible Regard to Justice. By this Means he not only acquir'd much Honour in the District where he liv'd, but also among those of the other Divisions; who were made to believe, that Deioces was the only impartal
partial Judge in the whole Nation; and therefore such as thought themselves injur'd by unjust Sentences, came from all Parts to him, in order to obtain Justice: Till at last no Man would commit the Decision of a Difference to any other Person. In the End, the Numbers of those who applied to him for Redress augmenting in Proportion to the great Fame of his Equity, Deioces seeing the whole Care of distributing Justice devolv'd upon his Person, absented himself from the Place where he us'd to sit to determine Differences, and declar'd he would pronounce no more Judgments; because he could not find his Account by spending the Day in doing Right to others, whilst his own Affairs were neglected. Upon this, Rapine and all manner of Injuries growing far more frequent in every Part than before, the Medes call'd a general Assembly, and as they were consulting about the present State of Things, the Partizans of Deioces gave, in my Opinion, a very plausible Turn to their Discourse. "If, said they, "we continne in our present Condition, "we cannot expect to live long in this Country. Let us therefore constitute a King, that "the Nation may be govern'd by good Laws; "and that applying our Care to our own Business, we may not be constrain'd to abandon "our Habitations by the Disorders of Anarchy." The Medes persuaded by their Discourse, and resolving to have a King, began in the next Place to consider who should be the Person; when presently Deioces was universally nam'd, and with great Applause and general Consent, approv'd. But after his Election, he commanded them to build him a Palace suitable to the Dignity
Dignity of a King; and requir'd Guards for the Security of his Person. The Medes obey'd; and on the Ground he chose, erected a strong and stately Fabric for his Use; permitting him at the same Time to chuse for his Guard such Persons as he should think fit out of the whole Nation. Being thus posses's'd of the Power, he compell'd the Medes to come under one Polity; and relinquishing the Care of the rest, to build one City surrounded with Fortifications. In this also he was obey'd; and those strong and magnificent Walls, which now go under the Name of Ecbatana, were then built. They are of a circular Form, one within the other, and each gradually rais'd just so much above the other as the Battlements are high. The Situation of the Ground; rising by an easy Ascent, was very favourable to the Design. But the Thing chiefly to be consider'd is, that the King's Palace and Treasury are built within the innermost Circle of the seven, which compose this City. The first and most spacious of these Walls is equal in Circumference to the City of Athens; and white from the Foot of the Battlements. The second is black, the third of a purple Colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep Orange. All these are colour'd with different Compositions; but of the two innermost Walls, one is painted on the Battlements with a silver Colour; and the other is gilded with Gold. Deioces having thus provided for his Residence, and the Safety of his Person, commanded the rest of the People to fix their Habitations in Places situate without the Walls of the City, which when they had done, he establish'd these
these Rules to be observ'd as standing Orders; That no Man should be admitted to the King's Presence, but should transact all Things with him by Messengers; That none should be permitted to see him; and, that either to laugh or spit in his Sight, should be accounted indecent. All which he enjoin'd, lest Men of Spirit and Courage, conversing with him, should be provok'd by Discontent to conspire against his Person: Not doubting, that those who were debarr'd from seeing him at all, would easily be induc'd to think him of a superior Nature to themselves. When he had establish'd these Orders, and settl'd himself in the Tyranny, he was very severe in the Execution of Justice. The Parties contending were oblig'd to send him their Case in Writing; which when he had seen and consider'd, he us'd to send it back with his Decision; and this was the Method he took in Matters of Contestation. But if he receiv'd Information that any Man had injur'd another, he would presently send for him, and punish him in Proportion to his Offence, maintaining to that End many Emissaries and Spies in the Provinces of his Government. The Power of Deioces extended not beyond the whole Nation of the Medes; which consists of the Busians, Paratacenians, Struchates, Arizantins, Budians, and the Mages. He reign'd fifty three Years, and his Son Phraortes succeed'd him in his Kingdom; who not contented to be King of Media only, made his first Expedition against the Persians, and reduc'd them under the Dominion of the Medes. And having united the Forces of those two powerful Nations, he subdued Asia; advancing his Conquests
quests gradually, and attacking one Country after another; till at last he invaded the Assyrians, who inhabited the City of Ninus, and had been the principal People of those Nations; though at that Time they were abandon'd by their Confederates. Yet their Affairs being otherwise in good Condition, they prov'd a formidable Enemy; for Phraortes having enter'd their Territories, perish'd with the greatest Part of his Army in that Enterprize, after he had reign'd twenty two Years. Cyaxares the Son of Phraortes, and Grandson to Deioces, succeeded him, and is generally esteem'd to have been more brave and warlike than his Ancestors. He form'd the People of Asia into distinct Bodies, of Lances, Cavalry, and Archers; whereas before they had been accustom'd to mix in a confus'd Manner; and fought that Battle against the Lydians, when the Day was on a sudden turn'd into Night. At length having united all Asia beyond the River Halys, under him, and assembled all his Forces, he march'd towards the City of Ninus, to avenge the Death of his Father by the Destruction of that Place; but after he had obtain'd a Victory over the Assyrians, and actually besieg'd Ninus, a great Army of Scythians appear'd in full March, under the Conduct of Madyes their King, and Son of Protogyas. These Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and pursuing them into Asia, by that Means enter'd the Territories of the Medes. The Distance between the Lake Maeotis and the River Phasis in the Country of Colchis, is as much as a vigorous Man can walk in thirty Days: But the Way from Colchis to Media is not long, no other People
People than the Saspires lying between both. However, the Scythians declining to pass thro' their Territories, march'd round by the Way of the high Country, having the Mountain Caucasus on the right Hand; and in those Parts fought and defeated the Army of the Medes, who with the Battle lost the Dominion of Asia. The Scythians having thus possed themselves of Asia, march'd directly against the Ægyptians: But, when they were arriv'd in the Palestine Syria, Psammaticus King of Ægypt came thither to meet them, and by Prayers and Presents prevail'd with them to advance no farther. In their Return they pass'd by Ascalon a City of Syria, and most Part of the Army march'd thro' the Place without doing any Injury. But some few, who were left behind, pillag'd the Temple of the celestial Venus; which as I am inform'd, is the most ancient of all those that are dedicated to this Goddess. For her Temple in Cyprus was built after that of Ascalon, as the Cyprians themselves confess; and that of Cythera was erected by Phænicians who came from the same Part of Syria. However, the Goddess to avenge this Attempt, inflicted on those that robb'd her Temple, and all their Posterity, a Distemper, in other Places only common to Women; and divers of these Patients are seen by those who travel into Scythia, where they are call'd by the Name of impious Persons.

After the Scythians had been twenty eight Years in Possession of Asia, and by their Insolence and Negligence brought all to Confusion, laying heavy Impositions on the Publick, and invading the Properties of private Men, Cyaxares and the Medes invited the greatest Part to a Feast, and
...and kill'd them when they were drunk: In consequence of which action, the Medes recover'd their former power, and all they had possess'd before; took the city of Ninus, as I shall relate in another place, and subdued the Assyrians, Babylon and the adjoining country only excepted. Having accomplish'd these things, Cyaxares died; after he had reign'd forty years, comprehending the Time of the Scythian dominion.

Astages the son of Cyaxares, succeeding him in the kingdom, had a daughter nam'd Mandane; and having dreamt she made so great a quantity of water, as not only fill'd his capital city, but overflow'd all Asia, he consult'd the interpreters of dreams among the mages; and by their explanation was cast into such a dread of the event, that seeing his daughter of sufficient age, he resolve'd not to marry her to a Mede, worthy of her bed; but chose a Persian for her husband, nam'd Cambyses, descend'd of a good family, of a peaceful disposition, and one he thought inferior to a Mede even of moderate condition. Within the space of a year after he had married Mandane to Cambyses, he had another dream; in which he seem'd to see a vine shooting from the bowels of his daughter, and extending its branches over all Asia. This he also communicated to the interpreters, and having heard their answer, sent to Persia for his daughter, who was then big with child; and upon her arrival put her under a guard, resolving to destroy whatever should be born of her.

For the mages considering his dream, had inform'd him that the issue of his daughter should reign in his place. And therefore as soon as Cyrus was...
was born, Astyages mindful of the Prediction, sent for Harpagus, who was his Favourite, and of all the Medes most entrusted with his Affairs, and said to him, "Harpagus, Fail not to perform the Thing I now command. Deceive me not; and by chusing others to do this Office, draw Ruin upon thy own Head, Take Mandane's Son; carry him to thy House; kill him, and bury him as thou shalt think fit." Harpagus answer'd, "O King, As you have never observ'd me unwilling to obey your Commands in any Thing; so I shall ever take care to preserve myself free from the Crimes of Disobedience. If therefore this Thing be agreeable to your Intention, my Part is to perform it with Diligence." Having made this Answer, he receiv'd the Infant richly dress'd, with Orders to put the cruel Sentence in Execution. He wept as he carried him to his own House, and arriving there, acquainted his Wife with all that had pass'd between Astyages and himself. "What then, said she, are you resolv'd to do?" "Not to obey Astyages, replied Harpagus, in the Manner he has commanded, tho' he should be yet more outrageous and mad than he is: Neither will I myself commit this Murder for many Reasons; but principally because the Child is related to me in Blood, and Astyages is old, and has no Son to succeed him. So that after his Death, if the Kingdom should devolve into the Hands of his Daughter, what Punishment may I not expect for the Murder of her Son? 'Tis indeed necessary for my Preservation that the Infant should die, but as necessary that some Person belonging to Astyages.
"Abyages should be the Executioner, and not "any Person of my Family." In this Resolution he immediately sent for one of the King's Herdsman, who he knew kept his Cattle at the Foot of certain Hills, abounding with wild Beasts, and on that account very commodious for his Design. Mitradas was the Name of the Herdsman, and he had married a Wife who was his Fellow-Servant. Her Name in the Language of Greece was Cyno, and in that of the Medes Spaco, which signifies a Bitch. The Man kept his Cattle in Pastures that lie under the Hills on the North of Ecbatana, towards the Euxin Sea. For this Part of Media, which borders upon the Sabspires, is very mountainous, and cover'd with Woods; whereas all the rest is plain and level. When the Herdsman had receiv'd the Message, he went with great Diligence to Harpagus, who spoke to him in these Terms; "Abyages has commanded thee to take this Infant, and to lay him down in the most abandoned Desert of the Mountains, that he may presently perish; and has charg'd me to add, that if thou shouldst venture to disobey him, and by any means save the Child, thou shalt dye in the most exquisite Tortures that can be invented; and I am appointed to see his Order put in Execution." Mitradas having heard these Words, took the Infant, and return'd by the same Way to his Cottage; where he found his Wife, who had been all the Day in hard Labour, providentially brought to Bed, whilst he was absent in the City. During this Time, they had been both in great Trouble; the Husband much concern'd for the Condition of his Wife, and the Woman no less disturb'd about her
her Husband, because Harpagus had never sent for him before. So that he no sooner came within the Door, than the Woman in a Sur-
prise ask'd him, Why Harpagus had sent for him in such Haste? "Wife, said he, I have "been in the City; where I have seen and "heard such Things, as I wish had never been "seen by me, nor ever happen'd to our Mat-
ters. The whole House of Harpagus was "fill'd with Lamentations: And as I went in, "struck with Horror, I saw an Infant dres'd "in Gold and the richest Colours panting and "crying on the Floor. Harpagus seeing me, "order'd me to carry away the Child with all "Speed, and to leave him in that Part of the "Mountains which is most frequented by wild "Beasts; telling me at the same Time, that this "was the Command of Abyages, and threaten-
ing the severest Punishment if I should fail. "I took the Infant, which I suppos'd to be-
long to some Person of the Family; having "then no Suspicion of his high Birth, though "I was astonish'd to see the Gold and Magni-
ficence of the Apparel, and to have heard "such loud Lamentation in the House of Har-
pagus. But being upon the Way, I under-
stood all from the Servant that accompanied "me out of the City, who delivering the "Boy into my Hands, assur'd me he was born "of Mandane our King's Daughter, and of "Cambyses the Son of Cyrus, and that Abya-
ges had commanded him to be kill'd." As he finish'd these Words, he shew'd the Infant uncover'd to his Wife; who seeing him beau-
tiful and well proportion'd, embrac'd the Knees of her Husband, and with Tears besought him no
not to execute the Orders he had receiv'd. He told her he was under an absolute Necessity of obeying; because the Spies of Harpagus would certainly come to see the Thing done, and because he himself had been threatened with the most cruel Death, if he should fail. The Woman finding she could not prevail this Way, had Recourse to another. "Since then, said she, I cannot persuade you not to expose the Infant, do this at least, if the Spies of Harpagus must see his Orders obey'd: Take my Child, which was born dead; leave him among the Hills instead of the other, and let us bring up the Son of Mandane as our own. For by that Means we shall sufficiently consult our own Safety, without doing any Injury to our Lords: The Child that is dead shall have a Royal Sepulchre, and the surviving Infant shall be preserv'd from an untimely Death." The Herdsman judging this Expedient very proper in the present State of Things; and resolving to do as his Wife advis'd, deliver'd the Infant he was about to destroy into her Hands; and having wrapp'd his own dead Child in all the rich Apparel, he put it into the same Basket in which he had brought the other, and carri'd it to the most desolate Part of all the Mountains. On the third Day after this was done, leaving one of the Herdsmen in his Place, he went to the House of Harpagus in the City, and told him he was ready to shew the Carcass of the Infant. Upon which Harpagus dispatch'd some of his Guards, whom he most trusted, to see what was done; and at their Return took Care to interr the Herdsman's Child. The other, who afterwards had the Name of Cyrus, was educated.
The Son of Artembares, a Man of eminent Dignity among the Medes, being one of his Companions in this Play, and refusing to obey his Orders, Cyrus commanded him to be immediately seiz'd and punish'd with many Stripes, which was done accordingly. But, as soon as the Boy was dismiss'd, he hasten'd to the City, full of Grief and Indignation on account of this Disgrace, which he thought insupportable, and with Tears told his Father what he had suffer'd from Cyrus, calling him the Son of the King's Herdsman; for at that Time he had not the Name of Cyrus. Artembares in a Transport of Anger, went presently to Astyages, accompanied by his Son; and shewing the Boy's Shoulders to the King, "Are we then, said he, to be "treated in this shameful Manner by a Slave, the "Son of thy Herdsman?" Astyages heard and saw what was done; and resolving for the Honour of Artembares to avenge the Indignity offer'd to the Youth, commanded the Herdsman and his Son to be brought before him. When they came into his Presence, the King looking upon
upon Cyrus, ask'd him, how he, who was the Son of so mean a Man, had daŭ'd in so insolent a Manner to abuse the Son of one of the principal Persons in his Kingdom? "Sir, said Cyrus, "I have done no more than I had a Right to do. For he with other Boys of our Neighbourhood, in our Recreations made me their King, because they thought me most capable of that Dignity. All the rest obey'd me, and perform'd what I commanded; but he alone refusing to obey, and flinging my Orders, has suffer'd the Punishment he deserv'd: And if this be a Crime, I am in your Power."

As the Boy was speaking, Asiγages began to think he knew him: The Air of his Face appear'd to him like his own; his Answer Liberal and Noble; and reflecting on the Time when his Grandson was expos'd, he found it agreeing with his Age. Astonish'd at these Things, he was long silent; and at last hardly recovering himself, he dismiss'd Artembares with Assurance, that he would take care his Son should have no Cause of Complaint; which he did in order to examine the Herdsman privately. When Artembares was gone out, the King commanded his Attendants to conduct Cyrus into the Palace; and detaining the Herdsman alone, ask'd him where he had the Boy, and from whose Hands? Mitradates affirm'd he was his own Son, and that the Mother of the Boy was still living. Asiγages told him, he as little consulted his own Safety, as if he purposely design'd to bring himself into the greatest Extremities; and at the same Time commanded his Guards to seize him. The Man seeing himself reduced to this Necessity, discover'd the whole...
whole Matter without Reserve; and implor'd the King's Mercy; who having found out the Truth, seem'd not much concern'd about the Herdsman. Being highly incens'd against Harpagus, he sent his Guards with Orders to bring him to the Palace; where when he was come, Astyages ask'd him, in what Manner he had kill'd the Son of his Daughter Mandane? Harpagus seeing the Herdsman present, resolv'd to conceal nothing by a Falshood, lest he should be convicted by his Testimony, and therefore said; "O King, after I had receiv'd the Infant, I carefully consider'd how your Command might be obey'd, and I, who had not offend'd you, might not be guilty of so great a Crime against you and your Daughter. To that End I sent for this Man, and gave him the Child; which I said you had commanded him to destroy; and I told him the Truth, for such indeed were your Orders. In this Manner I put the Infant into his Hands; charging him in the next Place to lay him down in some Desert of the Mountains, and to stay till he should see him perish, threatening the severest Punishment if he should dare to fail. When he had executed these Orders, and the Child was dead, I sent some of the most trusty among my Eunuchs to inspect the Matter; and after they had given me a satisfactory Account, I buried him. This is the whole Truth, O King, and such was the Fate of the Infant." Thus Harpagus spoke with Plainness; and Astyages dissembling his Resentment, repeated to him the whole Confession of the Herdsman; adding, that the Boy was living, and that he himself was glad
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 glad of the Event. " For, said he, I was in " great Pain on Account of this Thing, and " could not easily bear the Reproaches of my " Daughter: Therefore since Fortune has been " more propitious than we expected, send your " Son to accompany the Boy I have recover'd, " and come yourself to my Supper; for I re- " solve to sacrifice to those Gods, who have " a Right to my Acknowledgment on this Oc- " casion." As soon as Harpagus heard these Words, he ador'd the King, and went home exceedingly pleas'd, that his Fault had turn'd to so good Account, and that he was invited to the Feast of Joy. At his Return he sent his only Son, of about thirty Years of Age, to Astyages, with Order to do as he should com- mand; and acquainted his Wife with what had pass'd, in Expressions of the highest Satisfaction. But the Youth going into the Palace, was kill'd and cut in Pieces by Astyages; who, after he had roasted some Parts of his Flesh, and boil'd others, kept them in a Readiness to be serv'd. At the appointed Hour, when Harpagus and all the Company was come, the Tables where the King sat, and the rest of those he had invited, were serv'd with Mutton; but before Harpagus all the Body of his Son was plac'd, except the Head, the Hands and Feet, which were laid together in a Basket, and cover'd. When he seem'd to have eaten sufficiently, Astyages ask'd him, if he lik'd the Meat; and Harpagus an- swer'd, That he had never tasted any Thing more delicious, the Officers appointed to that End, brought the Head, Hands, and Feet of the Youth; desiring him to uncover the Basket, and take what pleas'd him best. He did as they desir'd,
desir'd, and saw the Remains of his Son's Body, without being astonish'd at the Sight, or shewing any Sign of Discontent: And when Astyages ask'd him, If he knew what kind of Venison he had eaten; he said, he knew very well, and was always pleas'd with whatever the King did: After which Answer, he collected the mangled Parts, and went Home, as I conjecture, to bury them together.

*ASTYAGES* after he had thus punish'd Harpagus, beginning to consider what he should do with Cyrus; sent again for the Mages, who had formerly interpreted his Dream; and when they came into his Presence, ask'd them what Judgment they had made of it. They gave the same Answer as before; and said, That if the Boy should continue to live, he must of Necessity be a King. "He is living and safe, answer'd Astyages; and having been chosen King by the Boys of that District where he liv'd, he has already perform'd all the Offices which belong to a real King. For he exercis'd that Power in appointing Guards, Doorkeepers, Messengers, and all other Things requisite: And now I desire to know what you think of these Actions?" If the Boy be living, said the Mages, and has already been a King by such an Accident, and not by Contrivance, you may rest satisfied in full Assurance that he shall not reign a second Time. For our Predictions often terminate in Things of little Importance, and Dreams especially are fulfill'd by flight Events." "I am fully persuaded, replied Astyages, that my Dream is accomplish'd, and that I have nothing more to fear, since the Title of King has been given
given to the Boy; yet consider well, and
with all possible Circumpection advise what
may be most conducing to the Safety of my
Family and to yourselves. Our great Inter-
rest, answer'd the Mages, is, That your King-
dom should be firmly establish'd; because if
the Sovereignty be alienated and transferr'd to
this Persian, we, who are Medes, shall be-
come Servants of the Persians, and be treated
as Foreigners, with the utmost Contempt;
whereas now, living under a King of our
own Country, we have a Part in the Go-

ternment, and enjoy the greatest Honours.
So that standing oblig'd by Interest to be
careful and vigilant to preserve your Person
and Kingdom, we would not conceal any
Thing from you which might be dangerous
to either. And therefore, since the Dream is
accomplish'd by a frivolous Event, we exhort
you to lay aside your Fears, as we have al-
read; done, and to send away the Boy to his

Parents in Persia." Abyages heard this Dis-
course with Joy, and calling for Cyrus, said to
him; "Child, I have been unjust to thee, by
reason of an insignificant Dream; but thou
haft surviv'd thy own Destiny. Prepare now
to go cheerfully to Persia with those I shall
appoint to attend thee; where thou shalt
find thy Father and Mother, very different
in Condition from the Herdsman Mitradates
and his Wife." After these Words, Cyrus
was dismiss'd by Abyages; and upon his Arrival
at the House of Cambyses, his Parents receiv'd
and embrac'd him with the greatest Tenderness,
as a Child they had long given over for dead;
and ask'd him, by what Means his Life had
been
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been preserv'd. He said; he had liv'd in the deepest Ignorance of his Condition, and knew nothing of his own Misfortunes, but believ'd he was the Son of the King's Herdsman; till those, who accompany'd him in this Journey, inform'd him of all that had pass'd. He related the Manner of his Education under the Care of the Herdsman's Wife, and frequently repeating the Name of Cyno, commended her on every Occasion. This Name his Parents made use of to persuade the Persians that the Preservation of Cyrus was particularly owing to a divine Power, affirming that a Bitch had nourish'd him, when he was expos'd in the Desert: And hence the Original of that Fable is deriv'd.

When Cyrus had attain'd to the Age of a Man, and was become the most belov'd and most brave of all his Equals in Years, Harpagus vehemently desiring to be reveng'd upon Astyages, and despairing to accomplish his Ends by his own Power; because he was but a private Man, courted him with Prefents; and judging the Injuries they had suffer'd to be of like Nature, made a Friendship with him. He did yet more to bring about his Purpose. For seeing the Medes oppress'd by the Cruelty of Astyages, he applied himself to the principal Persons of the Nation, one after another, and persuaded them that they ought to depose him, and advance Cyrus to the Throne in his Place. When he had done this, and prepar'd the Medes to second his Design, he resolv'd to discover his Intentions to Cyrus; and having no other Way left, because Guards were plac'd on all the Roads that lead to Persia, he contriv'd the following Artifice. He open'd the Belly of a Hare,
Hare, and without tearing any Part, put a Letter, containing what he thought necessary to write, into the Body; and having sew’d it up so artfully that the Incision was not visible, he deliver’d the Hare with a Net to the most trusty of his Domestick Officers, cloth’d in the Habit of a Hunter; commanding him to go to Persia, and upon the Delivery of the Hare, to desire Cyrus not to open it in the Presence of any other Person. The Messenger executed his Orders, and Cyrus opening the Hare with his own Hands, found a Letter in which he read these Words, “Son of Cambyses, the peculiar Care of the Gods, as thy Preservation evidently demonstrates! Resolve now to punish thy Murderer Abyages; for he did all he could to compass thy Death; but Heaven and my Care have preserv’d thee. I need not repeat what he has done against thee, nor what I have suffer’d from him for delivering thee to the Herdsman, instead of executing his bloody Orders, because I suppose thou hast been long inform’d of these Things. At present, if thou wilt follow my Counsel, all the Dominions which Abyages possessest shall be thine. Persuade the Persians to revolt, and at the Head of their Forces invade Media. The Success is certain, whether Abyages appoint me or any other illustrious Mede to command his Army. For all the principal Persons among the Medes will de- feat him; and joining with thee, will endeavour to dethrone him. Defer not the Execution of this Enterprize; because all Things are ready on our Part.” Cyrus having read these Words, began to consider what Mea-

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fures he should take to persuade the Persians to revolt; and after various Thoughts, fix'd upon this Method as the most proper. He fram'd a Letter in such Terms as he thought fit, and call'd an Assembly of Persians; in which, when he had open'd and read the Letter, he declar'd, that Astyages had constituted him Captain General of Persia: "And now, saith he, I command you to attend me, every Man with his "Hatchet." The Persians are divided into many Tribes, of which those that Cyrus summon'd and persuaded to revolt are the principal, and influence all the rest. They are the Arteates, the Persians, the Pesargades, the Meraphians, and the Mafians. But of all these, the Pesargades are esteem'd the most brave, and comprehend the Achæmenian Family, of which the Kings of Persia are descended. The rest are, the Panthelians, the Derusians, and the Germanians, who are all Husbandmen; but the Daians, the Mardians, the Dropicians, and the Sagartians are Keepers of Cattle. When they came to Cyrus with their Hatchets, he order'd them to clear in one Day a Piece of Land, containing eighteen or twenty Stades overgrown with Briars; and after they had done that Work, he bid them go Home and wash, and attend him again the next Day. In the mean Time he order'd all his Father's Flocks and Herds to be kill'd and dress'd; providing Wine, and the best of Things in Abundance, to treat the whole military Power of Persia. The next Day when they were all assembled, and feasted on the Green Turf, he feasted them plentifully; and after they had din'd, ask'd, whether they would chuse to live always in that Manner, or as they had
had done the Day before. They answer'd, the Difference was great; for they had pass'd the preceding Day in Toil and Labour, and this in Mirth and Pleasure. Cyrus perceiving the Tendency of these Words, discover'd his Intentions, and said; "Men of Persia, If you will "hearken to my Counsel, you shall enjoy these, "and infinite other Advantages, without any "Kind of servile Labour; but if you refuse, "innumerable Hardships like those of Yesterday "are prepar'd for you. Believe me therefore, "and be a free People. For I am persuaded "some Divine Power brought me into the "World, to be the Author of your Happiness: "Neither can I think you any Way inferior "to the Medes; especially in Military Af- "fairs: And, if these Things are so, deliver "yourselves without Delay from the Tyranny "of Astyages." The Persians, who during many Years had liv'd in Reluctancy under the Obedience of the Medes, accepted him for their Leader, and readily re-assum'd their Liberty.

ASTYAGES being inform'd of these Trans-
actions, sent a Messenger for Cyrus; who by the same Person return'd this Answer: "That he "would come sooner than Astyages desir'd." Which when the King heard, he arm'd all the Medes; and, as if the Gods had depriv'd him of Under-
standing, made Harpagus General of his Army, utterly forgetting the Outrage he had done him. So that when the two Nations came to a Battle, tho' some of the Medes, who knew nothing of the Conspiracy, behav'd themselves with Courage; yet great Numbers revolted to the Persians; and the far greater Part willingly
losing the Day, fled out of the Field. The Army of the Medes being thus shamefully dissipated, and the News brought to Astyages, he broke into a great Rage, and threatn'd Cyrus that he should not long enjoy the Pleasure of his Victory. After which, having first commanded the Mages who had interpreted his Dream, to be impal'd, for advising him to send Cyrus to Persia, he arm'd all the Medes he found in the City, both old and young; and marching out with these Forces, engag'd the Enemy: In which Action he lost the Day, with his whole Army, and was himself made Prisoner by the Persians. Harpagus standing by Astyages after he was taken, reproach'd and insulted him openly; and among other Discourses tending to imbitter his Calamity, ask'd, What he thought of his Feast, when he compell'd him to eat the Flesh of his own Son; by which he had now exchanged a Kingdom for a Prison. Astyages looking steadfastly on Harpagus, demanded, Whether he thought himself the Author of the late Success obtain'd by Cyrus? He answer'd, Yes; because by his Letter he had animated Cyrus to this War; and therefore might justly lay claim to the Enterprize. Astyages said, he was then the weakest and most unjust of all Men: The weakest, in giving the Kingdom to another, which he might have asumar'd to himself, if indeed he had effected this Change; and the most unjust, in enslaving the Medes on Account of the Supper. For, if he was necessitated to confer the Kingdom on another Person, and not to take the Power to himself, he might with more Justice have advancements a Mede to that Dignity than a Persian: Whereas now the Medes, who before were
were Masters of Persia, and had no Part in the Fault, were by his Means reduc'd to the Condition of Servants; and the Persians, who had been Servants to the Medes, were become their Lords. In this Manner Astyages was depriv'd of the Kingdom, after he had reign'd Thirty five Years; and by his Cruelty the Medes became subject to the Persians, after they had commanded in all those Parts of Asia that lie beyond the River Halys, for the Space of One hundred and twenty eight Years, the Time of the Scythian Dominion only excepted. Yet afterwards repenting of what they had done, they revolted against Darius; but were again defeated in a Battle; and the Persians, who under the Conduct of Cyrus had taken Arms against Astyages and the Medes, have from that Time been Masters of Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus kept him in his Palace till he died, without exercising any farther Severity against him. And this is the Account of the Birth, Education, and Advancement of Cyrus to the Dignity of a King. How he afterwards conquer'd Croesus, who invaded his Territories without Cause, I have related before.

The Customs which I have observ'd among the Persians are these. They make no Images, nor build either Altars or Temples; charging those with Folly who do such Things; because, as I conjecture, they hold the Gods to be altogether different in Nature from Men, contrary to the Opinion of the Grecians. When they go to offer a Sacrifice to Jupiter, they ascend the highest Parts of the Mountains; and call the whole Circle of the Heavens by the Name of Jupiter. They sacrifice to the Sun and Moon,
to the Earth, the Fire, the Water, and the Winds. These are their Original Gods; but they have since learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to Venus Urania, who by the Arabians is call'd Alitta, by the Assyrians Mylitta, and by the Persians Mitra. When a Persian resolves to sacrifice, he builds no Altar, kindles no Fire, makes no Libation, nor uses either Flutes, Fillets, or consecrated Flower; but wearing a Tiara garnish'd chiefly with Myrtle on his Head, leads the Victim to a clean Piece of Ground, and invokes the God. He that offers is not permitted to pray for himself alone; but as he is a Member of the Nation, is oblig'd to pray for the Prosperity of all the Persians, and in particular for the King. When he has cut the Victim into small Pieces, and boil'd the Flesh, he lays it on a Bed of tender Grass, especially Trefoil; and after all Things are thus dispos'd, one of the Mages standing up sings an Ode concerning the Original of the Gods, which, they say, has the Force of a Charm; and without one of these they are not permitted to sacrifice. After this, he that offer'd having continued a short Time in the Place, carries away and disposes of the Flesh as he thinks fit. They are persuaded, that every Man ought to celebrate his Birthday above all other Days, and furnish his Table in a more plentiful Manner than at other Times. Beeves, Camels, Horses, and Asses, roasted intire, are seen in the Houses of the Rich on that Day; and smaller Cattle in those of the meaner Sort. They are moderate in the Use of common Food; but eat plentifully of the Desert, which yet is not very delicious, tho' they thence take Occasion to
to say, that the Grecians rise hungry from Table; and that if they had any Thing good set before them after their Repast, they would not leave off Eating so soon. The Persians drink Wine in abundance; but may not vomit or make Water before any Man. These Customs are observ’d to this Day. They debate the most important Affairs in the midst of their Cups: But the Master of the House where they meet to consult, proposes the same Things the next Day to the Company; and if when they have not drunk at all, their preceding Resolutions are approv’d, they stand, and, if not, are rejected. In like Manner, when they drink they resume the Consideration of whatever they debate before their Wine. When they meet one another in the Way, Men may easily know their Condition and Quality. For if they are Equals, they salute with a Kiss on the Mouth: If one be a little inferior to the other, they kiss on the Cheek; but if he be of a much lower Rank, he prostrates himself before the other. They give the greatest Honour to their nearest Neighbours, less to such as are more remote, and least of all to those who live at the greatest Distance; esteeming themselves much more worthy in every Thing than the rest of Men, and others to participate of Virtue only in Proportion to the Nearness of their Situation; always accounting those the worst and most base, who inhabit farthest from them. During the Empire of the Medes, each Nation had a gradual Superiority: For tho’ the Medes had the supreme Power, yet they exercis’d a more particular Authority over those that were nearest to them; these again, over such as liv’d next bey-
yond their Borders; and the last in like Manner over their Neighbours of the adjoining Country: Which Example the Persians imitated, when increasing in Power, they obtain'd the Dominion, with the Government of Provinces. No Nation has ever been more ready to admit foreign Customs. They wear the Habit of the Medes; which they think more becoming than their own; and in War they use the Ægyptian Cuirasfs. They are desirous to enjoy all Kinds of Pleasure they here mention'd, and have learnt from the Grecians to make love to Boys. The Virgins they take for their Wives are many; but their Concubines are far more numerous. To be a Father of many Children is accounted a Part of Manhood little inferior to Military Courage; and such Persons as can shew a numerous Offspring, receive yearly Presents from the King, because they think their Strength consists in their Numbers. From the Age of five Years to that of twenty, the Persians instruct their Sons in three Things only; to manage a Horse, to shoot dextrously with a Bow, and to speak Truth. A Son is not admitted to the Presence of his Father, but is brought up by Women, till he attain the Age of five Years; lest if he should die before that Time, his Father might be afflicted by the Loss. These Customs relating to Education I much approve; and likewise that, by which even the King is restrain'd from killing any Man for a single Crime; and every private Persian from exercising the utmost Severity against those of his Family for one Fault. He is first to consider the Actions of the Delinquent; and if his Faults are found to over-balance his former Services, he
he may punish him at Pleasure. They say, no one has ever kill'd his Father or Mother; and that if at any Time such a Crime comes into Question, the Person accus'd shall certainly upon due Information be found to have been supposititious, or begotten in Adultery; for they hold it utterly improbable that a true Father should be murder'd by his own Son. They are not allow'd even to mention the Things they may not do. To affirm a Falshood, is among them the utmost Infamy; and to be in Debt is for many Reasons accounted the next Degree of Disgrace; but especially because they think such a Man always expos'd to the Necessity of Lying. If any of the Citizens have a Leprosy, or scrophulous Disease, he is not permitted to stay within the City, nor to converse with other Persians; having, as they believe, drawn this Punishment upon himself, by committing some Offence against the Sun. But if Strangers are infected with those Distempers, they are presently expell'd the Country: And white Pigeons are not suffer'd to be kept, from Motives of the same Kind. They never spit, nor wash their Hands, in a River; nor defile the Stream with Urine or any other Thing; but pay a most Religious Reverence to running Waters. Their Language has one Thing peculiar; which tho' unknown to them, is well understood by us. For all Names representing the Person or Dignity of a Man, terminate in that Letter which the Dorians call San, and the Ionians Sigma. And every one upon Inquiry will find, that all Persian Names, without Exception, end in the same Letter. These Things I can with certainty affirm to
to be true. But, as their Customs relating to the Dead are more conceal'd and not so manifest, I cannot say that all the Persians are expos'd for a Prey to some Dog or Bird before they are buried; but I certainly know this to be the Manner of the Mages; for 'tis done openly. The Persians cover the Body with a sufficient Quantity of Wax, and afterwards lay it in the Ground. Their Mages not only differ from all other Men, but even from the Ægyptian Priests, who will not pollute themselves by killing any Animal, except those they sacrifice to the Gods: Whereas the Mages make no Scruple to kill every Thing with their own Hands, except a Man or a Dog; and think they do a meritorious Thing, when they destroy Ants, Serpents, Birds or Reptils. And thus having describ'd these Usages, I return to my Narration.

When the Ionians and Æolians heard that the Lydians had been so easily conquer'd by the Persians, they sent Ambassadors to Cyrus before his Departure from Sardis, to make an Offer of their Submission to him, on the same Terms they obtain'd under the Government of Cræmus. Which Proposition Cyrus hearing, made them no other Answer than this; "A Piper seeing many Fishes in the Sea, and imagining he might entice them to the Shore, by his Musick, began to play; but finding his Hopes disappointed, he threw a Net into the Water, and having enclos'd a great Number, drew it to the Land. When the Piper saw the Fishes leaping on the Ground, he said, Since you would not dance to my Pipe before, you may now forbear dancing at all." This Apologue was a Reprimand to the Ionians
ans and Æolians; who, when Cyrus press'd them by his Ambassador to revolt from Cræsus, refus'd to consent, and now were ready to comply with his Desires, because they saw the Success of his Arms. With this Answer, which Cyrus gave in Anger, the Ionians return'd home; and having fortified their Cities, met together in a general Assembly of the whole League, the Milesians only excepted, who were singly admitted into the Alliance of Cyrus on the Foot of their former Agreement with the Lydian. All the rest of the Ionians met, and unanimously resolv'd to send Ambassadors to Sparta, earnestly to desire Succour from the Lacedemonians. The Ionian Cities, of which this Confederacy consists, are more commodiously and happily plac'd than any other we know among Men; for neither the Regions that are above Ionia on one Side, nor those that lie below on the other, nor any Part situate either to the East or West, can justly be compar'd with this Country; because they are either chill'd with Cold and Rain, or expos'd to the Excesses of Heat and Dryness. All the Ionians are not of the same Language; but have four different Ways of expressing themselves. The City of Miletus lies to the Southward, and is accounted the principal of this League. The next are Myus and Priene. These three are situate in Caria, and use the same Dialect. Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomene, and Phocæa, are Part of Lydia; and though they vary not at all from one another in their Manner of speaking, yet their Language is different from the other. The rest of the Ionian Communities are three, two of which inhabit the Islands of Chios and Samos;
mos; but the Erythræans are plac'd on the Continent. This People use the same Dialect with those of Chios; whereas the Samians have one peculiar to themselves. And these are the four Proprieties of Speech observ'd in Ionia.

Among these Ionians, the Milesians made their Peace with Cyrus, to exempt themselves from the Apprehensions of his Power. But the Islanders had nothing to fear; because the Phœnicians were not then under the Obedience of the Persians, nor were the Persians at all acquainted with maritime Affairs. This Separation of the Milesians, had no other Foundation than the Weakness of the Grecians in general, and of the Ionians in particular; who were the weakest of all, and in no Manner of Esteem. The Athenians alone, among all those of that Extraction, were of considerable Fame. But, neither they nor others were willing to be call'd Ionians; as indeed in our Time the greater Part seems to be ashamed of the Name. Yet, the twelve Cities not only gloried in their Name, but built a Temple, which from themselves they call'd Pan-Ionion, and resolv'd not to communicate the Privilege of that Place to any other Ionians; neither have others ever desir'd to be admitted; except the Smyrnæans alone. In this they resembled those Dorians, now known by the Name of the Five Cities, which were formerly fix in Number; who not only constantly refus'd to admit any of the neighbouring Dorians into their Temple at Triope; but excluded some of their own Community for transgressing the establish'd Orders. For in those Exercises that were perform'd there in Honour of Apollo, a Tripos of Brass was the Reward of the
the victorious; which yet no Man might carry out of the Temple, but was oblig'd to leave de-
posit ed on the Altar of the God. Nevertheless,
when Agaefcles of Halicarnassus won the Prize,
and violated their Custom, by carrying away the Tripos, and affixing it to his own House, the five Cities of Lindus, Ialissus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, excluded that City, which was the sixth, from the Union; and punish'd the Hal-
carnassians in that Manner.

The Ionians seem to have form'd themselves into twelve Cities, and resolv'd to admit no more into their Society, because they had been divided into just so many Parts, when they in-
habited in Peloponesus; as the Achaians, who drove out those Ionians, now consist of the same Number. The City of Pellena, fronting towards Sicyon, is the first of the Achaian League: The next are Ægyra, and Æge, which is water'd by the perpetual Streams of the River Cratbis, from whence that of Italy takes its Name: After these, Bura, and Helice, to which Place the Ionians fled, when they were defeated by the Achaians: Ægyon, Rhipes, Patras, Phare, and Olenus, through which runs the great River Pirus: The rest are Dyma and Tritea, the only inland Places among them. These are the twelve Parts of the Achaian Territories, which formerly belong'd to the Ionians; and on that Account they constituted the same Number of Cities in their new Establishment. For to say that these are more properly Ionians, or any Way more considerable, than other Ionians, is great Folly; when we know that the Abantes from Eubœa, who had neither Name, nor any other Thing in common with the Ionians, are no in-
confi-
considerable Part of this Colony; and that the Minyan Orchomenians, the Cadmæans, Dryopians and Molossians, with the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians, Epidaurians, and many other People, were intermix’d with them; as well as the Athenians, who were sent by the Prytanæan Council, and thought themselves the most Illustrious of the Ionians. They had no Wives with them when they came to settle in this Country; but seiz’d a sufficient Number of Carian Women, after they had kill’d their Parents: And, for that Reason, those Women enter’d into a mutual Compact, which they confirm’d by an Oath, and transmitted as sacred to their Daughters, that they would never eat with their Husbands, nor ever call them by their Names; because they had kill’d their Fathers, their Husbands, and their Children, and after such Violences had forc’d them to submit to their Will. This Action was done in the Country of Miletus.

The Ionians appointed Kings to govern them; some chusing Lycians of the Posterity of Glaucus; others electing out of the Pylian Caucones, who are descended from Codrus the Son of Melantbus; and some again from both those Families. They are exceedingly pleas’d with the Name of Ionians, and are true and genuine Ionians; as all those are, who derive their Original from Athens, and celebrate the Apaturian Festival, which is universally observ’d in Ionia, except by the Ephesians and Colophonians; but these alone are excluded, under the Pretext of some Murder. The Pan-Ionian is a sacred Place in Mycale, situate to the Northward, and dedicated by the Ionian Confederacy to
to Neptune of Helicon: And Mycale is a Promontory on the Continent, leaning on the South-West Side, towards Samos. In this Place the Ionians met to celebrate the Pan-Ionian Solemnity: And we shall observe by the Way, that not only the Ionian, but all the Grecian Festivals terminate, like the Persian Names, in the same Letter.

Having given this Account of the Ionian Cities, I shall proceed to those of the Æolians; which are, Cyme, otherwise call'd Phriconis, Larissa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cycla, Notion, Ægiræssa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina. These are eleven of the twelve Cities formerly belonging to the Æolians; but Smyrna, which was the other, was ruin'd by the Ionians. They all stand on the Continent in a Region of greater Extent, but inferior in Climate to that of the Ionians. The Æolians were depriv'd of Smyrna in this Manner. A great Number of Colophonians having unsuccessfully mutinied at home, and being forc'd on that Account to abandon their Country, came to Smyrna, where they were receiv'd and protected by the Inhabitants. But some Time after their Arrival while the People were celebrating the Rites of Bacchus without the Walls, they took that Opportunity to shut the Gates and seize the City. Upon which, when the Æolians came with all their Forces to succour the Smyrnæans, the Dispute was determin'd by an Agreement, conceiv'd in these Terms; That the Ionians should restore all moveable Goods, and that the Æolians on their Part should quit their Claim to the City. The Smyrnæans consenting to these Conditions, were distributed into the other eleven Cities, and permitted
mitted to enjoy the Privilege of Citizens. These Places belonging to the Æolians, are on the Continent; besides those about Mount Ida, which lie at a great Distance. In the Islands they had the following Cities: Five in Lesbos; for the Methymnians destroy’d Ariiba, which was the sixth, though they were of the same Blood; one in Tenedos; and another in the Hundred Islands. The Lesbians, with those of Tenedos, and the Ionians of the Islands, were under no Fear of the Persian Power; and all the other Cities had taken a Resolution to follow, wheresoever the Ionians should lead.

The Ambassadors of the Ionians and Æolians having perform’d their Voyage with all possible Diligence, and arriving in Sparta, made choice of Pythermus a Phocæan to speak in the Name of all; who, to bring a greater Number of Lacedemonians together, cloath’d himself in a Purple Habit, and in a long Speech implor’d their Assistance. But, the Spartans rejecting his Request, determin’d not to succour the Ionians in any Manner: Upon which the Ambassadors return’d home. Yet the Lacedemonians, though they had dismiss’d the Ionian Embassy with a plain Denial, sent away certain Persons by Sea, to observe, as I conjecture, what should pass between Cyrus and the Ionians. These Men arriving in Phocæa, sent Lacrines, who was the most eminent Person among them, to Sardis, with Instructions to acquaint Cyrus, That if he should commit any Hostility against the Grecian Cities, they would not pass by the Indignity. Which when Cyrus heard, he inquir’d of the Grecians that were present, who the Lacedemonians were, and what Number of Men they could
Could bring into the Field? And being inform'd
of these Particulars, he said to the Spartan;
" I was never afraid of those, who in the midst
of their Cities have a Place of publick Re-
sort, where they cheat one another by mu-
tual Oaths: And if I continue in Life and
Health, they shall have sufficient Cause to
be concern'd for their own Calamities, with-
out disquieting themselves about those of
the Ionians." These Words of Cyrus were
levell'd at all the Grecians in general, who in
every City have some publick Place for the Uses
of buying and selling, but the Persians have
none of these, nor any Place of publick Meet-
ing at all.

Cyrus having entrusted Tabalus a Persian
with the Government of Sardis, and appointed
Pausias a Lydian to bring away the Gold found
in the Treasury of Croesus, and other Parts of
the City, took Croesus with him, and depairsted
for Ecbatana. And because he expected to find
more Resistance from the Babylonians, Bactri-
ans, Saces and Ægyptians, than from the Ion-
ians, whose Power he despis'd; he resolv'd to lead
his Army in Person against those Nations, and
to send another General against the Ionians.
But as soon as he was retir'd from Sardis, Pausia-
as prevail'd with the Lydians to revolt from him,
and putting to Sea with all the Riches of Lydia
in his Possession, engag'd the maritime Places to
join with him; and after he had rais'd a good
Number of Mercenaries, march'd to Sardis,
and besieged Tabalus, who had shut himself up
in the Castle. Which News when Cyrus heard,
as he was on his Way, he spoke to Croesus in
these Terms; " What will be the End of these
Things?"
"Things? And when will the Lydians cease to
give Disturbance to me, and to themselves?"
"I have almost determin'd to destroy the Na-
tion, and to reduce the People to the Condi-
tion of Servants; persuaded, that I have
done as imprudently as those, who after hav-
ing kill'd the Father, should spare the Lives
of his Sons. For I compel you, who have
been more than a Father to the Lydians, to
follow me as a Prisoner, and at the same Time
have reinstated them in the Possession of their
City: And, now, shall I wonder at their Re-
bellion!" When Cyrus had thus plainly de-
 liver'd his Thoughts, Croesus fearing the utter
Ruin of Sardis, answer'd; "Sir, You have
but too much Reason for what you say; yet
you will do better to moderate your Indigna-
tion, and not to destroy an ancient City, al-
together innocent of this, as well as of the
former Offence. I myself committed the
first Fault, and am now actually under the
Punishment. But as Pahyas, who was en-
trusted by you, is guilty of this second; let
him be treated as his Crime deserves, and let
the Lydians be pardon'd. Yet to the End
they may never more revolt, nor be trouble-
some to you, command all their Arms to be
taken away; and enjoin them to wear Vests
and Buskins, and to teach their Sons to sing,
to play on the Harp, and to drink in Publick-
Houses. For, by these Means, you will soon
see the manly Spirit of the Lydians degene-
rate into a womanish Weakness; so that they
will never rebel, nor be formidable to you in
Time to come." Croesus suggested this Me-
thod to Cyrus, because he judg'd the Lydians
would
would be less unhappy under such Circumstances, than if they should be sold for Slaves; and waspersuaded, that unless he could frame some plausible Pretext, he should not prevail with him to alter his Resolution: Neither was he without Apprehension, that if the Lydians should otherwise escape the present Danger, they might hereafter revolt from the Persians, and bring utter Ruin on themselves. *Cyrus* pleas'd with the Expedient, told *Cresus* he would take his Advice; and sending for *Mazares* a Mede, commanded him to order the Lydians to conform themselves to the Regulations propos'd by *Cresus*; and to treat all those as Slaves, who had assisted in the Attempt upon *Sardis*; but above all, to bring *Pactyas* alive to him: And having given these Orders in his Way, he return'd to *Persia*.

*Pactyas* being inform'd that the Army was approaching with Design to fall upon him, fled in great Consternation to *Cyme*; and *Mazares* with that Part of the Persian Forces he had, march'd directly to *Sardis*. But not finding *Pactyas* and his Followers there, he, in the first Place, constrain'd the Lydians to conform themselves to the Orders prescrib'd by *Cyrus*, and totally to alter their Manner of Life: After which he dispatch'd Messengers to *Cyme*, with Instructions to demand the Person of *Pactyas*. The Cymæans call'd a Council on this Occasion, and resolv'd to consult the ancient Oracle of *Branchis*, which was frequented by all the Ionians and Æolians, and stands in the Territory of *Miletus*, a little above the Port of *Panormus*. When the Persons, who were sent to the Oracle, arriv'd at *Branchis*, and pray'd to be inform'd
form'd what they should do, that might be most pleasing to the Gods, they were commanded to deliver Pactyas to the Persians: Which Answer being brought to the Cymæans, determin'd the Majority to decree that he should be surrender'd accordingly. But after they had taken that Resolution, Aristodicus the Son of Heraclides, one of the principal Men of the City, either distrust the Faith of the Oracle, or suspecting the Sincerity of the Consulters, prevail'd with the Cymæans to suspend the Execution of their Decree, and to send other Persons to enquire a second Time concerning Pactyas. By this means another Deputation was resolv'd, and Aristodicus was chosen for one; who arriving with the other Deputies at Branchis, consulted the Oracle in the Name of the rest, using these Words; "O King, Pactyas the Lydian came to us as a Suppliant, to avoid a violent Death from the Hands of the Persians. They have demanded him of the Cymæans, and resolve to admit no Denial. We who are under great Apprehensions of the Persian Power, have not yet dar'd to surrender the Suppliant, till we shall be plainly inform'd by thee, what we ought to do in this Conjuncture." Thus spoke Aristodicus; but the Oracle gave the same Answer as before, and again admonish'd them to surrender Pactyas to the Persians. Upon which Aristodicus, in pursuance of the Design he had form'd, walking round the Temple, took away all the Sparrows, and other Birds he found in the Nests that were within the Limits of the Place: And when he had so done, 'tis reported, a Voice was heard from the innermost Part of the Temple, directing these Words to Aristodicus; "O thou
most wicked of all Men, how darest thou
thus tear my Suppliants from under my Pro-
tection?" Aristodicus readily answer'd, "Art
thou then so careful to succour thy Suppliants,
and yet so forward to command the Cymæ-
ans to abandon Paityas to the Persians?"
Yes, said the Voice, I command it; that
such impious Men as you are may suddenly
perish, and never more disturb the Oracle
with Questions of like Nature." When this
last Answer was brought to Cyme, the People,
being unwilling either to surrender Paityas to
be destroy'd by the Persians, or to draw a War
upon themselves by protecting him, sent him
away to Mitylene. Some say the Mitylenæans,
upon a Message they receiv'd from Mazares, a-
greed to deliver Paityas into his Hands for a
certain Reward; but I cannot affirm this, be-
because the Thing was never effected. For the Cy-
mæans being inform'd of what was doing in
Mitylene, dispatch'd a Vessel to Lesbos, and
transported Paityas to Chio: Where he was
taken by Violence from the Temple of Miner-
va Protectress of the City, and deliver'd up by
the Chians: Who in Recompence were put in-
to Possession of Atarneus, a Place situate in My-
sea, over-against Lesbos. In this Manner Paityas
fell into the Hands of the Persians, and was kept
under Confinement, in order to be conducted to
Cyrus. And for a long Time after this Action,
none of the Chians would use the Barley of A-
tarneus in their Offerings to the Gods, or make
any Confection of the Fruits produc'd by that
Country; but totally abstain'd from the whole
Growth of those Lands in all their Temples.
When the Chians had deliver'd up Paigion, Mazares march'd with his Forces against those who had assist'd in besieging Tabalus; and having first destroy'd Priene, and ravag'd all the Plain that lies by the River Mœander, he abandon'd the Booty to his Army. But after he had treated the Magnesians in the same Manner, he fell sick and died. Upon which, Harpagus, who was also a Mede, and the same Person, that having been entertain'd by Astyages at an execrable Feast, had open'd a Way for Cyrus to ascend to the Throne, came down to command the Army in his Place. This Man being appointed General by Cyrus, and arriving in Ionia, took several Cities, by throwing up Earth-Works to the Walls, after he had forc'd the People to retire within their fortified Places. Phocœa was the first of the Ionian Cities that fell into his Hands. These Phocæans were the first of all the Grecians who undertook long Voyages, and discover'd the Coasts of Adria, Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessus. They made their Expeditions in Gallies of fifty Oars, and us'd no Ships of a rounder Form. When they arriv'd at Tartessus, they were kindly receiv'd by Arganthonius the King of that Country, who had then reign'd fourscore Years, and liv'd to the Age of one Hundred and twenty. They had so much of his Favour, that he at first sollicited them to leave Ionia, and to settle in any Part of his Kingdom they should chuse; but afterwards finding he could not prevail with the Phocæans to accept his Offer, and hearing they were in great Danger from the increasing Power of the Medes, he presented them with Treasure to defray the Expence of building a Wall round their
their City; which he did with so liberal a Hand, that the whole Structure, comprehending no small Number of Stades in Circumference, was built with large and well compacted Stone. Harpagus arriving with his Army before this City, first sent a Message to acquaint the Phocæans within, that if they would demolish one of the Towers built upon their Wall, and consecrate one Edifice, he would rest contented. The Phocæans detesting Slavery, answer'd, That they would take one Day to deliberate touching his Proposal, if in the mean Time he would draw off his Forces from about the City. Harpagus said, That though he well knew their Design; yet he would permit them to consult together, as they desir'd. But, when he had withdrawn his Army, the Phocæans made ready their Ships; and having put their Wives, Children, and Goods on board, together with the Images and other Things dedicated in their Temples, except Pictures, and Works of Brass or Stone, they themselves embark'd likewise, and set sail for Chio: So that the Persians at their Return found the City desolate, and abandon'd by all the Inhabitants. The Phocæans arriving in Chio, desir'd to purchase the Ænusian Islands of the Chians; but because the Chians would not consent to sell them, lest they should become the Seat of Trade, and their own Island be excluded, they embark'd again, directing their Course to Cyrnus; where, by the Admonition of an Oracle, they had built a City, which they nam'd Alalia, twenty Years before. In their Passage to Cyrnus, turning in at Phocæa, they cut in Pieces the Persian Garrison left by Harpagus in the City; and about the same Time
Arganthonius died. Having destroy'd these Persians, they pronounce'd terrible Imprecations against those who should stay behind; and bound themselves by mutual Oaths, never to return to Phocæa, till a burning Ball of Iron, which they threw into the Sea on that Occasion, should appear again unextinguish'd. Nevertheless, as they were making towards Cyrnus, more than one half of the Fleet, mov'd by Regret and Affection for their native Country, broke through all these Engagements, and return'd to Phocæa; while the rest resolving to observe the Oaths they had taken, pursu'd their Voyage from the Œnussian Islands to Cyrnus. When they arriv'd there, they built divers Temples, and liv'd five Years in one Community with the former Colony. But because in that Time they had ravag'd the Territories of all their Neighbours, the Tyrrenhians and Carthaginians combin'd together to make War against them, each Nation with sixty Ships. The Phocæans on their Part fitted out their Fleet, consisting in all of sixty Sail also; and coming up with the Enemy in the Sea of Sardinia, fought and conquer'd; but obtain'd a Cadmæan Victory: For forty of their own Ships were sunk; and all the rest having lost their Prows, were utterly disabled. After this Action, returning to Alalia, they put their Wives and Children on board again, with as much of their Goods as they could carry off, and leaving Cyrnus, sail'd to Rhegium. Of those Phocæans that lost their Ships in the Fight, many fell into the Hands of the Carthaginians and Tyrrenhians; who at their landingston'd them to Death in the Territory of Agylla. After which, all the Men and Cattle
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Cattle that came into those Parts, were seiz'd with a burning Distemper, attended by Convulsions and Madness. In this Extremity the Agyi- lians being desirous to expiate the Crime, had Recourse to the Oracle of Delphi; and the Pythian enjoin'd them to use those Rites which they still observe; for they commemorate the Death of the Phocæans with great Magnificence, and Gymnastick Combats. This was the Fate of these Phocæans; and as for the rest, who fled to Rhegium, they left that Place, and in Ænotria built a City, which is now call'd Hyele, by the Advice of a certain Posidonian; who told them they had mistaken the Oracle, and that the Pythian meant they should build a Monument for Cynus the Hero, and not a City in the Island of that Name.

The Conduct of the Teians in this Conjunction was not unlike that of the Phocæans. For when Harpagus, by the Advantage of his Earthworks, had made himself Master of their Walls, all the Teians went on board their Ships, and transporting themselves to Thrace, settled in the City of Abdera; which Timesius of Clazomenæ had formerly founded; but was afterwards driven out by the Thracians, who would not suffer him to continue in Possession of the Place; where yet he is honour'd as a Hero at this Time by the Teians of Abdera. These were the only People of all the Ionians, who chose rather to abandon their Country, than submit to Servitude. The rest, except the Milesians, were conquer'd by Harpagus, after they had as strenuously defended their several Cities, as those who left the Country; and when they were forc'd to surrender to a superior Power, they continued.
continued to inhabit the same Places, and submitted to the Will of the Conqueror. But the Milesians having made a League with Cyrus, as I said before, kept themselves quiet during these Commotions. And in this Manner the Ionians of the Continent were a second Time conquer'd; which put the Islanders under such Consternation, that they readily made their Submission to Cyrus. Yet, as the Ionians, even in these Circumstances, were permitted to meet in the Pan-Ionian Council, I am inform'd that Bias of Priene offer'd them such salutary Advice in one of those Assemblies, that if they had hearken'd to him, they might have been the most happy of all the Grecians. For he counsel'd the Ionians to transport themselves in their Ships to Sardinia, and to have only one Capital City there, for the Use of the whole Confederacy; by which Means they would not only be deliver'd from Servitude; but inhabiting the most considerable of the Islands, could not fail of leading and governing all the rest: Whereas should they continue in Ionia, he saw no Hope of recovering their Liberty. This was the Counsel of Bias the Prienean, after the Ionians were subdued; but Thales the Milesian, who was of Phœnician Descent, gave them the most useful Advice before that Calamity happen'd, in admonishing the Ionians to constitute one general Council of the whole League in the City of Teos, which stands in the Centre of Ionia; and to esteem all the rest of the inhabited Cities as so many equal Parts of the same Community. Such were the Sentiments of those two Persons.
HARPAGUS having subdued Ionia, led his Army, which he reinforce'd with Ionians and Æolians, against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians came from the Islands to inhabit on the Continent. They were antiently call'd Leleges, and liv'd in the Islands under the Protection of Minos, paying no Kind of Tribute, that I could ever find by enquiring into the remotest Times. But when he had occasion for Mariners, they assist'd him with their Ships in the great Conquests he made, and rais'd themselves to a higher Degree of Reputation than any other Nation. They were the Inventers of three Things now in Use among the Grecians. For the Carians were the first who wore a Crest upon their Helmets; adorn'd their Shields with various Figures; and invented the Handle, by which they are manag'd; whereas, before this Invention, the Shield hung about the Soldier's Neck by a Thong of Leather, and descended by the Left Shoulder. After a long Time, the Dorians and Ionians abandon'd the Islands likewise, as the Carians had done, and settled on the Continent: And this Account the Cretans give of the Carians. But the Carians not assenting to these Things, affirm they were originally Inhabitants of the Continent, and always went under the same Name. In Testimony of which they shew an antient Temple at Mylasa, dedicated to the Carian Jupiter; where the Mysians and Lydians are admitted to participate with the Carians in their Worship, as Nations of the same Blood. For, say they, Lydus and Mysus were Brothers to Cares, and on that Account the Use of this Temple is communicated to their Posterity, and not to
to any other People, tho' of the same Language with the Carians. The Caunians, as I conjecture, are originally of the Country they inhabit, tho' they say their Ancestors came from Crete. But whether they have accommodated their Language to that of the Carians, or the Carians have form'd their Speech by the Caunian, I cannot determine with Certainty. In their Customs and Manners the Caunians resemble no other Nation, not even the Carians; accounting it a decent Thing in Men, Women, and Boys, to drink in great Companies, with their Friends, and with those of the same Age. They antiently worshipp'd the Gods of other Nations; but afterwards changing their Opinion, and resolving to have no other than their own national Deities, they all arm'd themselves, and in a petulant Manner brandishing their Spears in the Air, march'd up to the Mountains of Calinda, crying as they went, That they were expelling the Foreign Gods out of their Country. The Lycians derive their Original from Crete, which in antient Time was entirely in the Possession of Barbarians. But Sarpedon and Minos, the Sons of Europa, contending for the Kingdom; Sarpedon being defeated by Minos, was driven out of the Island with all his Partizans, and landing in Asia, settled in Milyas; for that was the antient Name of the Country which the Lycians now inhabit, tho' the Milyans were then call'd Solymi. During the Reign of Sarpedon they went by the Name they brought with them into Asia; and in our Time are by their Neighbours call'd Termili ans. But when Lycus the Son of Pandion was compell'd by his Brother Ægeus to quit Athens, he
he fled to Sarpedon at Termile, and from him the People began to be nam'd Lycians. Their Customs are, for the most Part, deriv'd from the Cretans and Carians; but they have one peculiar to themselves, in which they differ from all other Nations. For they take their Names from their Mothers, and not from their Fathers; so that if any one be ask'd who he is, and of what Family, he recounts his Maternal Genealogy, in the Female Line. Besides, if a free-born Woman marry a Servant, her Children enjoy the full Privilege of Citizens; but should a Man of ever so high Dignity marry a Foreigner or a Concubine, his Children would be uncapable of any Honour.

The Carians were subdu'd by Harpagus, without doing any memorable Action in their Defence: And all the Grecians that inhabit those Parts, behav'd themselves with as little Courage. Among these were the Cnidians, a Lacedemonian Colony, whose Territories descend to the Triopian Sea. This Region, except the Isthmus of Byblestia, which is no more than five Stades in Breadth, is surrounded by the Sea, having on the North-Side the Ceraunian Gulph, and on the South-West the Rhodian and Symean Seas. The Cnidians there, while the Arms of Harpagus were employ'd in the Conquest of Ionia, form'd a Design to cut thro' the Isthmus, and to make their Country an Island. But, as they were carrying on that Work with great Diligence, the Shivers of the Stones broken by their Instruments, flew about so thick, and wounded so many Men in the Body, and particularly in the Eyes, that falling into great Consternation, and imagining some Divine Power had interpos'd, they sent to in-
quire of the Delphian Oracle concerning this
Obstruction; and, as the Cnidians say, had the
following Answer from the Pythian;

Build here no Towers, nor thro' the Isthmus cut:
Had the God pleas'd that this should be an Isle,
The Sea had wash'd your Coast in every Part.

Upon the Reception of this Oracle, the Cnidians
desisted from their Work, and when Harpagus
appear'd with his Army, surrender'd without
Resistance. But the Pedaeans inhabiting a mid-
land Country situate above Halicarnassus, were
the only People of Caria that oppos'd Harpagus
with Vigour. For retiring to a Mountain call'd
Lyda, they fortified and defended themselves
valiantly, and were not subdued without great
Difficulty. When any sinister Event is about to
fall upon the Pedaeans and their Neighbours, a
long Beard shoots suddenly upon the Chin of
Minerva's Priestess; and this Prodigy has thrice
happen'd. After these Successes, Harpagus drew
his Army into the Plain, in order to attack the
Lycians of Xanthus; who, tho' they were few
in Number, yet having assembled what Forces
they could, took the Field, and fought the Per-
sians with great Courage. But being overpow-
er'd with Numbers, and forc'd to retire into the
City, they put their Wives, Children, and Ser-
vants, with all their Riches, into the Castle,
and set fire to the Place. Which when they
had done, and all was burnt, they engag'd them-
selves by the strongest Oaths to dye together,
and to that End returning into the Field of Bat-
tle, they renew'd the Fight, and were cut in
Pieces to the last Man. All the Xanthian Ly-
cians
cians of our Age are descended from Strangers, except eighty Families, which being absent at the Time of this Invasion, escap’d with Life. Thus Xanthus fell into the Hands of Harpagus; and Caunia almost in the same Manner; for the Caunians were accustom’d to follow the Example of the Lycians.

While Harpagus subdued the Lower, Cyrus conquer’d the Upper Asia, without sparing any Nation he found in his Way. But I shall forbear to mention the greater Part of his Actions, and content myself to relate the most memorable; especially such as were attended with the greatest Difficulty. When he had reduc’d all the Continent of Asia, he resolv’d to invade Assyria, which contains many famous Cities; but the principal in Strength and Name is Babylon, where the Seat of the Kingdom was fix’d after the Destruction of Ninus. Babylon stands in a spacious Plain, and being perfectly square, shews a Front, on every Side, of one Hundred and twenty Stades, which make up the Sum of four Hundred and eighty Stades in the whole Circumference. This City, so great in Dimension, is more magnificently built than any other we know. In the first Place, a wide and deep Ditch, always supplied with Water, encompasses the Wall; which is two Hundred Royal Cubits in Height, and fifty in Breadth; every Royal Cubit containing three Digits more than the common Measure. And here I think myself oblig’d to give some Account, how the Babylonians employ’d the Earth that was taken out of so large a Ditch, and in what Manner the Wall was built. As they open’d the Ground, and threw out the Earth, they made
made Bricks; and when they had shap'd a convenient Number, they bak'd them in Furnaces prepar'd for that Purpose. The Cement they us'd was a bituminous Substance heated on the Fire; and every thirty Orders of Bricks were compacted together with an Intermixture of Reeds. With these Materials they first lin'd the Canal, and afterwards built the Wall in the same Manner. Certain Edifices consisting only of one Floor, were plac'd on the Edges of the Wall, fronting each other, and a Space was left between those Buildings, sufficient for turning a Chariot with four Horses abreast. In the Circumference of the Wall one hundred Gates of Brass are seen, with Intablatures and Supporters of the same Metal, all of like Architecture. Eight Days Journey from Babylon stands another City, call'd Is, on a River of the same Name, that falls into the Euphrates, and brings down great Quantities of Brimstone in Lumps; which being carried to Babylon was us'd in this Work: And thus the City was encompass'd with a Wall. Babylon consists of two Parts, separated from each other by the River Euphrates; which descending from the Mountains of Armenia, becomes broad, deep, and rapid, and falls into the Red-Sea. The Walls were brought down on both Sides to the River, with some Inflexion at the Extremities; from whence a Rampart of Brickwork was extended along the Edge of the River on both Sides. The Houses of Babylon are of three and four Floors in Height; and the principal Streets pass in a direct Line quite through the City. The rest traversing these in several Places, lead to the River; and little Gates of Brass, equal in Number to the lesser
lesser Streets, are place'd in the Ramparts which border the Stream. Within the first Wall, which is fortified with Towers, another is built, not much inferior in Strength, tho' not altogether so thick: And besides these, the Centre of each Division is wall'd round; containing in one Part the Royal Palace, which is very spacious and strong; and in the other the Temple of Jupiter Belus, being a square Building, extended to the Length of two Stades on every Side, and having Gates of Brafs, as may still be seen in our Time. In the midst of this Temple stands a solid Tower, of one Stade in Height, and in Length and Breadth of the same Measure. On this Tower another is built, and a third upon that, till they make up the Number of eight. The Ascent to these is by a circular Way carried round the Outside of the Building to the highest Part. In the midst of the Ascent is a Place, where those who go up may rest themselves; and within the uppermost Tower a spacious Dome is built, in which a Table of Gold stands at the Side of a magnificent Bed. No Image is seen in this Place, nor is any Mortal permitted to remain there by Night (as the Chaldaæans, who are the Priests of this Temple, say) except only a Woman chosen by the God out of the whole Nation; affirming for a Truth, which nevertheless I think incredible, that the God comes by Night and lies in the Bed: Which resembles the Account given by the Egyptians of their Temple at Thebes. For there also a Woman lies in the Temple of Jupiter, and neither of these are suspected to have the Company of Men; any more than the Priestess of Pataris in Lycia; where,
HERODOTUS. Book I.

Though they have not a constant Oracle, yet when an Answer is to be deliver'd, she is shut up during all the Night in the Temple.

In a Chapel which stands below, within the Temple of Babylon, a large Image of Gold, representing Jupiter sitting, is plac'd on a Throne of Gold, at a Table of the same Metal, all together weighing eight hundred Talents, as the Chaldaes affirm. Without this Chapel is an Altar of Gold; and another of a greater Size, which is used when Cattle of full Age are sacrific'd; for on the Golden Altar no other than sucking Victims may be offer'd. On the great Altar the Chaldaes consume yearly the Weight of a thousand Talents in Incense, when they celebrate the Festival of this God. Besides these Things, a Statue of solid Gold, twelve Cubits high, stood formerly in this Temple; which because I did not see, I shall only relate what I heard from the Chaldaes; who say, that Darius the Son of Hystaspes, having form'd a Design to take away this Statue, had not Courage to effect his Purpose: But that Xerxes the Son of Darius, not only took the Statue, but kill'd the Priest who had forbidden him to remove it. In this Manner the Temple of Jupiter Belus is built and adorn'd; not to mention divers other Donations consecrated there by private Persons.

Many Kings, whose Names I shall mention in my Discourses of the Assyrian Affairs, reign'd formerly in Babylon, and beautified the City with Temples and other publick Edifices: But none more than two Women. The first of these, nam'd Semiramis, liv'd five Generations before the
the other, and rais'd such Banks to prevent the
Inundations of the River, which frequently
overflow'd all the Plain of Babylon, as deserv'd
Admiration. But the other, whose Name was
Nitocris, having afterwards obtain'd the King-
dom, and being much more provident, not only
left Monuments of herself, which I shall de-
scribe; but when she saw the Power of the
Medes grown formidable and strong, and that
they had taken the City of Ninus, with divers
others, she made all imaginable Provision for the
Defence of her Territories. To that End, in
the first Place she caus'd a Channel to be open'd
above Babylon, with so many various Windings,
to receive the Stream of the Euphrates, which
before ran in a straight Line, that this River was
made to touch no less than three several Times
at one single Town of Assyria, call'd Arderica;
and all those who now ascend from the Sea by
the Way of Babylon, are necessitated to pass
thrice by that Place in three several Days.
Much higher than Babylon, at a little Distance
from the Euphrates, she caus'd a spacious Lake
to be made, four Hundred and twenty Stades
over on every Side; and in Depth till the
Workmen came to Water. She border'd the
Edge of this Lake quite round with Stone, and
all the Earth they threw out was dispos'd of,
by her Direction, to augment the Banks of the
River, which by that Means are of an astonish-
ing Height and Thickness. These two Things
she did, that the Current being broken by fre-
quent Inflexions, the River might move on but
slowly, and that the Capaciouines of the Lake
might render the Navigation to Babylon long
and difficult. All this was done in that Part of
the Country which lies next to the Medes, and is their shortest Way to Babylon; to the End they might have no Opportunities of discovering her Affairs by an easy Communication with the Assyrians. Both these Works she strengthen'd with a solid Facing from the Bottom, and erected another between the two Divisions of the City. For considering that Babylon was divided by the River into two Parts; and that all Persons who pass'd from one Side to the other during the Reigns of former Kings, had been necessitated to make use of Boats, which in my Opinion was very troublesome; she provided the following Remedy; and after having sunk the Draining Lake, I mention'd before, left this also for a Monument of her Fame. She order'd Stones to be cut of large Dimensions; and when they were ready, commanded a great Compass of Ground to be open'd, and the Current of the Euphrates to be turn'd into that Place. By this Means, when the Water was drain'd out, and the antient Channel become dry, she lin'd the Banks of the River on both Sides with a Facing of burnt Brick, below the little Gates that lead to the Water within the City, and cemented as the Walls had been. Which having done, she built a Bridge about the midst of the City with the Stones she had prepar'd; binding them together with Plates of Lead and Iron. Upon these Stones, Planks of squar'd Timber were laid by Day, that the Babylonians might pass over from one Side to the other, but were remov'd at Night to prevent mutual Robberies. When the Lake was fill'd with the Water of the Euphrates, and the Bridge finish'd, she brought back the River to its antient
tient Channel. This Invention of the Lake was much applauded; and thus a Bridge was built for the Use of the Inhabitants. The same Queen laid this Snare for succeeding Time: She prepar'd a Sepulchre for herself over the most frequented Gate of the City, expos'd to open View with the following Inscription: **IF ANY ONE OF MY SUCCESSORS, KINGS OF BABYLON, SHOULD FIND HIMSELF IN WANT OF MONEY, LET HIM OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE AS MUCH AS HE SHALL THINK FIT: BUT IF HE BE NOT REDUC'D TO REAL WANT, HE OUGHT TO FORBEAR; OTHERWISE HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT.** This Monument continued un-touch'd to the Reign of Darius; who judging it unreasonable that the Gate should remain useless to the Inhabitants (for no Man would pass under a dead Body;) and an inviting Treasure be render'd unserviceable, broke up the Sepulchre, and instead of Money found only the Body and these Words; **HADST THOU NOT BEEN INSATIABLY COVETOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU WOULD'ST NOT HAVE VIOLATED THE SEPULCHRE OF THE DEAD.** And this is the Account they give of Nitocris Queen of Babylon.

**CYRUS** made War against Labynitus the Son of this Queen, who had his Name and the Kingdom of Assyria from his Father. When the Great King leads his Army in Person, he has with him Cattle and other Provisions in abundance. The Water he drinks is brought from the River Choæphæs, which runs by Susa; for
the Kings of Persia drink of no other. This Water being first boil'd and preserv’d in Vessels of Silver, is loaded on many Waggons drawn by Mules, and carried after him wheresoever he goes. Cyrus arriving at the River Gyndes in his March towards Babylon, endeavour’d to pass over with his Army; but that River was not fordable. The Gyndes rises in the Hills of Matiene, and descending thro’ Dardania, falls into the Tigris; which passing by the City of Opis, runs out into the Red Sea. In the mean Time one of those who were mounted on white Horses, accounted sacred among the Persians, with an audacious Petulancy push’d into the River; but the Current proving too strong, drew him suddenly with his Horse to the Bottom. Cyrus, much offended with the River for this Affront, threaten’d to render his Stream so contemptible, that Women should pass to either Side without wetting their Knees. After which Menace, deferring his Expedition against Babylon, he divided his Army into two Parts; and having mark’d out one Hundred and eighty Channels, by the Line, on each Side of the River, commanded his Men to dig out the Earth. His Design was indeed executed, by the great Numbers he employ’d; but the whole Summer was spent in the Work. Thus Cyrus punish’d the River Gyndes, by draining the Stream into three Hundred and sixty Trenches; and in the Beginning of the next Spring advance’d with his Army towards Babylon. Upon his Approach the Babylonians, who in Expectation of his coming had drawn out their Forces, gave him Battle, and being defeated fled back to the City. But having been long acquainted with the restless
restless Spirit of Cyrus, and his Custom of attacking all Nations without Distinction, they had laid up Provisions for many Years, and were under no Apprehensions about a Siege. On the other Hand, Cyrus himself finding much Time consum'd, and his Affairs not at all advanc'd, fell into great Doubt what he should do next; when at last, either by the Suggestion of some other Person, or of his own sagacious Invention, he resolv'd upon the following Stratagem. He posted one Part of his Army near the Place where the River enters Babylon, and the rest in another Station below, where the same River leaves the City; with order to enter, so soon as they should see the Channel passable. Having given this Direction, and encourag'd his Forces, he went with the useless Part of his Men to the Lake, and did as the Queen of Babylon had done. For by opening a large Trench, he turn'd the Stream into the Lake, and by that Means the River subsiding, the antient Channel became fordable: Which the Persians, who were appointed to that Purpose, observing, put their Orders in execution, and boldly enter'd the City, having the Water no higher than the Middle of the Thigh. Yet if the Babylonians had been well inform'd, or had foreseen the Attempt of Cyrus, they would doubtless have destroy'd his Army, and not have supinely suffer'd the Persians to pass. For by shutting all the little Gates that lead down to the River, and mounting the Brickworks that run along the Key, they might have taken them in a Kind of Cage; whereas having no Suspicion of such a Design, they were unexpectedly surpriz'd by the Persians. The Extent of the City was
such, that, if we may believe the Babylonians, when those who inhabited near the Centre were taken, the People that dwelt about the Extremities of Babylon heard nothing of their Disaster; but were celebrating a Festival that Day with Dancing and all manner of Rejoicing, till they receiv'd certain Information of the general Fate. And thus Babylon was the first Time taken.

Among many Things which I shall mention, to shew the Power and Wealth of the Babylonians, this is one. That, whereas all the Dominions of the Great King are charg'd with providing Subsistence for his Person and Armies, over and above the usual Tribute; the Territory of Babylon contributes as much as is sufficient for four of the twelve Months that make up the Year, all the rest of Asia furnishing no more than for eight Months only: So that the Country of Assyria alone is accounted equivalent to one half of all the other Parts of Asia. The Government of this Region, which the Persians call a Satrapy, is much more considerable than any other, and yielded an Artabe of Silver every Day to Tritæchmes the Son of Artabazus, who was appointed Governor by the King. The Artabe is a Persian Measure containing three Chœnixes more than the Attick Medimnus. Besides this Revenue, and his Horses for War, a Studd of eight Hundred Stallions, and sixteen Thousand Mares, one Horse to twenty Mares, was kept for him at the Expense of the Country: And his Indian Dogs were so many, that four considerable Towns in the Plain were exempted from all other Taxes, on Condition to provide Food for those Animals.
Such Advantages belong'd to the Governor of Babylon. Little Rain falls in Assyria; but the Root of the Corn is nourish'd in another Manner; and though the Earth is not water'd by the overflowing of the River, as in Egypt; yet the Hands of Men and Watering-Engines, invented for that Purpose, supply the Lands with a sufficient Quantity of Moisture. For all the Country about Babylon is, like Egypt, divided by frequent Canals; of which the largest is navigable, and beginning at the Euphrates, descends towards the Winter-Solstice, and falls into the River Tigris, where the City of Ninus formerly stood. No Part of the known World produces so good Wheat; but the Vine, the Olive and the Fig-Tree, were never seen in this Country. Yet, in Recompence, it abounds so much in Corn, as to yield at all Times an Increase of two Hundred for one; and even three Hundred, when the Year is extraordinary fruitful, and the Climate seems to out-do itself. Wheat and Barley carry a Blade four full Digits in Breadth: And though I well know to what a surprizing Height Milet and Sesama grow in those Parts, I shall be silent in that Particular; because the Truth would seem incredible to all those who have never been at Babylon. They use no other Oil than such as is drawn from Sesama. The Palm-Tree grows naturally over all the Plain; and the greater Part bears Fruit; with which they make Bread, Wine, and Honey. This Tree is cultivated as the Fig-Tree; and they tie the Fruit of that which the Greeks call the Male-Palm, about those Trees that bear Dates, to the End that a Gnat may enter and ripen the Fruit; left otherwise the Gland
Gland fall before Maturity; for the Fruit of the Male-Palm, like that of the wild Fig-Tree, produces a Gnat. But the Thing which, next to the City, seems most wonderful to me, is this: The Vessels that descend the River to Babylon, are round, and in great Measure compos'd of Skins. For when they have cut the Ribbs out of Willows growing in the Hills of Armenia above Babylon, they cover them with Hides extended on the Outside, to serve for a Bottom; making no Distinction of Stem or Stern. These Vessels thus shap'd in the Form of a Buckler, they flow with Reeds, and venture upon the River, freighted with Merchandize, and especially with Casks of Palm-Wine. Two Men standing upright with a Pole in the Hand of each, one pulling to, and the other putting off from himself, direct the Course of these Boats; some of which are very large, and others of a less Size; but the most capacious carry the Weight of five thousand Talents. Every Vessel has an Ass on Board, and the greatest more. For after they arrive at Babylon, and have dispos'd of their Goods, they sell the Ribbs of the Boat with the Reeds; and loading the Hides on the Asses, return by Land to Armenia; the River not being navigable upwards, by reason of the Rapidity of the Stream. For this Cause they use Skins, rather than Timber, in fitting up these Vessels; and at their Return to Armenia, they build more after the same Manner. Such is the Account of that Navigation. For their Dress, they wear a Linen Shirt down to the Feet, upon which they have a Vest of Woollen Cloth, and a white Mantle over all. Their Shoes are made in
in a Fashion peculiar to the Country, not unlike those of the Boeotians. They wear long Hair, covering the Head with a Mitre, and anoint the whole Body with perfum'd Oils. Every Man has a Ring with a Signet, and a Staff curiously wrought; on the Top of which is plac'd either an Apple, a Rose, a Lily, or an Eagle, or some other Thing; for to wear a Stick without such an Ornament, is accounted indecent. Among their Customs, they had one most prudently establish'd; and another, which I approve, and which, I hear, the Henetes of Illyria likewise use. In every District they annually assembled all the Virgins of marriageable Age on a certain Day; and when the Men were come together, and stood round the Place, the Crier rising up, fold one after another, always proposing the most beautiful first; and having fold her for a great Sum of Gold, he puts up the Maid who was esteem'd second in Beauty. On this Occasion the richest of the Babylonians us'd to contend for the fairest Wife, and to outbid one another. But the Vulgar thinking they had no great need of handsome Women, were contented to take the ugly and lame with Money. For when all the beautiful Virgins were fold, the Crier order'd the most deform'd to stand up; and after he had openly demanded, who would marry her with a small Sum, she was at length adjudg'd to the Man that would be satisfied with the least. And in this Manner the Money arising by the Sale of the handsome, serv'd for a Portion to those, who were either of disagreeable Looks, or under any other Imperfection of Body. A Father was not permitted to indulge his own Fancy in the Choice of
of a Husband for his Daughter; neither might the Purchaser carry off the Woman he had bought, without giving sufficient Security to cohabit with her as his Wife: If he refus'd, he was oblig'd to restore the Money he had receiv'd. Yet Men of another District might come and buy if they thought fit. All these Precautions were taken, that Women might not be ill-us'd, nor forc'd away into other Provinces. But this excellent Law, which in former Time was strictly observ'd, is now totally abolisht. For after the Taking of Babylon, they suffer'd great Calamities, and were reduc'd to such Extremities in their private Fortunes, that all the meaner Sort prostitute their Daughters for a Living. Another Custom they have, which deserves the second Praise. All sick Persons are brought out into the most frequented Places, (for they use no Physicians;) and as those who come thither, always enquire concerning the Disease of the Patient, when they find that they have been afflicted with the same, or have seen others in a like Condition, they advise him to do as they did to cure themselves, or as others, they knew, had done in the same Case. For, to pass silent before the Sick, without enquiring into the Nature of their Distemper, is among them accounted a Crime. They embalm the dead in Honey, and their funeral Lamentations are like those of the Ægyptians. When a Babylonian designs to accompany with his Wife, he first burns Incense, sitting on one Side of the Fire, while she does the same on the other; and about Break of Day they go both into a Bath, as the Arabians likewise do, refusing to touch any Thing till they have wash'd.
Nevertheless they have one establish'd Custom, which is infamous in the highest Degree. For every Woman is oblig'd, once in her Life, to sit down openly in the Temple of *Venus*, in order to prostitute herself to some Stranger. Yet because the most Wealthy disdain to expose themselves in Publick among the rest, many come in cover'd Chariots to the Gates of the Temple, and make that their Station, with a numerous Train of Servants attending at a Distance. But the far greater Part enter into the Temple, and sit down crown'd with Garlands, some continually going out, and others coming in. The Galleries where they sit are built in a straight Line, and open on every Side, that all Strangers may have a free Passage to chuse such Women as they like best. When a Woman has seated herself, she must not return home, till some Stranger throw a Piece of Silver into her Lap, and lie with her at some Distance from the Temple; using this Form as he gives her the Money. *I beseech the Goddess Mylitta to favour Thee:* For the Assyrians call *Venus* by that Name. The Law forbids any Woman to refuse this Present, how small soever, because such Money is accounted sacred: And commands her to follow the first that offers it, without rejecting any Man. Having satisfied this Obligation, and performed her Duty to the Goddess, she returns home; and after that Time is never more to be obtain'd by any Presents, how great soever. Those Women who excel in Beauty and Shape, are soon dismiss'd; but the Deform'd are sometimes necessitated to wait three or four Years, before they can satisfy the Law. The Cyprians have a Custom not unlike to this in some Parts
of the Island of Cyprus. The Babylonians have three Tribes among them, who eat nothing but Fish; which they order in this Manner: When they have taken and dry’d the Fish in the Sun, they throw them into a Mortar; and after having reduc’d the whole Substance to a Kind of Meal, they cleanse it through a linen Search; making it up into Cakes, as they have Occasion, and baking it as Bread. And these are the Customs of the Babylonians.

Cyrus having subdued this Nation, grew very desirous to conquer the Massagetes, who are accounted a great and valiant People. They inhabit towards the East, and the Rising-Sun beyond the River Araxes, over-against the Issedonians; and some say they are Scythians. Many think the Araxes to be greater than the Ister, and others, less; containing, as they say, divers Islands, equal to Lesbos in Circumference, and inhabited by Men, who during the Summer feed upon all manner of Roots, which they dig out of the Ground, and for their Winter-Provision lay up the ripe Fruits they find upon the Trees. They add, that a certain Tree growing in this Country, produces Fruit of such a Nature, that when the Inhabitants meet together in Company, and throw a Quantity of it upon the Fire, they become intoxicated as they sit round the Steam, no less than the Grecians by drinking Wine: That the more they fling on, the more drunk they grow, and that when they find themselves in this Condition, they rise up to dance and sing. In this Manner these Islanders are reported to live. The Araxes descends from the Hills of Matiene, (as I observ’d before of the River Gyndes, which Cyrus turn’d into three Hun-
Hundred and sixty Trenches,) and, except one Stream which runs into the Caspian Sea, discharges all its Waters by forty several Passages into certain Fens and Lakes; where 'tis said the Inhabitants feed only upon raw Fish, and cloath themselves in the Skins of Sea-Calves. The Caspian has no Communication with any other Sea; whereas that which the Grecians navigate, together with the Red Sea, and the Atlantick, lying beyond the Columns of Hercules, are but one Sea. The Length of the Caspian is as much as a Vessel with Oars can make in fifteen Days; and to cross the Breadth in the widest Part, requires eight. This Sea is bounded on the West by Mount Caucasus, the greatest and highest of all Mountains; containing many different Nations, who for the most Part live upon such Things as the Earth produces without Cultivation. In this Country, 'tis said, they have a certain Tree, the Leaf of which, when bruised and diluted with Water, serves to paint the Figures of various Animals on their Garments, with a Colour that never fades; that these Figures are not wash'd out by Water, but continue to wear as if they had been woven in the Cloth; and that these People never conceal themselves when they use the Company of Women, any more than do Cattle. Mount Caucasus, as I said before, is extended on the West of the Caspian Sea; and on the East, towards the Rising of the Sun, lies a Plain of immense Extent. The greater Part of this Country is inhabited by the Massagetes, against whom Cyrus was so vehemently inclin'd to make War. The Motives that push'd him on to this Enterprise, were many and powerful; principally,
because his Birth had inspir'd him with an Opinion that he was something above a Man; and good Fortune had so constantly attended him, in all his military Expeditions, that he had conquer'd as many Nations as he had attack'd. The Massagetes were at this Time under the Government of Tomyris, who had been Wife to their last King: And this gave Cyrus a Pretext to send Ambassadors to her, with Proposals of Marriage in his Name. But Tomyris believing he only courted the Kingdom, and not her Person, sent to forbid them to proceed in their Journey. Upon this Cyrus, perceiving his Artifice ineffectual, pull'd off the Mask; and openly advancing with his Army against the Massagetes, arriv'd at the River Araxes; over which he laid Bridges of Boats for the Passage of his Forces, and fortified those Bridges with Towers. Whilst he was employ'd in this Work, Tomyris sent him a Message by a Herald, in these Terms; "King of the Medes, desist from the Enterprize thou hast begun with so great Diligence; for thou art not sure the End will prove fortunate. Be contented to govern thy own Dominions, and suffer us to rule the Country we possess. But if thou wilt not hearken to my Counsel, and art resolv'd to prefer every Thing before Peace; in a Word, if thou hast so great a Desire to make Trial of thy Forces against the Massagetes, toil no longer in vain to build Bridges over the Araxes; but pass boldly to this Side, whilst I retire with my Army full three Days March from the River: Or, if this Condition please thee not, receive us into thy Territories on the same Terms."

When
When Cyrus heard this Message, he call'd a Council of all the principal Persians; and after he had laid the Proposal before them, and demanded their Opinion, they unanimously advis'd him to let Tomyris pass with her Army into his Dominions. But Cræus the Lydian, who was present in the Assembly, disapproving their Counsel, spoke thus to Cyrus; "Sir, in Pursuance of the Promise I made you, when Jupiter deliver'd me into your Hands, I will always, to the utmost of my Power, endeavour to prevent the Misfortunes I see impending over your Head; and my own Calamities, however severe, have contributed something to my Instruction. If you think yourself immortal, and your Army to have the like Prerogative, 'tis needless for me to tell you my Opinion. But if you know you are no more than a Man; and that the Forces you command are Men likewise, consider, in the first Place, that the continual Rotation of human Affairs never suffers the same Person to be always prosperous. For this, and other Reasons, I am oblig'd to dissent from the Advice of all this Assembly, touching the Question now before us. For if we determine to receive the Enemy into this Country, and happen to be defeated, you will be in Danger of losing all your Dominions; because no Man can imagine, that after such a Victory the Massagetes would presently retire with their Forces; but rather immediately fall upon your Territories: And if you should conquer, the Advantage of your Victory could be no Way comparable to those you will obtain by beating them in their own Country, and
and vigorously pursuing their broken Troops.
"For I am persuaded, that such Success im-
prov'd with Diligence, would enable you to 
subdue the whole Kingdom of Tomyris with-
out more Resistance. Besides, the Disgrace 
is too great and intolerable, for Cyrus the 
Son of Cambyses to retreat before a Woman.
"My Opinion therefore is, that you would re-
solve to pass the River; and when you are ad-
vanc'd near the Enemy, then to use the fol-
lowing Stratagem, in order to surprize their 
Forces. I have heard the Massagetes live 
hardly, and are unacquainted with the delici-
ous Tables of the Persians. And therefore I 
advise that great Numbers of Cattle, kill'd 
and dress'd, with Plenty of unmix'd Wine, 
and all other Provisions in abundance, should 
be prepar'd in our Camp for these Men; and 
that leaving the weakest of our Forces behind, 
all the rest should return towards the River: 
"For the Massagetes, if I mistake not, when 
they see so much exquisite Fare, will not fail 
to fall on immediately, and by that means af-
ford us an Occasion of striking a Blow of 
Importance." Of these two Opinions, Cyrus 
rejected the first; and approving that of Crœsus, 
sent a Message to Tomyris, requiring her to re-
tire, whilst he should pass the Araxes with his 
Army. The Queen mindful of her Promise, 
did as he desir'd: And after Cyrus had committed 
the Care of the Kingdom, and of Crœsus, to his 
Son Cambyses; commanding him, if the Expe-
dition against the Massagates should prove unfor-
tunate, to honour Crœsus, and treat him with 
Favour, he dismiss'd both, with Orders to return 
to Persia, and pass the River with all his Forces.

CYRUS
Cyrus having pass'd the Araxes, enter'd the Country of the Massagætes; and in the Night dream'd he saw the eldest Son of Hyphæsps with Wings on his Shoulders; which he spread, and shaded Asia with one, and Europe with the other. Hyphæsps, the Son of Arsames was of the Achæmenian Blood, and the Name of his eldest Son was Darius; who having then scarce attain'd to the Age of twenty Years, had been left in Persia, as too young to sustain the Hardships of War. Cyrus awaking, consider'd his Dream with Attention; and judging it to be of the last Consequence, sent for Hyphæsps; and taking him aside; said: "Hyphæsps, thy Son has form'd a Design against me and my Government, and I will tell thee how I know this with Certainty. The Gods, solicitous for my Preservation, ever give me timely Notice of all impending Dangers: And therefore last Night as I slept, I saw in a Dream the eldest of thy Sons, having Wings on his Shoulders; with one of which he cover'd Europe, and Asia with the other. For this Cause I order thee to return immediately to Persia, and to take Care; that when I come home with Victory, thy Son may be ready to answer for himself." These Words Cyrus said, in a full Persuasion that Darius had form'd a Design against him: But the Daemon by this previous Admonition signified, that he should die in the Enterprize he had undertaken, and that his Kingdom should be transferr'd to Darius. Hyphæsps answer'd, "God forbid, O King, that one who is born a Persian, should conspire against thee! But if any such be found, may sudden Destruction overtake him. For
"For thou hast not only enfranchis'd the Persians, who before were Servants; but advanc'd them from the Condition of Slaves, to the Power of commanding other Nations: And therefore whatever Vision has represented my Son contriving any Thing against thee, I freely surrender him to be treated in the Manner thou shalt command." Having made this Answer, Hystaspes repass'd the River Araxes, and when he arriv'd in Persia, plac'd a Guard upon his Son Darius.

In the mean Time Cyrus advanc'd one Day's March beyond the River; and after some stay, pursuant to the Counsel of Creæus, retir'd again, with all his best Troops; leaving only the worst of his Men behind him. These the Massagetes attack'd with a third Part of their Army, and after some Resistance, cut in Pieces. Which having done, and seeing a plentiful Feast prepar'd, they eat and drank to such Excess, that they fell asleep upon the Spot. In this Condition they were surpriz'd by the Persians, who kill'd many, and took a greater Number Prisoners; among them Spargapises, Son to Tomyris, and General of the Massagetes. The Queen hearing the Misfortune of her Son, and one Part of her Army, sent a Herald to Cyrus with a Message in these Words; "O Cyrus, thou infatiable Hunter of Blood, be not vain and insolent; if, by the Fruit of the Vine, which none of you can bear without raving, and which never enters into your Bodies without bringing up all Manner of unbecoming Language; if, I say, by this treacherous Poison, thou hast circumvented my Son, instead of conquering him by Valour in the Field. How-
However, for the present take the best Counsel I can give. Restore my Son: Depart out of this Country, and rest satisfied with having surpriz’d a third Part of my Army by Fraud. But if thou wilt not do these Things, I swear by the Sun, who is the Lord of the Maffagetes, to give thee Blood enough; insatiable as thou art.” After this Message, which had no Effect upon Cyrus, Spargapis, the Son of Tomyris, being recover’d from his Wine, and perceiving the Disaster that was fall’n upon him, begg’d of Cyrus to be unbound; and having obtain’d his Request, no sooner found his Hands at Liberty, than he immediately kill’d himself. But Tomyris finding her Advice flighted by Cyrus, assembled all her Forces, and engag’d the Persians in a Battle; which I think to have been the most obstinate that ever was fought by Barbarians. At first, as I am inform’d, whilst the two Armies were at a Distance, they sent Showers of Arrows upon each other; and after they had quite emptied their Quivers, and thrown all their Javelins; they join’d in close Fight with their Swords and Spears. In this Manner they continued for a long Time, fighting with equal Fury; but at length the Maffagetes had the Victory, most of the Persian Army being cut in Pieces, and Cyrus himself kill’d in the Place, after he had reign’d Twenty nine Years. Tomyris found the Body of Cyrus, among the slain; and having cut off the Head, threw it into a Vessel fill’d with human Blood, which she had purposely prepared; saying, in an insulting Manner; “Thou didst, indeed, treacherously surprize and destroy my Son; but I, who survive, and am thy Conqueror, will now make
"make good my Word, and give thee Blood enough." Such was the End of Cyrus; and though many other things are said of him, I have restrain'd my Relation to these, which to me seem best attested.

The Massagetæ resemble the Scythians in their Habit and Way of Living: They have both Horse and Foot in their Armies: Their Weapons of War are Arrows, Javelins, and Scymeters: About their Arms they use Brass or Gold; for the Blade of their Scymeter is Brass, and their Javelins and Arrows are pointed with the same Metal; but their Helmets, Belts, and Body Armour are adorn'd with Gold. They arm their Horses with a Breastplate of Brass, and the Bridle, with all the rest of the Furniture, is enrich'd with Gold. They use no Silver nor Iron, for neither of those Metals are found in their Country. As for their Manners, every one marries a Wife; but they lie with those Women in common; and the Grecians mistake, when they attribute this Custom to the Scythians, which is peculiar to the Massagetæ; among whom, whenever a Man desires to have the Company of a Woman, he hangs up his Quiver at the Head of his Chariot, and uses her without Shame. The Years of Life are not limited by any Law: but after a Man has attain'd to old Age, all his Relations meet, and sacrifice him, with Cattle of several Kinds; and when they have boil'd all the Flesh together, they sit down as to a Feast. This Death they account the most happy; for they never eat the Bodies of those who die by Sickness, but bury them in the Earth, and think it a great Misfortune, that they did not attain to be sacrific'd.
Their Drink is Milk; and they sow nothing; contenting themselves with the Flesh of Animals, and Fish, which the River Araxes yields in abundance. They adore the Sun only of all the Gods, and sacrifice Horses to his Deity; judging it most proper to offer the swiftest of all Animals to the swiftest of all the Gods.
AFTER the Death of Cyrus, Cambyses succeeded him in the Kingdom. He was the Son of Cyrus, and of Cassandana the Daughter of Pharnaspes; who dying some Time before, was publickly lamented by Cyrus, and in Obedience to his Command, by all the People of his Dominions. Born of these Parents, Cambyses treated the Ionians and Æolians as his Patrimonial Servants; and having determin'd to invade Ægypt, constrain'd the Grecians that were subject to him, to join his other Forces, and to attend him in his Expedition.

The Ægyptians who liv'd before the Reign of Psammetichus, thought themselves the most antient People of all the World. But since the Experiment he made, to find out the Truth of that Matter, they have yielded the Priority to the Phrygians, still esteeming themselves the second in Antiquity. For after Psammetichus had long endeavour'd in vain to discover who were the first Men, he at last contriv'd this Expedient.
He took two Male Children newly born of poor Parents, and putting them into the Hands of a Shepherd to be brought up among his Flocks, commanded him not to permit any one to speak in their hearing; but to lay them in a solitary Cottage; to bring them Goats to suck at certain times, and when he should perceive they were satiated with Milk, to nourish them with other Food. These Orders Psammetichus gave, that he might be inform'd, what Word would first break from the Children, when they should begin to articulate; and the Success was answerable to his Expectation. For at the end of two Years, as the Shepherd to whose Care they were committed, was one Day entering the Cottage, and had already open'd the Door, both the Children ran to him, and holding out their Hands, cried Bekkos. The Shepherd at first said nothing; but after he had often observ'd that this Word was ever repeated at his coming in, he acquainted the King with what had happen'd, and by his Command brought the Children into his Presence. Psammetichus having heard the same, inquir'd in the next place, if any Nation made use of the Word Bekkos; and when he found by Inquiry, that the Phrygians call Bread by that Name, the Egyptians consented to take this for a Proof, that the Phrygians were the more antient People. This Relation I had at Memphis from the Priests of Vulcan. But the Grecians, among many other ridiculous things, report, that Psammetichus deliver'd these Children to be brought up by certain Women, whose Tongues he caus'd to be cut out. Divers other things I heard at Memphis.
in several Conferences I had with the Priests of Vulcan. I went also to Thebes, and to Heliopolis, in order to see whether their Accounts might agree with what I had heard at Memphis; for the Heliopolitans are esteem'd the wisest of all the Ægyptians. Their Discourses touching the Gods, I am not very willing to publish, except only their Names; supposing that all Men think alike concerning them: And therefore I shall say no more of those matters than the Thread of my Narration absolutely requires. But as for human Sciences, they all agree, that the Ægyptians were the first Inventers of the Year, which they divided into twelve Parts, by means of the Knowledge they had of the Stars: In this, as I think, more able than the Grecians, who to make up the Time, throw in an intercalatory Month every third Year: Whereas the Ægyptians allowing thirty Days to each of the twelve Months, and adding five Days to each Year, render the Revolution of Time equal and regular. They said also, that the Ægyptians were the first who gave Names to the twelve Gods; and that the Grecians had those Names from them; that they erected the first Altars, Images, and Temples to the Gods, and carv'd the Figures of Animals on Stone; most of which they demonstrated to be so in fact. They added, that Menes was the first King, who reign'd in the World; and that in his Time all Ægypt, except the Country of Thebes, was one Morass; no part of the present Land appearing then below the Lake Myris, which is seven Days Passage from the Sea by the way of the River. Indeed, to me they seem'd to
to speak rationally touching this Region. For any Man of Understanding will easily perceive at sight, tho' he had never heard these things, that those Parts of Ægypt which the Grecians frequent with their Shipping, are an Accession of Land bestow'd upon the Ægyptians by the River: And so is all that Country, which Men see beyond the Lake during a Passage of three Days; of which yet these Ægyptians said nothing. Besides, when a Ship bound to Ægypt rides at a Distance of a whole Day's Sail from the Port, if a Man try the Sounding, he shall draw up his Plummets cover'd with Mud, even where the Sea is eleven Fathom deep; which plainly shews, that all that Earth was brought down thither by the River. The Ægyptian Coast extending, as we reckon, from the Bay of Plinthene to the Lake Selbonis under Mount Casius, is sixty Schœnes in Length. And here we must observe, that those Nations who have only small Territories, measure their Land by the Rod; such as have more, by the Stade; and those who have very much, by the Parasanges, each consisting of thirty Stades. But in Countries of vast Extent, they account by the Schœne, which is an Ægyptian Measure equal to sixty Stades. So that the whole Coast of Ægypt is three thousand and six hundred Stades in Length. From the Sea upwards to the City of Heliopolis, the Country is a spacious Level, without Rivers, yet moist and glutinous. The Distance from the Sea to Heliopolis, is about the same, as from the Altar of the twelve Gods in Attica to Pisa and the Temple of Olympian Jupiter. For whoever will compare
pare these Ways, shall find by Computation that they differ not one from the other above fifteen Stades; the Road leading to Pisa wanting no more of one thousand five hundred Stades, which is just the Number that lie between the Sea and Heliopolis. From this City upwards, Ægypt is narrow, and shut up on one side by the Mountains of Arabia, which form a continued Line, extending from the North to the South and South-West, till they reach the Red Sea. In these Hills are found Quarries of Stone, which were us'd in building the Pyramids of Memphis. But I have heard, that to travel this Country over in the widest Part from East to West, is a Journey of two Months; and that the most Eastwardly Limits produce Frankincense in abundance. On that side of Ægypt which borders upon Libya, are other Mountains, very rocky and cover'd with Sand. They contain divers Pyramids, and stand over-against those of Arabia which stretch to the Southward. So that the Country is narrow beyond Heliopolis, as far as one can pass in four Days Voyage up the River; which is not much, if we consider the Extent of Ægypt. Between the Mountains before-mention'd the Land is level, and, in the narrowest Part, seems to me not above two hundred Stades, in Breadth, from the Arabian to the Lybian Hills: But beyond these Streights the Country grows wider again. Such is the Form and Situation of this Region. From Heliopolis to Thebes Men pass by Water in nine Days, the Distance between thosc two Cities being four thousand eight hundred and sixty Stades, which amount to eighty one Schoenes. In Conclusion; the Coast of
of Egypt, as I said before, contains in Length three thousand and six hundred Stades. Thebes is distant from the Sea six thousand one hundred and twenty; and the City of Elephanta is eight hundred and twenty from Thebes. The greater Part of all this Country, as the Priests informed me, and as I judge by what I saw, is an Accession of Land to the Egyptians. For the Plains that lye between the Mountains beyond Memphis, seem to me to have been formerly a Bay of the Sea: And I have the same Opinion of those about Ilium, Teutramia, Ephesus, and the Meander; if I may be permitted to compare small things with great: For none of all the Rivers that have thrown out Earth in this manner on those Regions, can justly be brought in Competition with any one of the seven Channels of the Nile. I might mention other Rivers which have wrought the like Effect, and, tho' not so considerable as the Nile have yet done great things of this Nature. Of these, one of the most remarkable is the Achelois; which passing thro' Acarnania, and falling into the Sea by the Echinades, has already joind one half of those Islands to the Continent. Besides, there is a Bay, not far from Egypt, branching out from the Red Sea, tho' belonging to Arabia, which is long and narrow, in the manner I shall here describe: From the innermost Part of this Bay to the broad Sea, the Passage is of as great a Length as a Vessel with Oars can perform in forty Days; and yet the Breadth in the widest Place is no more than half a Day over. The Tides of this Gulph are strong; the Waters ebb and flow daily; and I am of Opinion that Egypt was antiently penetrated
penetrated in like manner by an Arm of the Sea, entering on the North side, and ascending towards Æthiopia; as that of Arabia, which I mention'd before, stretches from the South towards Syria; and that the Extremities of these two had only a narrow Tract of Land lying between, and separating the one from the other. Now, if the Nile would turn its Stream into the Arabian Sinus, what could hinder that River from filling the Channel with Earth in twenty thousand Years? For, as I am persuaded that the other has suffer'd the like Change within the Space of ten thousand Years before my Time; I presume that this, or even a much greater Channel may be fill'd up in that Time by such a vigorous and abounding River. The Things therefore which I heard concerning Ægypt, together with the Testimony of my own Eyes, induce me to this Opinion; especially having observ'd, that this Country lies lower than the next adjoining Region; that Shells are found on the Hills; that a brackish Humour issuing from the Earth corrodes the Stones of the Pyramids; and that among all the Mountains of Ægypt, this alone which is situate above Memphis, abounds in Sand. Besides, Ægypt is utterly unlike all the adjacent Countries, whether of Arabia, Libya, or Syria; (for the maritim Parts of Arabia are inhabited by Syrians;) the Soil being black, loose, and apparently such as the Nile brings down from Æthiopia: Whereas we know that the Earth of Libya is reddish, and mix'd with Sand; as that of Arabia and Syria is either Stony, or mix'd with Clay. Another Particular, of great Moment to confirm what is said touching this Coun-
try, I had from the Priests; who affirm, that, under the Reign of Myris, if the Nile rose to the height of eight Cubits, all the Lands of Egypt were sufficiently water'd: And yet Myris had not been nine hundred Years dead, when I receiv'd this Information. But in our time, unless the River swells to sixteen Cubits, or fifteen at least, the Country is not cover'd with Water. So that if the Soil continues to increase in the same Proportion as in Ages past, I am persuaded, that those who inhabit below the Lake of Myris, and in all that Part which is call'd Delta, must for ever suffer by a Deficiency of Water: The same Calamity, they us'd to say, must at some time fall upon the Grecians. For having heard that all the Lands of Greece were water'd by Rain, and not, as Egypt, by Rivers; they said the Grecians, at some time or other, would be disappointed of their Hopes and starve: Meaning, if Jupiter should not afford Rain, but send dry Seasons in the place of wet, they must perish by Famine, having no other Water than that which the Heavens are pleas'd to bestow. I acknowledge this Discourse is not altogether groundless; yet in return, I desire to know of the Egyptians, what Expedient they could invent to preserve themselves from starving, if, as I said before, all the Land below Memphis, which visibly rises every Year, should continue hereafter to increase in the same Proportion; when the Country shall neither be water'd by Rain from Heaven, nor the River be sufficient to ascend above the Soil. At this Day indeed, no People in the World, nor in the rest of Egypt, enjoy the Productions of the Earth with so little Labour. They are
are exempted from the Toil of Plowing and Digging, and other painful parts of Husbandry, to which all the rest of Mankind are subject. For as soon as the River has overflow'd the Country, and retreated again, every Man sows his own Land; and having put in his Hogs to tread the Seed into the Ground, expects the Harvest without farther Care; and when that Season comes, lets in his Hogs again, to shake the Grain out of the Ear, and has no other Trouble than to lay up his Corn. But if we should follow the Opinion of the Ionians, who say, that the Country of Delta alone is properly call'd Ægypt; extending along the Shore from the Tower of Perseus to the Salt-Pits of Pelusium, forty Schœnes in Length, and from the Sea upwards, to the City of Cercasora, where the Nile divides, and descends towards Pelusium and Canopus; attributing the rest of Ægypt partly to Libya and partly to Arabia; we should evidently infer, that the Ægyptians had not formerly any Country. For they themselves acknowledge, and I concur in Opinion with them, that Delta is form'd of the Soil which the River has brought down, and did not always exist. And if this be true, to what End were they so solicitous to be thought the most antient of all People? Sure they might have forborn to try by an Experiment, what Language Children would first speak. For my own part, I am not of Opinion that the Ægyptians are precisely coætaneous with the Country which the Ionians call Delta; but that they always were, since Men have been: And that as the Soil increas'd gradually, many came down from the higher Parts to inhabit the new form'd Earth; and many
many continued in their former Possessions. For the Province of Thebes went antiently by the Name of Ægypt, and comprehends six thousand one hundred and twenty Stades in Circumference. If therefore we judge rightly of these things, the Opinion of the Ionians is erroneous; but if their Sentiment be well grounded, we shall shew, that neither the Grecians nor the Ionians reason well, when they say the World is divided into three Parts; Europe, Asia, and Libya; because they plainly add a fourth, if the Ægyptian Delta be not a Part either of Libya, or of Asia. For, by their reasoning, the Nile does not separate Asia from Libya; that River dividing at the Point of Delta, and rowling down on each side of a Region, which being thus encompass'd, can belong neither to Libya nor to Asia. But not to insist longer on the Opinion of the Ionians, I presume, that all the Countries which the Ægyptians inhabit, ought to be accounted Ægypt, as those of the Cilicians and Assyrians are known by the Names of Cilicia and Assyria. Neither can I imagine what Parts may be properly call'd the Bounds of Asia and Libya, except the Limits of Ægypt. Yet if we follow the Opinion which the Grecians embrace, we must say, that all Ægypt below the Catadupians and the City of Elephantis, is divided into two Parts under two distinct Names, one belonging to Libya, and the other to Asia. For the Nile descending from the Catadupians, passes thro' the midst of Ægypt in one Channel towards the Sea, to the City of Cercasora, and there separates into three. That which runs out to the Eastward is called the Pelusian Mouth: The second inclining Westward, goes by the Name
Name of Canopean: And the third Channel descending from above by a straight Line, passes thro' the midst of Delta, and being no way inferior to the other two in Fame, or Quantity of Water, is call'd the Mouth of Sebennytus; whence two more are deriv'd, which take their Names from the Cities of Sais and Mendes, and flow into the Sea. For those of Bolbitis and Bucolis were not form'd by Nature, but are owing to the Industry of Men. To this Opinion concerning the Extent of Ægypt, I have the concurring Testimony of the Oracle of Ammon; which yet I had not heard before I was fully persuad'd of these things. For the People who inhabit the Cities of Apis and Marea, situate on the Frontier of Ægypt, next to the Borders of Libya, impatient of the Ægyptian Superstition, and unwilling to abstain from the Flesh of Heifers, were very desirous to be accounted Libyans rather than Ægyptians; and to that End consulting the Oracle of Ammon, profess'd they had no Relation to the Ægyptians, because they liv'd out of Delta, and could by no means agree with them, but desir'd to eat all manner of Food without Distinction. Nevertheless, the God rejecting their Request, pronounc'd, That Ægypt comprehends all the Territories which are overflow'd by the Nile; and that all those who drink of that River below the City of Elephantis, are Ægyptians.

The Inundations of the Nile not only cover Delta, but the Frontier of Libya also, and sometimes that of Arabia, to the Extent of about two Days Journey more or less on each side. And though I was very desirous to be inform'd touching the Nature of this River, I could not learn...
learn either from the Priests, or any other Persons, what should cause the Nile to overflow during a hundred Days after the Summer Solstice, and then going off again in about the same space of Time, to continue low all the Winter, and even to the return of the next Summer Solstice. Of these Particulars I could get no Account from the Egyptians; tho' I inquir'd, whether this River have any peculiar Quality, or be different in Nature from other Rivers: And my great Desire to be inform'd, not only leads me to ask these Questions; but also how it comes to pass that the Nile alone, of all the Rivers in the World, never emits the least Wind on the adjacent Parts. Nevertheless, some of the Grecians pretending to distinguish themselves by their Knowledge, have nam'd three several Causes of these Inundations; two of which I think deserve so little Regard, that I shall only mention them, because I would omit nothing concerning this Subject. They say first, that the Etesian Winds are the Cause of the swelling of this River, by repelling the Stream, and preventing it from discharging into the Sea. But the Nile has sometimes perform'd its Work, before the Etesian Winds begin to blow: And besides, if those Winds were the Cause of these Inundations, all other Rivers that are expos'd to the same Winds, must of necessity be liable to the same Effect; and the rather, by being weaker and less rapid: Yet the Rivers of Syria and Libya, which are many, were never subject to the like Influence. The second Opinion is more groundless than the former, tho' more wonderful; affirming, that the Nile, flowing from the Ocean, performs these things; and that the
Ocean surrounds the whole Earth. The third Way of resolving this Difficulty is the most probable, and yet most untrue. For by saying that the Waters of the Nile are produc'd by melted Snow, they say nothing; because this River descends from Libya thro' the midst of Æthiopia into Ægypt; that is to say, from a very hot to a very cold Region, and therefore cannot owe its Being to Snow. Many Reasons will readily occur to Men of good Understanding, to shew the Improbability of this Opinion. First and principally, because the Winds which blow from Æthiopia are always hot. In the second place, neither Rain nor Ice is seen in those Countries; and yet Rain always follows within the space of five Days after Snow: So that if Snow falls in those Regions, Rain must. Besides, the Inhabitants are render'd black by the excessive Heat; Swallows and Kites continue there all the Year; and the Cranes, to avoid the Cold of Scythia, come to pass the Winter in that Country: All which could not be, if any Snow should fall in the Parts adjacent to the Source and Passage of the Nile. As for those who attribute these Inundations to the Ocean, they involve their Assertion in mysterious Fables, and give no solid Proof: Neither do I know any River so call'd; but conjecture that Homer, or some other antient Poet finding that Name, inserted it in their Writings. Yet if after I have express'd my Dissatisfaction with the Opinions before-mention'd, I must give my own concerning so intricate a Question, That which causes the Nile to overflow in Summer, is, in my Judgment, this. During the Winter, the Sun relinquishing his former Course, retires
retires to the upper Regions of Libya; which in few Words comprehends the whole Matter; for this God diminishes the Rivers, and sinks the Streams of those Countries that lie nearest to his Passage. But to explain my meaning more amply, I say, that the Sun passing over the remoter Parts of Libya, which are always clear, hot, and liable to fresh Winds, acts then in the same manner there, as in other Places in the midst of Summer; attracting the Moiture, and throwing it back again upon the higher Regions; where it is received and liquefied by the Winds, which in this Climate blow generally from the South and South-West, and consequently most attended with Wet of any other. Yet I am of Opinion, that the Sun may retain some Part of the Water, and not discharge all every Year into the Nile. But when the Rigours of Winter are past, and the Sun returns again to the midst of the Heavens, all Rivers are attracted by the Heat in equal Proportion. To which time all other Streams, by the falling of frequent Rains, run high, and overflow the adjacent Parts; whereas in Summer being destitute of Rain, and at the same Time exhal'd by the Sun, they sink to a contemptible Lowness: But the Nile, though destitute of Rain, and attracted by the Sun, is the only River that runs higher in Summer than in Winter. Yet this River is as liable to Exhalation by the Sun as any other during the Summer, and in Winter is singly subject to that Effect. From all which, as I conceive, the Sun is the Cause of the Inundations of the Nile. And in my Opinion, the Dryness of the Air in those Parts proceeds from the scorching Heat of the same Be-
EUTERPE.

ing, which affects in an extraordinary manner all that lies near its Passage: And for this Occasion the upper Regions of Libya are always hot. Now if such a Change of Seasons and Climate could be made, that the South Winds might take the Place of the North, and the North Winds be transferr'd to the Southward, the Sun retiring from the North in Winter to the upper Regions of Europe, and passing through those Parts, as now he does through Libya, would doubtless cause the same Effects in the Ister, which we now see in the Nile. And whereas I said before, that no Wind blows from this River; my Opinion is, that Winds are the natural Production of cold Climates, and that the hottest seldom produce any. But I leave these things as they are, and as they always were.

Touching the Source of the Nile, no Man of all the Ægyptians, Libyans, or Grecians I have convers'd with, ever pretended to know any thing certain; except a Scribe who had the Charge of Minerva's Treasury at Sais, a City of Ægypt. And tho' I thought he trifled with me, when he said he was perfectly inform'd of this Secret, I shall yet give a Place here to his Relation. Crophi, said he, and Mophi, are two Mountains with Heads of a Pyramidal Form, situate in the Way from Elephantis to Syrene, a City of Thebais; and between these Hills is a profound Abyss, which contains the Springs of the Nile. One half of the Water issuing from this Place runs into Ægypt Northward; the other half passes Southward to Æthiopia: And that the Source of the Nile is an Abyss, Psammetichus King of Ægypt found by an Experiment. For having caus'd a Line

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of twisted Cord to be made many thousand Fathom in Length, he founded the Depth, but could not find a Bottom. Which, if admitted for true, would induce me to believe, that Cataracts of Water continually falling down from the two Hills, make such violent Tides and Whirlpools below, as to hinder a Line from fathoming the Place: And more than this I never could hear from any Man.

I travell'd to Elephantis, and saw all Parts of the Country with my own Eyes; but of those which are situate beyond that City, I speak upon the Credit of others, and the most exact Information I could get. Those who ascend the River above the City of Elephantis, find a Country in their Passage so steep, that every Vessel, like a Cow tied by the Horns, is drawn by Ropes fasten'd to each side, and must be hurried down the Stream by the Impetuosity of the Torrent, if the Ropes should happen to break. This Region is four Days Voyage from Elephantis, and the Nile is there as crooked and full of Windings as the Maeander. These Difficulties continue till the Vessel has made twelve full Schoenes: After which the Navigation is level; and an Island call'd Tachompso appears in the midst of the Nile. The Æthiopians inhabit the Country beyond Elephantis, and one half of the Island Tachompso, the other half being in the Possession of the Ægyptians. Contiguous to this Island lies a vast Lake, the Borders of which are inhabited by Æthiopian Herdsmen; and from that Lake the Vessel enters again into the Channel of the Nile. A little beyond this Place Men are oblig'd to go ashore, and to travel forty Days by the side of the River; because
because the Frequency of Rocks and Shelves renders the Navigation of those Parts utterly impracticable. At the End of these forty Days, they go on board another Vessel, and arrive in about twelve more at the great City of Meroe, which is accounted the Capital of all Æthiopia. The Inhabitants of that Place worship no other Gods than Jupiter and Bacchus; but these they adore with extraordinary Pomp. They have an Oracle of Jupiter; and make War, when that God commands, against any Nation whatever. The Distance between Meroe and the Auto-moles, is the same as between Elephantis and Meroe. This People is call'd by the Name of Asmak, which in the Language of Greece signifies, Thos e that stand at the left Hand of the King. Their Ancestors were Ægyptians; and being in Number two hundred and forty thousand military Men, revolted to the Æthiopians on the following Occasion. Some of them were plac'd in Garrison at Elephantis, and in the Pelusian Daphne, to secure those Parts against the Æthiopians: Others were posted on the Frontiers of Arabia and Assyria, and some in Marea on the Confines of Libya: Which Method of Psammetichus we have seen imitated by the Persians of our time, who maintain Guards both in Elephantis, and Daphne. These Ægyptians, after they had continu'd three Years in their respective Posts, without hearing any thing of being reliev'd, consulted together; and unanimously resolving to abandon Psammetichus, march'd away to Æthiopia. When the King heard what was doing, he follow'd, overtook, and adjur'd them not to forfake the Gods of their Fathers, with their own Wives and Child-
dren. But in Answer to his Exhortation, one of the Ægyptians is reported to have uncover'd his private Parts, and to have said, That where'er these were, there could not be wanting either Wives or Children. So continuing their March, they presented themselves to the King of Æthiopia; who in Recompence sent them into a Country which was disaffected to him, with Orders to expel the Inhabitants, and to possess their Lands: By the Settlement of which Colony the Æthiopians became more civiliz'd, and learnt the Manners of the Ægyptians. Thus four whole Months are requir'd to view the Course of the Nile, partly by Land, and partly by Water, without including its Passage through Ægypt. For upon Computation, so much Time will be found necessary to those who travel from Elephantis to the Automoles. This River descends from the West and the Setting of the Sun; but to trace its Original, is a vain Attempt, because the excessive Heat renders the rest of the Country desert and uninhabited.

I was also inform'd by some Cyrenæans, that in a Journey they took to the Oracle of Ammon, they had conferr'd with Etearchus King of the Ammonians; and that, among other things, discoursing with him concerning the Head of the Nile, as of a thing altogether unknown, Etearchus acquainted them, that certain Nasamonians, a Nation of Libya inhabiting the Borders of the Syrtes to the Eastward, coming into his Country, and being ask'd by him if they had learnt any thing new touching the Libyan Deserts, answer'd, That some petulant young Men, Sons to divers Persons of great Power among
among them, had, after many extravagant actions, resolv'd to send five of their number to the Deserts of Libya, to see if they could make any farther discovery than others had done. For the Northern Coast of Libya, from Aegypt to the Promontory of Solois, where Libya terminates, is inhabited by Libyans of various nations; except those parts alone, which are possess'd by the Grecians and Phoenicians. Above this Coast, and the maritime places, which are well peopled, the next country is abandon'd to Beasts of Prey; and all beyond that is destitute of water, cover'd with sands, and utterly desolate. The young men chosen by their Companions to make this expedition, having furnished themselves with water and other necessary provisions, first pass'd thro' the inhabited country; and when they had likewise travers'd that region which abounds in wild beasts, they entered the deserts, making their way towards the South-West. After they had travelld many days thro' the sands, they at length saw some trees growing in a plain, and while they were eating of the fruit they found on the branches, divers little men, less than those we account of a middle stature, came up to them, speaking a language which the Nafamonians understood not; neither did they understand the speech of the Nafamonians. However, they conducted them over vast morasses to a city built on a great river running from the west to the east, and abounding in crocodiles; where the Nafamonians found all the inhabitants black, and of no larger size than their guides. To this relation Etearchus added, as the Cyrenæans assur'd me, that the Nafamonians returned safe
safe to their own Country, and that the little Men were all Enchanters; but for the River, which passes by their City, he thought it to be the Nile; and his Opinion is not unreasonable; because the Nile descends from Libya, dividing the Country in the midst; and, as I form my Conjectures of things unknown on things known, may probably run thro' as large a Tract of Land as the Ister. For the Ister beginning to appear at the City of Pyrene among the Celtes, who inhabit beyond the Columns of Hercules, and border on the Territories of the Cynesians, which lie in the Extremity of Europe to the Westward, passes thro' all this Part of the World, and ends at the Euxin Sea, in the Country of the Istrians, who are a Milesian Colony. Now, the Ister is generally known, because the adjacent Parts are every where well peopled; but the Springs of the Nile are undiscover'd, because this River passes thro' the uninhabited Deserts of Libya. I shall therefore say no more concerning the Course of the Nile, having already mention'd as much as I could learn by the most diligent Inquiry; only that it flows into the Sea by the way of Ægypt, which lies opposite to the Mountains of Cilicia, from whence a strong Man may travel in five Days to Sinope, a Place situate on the Euxin, and directly facing the Mouth of the Ister. So that in my Opinion the Nile, which traverses all Libya, may be properly compar'd with the Ister. And thus I have finish'd my Account of the Nile.

I shall now proceed in my Discourse concerning Ægypt which will be very ample and particular, because that Country far surpasses all others in things admirable, and beyond Expression.
on remarkable. For as the Climate and River of Ægypt differ in Nature from those of any other Region; so the Ægyptians have fram'd their Laws and Manners very different from the rest of Mankind. The Women of Ægypt are employ'd in Trade and Business, while the Men stay at home to spin and weave. Other Nations weave the rough side of the Piece uppermost, the Ægyptians underneath. The Men bend the Body when they make Water, but the Women perform that Action standing. The Ægyptians discharge their Excrements at home, and eat in publick; alledging, that whatever is indecent, though necessary, ought to be done in private, but things no way unbecoming should be done openly. No Woman may be a Priestess of any God or Goddess: Men only are employ'd in those Offices. Sons are not constrained to make Provision for their Parents, if they are not willing; but Daughters, however unwilling, are compell'd to this Duty. In other Countries the Priests of the Gods wear Hair; in Ægypt they are all shav'd. Among other People, the general Custom in time of Mourning is, that those who are most nearly concern'd shav'e their Heads; but when any one dies in Ægypt his Relations cease to shave, and let the Hair grow on their Heads and Faces. In other Regions, the Apartments of Men are separated from Beasts; whereas in Ægypt Man and Beast live together. Other Nations use Barley and Wheat for Food; which would be a Reproach among the Ægyptians, who make Bread of a fine Flower call'd by some Olyra, and by others Zea. They work this into Paste with their Feet; but temper Mortar with their
their Hands. The Ægyptians are circumcis'd in their secret Parts; which all other Men leave as they are form'd by Nature; those only excepted, who have learnt this Custom from them. The Men wear two Garments, the Women but one. They fasten the Ropes and Hooks to the inside of the Sails, and all other Nations to the outside. When the Grecians write or calculate with Counters, they carry the Hand from the Left to the Right; but the Ægyptians, on the contrary, from the Right to the Left: And yet pretend in doing so, that their Line tends to the Right, and ours to the Left. They have two sorts of Letters; one of which they call sacred, and the other vulgar. They are of all Mankind the most excessive Worshipers of the Gods, and use these Ceremonies. They drink in Cups of Brass, which they scour every Day; and this Custom is not only practis'd by some particular Men, but by all the Ægyptians in general. They wear Garments of Linen fresh wash'd, taking singular Care to have them always clean, and are circumcis'd principally for the sake of Cleanliness, which they esteem more than Ornament. The Priests have all Parts of the Body once in three Days; lest Lice or any other Impurity should be found about those who officiate in the Service of the Gods. They are cloath'd in Linen, wear Shoes of Linen, and are not permitted to dress in any other Manner. They constantly bathe themselves twice in cold Water by Day, and twice by Night; using so many other Superstitions, that we may say their Number is infinite. On the other Hand they enjoy great Advantages: For they are never disturb'd with domestick Cares and
and Expences: They eat the consecrated Bread; and are daily furnish'd with Beef and Geese in abundance. They have an Allowance of Wine; but may not taste of Fish. Beans are never sow'd in any Part of Ægypt; and if some happen to grow there, the Ægyptians will not eat them either crude or dress'd. As for the Priests, they abhor the Sight of that Pulse, accounting it impure and abominable. The Service of every God is perform'd, not by one, but by many Priests, the principal being call'd the Arch-Priest; and when he dies, his Son is substitut'd in his Place. They sacrifice Bulls to *Apis*; and for that Reason make the following Trial. If they find one black Hair upon him, they adjudge him to be unclean; which that they may know with Certainty, the Priest appointed to this Purpose views every Part of the Animal, both standing and laid down on the Ground. After this he draws out his Tongue, to see if he be clean by certain Signs, which I shall mention in another Discourse. In the last place he looks upon the Hairs of his Tail, that he may be sure they are as by Nature they ought to be. If after this Search the Beast is found unblemish'd, he ties a Label about his Horns; and having seal'd it with the Signet of his Ring, orders him to be led away and secur'd; because it is Death to sacrifice one of these Animals, unless he has been mark'd with such a Seal. And thus having related the Form of this Examination, I proceed to the Manner of their Sacrifices. After they have brought the Victim to the Altar, they immediately kindle a Fire, and pouring Wine upon him, offer their Prayers to the God. This done, they kill
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kill the Beast, flay the Body, and cut off the Head, which they carry with many Impressions to the publick Place, if they have any, and sell it to some Grecian Merchant; but if no such is to be found, they throw it into the River, using this Form of Execution; "May all the Evils impending over those that now sacrifice, or over the Ægyptians in general, be averted on this Head." These Ceremonies of the Libation of Wine, and the Manner of devoting the Head of the Sacrifice, are practis'd in all the Temples of Ægypt; and for this Reason no Ægyptian will eat of the Head of any Animal. But in the Choice of their Victims, and Burnt-Offerings, they have different Customs in several Places.

The Goddess they principally worship is call'd Isis, and they celebrate her Festival with all imaginable Solemnity. On the preceding Day they fast, and after they have pray'd, they sacrifice a Bullock, taking out the Bowels, and leaving the Fat with the Vitals in the Carcasses. This done, they cut off the Legs and End of the Loyn, together with the Shoulders and Neck; and having fill'd the Body with fine Bread, Honey, dried Raisins, Figs, Incense, Myrrh, and other Perfumes, they perform the Rites of Consecration, and pour in a great Quantity of Oyl. They sacrifice fasting; beating themselves during all the Time the Flesh lies on the Fire; and when they have so done, they feast upon the rest of the Offering. All the Cattle of this Kind, whether full grown or Calves, us'd by the Ægyptians in their Sacrifices, are unblemish'd Males; but the Females being sacred to Isis, are forbidden to be offer'd.
offer'd. For the Image of Isis is always made in the Form of a Woman with the Horns of a Cow on her Head, as the Grecians represent Io: And for this Reason all the Ægyptians pay a greater Reverence to that Animal than to any other. So that no Man or Woman among them will ever be persuaded to kiss a Grecian on the Mouth; or to use the same Knife, Pot, or Spit; nor to eat the Flesh even of unblemish'd Cattle, which has been cut up with the Knife of a Grecian. When any Beast of this sort happens to die, they dispose of the Body in the following Manner: They throw the Females into the River, and interr the Males in the Parts adjoining to the City, with one Horn, and sometimes both appearing above the Ground, for a Mark of the Grave. When the Flesh is consum'd, so as all the Bones may be transported, a Vessel appointed to that End arrives at a certain time from Prosopites, an Island of Delta, which comprehends nine Schoenes of Land in Circumference and several Cities. The Vessel is sent by one of these, call'd Astarbechis, where a Temple stands dedicated to Venus, and from whence many others are dispatch'd to different Parts. After they have thus collected all the Bones, they bury them together in any one Place; and the same Rites are observ'd with relation to other Cattle. For the Ægyptians are forbidden by their Laws to kill any.

Those who worship in the Temple of Jupiter at Thebes, or belong to that Country, abstain from Sheep, and sacrifice Goats only. For the Ægyptians are not unanimous in their Manner of honouring the Gods, if we except
Isis and Osiris, who, they say, is no other than Bacchus: But in the Worship of these Deities they all agree. On the other hand, those who frequent the Temple of Mendes, with all the Inhabitants of that Territory, abstain from sacrificing Goats, and offer Sheep only. Now the Thebans and all those who abstain from Sheep after their Example, pretend that this Custom was establish'd among them by the means of Hercules; who being very defirous to see Jupiter, did not without great Difficulty obtain his Request; for the God was unwilling to be seen; till at last Jupiter yielding to his Importunity, contriv'd this Artifice. Having separated the Head from the Body of a Ram, and flayed the whole Carcass, he put on the Skin with the Wool, and in that Form shew'd himself to Hercules. For this cause the Egyptians represent Jupiter by an Image wearing the Head of a Ram: In which they have been imitated by the Ammonians, who are a Colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, speaking a Language compos'd of Words taken from both those Nations; and, as I conjecture, have given themselves the Name of Ammonians, because Jupiter is by the Egyptians call'd Ammon. For the same Reason the Ram is accounted a sacred Animal, and never kill'd by the Thebans, except once in every Year on the Festival of Jupiter; when, after they have flay'd the Body, and put the Skin upon the Image of the God, they bring a Statue of Hercules into his Presence: Which done, all the Assistants give a Blow to the Ram, and afterwards bury him in a consecrated Coffin. I have been inform'd, that this Egyptian Hercules is one of the twelve Gods; but of the other, who is known to the Grecians, I could.
could never hear the least mention in any part of Ægypt. And I have many good Reasons to believe, that the Ægyptians did not borrow this Name from the Grecians; but rather the Grecians, and especially those who gave it to the Son of Amphitryon, from the Ægyptians: Principally, because Amphitryon and Alcmena, Father and Mother to the Grecian Hercules, were both of Ægyptian Descent. Besides; the Ægyptians affirm, they know not the Names of Neptune, Castor and Pollux, nor ever receiv’d them into the Number of their Gods: Yet if they had borrow’d the Name of any Deity from the Grecians, they would certainly have mention’d these in the first Rank, had any of the Grecians then frequented the Sea, and been acquainted with the Use of Shipping, as I believe they were. And therefore the Ægyptians must have known the Names of these Gods, rather than that of Hercules. But however this be, Hercules is one of the antient Gods of the Ægyptians; who say, that seventeen thousand Years before the Reign of Amasis, the number of their Gods, which had been eight, was increas’d to twelve, and that Hercules was accounted one of these. Concerning which things, being desirous to know with Certainty as much as might be discover’d, I fail’d to Tyre in Phœnicia, because I had heard there was a Temple dedicated to Hercules. That Temple I saw, enrich’d with many magnificent Donations, and among others with two Pillars, one of fine Gold, the other made of a Smaragdus, which shines by Night in a surprising Manner. Conversing with the Priests of this God, and inquiring how long this Temple had been built, I found these also to differ from
the Grecians. For they assured me that the
Temple was built at the same Time with the
City, and that two thousand three hundred
Years were already past since the Foundation of
Tyre. In this City I saw another Temple dedi-
cated to Hercules by the Name of Thasian;
and when I arriv'd in Thasus, I found there
also a Temple of the same God, built by those
Phœnicians, who founded that City during the
Expedition they made in Search of Europa;
which was five Generations before Hercules the
Son of Amphitryon appear'd in Greece. All
these things evidently prove, that the Ægyptian
Hercules is a God of great Antiquity; and there-
fore, in my Opinion, those Grecians act most
rationally, who build Temples to both; sacri-
ficing to the first, as to an Immortal Being, un-
der the Name of Olympian, and honouring the
other as a Hero. But the Grecians say many
other things on this Subject without due Exami-
nation, and in particular have invented the fol-
lowing Fable. When Hercules, say they, arriv'd
in Ægypt, the Ægyptians crown'd him with a
Garland, and designing to sacrifice him to Ju-
piter, conducted him to the Altar in great Cere-
mony: During the Way he was silent; but
when they had brought him thither, he col-
lected all his Strength, and kill'd every Man
that was there present. Now those who tell
this Story, seem to me utterly ignorant of the
Nature and Laws of the Ægyptians. For how
can we imagine that a People forbidden to kill
any kind of Animal, except Geese, Swine, and
such Bulls and Calves as they find without Ble-
mish, would sacrifice Men? And how could
Hercules kill so many thousands; being then
alone,
alone, and at that Time, by their own Confession, no more than a Man? Nevertheless, I desire the Gods and the Heroes would take in good part what I have said concerning these things.

The Reason that prevails with the Mendesians I mention'd before, not to sacrifice the Goats, either Male or Female, is, because they account Pan one of the eight Gods, who, they say, are more antient than the twelve. And indeed their Painters and Sculptors represent Pan with the Face and Legs of a Goat, as the Greeks do. Not that they imagine this to be his real Form, for they think him like other Gods; but I have no Inclination to mention the Reason they give for representing him in that manner. However, the Mendesians pay a religious Worship to all Goats, but to the Males much more than to the Females; and highly reverence the Goatherds; particularly one, who is honour'd at his Death by publick Lamentations in all Parts of the Country. In the Language of Ægypt, Pan and a Goat are equally call'd by the Name of Mendes: And in my Time a Goat lay with a Woman of that Country in so publick a manner, that all Men knew the Prodigy to have really happen'd. Swine are accounted such impure Beasts by the Ægyptians, that if a Man touches one, even by accident, he presently hastens to the River, and in all his Cloaths plunges himself into the Water. For this reason Hogherds alone, of all the Ægyptians, are not suffer'd to enter any of their Temples; neither will any Man give his Daughter in Marriage to one of that Profession, nor take a Wife born of such Parents: So that they are necessitated to intermarry among themselves.

M 3
felves. The Ægyptians are forbidden to sacrifice Swine to any other Deities than to Bacchus, and to the Moon, when compleatly full; at which Time they may eat of the Flesh. But if I should mention the Reasön they give for the Liberty they then take, and for abstaining from that Animal on all other Festivals, I shou'd off-end against Decency: And therefore I shall only say, That when they offer this Sacrifice to the Moon, and have kill'd the Victim, they put the End of the Tail, with the Spleen and Fat, into a Cawl found in the Belly of the Animal; all which they burn on the sacred Fire, and eat the rest of the Flesh on the Day of the full Moon, tho' at any other time they would not taste it. Those, who on account of their Poverty cannot bear the Expence of this Sacrifice, mould a Paste into the Form of a Hog, and make their Offering. In the Evening of the Festival of Bacchus, tho' ev'ry one be oblig'd to kill a Swine before the Door of his House, yet he immediately restores the Carcass to the Hogherd that fold him. The rest of this Festival is celebrated in Ægypt to the Honour of Bacchus with the same Ceremonies as in Greece: Only instead of the Phallus they have invented certain Images of one Cubit in Height, so artificially contriv'd with Nerves, that the Priapus, almost equal in Bigness to the rest of the Body, is seen to move, while the Women, who make the Procession, carry the Images, singing the Prais-es of Bacchus, and preceded by a Flute. But the Reasön they have to form this Part so disproportion'd to the Body, and to give it these Motions, they say is a sacred Mystery. For my own part, I think Melampus the Son of Amy-
Tiecn was not ignorant of any thing relating to this Ceremony, but perfectly well instructed in all these Rites. For he first introduc'd the Name and Sacrifices of Bacchus among the Grecians, together with the Pomp of the Phallus; tho' he did not so fully explain every Particular, as other learned Persons have done who liv'd after him. But Melampus was certainly the first that taught the Grecians to carry the Phallus in Procession to the Honour of Bacchus, and introduc'd all the Ceremonies they use on that Occasion. I think him to have been a wise Man, skilful in the Art of Divination; and that he instructed the Grecians in many things which were deriv'd from Ægypt; but especially in the Worship of Bacchus, changing only some few Particulars. For I shall not say that the Agreement of these two Nations in the use of the same Rites in the Service of this God, is the Effect of Chance; because they are perform'd in a uniform Manner thro' all Greece, and were not lately introduc'd: Neither shall I pretend that the Ægyptians have borrow'd these, or any other Rites from the Grecians. But I am of opinion that Melampus was instructed in the Ceremonies of Bacchus chiefly by Cadmus the Tyrian, and those Phœnicians who accompanied him to that Country, which now goes under the Name of Bœotia. And indeed the Names of almost all the Grecian Gods were originally deriv'd from the Ægyptians; as I found, after I had heard that they were introduc'd by barbarous Nations. Only we must except Neptune, Castor and Pollux, mention'd before; Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, Nereides, and some others, whose Names are utterly.
terly unknown in Ægypt, as the Ægyptians affirm; and, as I conjecture, are all owing to the Pelasgians, except that of Neptune, which they learnt from the Libyans, who first invok'd the Name of this God, and always worshipp'd him with singular Veneration. But the Ægyptians pay no religious Honour to Heroes.

These, and other Rites which I shall afterwards mention, the Grecians receiv'd from the Ægyptians; but they learnt of the Pelasgians to make the Image of Hermes with an erected Priapus, the Athenians having been the first who practis'd this Manner, and others by their Example. For in that Time the Pelasgians inhabited Part of the Athenian Territories; and, because the Athenians were accounted among the Nations of Greece, came likewise to be esteem'd Grecians. Whoever is initiated in the Cabirian Mysteries of the Samothracians, which they receiv'd from the Pelasgians, knows what I say. For these Pelasgians were Inhabitants of Samothracia, before they came into the Country of Attica, and had instructed the Samothracians in the Orgian Rites; as they afterwards did the Athenians, who by that means were the first of all the Grecians that form'd the Images of Mercury in the manner above-mention'd: For which the Pelasgians pretend certain sacred Reasons, explain'd in the Mysteries of Samothracia. They had formerly sacrific'd and pray'd to Gods in general, as I was inform'd at Dodona, without attributing either Name or Surname to any Deity, which in those Times they had never heard: But they call'd them by the Name of Gods, because they dispos'd and govern'd all Actions and Countries.
tries. After a long Time, the Names of the other Gods were brought among them from Ægypt, and last of all that of Bacchus: Upon which they consulted the Oracle of Dodona, still accounted the most ancient, and then the only Oracle in Greece; and having enquir’d, whether they should receive these Names from Barbarians, the Oracle answer’d, they should. So from that time they invok’d the Gods in their Sacrifices, under distinct Names, and the same were afterwards receiv’d by the Grecians from these Pelasgians. But what Original is to be assign’d to each of those Gods; whether they always were, and of what Form, was utterly unknown till of late, and, to use a common Expression, of Yesterday. For I am of Opinion, that Hesiod and Homer, who liv’d not above four hundred Years before my time, were the Persons that introduc’d the Genealogy of the Gods among the Grecians; impos’d Names upon each; assign’d their Functions and Honours; and cloath’d them in their several Forms. As to the other Poets, suppos’d to be more ancient, I think they liv’d after these. And this is my Sense touching Hesiod and Homer; but the rest, which I related before, I had from the Priestesses of Dodona.

Concerning the Oracles of Greece and Libya, the Ægyptians give the following Account. The Priests of the Theban Jupiter told me, that two Priestesses were carried away out of that Country by certain Phœnicians; who afterwards, as they were inform’d, fold one of them in Libya, and the other in Greece, and that these two Women establish’d the first Oracles among those People. When I enquir’d how they
they knew this to be true, they answer'd, That
indeed the Women were never found, though
all possible Diligence was us'd to that End; but
they had since learnt, that things had pass'd as
they related. This Account I receiv'd from the
Priests of Thebes. On the other hand, the prin-
cipal Priestesses of Dodona say, that two black
Pigeons flew away at a certain time from Thebes
in Ægypt; that one of these arriv'd in Libya,
and the other in Dodona; that this last, as she
fat perch'd on a Beach-tree, admonish'd the
Inhabitants with an articulate Voice, to erect
an Oracle in that Place to Jupiter; and that the
People believing this to be no less than a divine
Revelation, readily obey'd. They add, that
the other Pigeon, which flew into Libya, com-
manded the Lybians to found the Oracle of
Ammon dedicated to the same God. These
things are said by the Priestesses of Dodona,
and affirm'd by all that belong to the Temple.
The eldest of these Women is nam'd Prome-
nia, the second Timarete, and the third Nican-
dra. But my Opinion is, that if the Phœnici-
ans did really carry off the two Priestesses before-
mention'd, and fold the one in Libya, and the
other in Greece, this last was bought by the
Thesprotians, who inhabited those Parts which
are now call'd Hellas, and in that time were
known by the Name of Pelasgia: That during
her Servitude she consecrated an Altar to Jupiter
under a Beach; nothing being more natural,
than to suppose that she who had been a Priestess
of that God in Thebes, would not be unmind-
ful of his Worship in another Place; that this
is the Original of that Oracle; and that after
she had learnt the Language of Greece, she de-
clar'd
clar'd that her Sister had met with the like Fortune, and had been sold in Libya by the same Phœnicians. The Dodonæans, as I conjecture, gave them the Name of Pigeons, because they were Barbarians, and their Speech no more understood than the chattering of Birds: But as soon as this Woman became able to speak their Language, they presently reported that the Pigeon had spoken with a human Voice; for while she continued to use a barbarous Tongue, she was no better understood than a Bird. If these things are not so, I desire to be inform'd how a Pigeon should come to speak the Language of Men. In a Word, they seem to have had the Epithet of Black, because they were Ægypti-ans. And as the Oracles of Dodona, and of Thebes, are almost alike in every thing, we may conclude, that the Custom of predicting future Events in Temples, is deriv'd from the Ægypti-ans.

The Ægypti-ans were also the first Inventors of Festivals, Ceremonies, and Transactions with the Gods, by the Mediation of others: All which I persuade myself the Grecians receiv'd from that People; because they plainly appear to have been very ancient among the Ægypti-ans, and but lately introduc'd in Greece. 'Tis not thought sufficient in Ægypt to celebrate the Festivals of the Gods once every Year; but they have many Times appointed to that End: Particularly in the City of Bubætis, where they assemble to worship Diana with much Devotion; and in Bufrîris, a Place situate in the midst of Delta, where the great Temple of Isis, by the Grecians call'd Demeter, is built. The Festivals of Minerva are solemniz'd in the City of Sais; and
and those of the Sun in Heliopolis. Latona is particularly worship'd in Butus, and Mars in the City of Papremis. The manner observ'd in the Festivals of Bubastis, is this: Men and Women embark promiscuously in great Numbers, and during the Voyage, some of the Women beat upon a Tabor, while part of the Men play on the Pipe; the rest of both Sexes singing and striking their Hands together at the same time. At every City they find in their Passage, they hawl in the Vessel, and some of the Women continue their Musick; but others either provoke the Women of the Place with opprobrious Language, or dance and shew themselves naked: And this they do at every Town that stands by the Shore. When they arrive at Bubastis, they celebrate the Festival with numerous Sacrifices, and consume more Wine than in all the rest of the Year. For the Inhabitants say this Assembly usually consists of about seven hundred thousand Men and Women, besides Children. I have already related how the Worship of Isis is perform'd in the City of Bufiris; and shall only add, that after the Sacrifices, all the Men and Women then present, who always amount to many thousands, discipline themselves, but with what Instrument I may not discover. In this Devotion the Carians that live in Egypt surpass all; for they cut their Foreheads with Swords, and by this Action distinguish themselves to be Strangers, and not Egyptians. When they meet to sacrifice in the City of Sais, they hang up by Night a great number of Lamps fill'd with Oil, and a Mixture of Salt, round every House, the Tow swimming on the Surface. These burn during the whole Night, and the Festival is thence nam'd
nam'd, The Lighting of Lamps. The Ægyptians who are not present at this Solemnity, observe the same Ceremonies, wherever they be; and Lamps are lighted that Night, not only in Sais, but throughout all Ægypt. Nevertheless, the Reasons for using these Illuminations, and paying so great Respect to this Night, are kept secret. Those who assemble on such solemn Occasions at Heliopolis and Butus, offer Sacrifices only, without any farther Ceremonies. But in Papremis, when they have perform'd their Worship, and finish'd their Offerings, as in other Places, a small number of Priests at the Setting of the Sun attend about the Image of Mars; but the far greater part place themselves before the Gates of the Temple, with Clubs in their Hands; while other Men who have devoted themselves to this Service, and frequently amount to above a thousand, arm'd in like manner, assemble together in a Place opposite to them. The Image of the God, which is kept in a little Tabernacle of Wood gilded with Gold, is brought on the Eve of the Festival, and plac'd within another; and those few who are appointed to attend, draw both the Tabernacle and the Image to the Temple on a Chariot of four Wheels. But the Priests, who stand at the Entrance, refusing to give them Admittance, the Votaries, in Duty to the God, begin to strike with their Clubs, and an obstinate Combat ensues, both sides dealing their Blows chiefly on the Head: So that, as I conjecture, many die of the Wounds they receive, though the Ægyptians affirm the contrary. These Rites, if we may believe the Inhabitants, were instituted for the following Cause. They say that Mars was
was educated abroad, till he attain'd to the Age of a Man; when coming home to visit his Mother, who dwelt in this sacred Place, he was denied Entrance by her Servants, and driven away by Violence; because they had never seen him before. That Mars retiring to another City, collected a good number of Men, and returning, fell upon the Servants, and enter'd by Force; in Commemoration of which Action, this Combat is represented on his Festival. The Ægyptians were likewise the first who ordain'd, that Men should abstain from Women in the Temples; and not enter any sacred Place without washing, after the Use of a Woman. For almost all other Nations, except the Ægyptians and Grecians, neither scruple to perform that Action in Temples, nor to go thither unwash'd after they have had the Company of Women; thinking Mankind to be like other Animals. And because they frequently see Beasts and Birds coupling together in Groves and Temples, they imagine that if this Action were disagreeable to God, those Creatures would abstain in those Places. But I cannot approve the Conclusion they draw from this Observation.

The Ægyptians are beyond measure superstitious in all things concerning Religion; especially in the ensuing Particulars. Ægypt, tho' adjoining to Libya, abounds not in Variety of Beasts; yet all those they have, both wild and tame, are accounted sacred. But if I should take upon me to give the Reasons of this Opinion, I must enter into a long Discourse of divine things, which I avoid with all possible Care; having hitherto said nothing of that kind, unless
without in a transient manner, and compell'd by
the force of Necessity. Their Customs, how-
ever, relating to the Beasts, are these. In the
first place, Men and Women have the Care of
feeding and bringing up all domestic Animals
by themselves; and the Son succeeds the Fa-
thor in this Office. All the Inhabitants of the
Cities offer their Prayers to these, and to the
Deities to which they are sacred, with the fol-
lowing Ceremonies. They shave the Heads of
their Children, either entirely, or one half, or
at least a third Part, and putting the Hair into
one Scale, and Money into the other, when
the Silver carries the Balance they give it to the
Keeper of the Animals, who for that Reward
provides them with Fish cut in pieces, which
is their usual Food. If any Person kills one of
these Beasts voluntarily, he is punish'd with
Death; if involuntarily, his Punishment is re-
ferr'd to the Discretion of the Priests. But if
a Man kill either a Hawk or an Ibis, whether
with Design or not, he must die without Mer-
cy. The Beasts that are brought up among
Men are many, and would be much more nu-
merous, if some Accidents should not frequently
happen to the Cats. For when the Females
have brought their Kittens, they care no longer
for the Male, and obstinately refuse to be co-
ver'd; which the Male perceiving, contrives this
Artifice: He waits an Opportunity to rob the
Female of her Young, and having done so, kills
them all, but abstains from eating their Flesh.
The Female seeing herself depriv'd of her Kitt-
lins, and being very desirous of more, begins
again to follow the Male; for this Creature is
exceedingly fond of having Young. But when a
House
House takes Fire, the manner of this Animal is very surprizing. For though the Ægyptians standing at a Distance, neglect the Progress of the Flames, and take much greater Care to preserve the Cats than the House; yet, either by creeping sily along the Ground, or leaping over the Heads of the Men, the Cats for the most part find a way to throw themselves into the Fire; and on these Occasions great Lamentations are heard among the Ægyptians. In whatever House a Cat dies a natural Death, all the Family shave their Eyebrows; and if a Dog die, they shave the whole Body. All dead Cats are carried to certain sacred Houses, where being put into a Brine, they are afterwards buried in the City of Bubastis. Bitches are laid in consecrated Coffins, and inter’d in the Cities where they die, and so are hunting Dogs; but Hawks and the venomous Mole are carried to the City of Butus. The Bears, which are few in number, and Wolves, no bigger than Foxes, are buried in the Places where they are found dead. As for the Crocodiles, they are of a strange Nature. They eat nothing during the four coldest Months; and though they have four Feet, yet they equally frequent the Water and the Land. They lay their Eggs, and hatch their Young on dry Ground; staying ahsore the greater part of the Day. But they go down to the River by Night, because the Water is then warmer than the Air and Dews. No living thing, that we know, grows to so vast a Size, from so small a Beginning. For their Eggs are little bigger than those of a Goose, and their Young, at the first Appearance, proportionable: But they afterwards grow to
to the Length of seventeen Cubits and more. They have the Eyes and Tushes of a Hog, with great Teeth, suitable to the rest of the Body. Of all Animals, these alone have no Tongue, and move the upper Jaw only when they eat; the lower never. They have Claws exceedingly strong, and a scaly Hide, impenetrable. The Crocodile is blind in the Water, but very quick-sighted by Land: And because he lives for the most part in the River, his Mouth is generally infested with Leaches: So that though all other Beasts and Birds equally avoid him; yet he lives in Peace with the Trochilus, because he receives a beneficial Service from that Bird. For when the Crocodile goes out of the Water, and opens his Mouth, which he does most commonly towards the South, the Trochilus enters and devours the Leaches; with which good Office the Crocodile is so well pleas'd, that he never hurts him. One part of the Ægyptians esteem the Crocodile sacred; but others pursue him to Death as a common Enemy. Those who inhabit the Country of Thebes, and that adjoining to the Lake of Maris, pay a peculiar Veneration to him. For each of these People train up a Crocodile to be so tame as to endure the Hand, putting Strings of Jewels or Gold through his Ears, and a Chain on his Fore-feet. Whilst he lives he is us'd with great Respect, and fed with consecrated Provisions at the publick Charge: And when he is dead, he is preferv'd in Salt and buried in a sacred Coffin. But the Inhabitants of Elephantis are so far from accounting the Crocodile sacred, that they eat his Flesh. The Ægyptian Name of this Animal is Chample: For
For the Ionians were the first who call'd them Crocodiles; because they thought them to be like certain Creatures they find in Hedges, and call by that Name. The ways of taking the Crocodiles are various; but I shall only describe that which to me seems most remarkable. They fasten the Chine of a Hog to an Iron Hook, which they let down into the River, beating a living Pig on the Shore at the same time. The Crocodile hearing the Noise, and making that way, meets with the Chine; which he devours, and is drawn to Land: Where when he arrives, they presently throw Dirt in his Eyes, and by that means do what they will with him, which otherwise would be difficult. The Water-Horse is esteem'd sacred by the Inhabitants of Papremis, though in no other part of Ægypt. He is a Quadruped with divided Feet, and Hoofs like a Bull: His Nose is short and retort-ed; but his Mane, Tail, and Voice, resemble those of a Horse, and his Teeth grow out in the manner of Tushes. He is equal in Bigness to the largest Bull; and his Skin is so thick, that Darts are cut out of the Hide. A Water-Snake call'd Enhydris is likewise seen in the River; which, with the Eel and scaly Lepidotus, are in a peculiar manner sacred to the Nile, as the Vulpanser is among the Birds. The Phœnix is another sacred Bird, which I have never seen except in Effigy. He rarely appears in Ægypt; once only in five hundred Years, immediately after the Death of his Father, as the Heliopolitans affirm. If the Painters describe him truly, his Feathers represent a Mixture of Crimson and Gold; and he resembles the Eagle in Form and Proportion. They say he
he comes from Arabia; and bringing the Body of his Father embalm'd, buries him in the Temple of the Sun. The manner of his Performance, which I think incredible, they relate thus. First he moulds as great a Quantity of Myrrh into the Shape of an Egg, as he is well able to carry; and after having try'd the Weight, he disbowels the Egg, and puts his Father into the hollow Space: When he has done this, and adjusted the Weight to his Strength, he stops the Aperture with more Myrrh, and carries the whole Mass to the Temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the Account they give of the Phoenix. In the Country of Thebes a small kind of Serpent is found, esteem'd sacred by the Egyptians, having Horns growing on the top of the Head, and no way hurtful to Men. When any of these Serpents die, they are buried in the Temple of Jupiter, because they are thought to belong to that God. Having heard that in a Part of Arabia, situate a little beyond the City of Butus, I might learn something concerning the flying Serpents, I went thither also; and saw there an incredible Quantity of their Bones, amassed in many Heaps, of different bigness, some greater and others less. The Entrance into this Plain, which lies level with Egypt, is by a narrow Passage between the Mountains; and to this Place the Inhabitants say, the flying Serpents advance in the beginning of every Spring; but are prevented by the Ibis from proceeding farther, and destroy'd in the Chops of the Hills; for which Service the Ibis is highly reverence'd by the Egyptians, as both they and the Arabians acknowledge. This Bird is, in Colour, of the deepest Black, and in
Bigness equal to a Heron: His Beak is crooked, and his Legs like those of a Stork. This is the Form of the black Ibis, which kills the Serpents. Another sort of Ibis, more commonly seen by Men, has white Feathers on every part of his Body, except the Head, Neck, and Extremities of the Wings and Tail; which are of as deep a Black as those of the other kind: But his Head and Neck are not so big. The Serpent is in Shape like the Water-Snake; but his Wings are destitute of Feathers, and smooth like those of a Bat. And here I leave this Discourse concerning sacred Animals.

The Ægyptians, who inhabit those Parts of Ægypt, which are sow'd with Corn, are of all Nations I ever saw the greatest Reasoners about the Monuments of Antiquity, and Actions of Mankind. Their Manner of Life is this: They purge themselves every Month, three Days successively, by Vomits and Glysters, in order to preserve Health; supposing that all Diseases among Men proceed from the Food they use. For otherwise, the Ægyptians are by Nature the most healthy People of the World, the Libyans only excepted; which, as I conjecture, is to be attributed to the Regularity of the Seasons, and Constancy of the Weather, most Distempers beginning upon some Alteration in the Temperature of the Air. They make their Bread of Olyra, and call it by the Name of Colleatis; but their Wine is made of Barley, because they have no Vines in that Country. They eat Fish, both pickled and dried in the Sun; together with Quails, Ducks, and smaller Birds, preserved in Salt, without any other Preparation. Whatever else has any
Resemblance to Birds or Fishes, except such as they account sacred, is eaten without Scruple, either boil'd or roasted. At their principal Feasts, when they begin to taste the Wine after Supper, a Person appointed to that End, carries about in a Coffin the Image of a dead Man, carv'd in Wood, and representing the Original in Colour and Shape. These Images, which are always of one, and sometimes of two Cubits in Length, are carried round all the Company, and these Words pronounc'd to every one distinctly, "Look upon this: Then drink "and rejoice; for thou shalt be as this is." These, and all other Usages deriv'd from their Ancestors, they observe; but will not increase their Number by new Additions. Among other memorable Customs, they sing the Song of Linus, like that which is sung by the Phœnicians, Cyprians and other Nations, who vary the Name according to the different Languages they speak. But the Person they honour in this Song, is evidently the same that the Grecians celebrate. And as I confess my Surprize at many things I found among the Ægyptians, so I more particularly wonder, whence they had this Knowledge of Linus; because they seem to have celebrated him from time immemorial. The Ægyptians call him by the Name of Maneros; and say, he was the only Son of the first of their Kings; but happening to die by an untimely Death in the Flower of his Age, he is lamented by the Ægyptians in this Mourning Song; which is the only Composition of the kind us'd in Ægypt.
In one Particular, the Ægyptian manner is like that of the Lacedemonians only among all the Grecians: For the young Men rise up from their Seats, and retire out of the way, at the Approach of those who are of elder Years; which is not practis'd in any other Nation of Greece. When the Ægyptians salute one another in publick, they bow the Body reciprocally, and carry their Hands to each others Knee. They wear a linen Tunick border'd at the bottom with Fringes, and a Cloak of white woollen Cloth over it; but to enter into any Temple with this Garment, or to be buried in any thing made of Wool, is accounted profane. This Custom is observ'd by those who are initiated in the Rites of Orpheus and Bacchus; which were borrow'd from the Ægyptians and Pythagoras. For among them also, to interr the Dead in woollen Garments is accounted irreligious, and certain mysterious Reasons are alledg'd to justify their Opinion.

The Ægyptians were also the Inventers of divers other things. They assign'd each Month and Day to some particular God; observing the time of Mens Nativity; predicting what Fortune they shall have, how they shall die, and what kind of Persons they shall be. All which the Grecian Poets have made use of in their Poems. Prodigies abound more in Ægypt, than in all the rest of the World; and, as often as they happen, are describ'd in Writing with their Consequences; which Accounts they carefully preserve, out of an Opinion, that if the like happen at another time, the Event will be the same. Predictions are not deliver'd by any human Being; but only by some of the Gods.
For Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and Jupiter have their several Oracles. Yet that which they reverence above all others, is the Oracle of Latona in the City of Butus. They are not all administered in the same manner, but differently.

In these Countries the Art of Physick is distributed into several distinct Parts, and every Physician applies himself wholly to the Cure of one Disease only, no Man ever pretending to more: By which means all Places abound with Physicians; some professing to cure the Eyes, others the Head, Teeth, or Parts about the Belly, whilst others take upon them the Care of internal Distempers. Their manner of mourning for the Dead, and their Customs relating to Funerals, are these. When a Man of any Consideration dies, all the Female Sex of that Family beform their Heads and Faces with Dirt; and leaving the Body at home, march, attended by all their Relations of that Sex, through the Streets of the City, with naked Breasts, and Girdles tied about the Waist, beating themselves as they go: While the Men, on their Part, forming another Company, gird and beat themselves in like manner. When this Office is perform'd, they go to those who are appointed to exercise the Trade of Embalming; and as soon as the dead Body is brought, the Embalmers shewing several Models made of Wood and painted, ask them which sort they would have. One of these Models is finish'd with the greatest Care, and call'd by a Name which I am not permitted to discover: The second is of an inferior sort and less Value; and the third is the meanest of all. When those who are concern'd, have
have concluded an Agreement, they return home, and the Artists fall immediately to work in this manner. First they draw out the Brains through the Nostrils, with a crooked Instrument of Iron; and infuse certain Medicaments into the vacant Space: Then they open the Belly with an Æthiopian Knife made of a sharpned Stone, and take out the Bowels; to which, after they are cleans’d and wash’d in Palm Wine, they add a sufficient Quantity of odoriferous Drugs. When this is done, and the Belly fill’d with pounded Myrrh, Cassia and other Odours, Frankincense excepted, they few all up again, and lay the Body in Nitre for seventy Days, which is the longest time allow’d. At the Expiration of this Term, they wash the whole Body, and binding Fillets of Silk round every part, cover it with Gums, which the Ægyptians commonly use instead of Glue. All being thus finish’d, the Relations of the Dead receive the Body, and place it in a Frame of Wood, shap’d in the Figure of a Man, which they set upright against the Wall of the Edifice reserv’d to that End. And this is the most costly way of preserving the Dead. Those who to avoid so great Expence, will be contented with a more common Preparation, are serv’d in the following manner. They fill Syringes with Oil of Cedar, which they inject by the common way, without cutting the Belly, or taking out the Bowels; and after the Body has been laid in Nitre during so many Days as I mention’d before, the Oil of Cedar is let out by the Fundament, and by a peculiar Virtue brings away all the Guts and Vitals shrunk and putrified, the Nitre having in all this time consum’d the Flesh, and left nothing remaining except the
the Skin and the Bones. When this is done, they deliver the Body without any farther Operation. The third and last manner of preserving the Dead, used only for the poorer sort, is perform'd by the Injection of certain Liquors to cleanse the Bowels, and laying the Body in Nitre for seventy Days; after which they deliver it to be carried away by the Persons concern'd. The Wives of considerable Persons, and all Women who have been beautiful, and dear to their Relations, are not deliver'd to the Embalmers presently after Death, but kept at home three or four Days before they are carried out, in order to prevent those Artificers from abusing the Bodies of such Persons; one of them having been formerly accus'd of this Crime by his Companion. If any Ægyptian, or even a Stranger, be found kill'd by a Crocodile, or drown'd in the River, wherever the Body comes ashore, the Inhabitants are by Law compell'd to pay all the Charges of Embalming, and placing it among the consecrated Monuments, adjusted in the most costly manner. For none of his Friends, or Relations, or any other, may touch his Body, except the Priests of the Nile, who bury him with their own Hands, as something more than human. They utterly reject the Grecian Customs; and, to say all at once, will not receive the Usages of any other People. Which Maxim is almost general among the Ægyptians.

But the City of Chemmis, standing in the Province of Thebes, not far from Nea, has a Temple of a quadrangular Form dedicated to Perseus the Son of Danae. This Fabrick is surrounded with Palm-Trees, and adorn'd with a spacious
spacious Portico of Stone, on which two vast Statues, of Stone likewise, are erected. In a Chapel built within the Limits of the consecrated Ground, an Image of Perseus is plac'd; where, the Inhabitants affirm, the Hero frequently appears rising out of the Earth, as he often does in other parts of the Temple; that they have one of the Sandals he wore, which is two Cubits in length; and that after his Appearance, a plentiful Year always ensues in Ægypt. These things they say; and have instituted all manner of Gymnick Exercises to the Honour of Perseus, entirely agreeing with those us'd in Greece, rewarding the victorious with Cattle, Apparel, and Skins. When I enquir'd what might be the Reason that Perseus appear'd only to them, and why they differ'd from the rest of Ægypt in appointing these Gymnick Exercises; they answer'd, that Perseus was descended of their Blood. For, saith they, Danaus and Lynceus were both Chemmites, and sail'd together into Greece; enumerating the several Generations down to Perseus; who passing through Ægypt, in order to fetch the Gorgon's Head from Libya, (as the Grecians likewise acknowledge) arriv'd in this Country, and having formerly heard the Name of Chemmis from his Mother, own'd his Relations, and by his Command these Gymnick Exercises were first instituted. This Opinion is receiv'd by the Ægyptians that inhabit above the Morasses; but those who live in the Fenny Parts, are conformable in Manners to the rest of Ægypt, and as in other things, so particularly in this, that each Man has no more than one Wife, like the Grecians. With respect to their Food, they have been the Inventers of divers
divers sorts. For when the River swells and
overflows the Plains, great Numbers of Lilies,
which the Ægyptians call Lotus, shoot up thro'
the Water. These they cut down, and after
they are dried in the Sun, take out the Heart
of the Plant; which resembling the Pulp of a
Meakin, they mould into a Paste and bake as
Bread. They likewise eat the Root of the Lo-
tus, which is round, and equal to an Apple in
Bigness. Another Lily grows in the same
Places, much like to a Rose, with a certain
Fruit found at the Foot of the Stem, in Form
not unlike a Wasp's Nest, and cover'd with a
Pellicule containing divers Kernels of the Size
of an Olive Stone, which are eaten either ten-
der or dried. The Byblus they annually gather
in the Fens, and divide into two Parts; the
Head is reserv'd for other Uses, but the lower
Part being of a Cubit in Length, is eaten and
publickly fold. When any one is desirous to
eat these Stems dress'd in the best Manner, he
stews them in a clean Pan. Some among these
People live altogether upon Fish, which they
disbowel and dry in the Sun, without any far-
ther dressing.

Fishes that are gregarious, and swim in
Company, seldom breed in the River; but when
the Desire of ingenerating seizes them, leave the
Waters they frequent, and drive out in Shoals
to the Sea, the Males leading the Way, and
scattering their Spawn upon the Surface. This
the Females swallow as they come up, and are
thus impregnated. When they find themselves
full, they return to their accustom'd Haunts;
 tho' not under the Conduct of the Males, but
of the Females; which in their Way home do
as the Males did in their Passage outwards. For they eject their Eggs like small Grains of Millet, which the Males that follow devour; yet such as remain undevour'd, are sometimes nourish'd and become Fish. If any of these Fish happen to be taken in their Passage towards the Sea, they are found bruis'd on the left side of the Head; if in their Return, on the right: Because they swim outwards leaning towards the Land on the left side, and when they return keep so close to the Shore, in fear of being carried down by the Stream, that they bruise themselves frequently on the Bank. When the Nile begins to overflow, the hollow Vales and Morasses that lie near the River, are the first that are fill'd by the Inundation, and immediately swarm with infinite Numbers of small Fishes; the Reason of which, as I conjecture, is this: Whilst the annual Inundation of the Nile is retreating back, the Fishes lay their Eggs on the Slime, and go off with the last of the Waters; and when the River returns to overflow the same Places again after the Revolution of a Year, these Fishes are immediately produc'd from those Eggs.

The Ægyptians who inhabit about the Fens use an Oil call'd Kiki, drawn from the Fruit of the Sillicyprian Shrub, which they sow upon the Borders of Rivers and Lakes. This Plant grows wild in Greece; but is sow'd in Ægypt, and bears great Abundance of Fruit, tho' of an ill Scent. Some bruise it in a Press, and squeeze out the Oil; others put it into Pans which they set on the Fire, and by that means extract the Juice. The Liquor is unctuous, and no less useful in Lamps than other Oil; but the Odour is strong and
and disagreeable. These Parts are much infested with Gnats, and therefore the Inhabitants have contriv'd to defend themselves from that Insect by the following Means. Those who live above the Marshes go up to take their Rest in Towers built to that End; because the Gnats are prevented by the Winds from mounting so high:

And those who inhabit the lower Parts, use this Artifice instead of such Towers. Every Man has a Net, which serves him by Day to take Fish, and at Night to defend the Place where he sleeps; for if he should wrap himself up either in his Clothes or any kind of Linen, the Gnats would not fail to bite; but never attempt to pass the Net. Their Ships of Burden are made of the Acantha, which in shape resembles the Cyrænean Lotus, and distils a sort of Gum. From this Tree they cut Timber of about two Cubits square, in the shape of Tyles, and fasten these Planks together with many long Bands, which when they have well compacted in this manner, they erect the Benches for the Rowers. For they use no kind of Ribs or arch'd Timber in their Work, but bend the Joints of the Inside with Ropes; having only one Rudder, which passeth quite through the Planks of the Ship, with a Mast of Acantha, and Sails of Byblus. These Vessels are altogether unfit to mount the River against the Stream, and therefore are always drawn up, unless the Wind prove very fresh and favourable. But when they go with the Current, they fasten a Hurdle of Tamaris with a Rope to the Prow of the Vessel. This Hurdle is strengthen'd with Bands of Reeds, and so let down into the Water. They have likewise a Stone, pierc'd thro' the middle,
of about two Talents in weight, which they also let down into the River by another Rope made fast to the Poop; and by this means the Stream bearing hard upon the Hurdle carries down the Ship with great Expedition, whilst the weight of the Stone balances and keeps it steady. These Vessels are very numerous in those Parts, and some of them carry the weight of many thousand Talents.

When the Nile has overflow'd, nothing is seen in Ægypt, except the Cities, which appear like the Islands of the Ægean Sea. All the rest of the Country is cover'd with the Flood, and Vessels hold not the same Course as at other Times by the Channel of the River, but thro' the midst of the Plains. Those who would pass from Naucratis to Memphis, leave the common Route, which is by the Pyramids, to fail by the Point of Delta and by the City of Cercasora: And the Passage from Canopus and the Seat to Naucratis, is thro' the Plains, by the Cities of Anthylla and Archandra. Since Ægypt has been under the Dominion of the Persians, the Revenues of Anthylla, which is a considerable City, have been always given to the Wife of the Person who is entrusted with the Government, for her Expence in Shoes. And the other, as I conjecture, was nam'd Archandra by Danaus, who married the Daughter of Archander of Ptibios, the Son of Achœus. 'Tis possible there may have been another Archander; but most certain that this Name is not Ægyptian.

Having hitherto advanc'd nothing concerning the Ægyptians except what I have either seen, or known by Inquiry; I shall now proceed to give some Account of their Reports and
and Traditions, which yet will be interwoven with divers things that I saw. The Priests inform'd me, that Menes, who was the first King of Ægypt, by throwing up a Rampart above Memphis of about a hundred Stades in length, stretching towards the South, dried up that part of the Nile, which to his time had pass'd by the Foot of the Mountain of Sand in Libya, and caus'd the Water to run from a certain Angle thro' the Hills by a new Channel: That this Passage is diligently preferv'd in our time, and annually repair'd by the Persians; because if the River should at any time break thro' the Bank, the whole City would probably be drown'd. They added, that the same Menes, after he had diverted the course of the Water, built the City which to this Day is call'd Memphis, within the antient Bed of the River; and indeed this Place is situate in one of the narrowest Streights of Ægypt: That, on the North and West Side he caus'd a Lake to be made without the Walls from the River, which passes on the Eastwardly Part, and founded the magnificent and memorable Temple of Vulcan in the same City. After this the same Priests read to me from a Book, the Names of three hundred and thirty Kings who had reign'd after Menes. During all which time eighteen were Æthiopians, one Woman, and the rest Ægyptians. The Woman, like the Queen of Babylon, was call'd by the Name of Nitocris; and they inform'd me, that after she had receiv'd the Power from the Hands of the Ægyptians, who had slain her Brother and immediate Predecessor, she reveng'd his Death by the following Artifice. She built a Palace for herself, with a spacious Hall
Hall under Ground, which seem'd strange to others; but was contriv'd in order to execute the Design she had laid. For having invited all those she knew to have been principally concern'd in the Death of her Brother, to a great Feast, she let in the River by a private Way, and drown'd them all together; she herself escaping in the mean time into another Apartment, so well secur'd with a Rampart of Ashes as to preserve her Life. This Account they gave of Nitocris. But of the other Kings they said nothing, because they had perform'd no memorable Action; except Mœris, who being the last of them, built the Portico of Vulcan's Temple, fronting to the Northward, and caus'd a Lake to be made (the Dimensions of which I shall describe hereafter) with Pyramids, which I shall also mention when I come to speak of the Lake. In a Word, they assur'd me he had done these great things, and all the rest nothing. And therefore I shall pass them by, to relate the memorable Actions of a succeeding King, whose Name was Sesostris.

The Priests affirm'd, that this King was the first, who passing thro' the Arabian Gulph with a Fleet of long Ships, subdued those Nations that inhabit about the Red Sea; and continued his Expedition, till certain Sands prevented him from advancing farther: That returning to Ægypt, he assembled a numerous Army, with which he landed on the Continent, and conquer'd all the Countries where he pass'd: That wherever he subdued any valiant People, fighting strenuously to preserve their Liberty, he erected a Column in that Place, with an Inscription declaring his own Name and Country, and that he had conquer'd
quer'd them by his Power: But when he subdued a Nation either without fighting, or by an easy Victory, he caus'd a Pillar and Inscriptions to be erected, as in the Places where he found the greatest Resistance, with the Addition of Figures representing the secret Part of a Woman, to perpetuate the Memory of their Cowardice. In this manner extending his Conquests thro' the Continent, he march'd out of Asia into Europe, and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. For so far, and no farther, the Egyptian Army appears to have penetrated, because their Pillars are to be seen in those Countries, and no where beyond them. From thence returning to Egypt, and arriving at the River Phasis, I cannot affirm, whether he appointed part of his Army to inhabit that Country, or whether some of his Forces grown uneafy with the Fatigues of their Expedition, did voluntarily remain in that Region; but the Inhabitants of Colchis seem to me of Egyptian Extraction, which I collected rather from my own Experience, than the Information of others. And tho' upon Inquiry I found more evident Marks of this Relation among the Colchians than in Egypt; yet the Egyptians say they believe them to be descended from a part of the Army of Sesostris; which I think probable, because their Complexion is swarthy, and their Hair frizled, tho' no certain Proof; for others are so likewise. But that which weighs most with me is, that the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians are the only Nations of the World, who from time immemorial have been circumcis'd. For the Phœnicians, and those Syrians that inhabit Palestine, acknowledge they O receiv'd
receiv'd the Circumcision from the Ægyptians: As the other Syrians, who possessthe Countries adjacent to the River Tbermodon and Parthenion, with their Neighbours the Macronians, confess they very lately learn'd the same Custom from the Colchians. And these are the only Nations that are circumcis'd, and imitate the Ægyptians in the Use of this Ceremony. But whether the Æthiopians had this Usage from the Ægyptians, or these, on the contrary, from the Æthiopians, is a thing too ancient and obscure for me to determine. Yet I am inclin'd to believe that the Æthiopians took up this Custom by conversing with the Ægyptians; because we see that none of those Phœnicians, who have any Commerce with the Grecians, continue to imitate the Ægyptians in this Usage, of circumcising their Children. One thing more I shall mention, in which the Colchians resemble the Ægyptians. They alone of all People work their Thread after the manner of Ægypt; and the same way of Living, as well as the same Language, is common to both Nations; tho' the Grecians call the Thread they import from Colchis, by the Name of Sardonian, and that which comes from Ægypt by the proper Name of the Country.

The Pillars erected by Sesostris King of Ægypt in the Countries he subdued, were for the most part demolish'd: Yet I saw some of them standing in the Syrian Palestîne, with the Inscriptions I mention'd before, and the genital Parts of a Woman. Two Images likewise of this King, carv'd on Stone, are seen in Ionia, upon the Ways that lead from Ephesus to Phœcea, and from Sardis to Smyrna. His Figure is five Palms in
in height, holding a Bow in one Hand and an Arrow in the other, and arm'd after the Ægyptian and Æthiopian Manner. On a Line drawn from one Shoulder to the other these Words are engrav'd in the sacred Letters of Ægypt, I obtain'd this Region by the Strength of these Arms. The Stone does not discover who the Person represented was, nor from whence he came; and tho' this is well known by other means, yet some who have seen the Monument, have grossly mistaken it for an Image of Memnon. The Priests farther inform'd me, that Sesoftris follow'd by great Numbers of Captives drawn out of the Countries he had conquer'd, landed in his Return at the Pelusian Daphne; where his Brother, to whom he had committed the Government of Ægypt during his Absence, desir'd him to accept the Entertainment of his House for himself and Sons; and having prevail'd with the King to stay, he caus'd a great quantity of combustible Matter to be laid in all the Passages, and set on fire: That Sesoftris being inform'd of the Danger, and consulting with his Wife, who had accompany'd him in his Expedition, she advis'd him to take two of his six Sons, and extending their Bodies on the Fire, form a kind of Bridge in order to make his Escape: That her Counsel was put in Execution, and two of his Sons perishing in the Flames, he himself with all the rest was preserved; and afterwards punish'd his Brother in an exemplary manner for this Treachery: That as to the multitude of Prisoners he brought with him from his foreign Conquests, he employ'd them partly in drawing those immense Stones, which are seen in the Temple of Vulcan, and partly in digging the Canals.
nals of Ægypt, which has rendered the Ways impracticable for Horsemen, or any kind of Land-Carriage, whereas before that time they were constantly frequented by both: But the Number and different Forms of these Aqueducts in a Country, which is altogether level, has made them inaccessible to either. Yet this was design'd by Sesostris, to the end that those who inhabit the Cities and other Places that lie remote from the River, and have no Rain, might be plentifully supplied with Water to drink, out of their own Wells, after the Inundations of the Nile are withdrawn: And for this Reason, these Canals were cut throughout Ægypt. They told me also that this King made an equal Division of all the Lands in Ægypt, and assigned a square Piece of Ground to every Ægyptian, reserving to himself a certain Rent, which he commanded them to pay annually; yet if the River happen'd to diminish any Man's Portion, he presently went with his Complaint to the King, who always deputed certain Inspectors to measure the Remainder of the Land, and adjust the Payment in Proportion to the Loss. Hence Geometry, as I conjecture, had its beginning, and was afterwards introduced among the Grecians. But Astronomy, with the Use of the Gnomon, and the Division of the Day into twelve Parts, they receiv'd from the Babylonians: Sesostris alone of all the Ægyptian Kings was Master of Æthiopia; and for a Monument of his Possession, left divers Statues of Stone erected at the Entrance of Vulcan's Temple. Two of these, representing himself and his Wife, are thirty Cubits in height; and four other Statues representing his four Sons are
of twenty Cubits each. Many Ages after, when the Statue of Darius the Persian was brought thither, the Priest of Vulcan would not suffer it to be plac’d above that of Sesostris, saying openly, that the Actions of the Persian were not so illustrious as those of the Egyptian King. For besides the Conquest of Scythia, his other Acquisitions were equal to those of Darius, who could not subdue the Scythians: And to prefer a Man before Sesostris, who had not surpass’d him in glorious Actions, would be unjust. All which was forgiven by Darius.

After the Death of Sesostris, his Son Phe-rion succeeded him in the Kingdom. But he undertook no military Expedition, and became blind by this Accident: At a Time when the Nile had overflow’d in an extraordinary manner, to the height of more than eighteen Cubits above the Surface of the Earth, a great Storm of Wind arose, and put the Waters into a violent Agitation. Upon this the King, in an insolent Humour, took a Javelin in his Hand, and having thrown it among the rolling Billows, was presently seiz’d with a Pain in his Eyes, which made him blind for ten Years. In the eleventh Year, a Message was brought from the Oracle of Butus, importing, that the time of his Punishment was expir’d, and he should recover his Sight, if he would wash his Eyes with the Urine of a Woman, who had never accompanied with any other Man than her own Husband. In Obedience to the Oracle, he first tried the Urine of his own Wife; but finding no Relief, made use of that of others indifferently, till at last his Sight was restor’d. Upon which he or-
der'd all those Women whose Urine he had un-
successfully tried, to be sent to a Place call'd E-
rythrebolus, from the redness of the Soil, where
he caus'd them to be burnt, together with the
City; and married the Woman by whose means
he had been cur'd of his Blindness. After this,
he dedicated many considerable Offerings in all
the Temples, to perpetuate the Memory of his
Recovery; but the most memorable were two
magnificent Obelisks which he erected in the
Temple of the Sun, each of one Stone only, a
hundred Cubits in height, and eight Cubits in
breadth. The Priests farther inform'd me, that
a Native of Memphis, who in the Grecian Lan-
guage would be nam'd Proteus, succeeded him
in the Kingdom, and is honour'd in a stately
Temple, which is still seen at Memphis, richly
adorn'd, and standing on the North Side of that
dedicated to Vulcan. The Parts adjacent to the
Temple are inhabited by Phenicians of Fire,
and all that Region is call'd the Tyrian Camp.
In this Temple is a Chapel dedicated to Venus
the Stranger, which I conjecture to be meant of
Helena the Daughter of Tyndarus, who, as I
have heard, went under that Name, and resided
some time in the Court of Proteus. For of all
the Temples that are dedicated to the other
Venus, not one is known by this Name. And
indeed, when I enquir'd of the Priests concern-
ing Helena, they told me, that after Alexander
had carried her off from Sparta, he met with a
violent Storm in his Return homewards, which
drove him out of the Ægean into the Ægyptian
Sea; and still continuing with great Fury, forc'd
him to put in at Tarichea, a Place situate in the
Canopian Mouth of the River Nile. On that
Shore
Shore stood a Temple of Hercules, which remains to this Day; whither, if the Servant of any Person flies, and devoting himself to the God, takes upon him certain sacred Marks, he may not be forc'd from thence under any Pretext: And this Privilege has been preserv'd without Violation to our Time. When therefore the Slaves of Alexander had heard of this Immunity, they fled to the Temple, and as Suppliants putting themselves under the Protection of Hercules, accus'd their Master of the Rape of Helena, omitting nothing that might aggravate the Injury he had done to Menelaus. These Complaints were made in the Presence of the Priests, and before the Governor of that Province, whose Name was Thonis. Upon which the Governor immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to Proteus, at Memphis, with Orders to inform him, "That a certain Stranger, born at Troy, was arriv'd, who had been guilty of a most nefarious Action in Greece; having seduced the Wife of his Host, and carried her away with immense Riches: That a violent Tempest had forc'd him to land in Ægypt; and that therefore the King would determine, whether he should be permitted to depart with Impunity, or whether he, and all he had brought with him, should be seiz'd?" In Answer to this Message Proteus commanded, that the Man, whoever he was, that had so injuriously violated the Rights of Hospitality, should be sent to him, that he might hear what he had to say for himself. Which Answer being brought to Thonis, he seiz'd the Person of Alexander; secur'd his Ships, and sent him to Memphis, with Helena, his Riches.
Riches, and all his Slaves. When they arriv’d there, and Proteus had ask’d Alexander, who he was, and whence he came, he gave him an Account of his Family, Country, Name, and to what Parts he was bound. But the King proceeding to demand, in what Place he had met with Helena, he began to shift, and to deliver his Answer in ambiguous Words; till the fugitive Suppliants openly accus’d him, and discover’d all the Circumstances of his Crime. Then Proteus said, “If I were not very unwilling to put Strangers to Death, forc’d by the Winds to take Refuge in my Territories, I would avenge the Injuries thou hast done to that Grecian: Thou hast shewn thyself the basest of Men, in violating the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and seducing the Wife of one, who entertain’d thee in his House with Kindness; and, as if it had not been enough to debauch his Wife, thou hast brought her away with thee; and to compleat thy Crime, hast robb’d him of his Treasures: Therefore, though I cannot persuade myself to kill a Stranger, yet I will not suffer thee to carry away the Woman, or the Riches thou hast plunder’d; but shall preserve both, in order to restore them to thy injur’d Host, upon his Demand; commanding thee and all thy Companions to depart out of my Kingdom within three Days, under Pain of being treated as Enemies.” In this manner the Priests reported the Arrival of Helena in Ægypt. And I am of Opinion, that Homer had heard the same Relation; but not thinking it proper to be inserted in an Epick Poem with these Circumstances, he alter’d the Relation, though he has plainly shewn he was not
not ignorant of what I have mention'd; as is sufficiently manifest in his *Iliad*, and never retracted in any part of that Work. For describing the Voyages of *Alexander*, he shews, that after he had been driven through divers Seas, he arriv'd at *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which is prov'd by these Verses, inserted in the Description of *Diedmedes*’s Valour.

*There Garments lay, in various Colours wrought,*  
The *Work* of *Sidon’s* Dames, *from Sidon brought*  
*By Godlike Paris, when he plow’d the Seas,*  
*And high-born Helen wafted o’er from Greece.*

In the *Odysse* also the following Lines are read.

*Jove’s Daughter had an Antidote in store,*  
*Which she receiv’d from Polydamne’s Hand,*  
*Wife to th’ Egyptian Thonis: For that Soil*  
*Abounds no less with good than noxious Plants.*

To which may be added these Words of *Menelaus* to *Telemachus*.

*The Gods detain’d me on th’ Egyptian Shore,*  
*Because I fail’d whole Hecatombs to pay,*  
*Which they expected.*

The Tenor of these Verses sufficiently shews, that *Homer* was not ignorant of *Alexander’s Arrival in Egypt*. For the Coast of *Syria* lies next adjoining to that of *Egypt*, and the *Phœnicians of Sidon* are Inhabitants of *Syria*. So that these Lines, together with the Mention of this Region, plainly prove that *Homer* was not the Author of the *Cyprian Verses*, but some other Person.
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Person. For they affirm, that when Alexander brought away Helena from Sparta, he had both Wind and Weather so favourable, that he arriv'd at Troy in three Days, whereas Homer in his Iliad says he was driven from one Place to another. And so I take my leave of him and the Cyprian Verses.

When I ask'd the Priests whether the Account of the Trojan War, as related by the Grecians, was not an impertinent Story, they affirm'd me they were inform'd by Menelaus himself, that after the Rape of Helena, the Grecians resolving to assist him, form'd a numerous Army, and landed in Teucris: That upon their landing they mark'd out and fortified a Camp, and sent Ambassadors to Ilium, of which Embassy Menelaus was one: That these Ambassadors went to the City, and demanded Helena, with all the Treasures Alexander had stolen, and Satisfaction for the Injuries done: That the Trojans protest-ed and swore, both at that time and since, that neither Helena, nor the Riches they demanded, were in their Power, but in Ægypt; and therefore to demand Restitution from them, of things that were in the Possession of Proteus King of Ægypt, was unjust: That the Grecians taking this Answer for a mere Mockery, began the Siege, which they continued till the City was taken: That when they were Masters of Troy, finding the Trojans still persisting in their Asse-verations, and Helena no where appearing, they gave Credit to their former Protestations, and sent Menelaus to Ægypt; where being arriv'd, he sail'd up to Memphis, and having truly related what had pass'd, was affectionately entertain'd by the King; had his Wife, with all his Treasures,
sures, restor'd to him without any Injury done
to her Person; and that notwithstanding this
Kindness, Menelaus prov'd ungrateful to the Æ-
gyptians: For being long detain'd in Ægypt by
contrary Winds, he perpetrated a most impious
Action; taking two Children, Natives of that
Country, and opening their Bodies, in order to
consult their Intrails concerning his Departure;
which being discover'd, and the Inhabitants in
Detestation of his Cruelty preparing to seize
him, he set sail with Precipitation, and fled to
Libya; though what farther Adventures he had
they could not tell: Concluding, that they had
learnt some of these Particulars from the Inform-
ation of others, and were fully assur'd of the
rest, because they were done among them. To
this Relation of the Priests, if I should add my
own Opinion concerning Helena, I would say,
that if she had been within the Territories of
Ilium, doubtless the Trojans would have sur-
render'd to the Grecians, either with or with-
out the Consent of Alexander. For certainly
Priamus, and all those about him, could
never be so desperately mad to bring themselves,
with their Children and the whole Kingdom,
into the utmost Hazard, only that Alexander
might enjoy Helena. But let us suppose they
might take such a Resolution at first; yet after
the Slaughter of such vast Numbers of Trojans,
together with two or three of the King's Sons,
or more, if we may believe the Poets, that were
kill'd, fighting against the Grecians, I cannot
forbear to think, that if Priamus himself had
married Helena, he would have restor'd her to
the Achaians, to be deliver'd from so great a
Calamity. Besides, Alexander not being the
next
next Heir to the Crown, could have no Pretence
to govern all things during the Life of an aged
King: Héctor was elder than he; rightful Suc-
cessor to Priamus, and much more considerable
for Valour; and could not with any Decency
abet and support the Injustice of his Brother;
by whose means so many Evils had already hap-
pen'd, and were daily impending over his own
Head, and over all the Trojans in general. But
indeed Helena was not in their Power, though
the Grecians would not believe them when they
spoke the truth; Heaven permitting, as I con-
jecture, that they should be utterly destroy'd, in
order to convince Men, that the Gods have great
Punishments in Reserve for atrocious Crimes.
And thus I have deliver'd my Opinion concern-
ing these things.

The Priests likewise inform'd me, that up-
on the Death of Proteus, rampfhinitus succeeded
him, and for a Monument of his Magnificence,
added to the Temple of Vulcan a Portico front-
ing to the West, and erected two Statues before
this Building, of twenty five Cubits each. One
of these looks to the Northward, and is adored
by the Ægyptians under the Name of Summer:
The other facing the South, is altogether neg-
lected, and goes by the Name of Winter. Ramp-
fhinitus heap'd together a far greater Quantity of
Silver than any of the succeeding Kings are faid
to have possess'd; and being defirous to secure
his Treasures, built an Apartment of Stone,
which had one Wall on the Outside of the Pa-
lace. This Situation the Architect made use of
to deceive the King, and plac'd one of the
Stones in so loose a manner, that a Man might
easily take it out. Some time after the Build-
ing
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ing was finish'd, and the King had lodg'd his Riches in the Place, the Architect lying upon his Death-bed, call'd his two Sons, and acquaint-ed them, that he had contriv'd the King's Treas-ury in such a manner, that they might always furnish themselves with the means of living plentifully; directing them to the Place, and ex-plaining all the Particulars they were to observe, in taking out and putting in the Stone: In a Word, he told them, if they would follow his Instruc-tions, they might be Treasurers of all the King's Riches. The Sons waited not long after the Death of their Father to put his Counsel in Execution, and went by Night to the Palace; where having found the Place, they remov'd the Stone without Difficulty, and carried off a great Quantity of Silver. Rampshitus entering one Day into the Treasury, and seeing his Heaps much diminish'd, fell into a great Surprize; in regard he knew not whom to blame, having found all entire, and the Apartment, in Appear-ance, well secur'd. But after the King had two or three times successively visit'd his Treasures, and always found them diminish'd, he order'd Nets to be made, and spread about the Vessels that contain'd his Money. The Thieves com-ing as before, one of them enter'd, and going to a Vessel fill'd with Silver, was presently taken in the Snare. Finding himself in this Extremi-ty, he immediately call'd his Brother, and ac-quainting him with his Misfortune, desir'd him to come in, and cut off his Head, lest the whole Intrigue should be discover'd, and neither of them escape with Life. The Brother com-pre-hending the Reason of his Request, did as he desir'd, and having put the Stone in its proper Place,
Place, return'd home with the Head. Early in the Morning the King coming to the Treasury, was not a little astonish'd to find the Body of the Thief taken in the Net without a Head, and the whole Edifice entire, without the least Sign of any Person going out or coming in. In this Perplexity he went away, and commanded the Body to be hang'd on the Wall; appointing a Guard, with strict Orders, if they should see any one weeping at the Spectacle, or pitying the Person, to bring him immediately before the King. But no sooner was the Body thus expos'd, than the Mother fell into a great Passion, and commanded her surviving Son, by any Means he could contrive, to take down and bring away the Corps of his Brother: Threatening, if he refus'd, to go to the King, and let him know that he was the Thief who had robb'd the Treasury. The Son earnestly endeavour'd to dissuade his Mother from her Purpose; but finding nothing could prevail, he made ready his Asses, and having loaded them with Skins fill'd with Wine, and driven them near the Guards that were appointed to watch the dead Body, he open'd two or three of the Skins, and when he saw the Wine running out, struck himself upon the Head, and cried out lamentably; as if his Confusion had been so great, that he knew not to which of his Asses he should run first. The Guards seeing so much Wine lost, ran presently to the Asses with Pots in their Hands to receive the Liquor, and make use of the present Opportunity; which the Man perceiving, feign'd himself highly incens'd, and rail'd bitterly against the Soldiers. But they, on the contrary, giving him good Words, he
he grew calm again, and pretending to be pacified, led his Asses out of the Way, as if he design'd to secure the rest of his Wine; till at last, falling into a Dialogue of Mirth and Railery with the Guards, he gave one of the Skins among them. The Soldiers immediately sat down to drink, and taking him by the Hand, desir'd him to do as they did; which he accepting, and finding them fond of his Company, was so liberal of his Wine, that they made themselves drunk, and fell asleep in the Place. By this means he took down his Brother in the dead of Night; and having, in Derision, shav'd all the Guard on the right Cheek, he laid the Body upon one of his Asses, and brought it home to his Mother, according to her Desire. They added, that the King hearing the Body of the Thief had been stolen, was much disturb'd; and resolving, by any Means, to find out the Contriver of this Artifice, form'd a Design, which to me seems incredible; commanding his Daughter to prostitute herself at home to all Comers indifferent, after having first oblig'd every one in particular, to let her know the most subtle, and most wicked Actions of his whole Life; and enjoining her, when any one should discover himself guilty of the Fact relating to the Thief, that she should lay Hands on him, and not suffer him to escape. His Daughter obey'd; and the Thief not ignorant to what End this Contrivance tended, and desirous to elude the King's Design, cut off an Arm from the Body of a Man newly expir'd, and putting it under his Cloak, went to the Daughter of Rampfinius. At his coming, when she ask'd him the same Questions she
had propos'd to others, he answer'd, That the most wicked Action he ever did, was, to cut off his Brother's Head in the Treasury; and the most subtle, was the Artifice he contriv'd to make the Guard drunk, and by that means to carry off the Body. No sooner had he said this, than she offer'd to lay Hands on him; but he being favour'd by the Night, put the dead Hand into hers; and while she thought she held him fast, convey'd himself away, and ran out of the House. When the King was inform'd of this Event, he was astonish'd at the Invention and Audaciousness of the Man; and a short time after, caus'd Proclamation to be made in all Places, that he would not only pardon him, but reward him amply, if he would discover himself. The Thief, in Confidence of this Promise, went directly to the Palace; and Rampninitus, in Admiration of his Subtlety, gave him his Daughter in Marriage: Accounting him the most knowing of all Men, because he knew more than the Ægyptians, who are wiser than the rest of Mankind.

After this, they said, Rampninitus descend'd alive into those Places which the Grecians call Hades; where playing at Dice with Ceres, he sometimes won, and other times lost: That she presented him, at his Departure, with a Basin of Gold; and that the Ægyptians celebrate a certain Festival, from the Day of his Descent to that of his Re-ascension, which I have seen them observe in my time: But whether that Adventure, or some other thing gave Birth to this Solemnity, I cannot determine. However, the Priests every Year at that time, clothed one of their Order in a Cloak woven the same
same Day, and covering his Eyes with a Mitre, guide him into the Way that leads towards the Temple of Ceres, and then return: Upon which, they say, two Wolves come and conduct him to the Temple, twenty Stades distant from the City, and afterwards accompany him back to the Place from whence he came. These things are related by the Ægyptians; and if any Man think them credible, he is at Liberty: For me, I am oblig'd to write what I have heard.

The Ægyptians hold, that the sovereign Power of the infernal Regions is exercis'd by Ceres and Bacchus; and were the first of all Mankind, who affirm'd the Immortality of Man's Soul; which, they say, upon the Death of the Body always enters into some other Animal; and passing, by a continued Rotation, through the different Kinds of Aerial, Terrestrial, and Marine Beings, returns again into a human Body, after the Revolution of three thousand Years. Yet this Opinion divers Grecians have publish'd for their own, in these and former times; but I shall forbear to mention them, though I am not ignorant of their Names. They told me likewise, that to the Reign of Ramphisitus, Justice and good Order were preserv'd in Ægypt, and that the Kingdom flourish'd in Plenty: But that Cheops who succeeded him, was a most flagitious Tyrant. For after he had shut up all the Temples, and forbidden the Publick Sacrifices, he oppressed the Ægyptians with hard Labour; appointing some to receive the Stones that were dug out of the Quarries in the Arabian Mountains, and to draw them down to the Nile, in order to be transported in Vessels to the other
Side of that River; and ordering others to convey them from thence towards the Mountain call'd Libycus. About a hundred thousand Men were employ'd in this Labour, ten thousand every three Months: And ten Years were spent in the building of a Bridge, which I think to be a Work little less considerable than the Pyramid. For that Bridge is five Stades in length; sixty Foot broad; and in the highest part, forty eight Foot in Altitude; all of polish'd Stone, and carv'd with the Figures of various Animals. The Pyramid, and the subterraneous Vaults, built within the Hill, on which the Pyramids stand, were the Labour of twenty Years. Into this Place he convey'd the Nile, by a Trench, and form'd a little Island in the midst of the Waters, designing to place his Sepulchre on that Ground. This Pyramid is Quadrilateral, every Face containing eight Plethrons in length, and the same Measure in height. All the Stones are thirty Foot long, well squar'd, and jointed with the greatest Exactness; rising on the Outside by a gradual Ascent, which some call Stairs, and others little Altars, contriv'd in the following Manner: When they had laid the first Range, they carried other Stones up thither, by a short Engine of Wood, and from thence to the second by another; for these Engines thus employ'd, were equal in Number to the several Orders of Stone: Or perhaps the Engine was but one; and being easily manag'd, might be remov'd as often as they plac'd a Stone; for I have heard the Relation both ways. The highest were first finish'd, and the rest in their proper Order; but last of all those that are lowest and nearest the Ground. On this Pyramid, an Inscription
Inscription is seen, declaring in Egyptian Characters, how much was expended in Radishes, Onions and Garlick for the Workmen; which the Interpreter, as I well remember, told me, amounted to no less than the Sum of sixteen hundred Talents of Silver. And if this be true, how much more may we think was expended in Iron Tools, in Bread, and in Cloaths for the Labourers, during the time they were building this Monument; besides the great Sums that must of Necessity have been spent, while they were employ'd in transporting the Stones, and digging the subterraneous Vaults? In the End, Cheops having exhausted his Treasures, arriv'd to such a Degree of Infamy, that he prostituted his own Daughter in a certain Apartment; commanding her to get as much Money as she could; but the Sum they mention'd not. She obey'd the Order of her Father; and at the same time contriving to leave a Monument of herself, ask'd every one that came, to give her a Stone towards the Edifice she design'd. By which means she built that Pyramid which stands in the Midst of the three, within View of the great Pyramid, and extends to the length of a Plethron and half on every side of the Basis. Fifty Years, as the Egyptians say, Cheops reign'd, and when he was dead, his Brother Cephrenes succeeded to the Kingdom; imitating him in other things, and particularly in building a Pyramid; which yet is far inferior in Dimensions to that of Cheops (for we ourselves measur'd them) having no subterraneous Chambers, nor a Channel, like the other, deriv'd from the Nile, and forming a kind of Island within, on which they say the Body of Cheops lies deposited. The
lower part of this Fabrick is built with Æthiopian Marble of various Colours, forty Foot from the Ground. But they are both of equal Altitude, and stand on the same Hill; which rises to the height of about a hundred Foot. They inform'd me, that Cephrenes reign'd fifty six Years; and that the Ægyptians having been thus oppress'd with all manner of Calamities, during one hundred and sixty Years, in all which time the Temples were never open'd, had conceiv'd so great an Aversion to the Memory of the two Kings, that no Ægyptian will mention their Names; but always attribute their Pyramids to one Philion a Shepherd, who kept his Cattle in those Parts. They said also, that after the Death of Cephrenes, Mycerinus the Son of Cheops became King; and disapproving the Conduct of his Father, open'd the Temples, and permitted the People, who are reduc'd to the last Extremities, to apply themselves to their own Affairs, and to sacrifice as in preceding times: That the Ægyptians praise this King above all others; particularly for administering Justice with so much Clemency, that when any Man complain'd of a hard Sentence, he us'd to make him amends, by some Present out of his own Treasury: That while he was thus beneficent to his People, and careful of their Welfare, the first Misfortune that befel him, was the Death of his only Daughter; with which Calamity being extremely afflicted, he resolv'd to bury her in an extraordinary manner; and having caus'd the Image of a Cow to be made of Wood richly guilded with Gold, he put the Body of his Daughter into the Machine. This Cow was not interr'd in the Ground; but continued to my time, expos'd
expos'd to open View, in a magnificent Chamber of the Royal Palace in the City of Sais; where they burn exquisite Odours all the Day, and illuminate the Place by Night with a Lamp. In another Room contiguous to this, are seen the Images of Mycerinus his Concubines, as the Priests of Sais affirm: And indeed about twenty Statues of Wood stand naked in that Place; but touching the Women they represent, I know no more than they were pleas'd to tell me. Yet some giving a different Account of this Monument, and of these Statues, say, that Mycerinus falling in Love with his Daughter, us'd violent Means to obtain her; which she resenting, hang'd herself, and was buried in this manner by her Father: That her Mother cut off the Hands of her Maids, for assisting Mycerinus in the Rape of his Daughter; and for that Reason, say they, the Statues are made, as the Originals were mutilated for that Offence. But these things, as I conjecture, are not said seriously; especially in that particular relating to the Images, the Hands of which were seen by me scatter'd on the Floor; and I plainly perceiv'd they had dropp'd off through length of Time. The Body of the Cow is cover'd with Phœnician Trappings, except the Head and Neck, which are richly guilded; and a Circle of Gold in Imitation of the Sun is plac'd between the Horns. This Animal is represented kneeling, and equal in Proportion to the largest living Cow. The Ægyptians annually carry her out of the Apartment, where she is plac'd; and after having whipp'd a certain God, not to be nam'd by me on this Occasion, they bring her into
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into the Light; which they say is done, because the Daughter of Mycerinus desired her Father before she died, that he would permit her to see the Sun once every Year. Another Calamity fell upon this King, after the Death of his Daughter. For a Prophecy was brought to him from the City of Butus, importing, that he had no more than six Years to live, and should die in the seventh: Which Denunciation having heard with Impatience, he sent a bitter Complaint to the Oracle; reproaching the God, That his Father and Uncle, who had shut up the Temples, despis'd the Gods, and destroy'd vast Numbers of Men, had liv'd long; and he, notwithstanding his Piety and Religion, must die so soon. But the Oracle, in Answer, sent him another Message, to acquaint him, that his Life was shorten'd, because he had not acted in Conformity to the Decrees of Fate; which had determin'd that Egypt should be afflic'ted during one hundred and fifty Years; and that this was well known to the two Kings his Predecessors, though not understood by him. Mycerinus finding himself thus condemn'd by the Gods, commanded a great Number of Lamps to be made, and lighted every Night, that he might incessantly pass the time in drinking and Pleasure; roving frequently by Night and by Day about the Plains and Groves, wherever he could hear of the most agreeable Company; imagining by this Artifice to convict the Oracle of Falshood, and by turning the Nights into so many Days, to live twelve Years instead of six. This King likewise left a Pyramid of a quadrangular Form; but lower by twenty Foot than that of his Father, every Side extending to the length
length of three Plethrons, and built to the Middle with Æthiopian Stone. Some of the Greeks, without Reason, attribute this Monument to the Curtezan Rhodophis; but to me they seem ignorant who she was. For as she could not have undertaken to build a Pyramid, which, if I may use the Expression, would require such an infinite Sum; so she did not live in the same time, but under the Reign of Amasis, very many Years after the Death of those Kings who founded the Pyramids. She was a Native of Thrace, Servant to Iadmon the Samian of Hephaëstipolis, and Fellow-servant with Æsop, the Inventer of the Fables, who likewise belong'd to Iadmon, as appears by this Testimony chiefly. For when the Delphians had several times demanded by publick Proclamation, who would take the Penalty impos'd by the Oracle for the Death of Æsop, no Man appear'd, except Iadmon the Grandson of this Iadmon, who was the Master of Æsop. Xanthus the Samian transported Rhodophis to Ægypt, in order to get Money; but Charaxus of Mitylene, Son to Scamandronymus, and Brother to Sappho the Poetess, purchas'd her Liberty with a great Sum. By this means being deliver'd from Servitude, Rhodophis continued in Ægypt: And as she became extremely beautiful, acquir'd great Treasures for a Person of her Condition, though no way sufficient to defray the Expence of such a Pyramid. And whoever considers the Tenth of her Riches, which is to be seen in our Days, will soon find they were not so great. For out of a Desire to leave some Memory of herself in Greece, she contriv'd such a Monument, as no Person ever thought of before; appropriating the Tenth of all
all her Wealth to purchase a great Number of Iron Spits, strong enough to carry an Ox; which she sent as an Offering to the Temple of Delphi; where they still remain behind the Altar built by the Chians. From that time the Curtezans of Naucratís have been fond of appearing beautiful; partly, because the Person we mention became so famous, that no Grecian was ignorant of the Name of Rhodopís; and partly on account of Archidice, who liv'd after her, and was highly celebrated in Greece, tho' not to a Degree equal to the former. As for Charaxus, who purchas'd the Liberty of Rhodopísis, he return'd to Mitylene, and was not a little ridicul'd by Sappho in an Ode she compos'd against him. But I shall say no more concerning Rhodopís.

After the Time of Mycerinus, the Priests said, that Asychis was King of Ægypt, and that he built the most beautiful and magnificent Portico of Vulcan's Temple, which fronts to the Rising-Sun: For though the other Porticoes are adorn'd with various Figures of excellent Sculpture, and many curious Pieces of Architecture; yet this is preferable to all: That Asychis finding the Riches of Ægypt not to circulate, made a Law, to enable a Man to borrow Money upon the Sepulchre of his Father, with this Addition, that the Debtor should put the Body into the Possession of the Creditor: And that, if he afterwards refus'd to pay the Debt, he should neither be buried in the same Place with his Father, or in any other, nor have the Liberty of burying any Person descended from him; that this King desiring to outdo all his Predecessors, erected a Pyramid of Brick for his Monument,
ment, with this Inscription, "Compare me not to the Pyramids of Stone, which I excel as much as Jupiter surpasses the other Gods. For striking the Bottom of the Lake with long Poles, and then collecting the Mire that stuck to them, Men made Bricks, and form'd me in that manner." These were the principal Actions of Asychis. And after him, the Priests inform'd me, that Anyfis a blind Man, born in a City of the same Name, succeeded in the Kingdom: That during his Reign Sabacon King of Ethiopia, at the Head of a powerful Army, invaded Egypt, and that the blind Man fled to the Fens: That the Ethiopian King reign'd fifty Years in Egypt, and in all that time put no Egyptian to Death for any Crime; contenting himself to command every Delinquent, in Proportion to his Offence, to carry a certain Quantity of Earth to the City, of which he was an Inhabitant; and by this means the Situation of the Egyptian Cities was much elevated; for those who cut the Canals in the Time of Sesostris had already brought thither all the Earth they took out of those Aqueducts; but under this Ethiopian King they were raised much higher; and none more, in my Opinion, than the City of Bubastis, which has a Temple dedicated to Bubastis, who is no other than the Diana of the Grecians. This Temple well deserves mention. For tho' others may be more spacious and magnificent, yet none can afford more Pleasure to the Eye. The Temple is built in a Peninsula, no part, except the Entrance, joining to the Land; and almost surrounded by two Canals cut from the Nile, that beat upon the Flanks of the Avenue, without mixing together. Each Ca-
nal is a hundred Foot broad, shaded with Trees on both Sides. The Portico is ten Fathoms in height, adorn’d with excellent Statues of six Cubits each. This Fabrick stands in the midst of the City, open on all Sides to the publick View; and remaining untouch’d when the rest of the Ground was rais’d by an Addition of Earth, is yet, like a Tower, plainly discover’d from every part about the Place. The Walls are beautified with various Figures wrought in the Stone, and inclose a Grove of lofty Trees, that encompass a Chapel, in which an Image is plac’d. This Temple contains a full Stade in length, and as much in breadth. From the Avenue Eastward lies a Way through the Publick Place, leading to the Temple of Hermes, about three Stades in length, and four Plethrons in breadth, all pav’d with Stone, and planted with Trees on each side, that seem to reach the Heavens. And such is the Description of this Temple. Then proceeding to inform me of their Deliverance from the Æthiopian King, they said, he fled from Ægypt upon a Vision he had in a Dream, representing a Man standing by him, and advising him to assemble all the Ægyptian Priests, and to cut them in two by the middle of the Body: That after he had reflected on his Dream, he concluded that the Gods had a Design to lay before him an Occasion of committing an impious Action, to the End he might be punish’d either by themselves or by Men; but rather than be guilty of such a Crime, he would return to his own Country; because the time was then expir’d, which the Oracles had assign’d for the Duration of his Reign in Ægypt: For whilst he was yet in Æthiopia, he had been admonish’d
monish'd by the Oracles of that Country, that he should govern the Ægyptians fifty Years. In Conclusion, Sabacon seeing the Term of those Years elaps'd and being exceedingly disturb'd by the Vision, voluntarily abandon'd Ægypt. So that after his Departure the blind King return'd to the Exercise of the Government from the Fens; where he had continued fifty Years, and had form'd an Island for his Habitation, compos'd of Ashes and Earth. For when any Ægyptian went to him by Order with Provisions, he always desir'd him to bring some Ashes thither, without discovering the Secret to the Æthiopian. This Island which goes by the Name of Elbo, and comprehends ten Stades in length, and the same Measure in breadth, lay undiscover'd more than seven hundred Years, till the Reign of Amyrites; and was never found out by any of the Kings his Predecessors. After him succeeded Sethon, a Priest of Vulcan, who slighting the military Men of Ægypt as Persons altogether useless to him, among other Indignities, took away the Lands they possess'd, and which had been assign'd to them by former Kings, being a square of six hundred Cubits to each Man. For this Reason, when Senacherib King of Arabia and Assyria invaded Ægypt with a numerous Army, the military Men refus'd to assist him; so that the Priest in great Perplexity took himself to the Temple; and prostrate before the Image of the God, deplor'd the Calamities impending over his Head. In the midst of these Lamentations he fell asleep, and dream'd he saw the God standing by his side, exhorting him to take Courage, and assuring him, if he would march out against the Arabians, he should
should receive no hurt; but on the contrary be 
effectually succour'd, and aveng'd of his Ene-
mies. In confidence of this Vision, the Priest 
assembled the Artificers, Traders, and all the 
Populace, who were willing to follow him, and 
encamp'd on the Frontier near Pelusium, with-
out any of the Military Order in his Army. 
But the Night after his Arrival, an infinite num-
ber of Field-Rats entering the Enemy's Camp, 
gnaw'd their Quivers, Bows, and the Thongs 
of their Shields in pieces. So that, finding 
themselves disarm'd, they were constrain'd to 
brake up the next Morning in Confusion, and 
sustain'd great Loss in their Flight. For which 
Cause, a Statue of Stone representing this King, 
is erected in the Temple of Vulcan, with a Rat 
in one Hand, and these Words issuing from his 
Mouth: Whoever beholds me, let him learn to 
be Religious. Thus far the Ægyptians and the 
Priests are the Authors of this Relation, and gave 
an Account of three hundred forty and one Ge-
ergations, from their first King to the Reign of 
Sethon Priest of Vulcan, and last of these Mo-
narchs; in which Time the Number of High 
Priests was found equal to that of the Kings. 
Now, three hundred Generations are ten thou-
sand Years, every three Generations being ac-
counted equivalent to a hundred Years: And the 
forty one that remain above the three hundred, 
make one thousand three hundred and forty Years. 
Thus, they said, in eleven thousand three hun-
dred and forty Years, no God had put on the 
Form of a Man: Neither had they ever heard 
of such a thing in Ægypt, under their more an-
cient or later Kings. They said indeed, that 
in those Days, the Sun had four times alter'd his 
regular
regular Course, having been twice observ'd to rise where he now sets, and to go down twice where he now rises; yet without producing any Change, either by Land or Water, by Diseases or Mortality.

Having given an Account of my Descent to the Priests of Jupiter at Thebes, I met with almost the same Return, Hecataeus the Historian formerly had from them; when tracing his Genealogy by the Male Line, he deriv'd himself from sixteen Gods. For they conducted me to a spacious Edifice, and shew'd me large Images of Wood, representing all their preceding High Priests; and pointing to each in Order, as they stood, the Son after the Father, they went thro' the whole Number I mention'd before, repeating their Genealogy in a gradual Descent; for every High Priest places his Image there during his Life. But when Hecataeus in the Account of his Family, came to mention the sixteenth God, they would by no means admit of his Supposition, that a Man could be begotten by a God; but on the contrary told him, that each of the Images he saw represented a Piromois begotten by another Piromois; and that of the whole Number, amounting to three hundred and forty five, no one had been reputed either a God or a Hero; the Word Piromois signifying no more in their Language than an honest and virtuous Man; which Character all those represented by the Images had, and yet were far inferior to the Gods: That indeed before the time of these Men, the Gods had been the Sovereigns of Ægypt, but were not conversant with Mortals; that one of them always exercis'd the supreme Power, and that the last of those Kings was Orus.
Orus the Son of Osiris, who dethron'd Typhon, and by the Grecians is call'd Apollo, as Osiris by the same People is nam'd Bacchus. The Grecians also think, that Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan are the youngest of all the Gods; but in Ægypt Pan is esteem'd the most ancient, even of the eight primary Deities: Hercules is among those that are second in Antiquity, and go under the Name of the twelve: And Bacchus is of the third Order of Gods, who derive their Being from the former. I have already declar'd how many Years the Ægyptians account from Hercules to the Reign of Amasis: But their Computation from Pan contains a greater Number, and from Bacchus fewer Years than from either, tho' from this God to the Reign of Amasis they reckon no les than fifteen thoufand Years. The Ægyptians say they know these things with Certainty, because they have always computed the Years, and kept an exact Account of time. Now from Bacchus, who is said to have been the Son of Semele the Daughter of Cadmus, to our time, about sixteen hundred Years have pass'd; and from Hercules the Son of Alcmena, about nine hundred; but from Pan, who, as the Grecians say, was the Son of Mercury by Penelope, not more than eight hundred; which is a lefs Number of Years than they account from the Siege of Troy. Let every Man embrace the Opinion he judges most probable; as I have declar'd my own touching these things. For if Bacchus the Son of Semele, and Pan the Son of Penelope, had liv'd famous and grown old in Greece, like Hercules the Son of Amphytrion, some might have said, that these Men obtain'd the Names of those ancient Gods. But, because the Grecians
cians report that Jupiter receiv'd Bacchus as soon as he was born; and having sew'd him into his Thigh, carried him to Nisfa in Æthiopia beyond Ægypt; and because they have nothing at all to say touching the Place of Pan's Education, I am fully convinc'd, that the Grecians had not heard of these, 'till they were made acquainted with the Names of the other Gods, and therefore they ascribe their Generation to that time, and not higher. Thus having reported the Traditions peculiar to the Ægyptians, I shall now relate such things as other Nations, no less than they, acknowledge to have been done in Ægypt, and shall add some Particulars, of which I was an Eye-Witness.

The Ægyptians were free, upon the Death of their King, the Priest of Vulcan; but having never been capable of living without a kingly Government, they divided Ægypt into twelve Parts, and constituted a King over each Division. These twelve Kings contracted Alliances by mutual Marriages, and reciprocally oblig'd themselves to continue in perpetual Amity without invading the Territories of each other, or endeavouring to enlarge their own. Which Contract they contriv'd in such obligatory Terms, because they had been admonish'd by an Oracle, when they assum'd the Government, that whoever among them should offer a Libation in the Temple of Vulcan out of a Bowl of Brass, should be sole King of Ægypt; for they us'd to assemble in all the Temples indifferently. But being desirous to leave a publick Monument of their Reign at the common Charge, they built a Labyrinth near the City of Crocodiles, a little above the Lake of Maris, which I saw, and found far surpassing
surpassing the Report of Fame. For if any Man will impartially consider the Buildings and Monuments of the Grecians; he will plainly see upon Comparison, that this Labyrinth is a Work of more Labour and greater Expence; tho' I confess the Temples of Ephesus and Samos deserve a peculiar Regard. The Pyramids are beyond Expression magnificent, and singly comparable to many of the greatest Structures in Greece consider'd together. And yet the Labyrinth is more admirable than the Pyramids. For this Building contains twelve vaulted Halls, with so many opposite Doors; six opening to the North, and six to the South; all encompass'd by the same Wall. Fifteen hundred Chambers are comprehended within the upper part of this Edifice, and an equal Number under Ground. I view'd every Room of the upper part, and only report what I saw. But of the subterraneous part I can say nothing; except upon the Credit of other Men; for the Egyptians who kept the Place would by no means permit me to go in; because, said they, the Sepulchres of the holy Crocodiles, and of those Kings that built the Labyrinth are there. I am therefore confin'd only to report the things I heard concerning the subterraneous Buildings. But the upper Part, which I carefully view'd, seems to surpass the Art of Men: So many Egressions by various Passages, and infinite Returns, afforded me a thousand Occasions of Wonder, as I pass'd from a spacious Hall to a Chamber; from thence to a private Cabinet; then again into other Passages out of the Cabinets, and out of the Chambers into the more spacious Rooms. All the Roofs and Walls within are incrusted with Marble;
Marble; but the Walls are farther adorn'd with Figures of Sculpture. The Halls are surround-ed with Pillars of white Stone finely polish'd. And at the Angle where the Labyrinth ends, a Pyramid is erected, forty Fathom in Height; with Figures of the largest Animals in Sculpture, and a subterraneous Way leading into it. Ne- vertheless, tho' this Labyrinth be such as I have describ'd; yet the Lake of Mæris, by which that Monument stands, is more won- derful; containing the full Measure of three thousand and six hundred Stades, or sixty Schoënes in Circumference; which is equal to the Length of all the Sea-Coast of Ægypt. The Figure of this Lake is Oblong, stretching to the North and South; and in the deepest Parts has fifty Fathom of Water. But the two Py- ramids built about the Middle of the Lake, which raise their Heads fifty Fathom above the Surface of the Water, and conceal as many underneath, shew undeniably that this Work was perform'd by the Hands of Men. On each of these a Statue of Marble is plac'd, seated in a Throne; by which Account, the Pyramids are one hundred Fathom in Height; and one hundred Fathom make up just a Stade of six Plethrons. The Fathom is a Measure containing six Foot, or four Cubits: The Foot comprehends four Palms, and the Cubit six. This Lake is not fed by Springs; for all those Parts are excessively dry; but by Waters deriv'd thro' Chanels cut from the Nile, which flow into the Lake six Months of the Year, and return to the River the other six. During all the six Months of the River's Retreat, the Fishery yields a Talent of Silver every Day to the King's Treasury; and the rest of the
Brass. But not long after, some Ionian and Carian Pirates driven by Necessity to go ashore in Ægypt, landed in Armour of Brass. Upon which an Ægyptian, who had never before seen Men arm'd in that Manner, went to the Fens, and acquainted Psammetichus, that certain Men of Brass had risen out of the Sea, and were ravaging all the Lands adjacent to the Shore. He, no longer doubting the Accomplishment of the Prediction, made an Alliance with these Ionians and Carians, and having by Promises of ample Gratifications persuaded them to stay, did, with their Assistance and the Help of such Ægyptians as well affected to him, subdue and dethrone all the other Kings.

Thus being in Possession of all Ægypt, he added a Portico to Vulcan's Temple at Memphis, facing the South; and in the Front of this Portico, built another spacious Edifice, adorned with various Figures of Sculpture, and surrounded with Colloss's twelve Cubits high, in the Place of Pillars, design'd for the Habitation of Apis, by the Grecians nam'd Epa phus, when he should be found. He rewarded the Ionians and Carians who had assisted him, with Lands situate on each side of the Nile, and separated by that River; calling those Habitations, the Camp. And besides these Lands he gave them whatever he had promised before the Expedition; and put divers Ægyptian Children under their Care, to be instructed in the Knowledge of the Grecian Language. So that those who now perform the Office of Interpreters in Ægypt, are descended from this Colony. The Ionians and Carians continued for a long Time to inhabit those Parts; which
which lye near the Sea, below the City of Bu-bastis, in the Pelusian Mouth of the River Nile: ’Till in succeeding Time, Amasis King of Ægypt caus’d them to abandon their Habitations, and settle at Memphis, to defend him against the Ægyptians. But from the Time of their first Establishment, they had so constant a Communication with the Grecians, that one may justly say, we certainly know all things that pass’d in Ægypt since the Reign of Psammetichus to our Age. They were the first People of a different Language, who settled in Ægypt; and the Ruins of their Buildings, together with the Remains of the Stations and Arsenals they had for Shipping, are seen to this Day evidently discovering the Place where they first inhabited. And in this Manner Psammetichus became Master of all Ægypt.

Concerning this Oracle, I have already related divers particulars; and shall now farther enlarge on the same Subject; as a thing that deserves a singular Regard. The Temple is dedicated to Latona, and built in the great City of Butus, as I mention’d before, beyond the Sebennytic Mouth of the Nile, as Men navigate from the Sea up that River. Apollo and Diana have also Temples in the same City; and that of Latona, which contains the Oracle, is a magnificent Structure adorn’d with a Portico sixty Foot high. But of all the things I saw there, nothing seem’d so astonishing to me, as a quadrangular Chapel in this Temple, cut out of one single Stone, and containing a Square of forty Cubits on every side, entirely cover’d with a Roof of one Stone likewise, having a Border four Cubits thick. This Chapel, I confess, appear’d to me the most
prodigious thing I saw in that Place; the next to this, the Island of Chemmis, situate in a broad and deep Lake near the Temple of Butus. The Ægyptians say this is a floating Island; but I could not see it either float or move, and wonder'd to hear them affirming so strange a thing. The Island of Chemmis contains a spacious Temple dedicated to Apollo, and three Altars; with great Numbers of Palms, and other Trees, as well of such as produce Fruit, as of those that serve for Shade and Ornament. The Opinion of the Ægyptians touching this Island is founded on the following Tradition. They say that Latona, one of the eight Primary Deities, residing in Butus, where her Oracle now is, receiv'd Apollo from the Hands of Isis, and preserv'd his Life by concealing him in this, which is now call'd the floating Island, when Typhon arriving in those Parts, us'd all possible Diligence to find out the Son of Osiris. For they say that Apollo and Diana are the Offspring of Dionysius and Isis; and that Latona was their Nurse and Preserver; calling Apollo and Ceres by the Names of Orus* and Isis; and Diana by that of Bubastis. Now from this Account and no other, Æschylus the Son of Euphorion took his Information, when he alone of all the former Poets introduc'd Diana as the Daughter of Ceres, and said that the Island was made to float on this Occasion. These things are thus reported.

Psammetichus reign'd in Ægypt fifty four Years; nine and twenty of which he spent at the Siege of Azotus in Syria, before he could reduce that great City, which of all others we know, held out the longest Time. His Son Necus succeeded
succeeded him, and began a Canal of Communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, which Darius the Persian afterwards finish’d. Two Galleys may advance abreast, and perform the whole Voyage in four Days. This Canal begins at the Nile a little above Bubastis, and passing by Patumon, a City of Arabia, flows into the Red Sea. 'Tis cut thro’ the Plains of Egypt, that lye towards Arabia; because the Mountains of Memphis, which contain the Quarries of Stone, are situate beyond this Level. And therefore this great Canal is carried along the Foot of those Hills from the West to the Eastward, and then turn’d thro’ the Chops of the Mountains towards the South into the Arabian Gulph. But the shortest and most compendious Passage from the Northern Sea to the Southern, or Red Sea, is by Mount Cæsarius, which separates Egypt from Syria. For this Mountain is not above a thousand Stades distant from the Gulph of Arabia. So that this is the shorter Way, the other being render’d more tedious by the frequent Turnings of the Canal. One hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians employ’d in this Labour, perish’d under the Reign of Necus; and when the Work was half done, the Oracle admonish’d him to desist, and leave the Canal to be finish’d by a Barbarian; for that Name is given by the Egyptians to all those who are of another Language. Thus Necus abandoning his Design, turn’d his Thoughts to Military Affairs, and built a Fleet of Galleys on the Northern Sea, and another in the Arabian Gulph, at the Mouth of the Red Sea, as appears by the Ruins of his Arsenals and Havens remaining to this Day. These Fleets he us’d upon Occasion; and
was no less formidable by Land. For he fought a Battle against the Syrians in the Plains of Magdolus; and after he had obtain'd the Victory, took the great City of Cadytis. The Garments he wore in these Actions, he consecrated to Apollo, and sent them to Branchis in the Territories of the Milesians. He reign'd sixteen Years; and at his Death left the Kingdom to his Son Psammis.

During the Reign of this King, Ambassadors from Elis arriv'd in Ægypt, boasting that they had out-done all Mankind, in establishing the Olympian Exercises under the most just and excellent Regulations, and did not think that the Ægyptians, tho' they were the wisest People of the World, could make any Addition to their Institution. Being arriv'd, and having acquainted the King with the Cause of their Ambassay, he summon'd an Assembly of such Persons as were esteem'd the wisest among the Ægyptians: Who when they had heard all that the Eleans had to say concerning the Olympian Exercises, and the Cause of their coming, which they said was to inquire whether the Ægyptians could invent any thing more equitable; ask'd the Ambassadors, if the Citizens of Elis were permitted to enter the Lists: And the Eleans answering that they and all other Grecians were equally admitted; the Ægyptians replied, that in so doing they had totally deviated from the Rules of Justice; No Consideration being sufficient to restrain Men from favouring those of their own Country to the Prejudice of Strangers. But if they were sincerely desirous to act justly, and had undertaken this Voyage into Ægypt with that Intention,
tion, they ought to exclude all the Eleans, and admit only Strangers to be the Opponents. This Admonition the Eleans received from the Ægyptians.

Psammis reign’d only six Years; and having undertaken an Expedition against the Æthiopians, died soon after, and left the Kingdom to his Son Apries. This King liv’d twenty five Years in greater Prosperity than any of his Predecessors, except his Grandfather Psammetichus. In which Time he invaded Sidon with an Army, and engag’d the Tyrians in a Sea-fight. But being destinated to Ruin, his Misfortunes began upon an Occasion, which I shall briefly mention in this Place, and more largely explain, when I speak of the Libyan Affairs. Apries having sent a numerous Army against the Cyrenæans, and receiving a very great Defeat, the Ægyptians revolted; suspecting he had designedly contriv’d the Slaughter of those Forces, that after their Destruction he might govern the rest with a more absolute Authority; which they so highly resented, that not only those who returned from that Expedition, but all the Friends of those that had perish’d, openly revolted against him. When Apries heard of this Defection, he dispatch’d Amasis to pacify them with kind Expressions. But as he was beginning to reprove the Ægyptians, and to dissuade them from their Enterprize, a certain Ægyptian who stood behind Amasis, put a Helmet upon his Head, and saluted him King of Ægypt. Which was not done without the Participation of Amasis, as the Event shew’d. For he was no sooner declar’d King, than he prepar’d to lead an Army against Apries; Who being
being inform'd of all that had pass'd, sent Patarbemis, one of the most considerable Persons among the Ægyptians that adher'd to him, with Orders to bring Amasis alive into his Presence. Paterbemis arriving in the Camp, call'd to Amasis; but he, as he sat on Horseback, lifting up his Thigh and breaking Wind, bid him carry that to Apries. In the End, when Paterbemis requir'd him to go to the King, he answer'd, that he had been long preparing to visit him; and that he might give him no Cause of Complaint, he would not only appear himself, but would bring some Company with him. Paterbemis perceiving the Design of Amasis by the Words he had heard, and the Preparations he saw, thought himself obliged to inform the King of these things with all Expedition: And coming into his Presence without Amasis, Apries, said not one Word to him; but in a sudden Transport of Passion commanded his Ears and Nose to be cut off. The rest of the Ægyptians, who to that Time had continued faithful to Apries, seeing a Person of universal Esteem treated in so unworthy a Manner, went immediately over to those who had revolted, and offer'd themselves to Amasis; which when Apries heard, he drew out his Auxiliary Forces, consisting of Carians and Ionians, to the Number of thirty thousand; and marching from Sais, where he had a beautiful and magnificent Palace, led his Troops against the Egyptians; whilst Amasis led the Army he commanded against the Foreigners. They met in the Fields of Memphis, and prepar'd themselves on both sides for a Battle.
The Ægyptians are distinguish'd into seven Orders of Men; Priests, Soldiers, Herds-men, Hog-herds, Traders, Interpreters, and Pilots, who take the Names from the Professions they exercise. The Military Men are call'd either Calasirians, or Hermotybi ans, according to the Districts they inhabit. For all Ægypt is divided into Districts or Jurisdictions. The Hermotybian s are of the District of Bufris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, and one half of the Island Pro- sopis, which is call'd Natho. From these Di- stricts a hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybian s may be drawn, when they are moft numerous. None of these ever learn any Mechanick Art, but apply themselves wholly to Military Affairs. The Calasirians are of the Jurisdictions of Thebes, Bubastis, Apibus, Ta- nis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Aribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onyphs, Anysis and of Mycephoris, which is situated in an Island over against Bubastis. These Districts of the Calasirians may furnish two hundred and fifty thousand Men at moft; who being likewise restrain'd from exercising any Mechanick Profession, are oblig'd to apply themselves from Father to Son, to the Art of War only. I cannot affirm that the Grecians receiv'd this Custom from the Ægyptians; especially considering that the Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and almost all barbarous Nations have little Regard to those who profeß any Mechanick Art; judging such as abstain from those Employments, and particularly Military Men, to be of a more generous Spirit. Yet all the Grecians have entertain'd the same Maxim, and principally the Lacedæmonians; tho' the Mechanick Arts are not accounted alto-gether
gether so dishonourable among the Corinthians. The Lands conferr'd upon the Militia are exempted from all publick Tributes as well as those of the Priesthood. Twelve Acres are assign'd to each Man, every Acre containing a Square of one hundred Ægyptian Cubits, which are equal to so many Cubits of Samos. They all enjoy these Advantages, but are admitted to other Profits by Turns. For a thousand Calasirians, and as many Hermotybians serve the King annually for a Guard, and, besides the Revenue of their Lands, receive a daily Allowance, consisting of five Pounds of Bread, and two of Beef, with four Draughts of Wine to each Man.

Both Armies being advanc'd to Memphis; Apries at the Head of his Auxiliaries, and Amafs with all the Ægyptians, they fought a Battle: In which the Foreigners behav'd themselves with great Courage: But being oppress'd with Numbers, were entirely defeated. 'Tis reported that Apries fondly thought he had so well establish'd his Authority, that the Power of a God would not prove sufficient to dispossess him of the Kingdom; and yet he was beaten, taken Prisoner, and confin'd to the Palace of Sais, formerly his own, and now belonging to Amafs; where he was kept for some Time, and treated with great Humanity. But the People murmuring at the Lenity of Amafs to a common Enemy, as injurious to himself and the whole Nation, he was constrain'd to deliver Apries into the Hands of the Ægyptians; who strangled him, and laid his Body in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors, erected in the Temple of Minerva adjoining to the Palace, on the Left-hand of the Entrance.
trance. For the Inhabitants of Sais have always buried the Kings that were of their Province in this Temple. But the Monument of Amafis is plac’d at a greater Distance from the Palace than that of Apries and his Progenitors. In the Court of this Temple stands a magnificent Structure, adorn’d with Columns of Stone cut to extraordinary Dimensions, and resembling Palm-Trees in Figure; together with many other Ornaments; and within that Edifice are two Doors between which a funeral Monument is plac’d. Behind the same Temple of Minerva at Sais, certain Sepulchres are built by the back Wall. For a Memorial of things not to be nam’d by me. Vast Obelisks stand erected on the consecrated Ground, near a Lake of orbicular Form, lin’d with Stone, and in my Opinion equal to that of Delos, which from the Roundness of its Figure is call’d Trochoeides. In this Lake the Ægyptians form the Ideas of their nocturnal Passions, which they call Mysteries. But for the Sake of Decency, I shall not explain these things, tho’ the far greater Part are well known to me. Neither shall I utter one Word more than is permitted, touching the sacred Rites of Ceres, which in Greece are call’d Thesmoforian. The Daughters of Danaus brought these Ceremonies from Ægypt, and instructed the Pelasgian Women in the Use of them. But upon the Expulsion of the Peloponnesians, these Rites were almost abolish’d; except among the Arcadians, who were not ejected by the Dorians.

After the Death of Apries, the Kingdom continued in the Hands of Amafis, who was born in the City of Siuph, in the Province of Sais. The
The Ægyptians shew'd little Respect to him in the Beginning of his Reign; but rather despis'd him as a Person of inferior Rank, and not descended of an illustrious Family, but he soon acquir'd their Esteem by his Art and Dexterity. For among other infinite Treasures, he had a Bason of Gold in which he and all those who were admitted to eat at his Table, were accustom'd to wash their Feet. This Bason he caus'd to be melted down, and formed into the Statue of a God; which having plac'd in the most frequented Part of the City, the Ægyptians with great Reverence paid their Devotions to the Image. In the mean Time Amasis, inform'd of their Behaviour, calls a general Assembly, and acquaints the Ægyptians, that the Image they now worshipp'd so devoutly, was made out of the Bowl, in which they had so often pis's'd, vomited, and wash'd their Feet; and that his Condition was not unlike that of the Image: For tho' he had been formerly an ordinary Person, yet being now their King, he requir'd them to honour and obey him: And by this Means he persuaded the Ægyptians to think themselves oblig'd in Duty to pay him all that Respect and Submission which is due to a King. His usual Manner was to employ all the Hours in the Morning in an assiduous application to the Publick Affairs, and afterwards to divert himself in Company, drinking with his Companions, and frequently descending even to play the Part of a Buffoon. But his Friends offended at his Conduct, admonish'd him, that these Actions tended to render him contemptible. "For, said they, he who "sits on a Throne ought to pass the whole Day
in the Administration of publick Business; that the Ægyptians may know they are govern'd by a great King, and speak honourably of his Person. Whereas your Conduct is altogether unbecoming the Royal Dignity. Amasias in Answ're said, “That an Archer, when he is about to shoot, braces his Bow; but after he has shot, loosens the String; because a Bow that should always continue bent, would either break or be render'd useless in Time of need: And that this might reasonably be applied to Men: For if a Man should incessantly attend to serious Studies, and refuse to spend any Part of his Time in ludicrous Recreations, either Madness or Stupidity would steal upon him: Of which Truth being perfectly convinc'd, he had contriv'd to divide the Time between Business and Diversion. And indeed the Ægyptians say that Amasias, while he was a private Person, lov'd to drink, and divert himself with Jestings and Ralliery; and was so far from being a Man of Diligence and industry, that he betook himself to stealing, when he could no otherwise supply the Expences of his Luxury: For which being frequently accus'd by those he had robb'd, and always denying the Fact, he was often carried to the Oracle of the Place, where he was many Times convicted, and as often acquitted. But after his Accession to the Throne, he flighted the Temples of all those Gods, who had acquitted him; and abstaining from their Sacrifices, would never bestow any Donation upon them; well knowing they deserv'd no regard, by the Experience he had of the Falshood of their Oracles. Whereas on the contrary,
contrary, persuaded of the Veracity of those Gods, who had declar'd him a Thief, he paid a singular Reverence to their Temples. He built that admirable Portico which stands before the Temple of Minerva in Sais, far surpassing all others in Circumference and Elevation, as well as in the Dimensions of the Stones; and adorn'd the Building with Colossian Statues, and the monstrous Figures of Androphynides. One Part of the Stones employ'd in this Work, were cut in the Quarries of Memphis; but those of the greatest Magnitude were convey'd by Water from the City of Elephantis, distant from Sais as far as a Vessel can make in twenty Days. But that which I beheld with greatest Admiration was a House he brought from Elephantis, made of one Stone. Two thousand Men, all Pilots, were employ'd during three whole Years in the Transportation of this House; which has in Front twenty one Cubits, in Depth fourteen, and eight in Height. And this is the Measure of the Outside. The Inside is eighteen Cubits and upwards in Length, twelve in Depth, and five Cubits in Height. This wonderful Edifice is plac'd by the Entrance of the Temple; some say, because the Architect regretting the Time he had spent in so tedious a Labour, fetch'd a deep Sigh as he was moving the Machine towards its Station; which Amaresis resenting would not suffer him to proceed. But others affirm, that one of the Men who guided the Rowlers, was crush'd to pieces in the Way to the Temple, and on that Account they advanc'd no farther. Among the many magnificent Donations which Amaresis presented in the most famous Temples, he caus'd a Colossus, lying with the
the Face upwards, seventy five Foot in Length, to be plac'd before the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis: And on the same Basis erected two Statues of twenty Foot each, wrought out of the same Stone, and standing on each side of the great Colossus. Like this, another is seen in Sais, lying in the same Posture; cut in Stone, and of equal Dimensions. He likewise built the great Temple of Isis in the City of Memphis, which well deserves to be admired.

Under the Reign of Amasis Ægypt was exceedingly happy in all the Conveniences deriv'd from the River to the Country, or from the Country to Men, and contain'd twenty thousand populous Cities. He establish'd a Law, commanding that every Ægyptian should annually declare before the Governor of the Province, by what Means he maintain'd himself; and if he omitted to go, or gave not a satisfactory Account of his Way of Living, he should be punish'd with Death. This Law Solon the Athenian brought from Ægypt, and introduc'd into Athens; where 'tis inviolably observ'd as a most equitable Constitution. Amasis was a Lover of the Grecians, and, besides the Favours he conferr'd upon particular Persons and Cities, he permitted as many as would come into Ægypt, to inhabit the City of Naucratis, and granted that those who would not settle there, but chose rather to attend their Commerce by Sea, might erect Altars and Temples to the Gods in certain Places assign'd to that End. The greatest, noblest, and most frequented of these Temples is that which is generally known by the Name of the Grecian Temple, built at the common Expence of the Ionian Cities of Chio.
Chio, Teos, Pocæa, and Clazomene; in Conjunction with the Dorian Communities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis; and the City of Mitylene only of the Æolians. So that these Places alone have a Title to this Temple, and to appoint the Governors of Commerce: And all other Communities that participate of those Privileges, are only admitted upon Favour. For the People of Ægina built a Temple to Jupiter at their own Charge; the Samians one to Juno, and the Milesians another to Apollo. The City of Naucratis was antiently the only Place of Resort for Merchants in all Ægypt: And if a Vessel put into any other Harbour of the Nile, the Proprietor was oblig'd to swear he arriv'd unwillingly, and would depart in the same Ship by the first Opportunity; and that if contrary Winds should prevent him from reaching the Port of Canopus, he would unload his Goods, and carry them in Boats round the Delta to Naucratis. So great were the Privileges of that City.

When the Amphyctions agreed to pay three hundred Talents for rebuilding the Temple of Delphi, which had been burnt by an unknown Accident, and charg'd a fourth Part of that Sum upon the Inhabitants of the Place, the Delphians went about, desiring Assistance of divers Cities, and brought Home no small Contributions from Ægypt. For they receiv'd a thousand Talents of Aloes from Amasis, and the Value of twenty Mines from the Grecians who were settled in his Kingdom. Amasis made also an Alliance of mutual Amity and Defence, with the Cyrenæans; and resolving to take a Wife of that Country; either out of a Desire of
of having a Grecian Woman, or from a peculiar Affection to that People, he married Ladice, the Daughter, as some say, of Battus, others, of Arcesilaus; tho' a third sort pretend she was the Daughter of Critobulus, a Person of great Authority among the Cyrenæans. But not being able to use her as his Wife after Marriage, and yet finding no Impediment with Respect to other Women, he at length told her she had enchanted him, and that no Artifice should be sufficient to deliver so wicked a Woman out of his Hands. Ladice denied the Fact, and endeavour'd to pacify him: But when nothing would prevail, she sigh'd out a mental Prayer to Venus; and vow'd, if Amaasis should be enabled to do the Part of a Husband that Night (which was the only Remedy left) she would send a Statue of the Goddess to be erected in Cyrene. No sooner had she made this Vow than Amaasis found himself like other Men, and continued to use Ladice as his Wife with all possible Tenderness and Affection. On the other Hand Ladice not unmindful of her Promise to the Goddess, sent the Statue she had vow'd, which stands entire to this Day without the Gates of Cyrene. And when Cambyses had conquer'd Ægypt, and receiv'd an Account of this Person, he preserv'd her from all injurious Usage, and caus'd her to be conducted in Safety to her own Country. Amaasis sent several consecrated Donations to Greece. He presented a gilded Statue of Minerva to the City of Cyrene; with his own Picture drawn after the Life: To Lindus he gave two Statues of Stone representing the same Goddess, together with a linen Pectoral of admirable Workmanship: And sent two Images of himself carv'd
in Wood to the City Samos; where to this Day they are seen standing in the great Temple of Juno behind the Gates. Amasis made this Donation to Samos, on Account of the mutual Obligations of Hospitality, contracted between him and Polycrates the Son of Æaces: And the other to Lindus, without any Engagement of that Nature, but because the Daughters of Danaus are reported to have founded the Temple of Minerva in that City, when they fled thither from the Sons of Ægyptus. And these were the Donations of Amasis. He was the first who conquer'd Cyprus, and constrain'd the Cyprians to pay him Tribute.
Against this Amasis, Cambyses the Son of Cyrus assembled an Army, consisting of his own Subjects, and the Grecian Forces of the Ionians and Æolians. The Cause of the War was this. Cambyses sent a Herald into Ægypt to demand the Daughter of Amasis: To which he was persuaded by an Ægyptian Physician dissatisfied with the King because he had separated him from his Wife and Children, and compell’d him to go to Persia rather than any other, when Cyrus by a Message desir’d Amasis to send him the best Physician for the Eyes that could be found in Ægypt. The angry Ægyptian incessantly endeavour’d to induce Cambyses to make this Demand, to the End that Amasis, if he should comply, might be mortified with the Loss of his Daughter, or irritate the King of Persia by his Refusal. Under these Difficulties Amasis could not easily determine what Resolution to take: For he dreaded the Persian Power; and knew Cambyses demanded his Daughter, not to make her his Wife, but his Concubine. At last he resolv’d
solv'd upon this Expedient. His Predecessor Apries had left an only Daughter, tall and beautiful, whose Name was Nitetis. This Virgin Amasis furnish'd with all Manner of magnificent Apparel, and sent her to Persia for his own Daughter. Where some Time after her Arrival, when Cambyses visiting her in a familiar Manner call'd her the Daughter of Amasis, she said, "O King, Thou hast been deceiv'd by Amasis, who sent me hither with all those Ornaments in the Place of his Daughter: Whereas indeed I am the Daughter of Apries his Master whom he put to Death, after he had revolted with the rest of the Egyptians." These Words fill'd Cambyses the Son of Cyrus with Indignation, and determin'd him to make War against Egypt. Thus the Persians report the Matter. But the Egyptians claim a Relation to Cambyses by Blood, and pretend that he was the Son of this Nitetis; and that Cyrus, not Cambyses, was the Person who sent for the Daughter of Amasis. Nevertheless this Account is groundless and disingenuous. For if any People of the World are well inform'd of the Persian Customs, the Egyptians certainly are; and therefore could neither be ignorant that a Son of the half Blood is never admitted to be King of Persia, when a legitimate Heir is apparent; nor that Cambyses was the Son of Cassandana Daughter to Pharnaspes of the Race of Achæmenes; and not of an Egyptian Woman. But they have deliberately perverted the Truth, that they might have some Colour to pretend a Relation to the Family of Cyrus. Another Story they have contriv'd, which I think no less incredible than the former. They say that a Persian
Persian Lady being admitted to the Presence of the King's Women, and seeing the Children of Caffandana beautiful and well proportion'd, could not refrain from admiring her Happiness; but Caffandana answer'd, that tho' she was Wife to Cyrus, and Mother to these Children, yet he slighted her, and preferr'd an Ægyptian Servant, meaning the hated Nitetis, before her: Upon which Cambyses, the eldest of her Sons said, "Mother, when I am a Man, I will on your Account turn all Ægypt upside down:"

That this Discourse of Cambyses, who had not then attain'd to more than ten Years of Age, struck all the Women present with Admiration; and that he kept his Revenge in Memory till he grew up; and when he was possess'd of the Kingdom, made War against Ægypt. Another Motive that concurr'd to induce him to undertake this Expedition, was the Arrival of Phanes, by Defcent a Grecian of Hali-carnassus. He had been one of the Auxiliaries of Amasis, prudent in Council, and valiant in Action. This Man dissatisfied with Amasis, on I know not what Occasion, departed by Sea from Ægypt, with a Design to confer with Cambyses. But Amasis, who knew him to be a Man of Credit among the Auxiliaries, and well acquainted with the Ægyptian Affairs, resolv'd to pursue him with all Diligence: And to that End sent one of the most trusty among his Eunuchs with a Galley, who surpriz'd him in Lycia; but did not bring him back to Ægypt, because he was over-reach'd by his Prisoner. For Phanes made his Guard drunk, and by that Means escaping into Persia, arriv'd at the Time when Cambyses was preparing all things for his Expedition.
dition to Egypt, and much perplex'd how he should pass the Deserts that were destitute of Water. He discover'd many important Affairs of Amasis to the King of Persia, and advis'd him to desire the King of Arabia by a Message to grant him a safe Passage thro' his Territories; as the only Way into Egypt easy of Access. For whatever is situate between Phenicia and the Borders of Cadytis, which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and in my Opinion is little inferior to Sardis; together with all the trading Places on the Coast to the City of Jenysus, is part of the Arabian Territories. And so is the whole Tract of Land that lies extended from Jenysus, which belongs to the Syrians, to the Lake of Serbonis, where Mount Cafius stretches towards the Sea. But from the Lake of Serbonis, in which Typhon is reported to have conceal'd himself, the Country belongs to Egypt. And all that Space which lies between the City of Jenysus, Mount Cafius and the Lake, being no less than three Days March, is utterly destitute of Water. But in this Place I shall mention a thing which has not been observ'd by many who have pass'd by Sea into Egypt. Twice every Year the Grecians and Phenicians transport thither certain Earthen Vessels fill'd with Wine; and yet not one of these is ever to be found empty. Now if any Man ask how this comes to pass, I shall inform him. The Governor of every Province is oblig'd to collect all those Vessels that he can find within his Jurisdiction, and send them to Memphis; where they are fill'd with Water, and then convey'd to those arid Parts of Syria. So that all these Vessels, that can be found in Egypt, are from
from Time to Time sent back into Syria. In this Manner the Persians, when they had conquer'd Egypt, made Provision of Water for the Forces they should afterwards send to that Country. But, as before this Expedition Water was not thus preserved in those Parts, Cambyse by the Advice of Phanes the Halicarnassian sent Ambassadors to solicit the King of Arabia to permit him to pass in Safety; and upon mutual Assurances of Amity obtain'd his Request. The Arabians are most religious Observers of the Contracts they make; which are attended with these Ceremonies. When they enter into mutual Obligations, a third Person standing between the Parties, makes an Incision with a sharp Stone in the Palm of the Hand under the longest Fingers of both the Contracters; and cutting a Shred from the Garment of each, dips it in the Blood, and anoints seven Stones brought thither to that End, invoking the Names of Bacchus and Urania. After this Invocation, the Mediator of the Agreement exhorts the Stranger, or the Citizen, if the Contract be made with a Citizen, to perform the Conditions: And the Contracters are oblig'd to profess themselves bound in Justice to observe the Treaty. They acknowledge no other Gods than Bacchus and Urania, whom they call by the Names of Ourotal and Alilat. They shave their Temples, and cut their Hair to a circular Form; in order, as they say, to resemble Bacchus. The Arabian, after the Conclusion of this Treaty with the Ambassadors of Cambyse, caus'd a great Number of Camels Skins to be fill'd with Water, and loaded on living Camels; which being done, he order'd them to be drived to the arid Desert.
and there in Person expected the Arrival of Cambyses with his Army. This Account seems to me the most credible: Yet I must not omit to mention another Expedient; (tho' less probable) because 'tis affirm'd likewise. Corys is a great River of Arabia, and runs into the Red Sea. And they say that the King of Arabia by joyning together the raw Hides of Oxen and other Animals, made an Aquæduct from this River to the Deserts, and convey'd the Water thither by that Means, into Cisterns provided for receiving and preserving as much as should be necessary. But that because the Way between the River and this dry Country was no less than twelve Days Journey, he contriv'd to convey the Water by three several Aquæducts into three different Places.

Psammenitus the Son of Amasis lay encamp'd with his Army at the Pelusian Mouth of the Nile, in Expectation of Cambyses; for Amasis died before this Invasion, after he had reign'd forty and four Years, in a continued Course of Felicity. His Body was embalm'd, and buried in the Sepulchre which he had built for himself in the Temple. During the Reign of Psammenitus a great Prodigy was seen in Egypt. Showers of Rain fell at Thebes; which, the Thebans say, had never happen'd before, nor since even to this Day. For no Rain ever falls in the upper Regions of Egypt: But at that Time they had Rain, as the Thebans affirm.

The Persian Army march'd thro' the unwater'd Country, and arriving near the Camp of the Egyptians, resolv'd to hazard a Battle: Which the Grecians and Carians, who were Auxiliaries to the Egyptians, perceiving, they, to
to shew their Detestation of Phanes, for introdu-
cing a foreign Enemy into Ægypt, brought
his Sons into the Camp; and having plac'd a
Bowl between the two Armies, kill'd them all
upon the Bowl in Sight of their Father. Then,
you pour'd Water and Wine into the Blood;
and after all the Auxiliaries had tasted of this
Mixture they began the Attack. The Battle
was obstinately fought; and great Numbers fell
on both sides: But at last the Ægyptians were
put to Flight. On this Spot of Ground I saw
a very surprizing thing, which the People of
the Country shew'd me. For as the Bones of
those who were kill'd in that Fight are separa-
ted; those of the Persians lying in one Place,
and those of the Ægyptians in another, I found
the Skulls of the Persians so weak that one
might break them with the least Pebble; where-
as those of the Ægyptians were hard enough to
resist the Percussion of a weighty Stone. They
told me, and I assented to their Experience, that
this Difference is owing to the Ægyptian Cu-
 stom of shaving the Heads of their Children
early; by which Means the Bone is renderd
thicker and stronger thro' the Heat of the Sun,
and the Head preserv'd from Baldness: And
indeed we seé fewer Persons bald in Ægypt than
in any other Country. As therefore the Skull
of an Ægyptian is fortified by this Method,
so the Heads of the Persians are soften'd by
contrary Custom. For they are not expos'd to
the Sun, but always cover'd with Caps and
Turbans. And I observ'd the same thing at
Papremis in those who were defeated with
Achæmenes the Son of Darius, by Inarus King
of Libya.
The Ægyptians, after they had lost the Battle, fled away to Memphis in a disorderly Manner. Which Cambyses hearing, he sent a Persian Herald thither in a Ship of Mitylene to exhort them to surrender. But when they saw the Vessel entering the Port of Memphis, they ran out in great Numbers to the Shore; destroy'd the Ship; tore the Men in Pieces, and carried their mangled Limbs into the City. Upon this the Ægyptians were besieg'd, and after some Time forc'd to submit. Which so terrified the Libyans, that to avoid the like Calamity, they yielded to Mercy without a Blow, and taxing themselves in Proportion to their Abilities sent divers Presents to Cambyses. The Cyrenæans and Barcæans being under the same Apprehensions, surrendered likewise as the Libyans had done. Cambyses very favourably receiv'd the Presents of the Lybians, but was highly displeas'd at those of the Cyrenæans, as I conjecture, because they were inconsiderable. For they sent no more than five hundred Mines of Silver, which he took with Disdain, and threw about among the Soldiers. On the Tenth Day after the taking of Memphis, Cambyses to try the Constancy of Psammenitus, who had reign'd only six Months, sent him in Disgrace to the Suburbs of the City, accompanied by other Ægyptians; and at the same Time ordering his Daughter to be dress'd in the Habit of a Slave, and furnish'd with a Bucket, commanded her, with other Virgins of the principal Families in Ægypt cloath'd in the same Manner, to bring Water from the River. When the Fathers of these Virgins saw them weeping and lamenting, they likewise wept and bewail'd the Calamity.
Calamity of their Children. But Psammenitus alone, who saw and heard no less than they, only turn'd his Eyes towards the Ground. These Virgins having pass'd by with Water, Cambyses in the next Place sent the Son of Psammenitus thither also, attended by two thousand Ægyptians of like Age, all with Halter's about their Necks, and a Curb in their Mouth; to suffer Death in Satisfaction for the Lives of those Mitylenæans who perish'd with their Ship. For the King's Judges had determin'd that ten of the principal Ægyptians should be sacrific'd for every one of those Men. Yet when Psammenitus perceiv'd them passing, and knew that his Son was going to dye, he did no more than he had done at the Sight of his Daughter; tho' all the rest of the Ægyptians about him made loud Lamentations. But he no sooner saw one of his Companions, a Man advance'd in Years, plunder'd of all, and living only upon Alms, walking about the Suburbs, where the Army, and Psammenitus with other Ægyptians were, than he wept bitterly, and calling him by his Name, struck himself upon the Head. All these things being reported to Cambyses by three Persons who were plac'd about Psammenitus to observe his Actions, he was struck with Wonder, and sent a Message to him in these Words. "Psammenitus, Thy Master Cambyses is desirous to know why, after thou hast seen thy Daughter so ignominiously treated, and thy Son led to Execution, without any Exclamation or Weeping, thou shouldst be so highly concern'd for a poor Man no Way related to thee, as he is inform'd." To this Question Psammenitus return'd the following Answer,
Herodotus, "Son of Cyrus, the Calamities of my Family are too great to leave me the Power of weeping: But the Misfortunes of a Companion, reduced in his Old-age to the extreme Necessity, may be fitly lamented with Tears." His Answer being brought to Cambyses, was generally approved; and the Egyptians say that not only Cresus, who accompanied him in this Expedition, and all the Persians that were present, could not refrain from Tears; but that Cambyses himself touch'd with Remorse, sent immediate Orders to save the Life of the Son, and to bring the Father from the Suburbs into his Presence: That these Messengers found the Son already dead, having been the first that suffer'd; but conducted Psammenitus to Cambyses; who permitted him to live at his own Discretion, without doing him any Manner of Violence. And if by his Conduct he had persuaded Cambyses that he desir'd no Innovation, he might probably have been entrusted with the Administration of Egypt. For the Persians are accus'tom'd to pay so great Respect to the Sons of Kings, that they usually beflow the Kingdoms of those who revolt, upon their Children; as may be proved by many Examples, and particularly by those of Thannya the Son of Inarus the Lybian, who was invested with his Father's Government; and of Pausiris the Son of Amyraeus, who met with the same Fortune; the greater Disasters never fell upon the Persians, than by the Means of those two Kings. But Psammenitus designing to raise new Disturbances, and soliciting the Egyptians to rebel, was seiz'd by order of Cambyses, and receiv'd the just Reward of his Infidelity. For after his Conviction
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vi"ction he drank the Blood of a Bull, and died immediately.

From Memphis Cambyses went to the City of Sais, in order to execute a Design he had projected; and to that end going into the Palace of Amasias, he presently commanded his Body to be taken out of the Sepulchre; which being done, he gave farther Orders to whip him; to pull of his Hair; to prick him with pointed Instruments, and to abuse the Corpse with all Manner of Indignity. But after they had tired themselves with this Employment, and saw all their Efforts rendred ineffectual by the Solidity of the imbalming Composition, Cambyses commanded the Body to be burnt: Which was an Action of Impiety; because the Persians believe Fire to be a God; and to burn a dead Body is not permitted in either Nation. For the Persians say 'tis a Violation of Religion to feed a God with the dead Body of a Man: And the Egyptians hold that Fire is a savage Animal, which devours all that comes within his Reach, and after he has glutted his voracious Appetite, expires with the things he has consum'd: Neither do they ever give the Bodies of dead Men to wild Beasts; but chuse rather to embalm them than to bury them in the Earth, lest they should be eaten by Worms. So that Cambyses commanded a thing altogether repugnant to the Manners of both Nations. But the Egyptians pretend this was not the Body of Amasis, but of another Egyptian, equal to him in Years, whom the Persians, mistaking him for Amasis, treated so opprobriously. For they say, that Amasis being admonish'd by the Oracle of what should happen to him after Death, contriv'd to
to secure himself against the Prediction, by placing the dead Body of this Ægyptian near the Door of his Sepulchre, and commanding his Son to deposit his own in the remotest Part of the same Monument: Tho' I am of Opinion that these pretended Commands of Amazis touching his own Funeral, and this Ægyptian, are fictitious.

After this, Cambyses resolv'd to undertake three several Expeditions; one against the Carthaginians; another against the Ammonians; and a third against the Macrobian Æthiopians, who inhabit that Part of Libya which lies upon the South Sea. He design'd to attack the Carthaginians with a Fleet, and the Ammonians by a Land-Army. But before he would make War against the Æthiopians, he determin'd to send some Persons into the Country, who under Pretence of carrying Presents to their King, and inquiring into the Truth of the Report concerning the Table of the Sun, might discover the Strength and Condition of the Kingdom. They say this Table of the Sun is a certain Meadow in the Suburbs, furnish'd with the roasted Flesh of all Sorts of four-footed Animals, which being rang'd in Order by the Magistrates of the City in the Night, serve to feast all Comers in the Morning. The Inhabitants say, that these things are a daily Present of the Earth: And this is their Account of the Table of the Sun.

Cambyses in Pursuance of his Resolution touching the Spies, sent to Elephantis for such Persons among the Ichthyophages, as best understood the Æthiopian Language; and in the mean Time commanded all his Naval Forces to sail towards
wards Carthage. But the Phœnicians alledging that they were under the most sacred Obligations of Relation to the Carthaginians, and could not without Impiety make War against their own Blood, refus’d to execute the Orders of Cambyṣes. And the rest being utterly uncapable of such an Enterprize, the Carthaginians were thus preserv’d from the Persian Power. For Cambyṣes did not think convenient to compel the Phœnicians to obey, because they had voluntarily submitted to him, and made up the great Strength of his Fleet; tho’ the Cyprians had done the same, and were likewise employ’d against the Ægyptians. When the Ichthyophages arriv’d from Elephantis, Cambyṣes sent them away to Æthiopia with full Instructions, and Presents consisting of a Suit of Purple, a Necklace and Bracelets of Gold, an Alabaster Box of rich Ointment, and a Vessel of Palm Wine. These Æthiopians are reported to surpass all other Men in Beauty and large Proportion of Body; and to govern themselves in respect to the Succession of the Kingdom by a peculiar Method, unknown in any other Part of the World. For they confer the Royal Dignity upon the Man who is of the largest Size, and of Strength proportionable to his Person. To this Nation the Ichthyophages were sent; and after their Arrival having made their Presents to the King, they address’d themselves to him in these Words, "Cambyṣes King of the Persians, being desirous to enter into mutual Engagements of Friendship and Hospitality with Thee, has given us Commission to treat of this Affair; and sent these Presents, which are such as he him- self is most delighted with." To which the Æthiopian
Æthiopian, not doubting they were Spies, return'd this Answer. "'Twas not from any Consideration of my Friendship that the King of Persia sent you to me with these Presents; neither have you spoken the Truth; but are come into my Kingdom as Spies. If Cambyses were an honest Man, he would desire no more than his own; and not endeavour to reduce a People under Servitude who have never done him any Injury. However, give him this Bow from me, and let him know that the King of Æthiopia advises the King of Persia to make War against the Macrobian Æthiopians, when the Persians shall be able thus easily to draw so strong a Bow; and in the mean Time to thank the Gods, that they never inspir'd the Æthiopians with a Desire of extending their Dominion on beyond their own Country." When he said this, he loosen'd the String, and deliver'd the Bow to the Ambassadors. Then taking up the purple Garment, he ask'd what it was, and how made; and after they had inform'd him touching the Colour, and Manner of the Tincture, "The Men, said he, are deceitful, and so is the Cloathing they wear." In the next Place he question'd them concerning the Necklace and Bracelets; and when they had explain'd to him the curious Workmanship of those things, the King laught, and told them that Chains of a far greater Strength were to be found in Æthiopia. Of the Oyntment he gave the same Judgment as of the purple Garments. But when they enter'd into a Discourse about the Wine, which the Æthiopian taeted with great Pleasure, he desir'd to know what
what Provisions were us'd at the King of Persia's Table, and to what Age the longest Life of a Persian might reach. The Ambassadors answer'd, that the Food of the King of Persia was Bread; taking Occasion from that Demand to describe the Nature of Wheat; and that the longest Life of a Persian might extend to fourscore Years. The Æthiopian King replied, that he was not at all surpriz'd, if Men who eat nothing but Dung, did not attain to a longer Life: And was persuaded they could not arrive even to that Age, without the Assistance of Wine: Acknowledging the Persians to have the Advantage of the Æthiopians in that Particular. Then the Ichthyophages inquiring in their Turn concerning the Life and Diet of the Æthiopians, the King said, that they usually attain'd to a hundred and twenty Years; and some to a greater Age; that they fed upon roasted Flesh, and us'd Milk for their Drink. But seeing the Spies astonish'd at the Mention of so great a Number of Years; he brought them to a Fountain, which renders the Bodies of Men smooth as if anointed with Oil, and perfum'd, as with the Odour of Violets. The Water of this Fountain, as the Spies said, is too weak to bear either Wood, or other Substance lighter than Wood; but every thing presently sinks to the Bottom. This Water, if indeed they have any such, is said to be us'd by all the Inhabitants, and accounted the Cause of their Longevity. From this Fountain the King conducted them to see the Prisons, where all the Prisoners are fetter'd with Chains of Gold: For among these Æthiopians the most rare and valued of all Metals, is Brass.
Brass. The next thing they view'd was the Place which is call'd the Table of the Sun; and last of all the Sepulchres, which are said to be cover'd with Glass in the Manner following. When they have dried the Body after the Ægyptian Fashion, or some other Way; they lay on a Covering of white Plaister, which they paint with Colours as near as possible to the Likeness of the Person deceas'd: Then they inclose the Body within a hollow Column of Crystal, which they dig easily, and in great Abundance in those Parts. The Dead are plainly seen thro' these transparent Glasses; emitting no ill Scent; nor being at all disagreeable to the Eye; because they perfectly resemble the Persons living. They are kept a whole Year in the Houses of their nearest Relations; and during that Time are honour'd with Sacrifices, and the first Fruits of all things: After which they are carried out, and plac'd upright round the Parts adjoyning to the City.

The Ichthyophages having seen every thing remarkable, return'd to Cambyse: and after they had acquainted him with all that had past, he fell into a violent Passion, and order'd his Army to march immediately against the Æthiopians, without making any Provision for their Subsistence, or once considering that he was going to make War in the remotest Parts of the World; but as soon as he had heard the Report of his Messengers, like a Man abandon'd of Reason and good Sense, he began to move with the whole Body of his Land Forces; commanding only the Grecians to stay behind with their Ships. When he arriv'd at Thebes,
Thebes, he drew out about fifty thousand Men; ordering them to ravage all the Country of the Ammonians, and to burn the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, whilst he with the rest of his Army should march against the Æthiopians. But before he had advanced a fifth Part of the Way, his Provisions were consumed, together with the Cattle that serv'd to carry the Baggage: And if upon the first Information of this Want, Cambyse had return'd with his Forces, and ceas'd to pursue his rash Attempt, before he committed more Faults, he had given some Proof of his Wisdom. But he abandon'd all to Chance, and obstinately continued his March. The Soldiers fed upon Herbs, so long as they found any in their Way: But when they arriv'd in the sandy Deserts, some of them were guilty of a horrid Action. For they cast Lots among themselves, and eat every tenth Man: Which Cambyse hearing, and apprehending they would continue to devour one another; he desisted from his Enterprize against the Æthiopians, and retreat'd to Thebes, after he had lost a great Part of his Army. From thence under the Conduct of Guides he return'd with the rest of his Forces to Memphis; where, at his Arrival he dismiss'd the Grecians with Leave to retire in their Ships to their own Country: And thus ended this Expedition of Cambyse against the Æthiopians. As for that Part of the Army which he sent against the Ammonians, they march'd from Thebes, and by the Help of their Guides arriv'd at the City Oasis, inhabited by Samians, who are report'd to be descended from the Æschronian Tribe, and situat'd seven Days March from Thebes, thro' the Sands. This Country in the Grecian Lan-

S 3 guage
guage is call'd the Fortunate Island, and no Man doubts that an Army arriv'd in this Place. But what was their Fate afterwards, is related by none except the Ammonians, or those who have convers'd with them: For they never return'd to their own Country, nor even to Ægypt. The Ammonians say, they march'd from Oasis; and after they had pass'd one half of the Sands which lie in the Way from that City, a strong and impetuous Wind began to blow from the South at the Time of their Dinner, and rais'd the Sands to such a Degree, that the whole Army was buried alive and perish'd.

When Cambyses was return'd to Memphis, Apis, or, as the Grecians call him, Epaphus, appearing among the Ægyptians, they put on the richest of their Apparel, and feasted splendidly. Which Cambyses seeing, and highly resenting these Expressions of Joy, after his Affairs had succeeded so ill; he sent for the Magistrates of Memphis, and putting them in Mind that the Ægyptians had done no such thing when he was in Memphis before, ask'd why they carried themselves in this Manner, after he had lost so great a Part of his Army. They answer'd, that when their God manifested himself, which seldom happen'd, the Ægyptians had been always accustomed to celebrate his Appearance with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy. Which when Cambyses heard, he told them, They lyed; and put them to Death, as Liars. Then he sent for the Priests; and having receiv'd the like Answer from them, he said, that if any God was so mild and familiar to shew himself to the Ægyptians, he would not be unacquainted with him; and without more Words com-
manded the Priests to bring their God. So they departed to put his Orders in Execution. This *Apis*, or *Epaphus*, is the Calf of a Cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwise to be impregnated than by Thunder, as the Ægyptians affirm. The Marks that distinguish him from all others, are these. His Body is black; except one Square of White on the Forehead: He has the Figure of an Eagle on his Back; a double List of Hair on his Tail; and a Scarabæus under his Tongue.

When the Priests had brought their God into the Presence of *Cambysses*, he in a brutal Manner drew his Dagger, and designing to thrust it into the Belly of *Apis*, wounded him in the Thigh: Then falling into a Fit of Laughter, "Ye Wretches, said he, are these things, which are compos'd of Flesh and Blood, and so easily vulnerable, the Gods you worship? This is a worthy God indeed, and suitable to the Character of the Ægyptians. But I will let you know that you shall not abuse me with Impunity". When he had said these Words, he commanded the proper Officers to whip the Priest; and to kill all the Ægyptians they should find making publick Demonstrations of Joy. Thus the Festival was interrupted; the Priests punish'd; and *Apis*, after he had languish'd some Time, dying of his Wound in the Temple, was buried by the Priests, and his Death conceal'd from *Cambysses*. The Ægyptians say *Cambysses* grew mad immediately after this sacrilegious Action; tho' 'tis known he was so before; and had made the first Discovery of his Extravagance upon the Person of his Brother *Smerdis*, who was born of the same
fame Father and Mother with himself; sending him back from Ægypt in a jealous Humour to Persia, because he alone of all the Persians had been able to draw the Bow, which the Ichthyophages brought from the Æthiopian King, within the Breadth of two Fingers. After his Departure Cambyses dream'd he saw a Vision, representing a Messenger arriv'd from Persia to inform him that Smerdis was seated on the Royal Throne, and touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Upon which fearing his Brother would kill him, and assume the Kingdom, he sent Prexaspes, one of his principal Confidents, to Persia, with Orders to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes, in Pursuance of his Instructions put an End to the Life of Smerdis; some say at a Hunting appointed to that purpose: Others, that he drown'd him in the Red Sea, after he had by his Persuasions drawn him thither: And this is accounted the first delirious Action of Cambyses. His second, was the Murder of his own Sister, who had accompanied him into Ægypt, and was also his Wife. Which was the first Example of that Kind among the Persians; who till that Time had always abstain'd from such Marriages. But Cambyses being in Love with one of his Sisters, and as desirous of making her his Wife, as convinc'd of the Novelty of his Design, summon'd all the Royal Judges together. These Judges are certain chosen Persians, who continue in their Offices during Life, unless they are convicted of a Crime. They decide all Controversies; interpret the Laws; and all things are refer'd to their Determination. To these Persons Cambyses apply'd himself, and having demand'd whether they had any Law that permit,
permitted a Man to marry his Sister; receiv'd this cautious and proper Answer: That indeed they could find no Law to permit a Man to marry his Sister; but were well acquainted with another, which gives a Liberty to the Kings of Persia to do whatever they think convenient. And by this Means they did not abrogate a Law for fear of Cambyses; but that they might not lose their Lives by a pertinacious Resistance, they found out another in favour of the King, who was so desirous of this Match. Upon their Answer Cambyses married the Sister he lov'd, and a little Time after, another. The Person he kill'd was the youngest of these, who follow'd him into Ægypt; and whose Death, as well as that of Smerdis, is reported two Ways. For the Grecians say, that Cambyses having one Day brought a young Dog to the Whelp of a Lyon, diverted himself to see them fight; and that this Dog being over-match'd, another of the same Litter broke loose, and ran to his Assistance; by which Means the two Dogs worsted the Lyon: That whilst Cambyses was pleasing himself with this Entertainment, the young Woman, who sat by him, began to weep; of which when the King had ask'd her the Reason, she answer'd, That seeing the little Dog come so seasonably to the Succour of his Brother, she could not refrain from Tears, because this Accident put her in mind of the Fate of her Brother Smerdis, whose Death she knew no Body would revenge: And the Grecians affirm that for these Words Cambyses kill'd her. But the Ægyptians say, that as they were both at Table, she took a Lettuce, and pulling the Leaves aunder, ask'd her Husband, "Whether an entire
"Lettuce was not more beautiful than one pull'd in pieces. He answer'd, Most certainly: Then said she, you have truly represent'd this broken Lettuce, by dismembering the House of Cyrus:" That upon these Words Cambyses in a Rage struck her with his Foot, and caus'd an Abortion, of which she died. Thus Cambyses exercis'd his Fury, against those of his own Family; but whether his Madness seiz'd him for the Death of Apis, or from any other Cause, may be doubted; because human Nature is subject to many Evils. And indeed we are inform'd that Cambyses was afflicted from his Infancy with a convulsive Malady, by some call'd the sacred Disease: And then, no Wonder if his Mind were not found in so distemper'd a Body. Besides these, he was guilty of other outrageous Extravagancies against the Persians, and among them against Pheroaspes; who had always been honour'd by him in an extraordinary Manner; receiv'd all Messages in his Name; and had a Son that serv'd him as Cup-bearer, which is an Office of great Dignity. For when he ask'd Pheroaspes what the Persians said of him, and what Character they usually gave him in their familiar Conversations, Pheroaspes answer'd, "Sir, They highly applaud your Actions in general; only think you too much addicted to Wine. How, said Cambyses with Indignation; the Persians say I overthrow my Understanding and Judgment by drinking Wine to excess? If that be true, they have been great Dissemblers". For Cambyses being formerly present in a great Assembly of Persians, where Crœsus likewise assist'd; and asking what Opinion they had of him in Comparison of his Father
Father Cyrus, they told him, he far surpaș'd’d his Father, because he was not only Master of all that Cyrus possesst’d, but had added Ægypt and the Sea to his Dominions. Nevertheless Crœsus not approving their Conclusion, spoke thus to Cambyses; “Son of Cyrus, I cannot per-
suade myself that thou art equal to thy Fa-
ther: For thou hast not yet such a Son to 
 succeed thee as he had: Which Words were 
so grateful to Cambyses, that he highly com-
mended the Judgment of Crœsus: And on this 
Occasion remembering what had pass’d at that 
Time, said with Indignation to Prexaspes, “ See now, whether the Persians have spoken 
the Truth; or are distracted themselves, 
when they say these things of me? For if 
I shoot this Arrow thro’ the Heart of thy 
Son, who stands there under the Portico, 
the Persians have said nothing to the Purpose: 
But if I miss, they have spoken the Truth, 
and I am mad.” He had no sooner pronounc’d 
these Words, than drawing his Bow, he shot 
an Arrow thro’ the Body of the young Man:
Then commanding him to be taken up and o-
pen’d; and finding the Arrow had pierc’d his Heart, he turn’d about with great Joy, and 
laughing in the Face of the Father, said, “Prex-
aspes, I supposethou art now convinc’d that 
the Persians are mad, and not Cambyses. 
Tell me; didst thou ever see a Man shoot 
more just than I have done?” But Prexaspes perceiving him to be delirious, and being under 
great Apprehensions for his own Life, “Truly, 
Sir, said he, I believe a God could not 
shoot more dexterously.” At another Time he 
commanded twelve Persians of the first Rank to 
be
be siez'd and without any just Cause to be buried alive. But whilst he was proceeding in this furious Manner, Crœsus the Lydian thought fit to admonish him in these Words. "I beseech you, Sir, let not Youth and Anger be so prevalent with you; but refrain and moderate your Passions. For 'tis the Part of a wise Man, and conducing to your own Safety to foresee and prevent Danger. You have destroy'd divers of your own Country-men upon flight Occasions; and have not spar'd their Children; consider if you persist in such a Course, whether the Persians may not rebel. For my own Part I cannot refrain from giving you this Advice, because your Father Cyrus expressly commanded me to put you in Mind of whatever might be most expedient for your Affairs." To this friendly Counsel of Crœsus, Cambyses answer'd, "How dare you presume to advise me? As if you had so wisely govern'd your own Kingdom: 'Twas admirable Counsel you gave my Father, when you persuaded him to pass the River Araxes, and attack the Massagetes, instead of permitting them to enter our Territories as they were willing to do. You first ruin'd yourself by your own ill Government: And then destroy'd Cyrus by your ill Advice. But you shall not long enjoy the Pleasure of that Action: For 'tis more than Time I should take Occasion to avenge his Death." No sooner had he pronounced these Words, than he took up his Bow to shoot Crœsus; but the Lydian sav'd himself by running immediately out of his Presence. Nevertheless Cambyses perceiving the Object of his Fury withdrawn,
drawn, commanded his Officers to seize him and put him to Death. But they, who knew his Manner, resolv’d to conceal Crœsus; that if Cambyses should repent of his Rashness, and enquire for him, they might be well rewarded for preserving his Life; or dispatch him afterwards, if they should find that Cambyses had neither alter’d his Opinion, nor desir’d to see him. In a little Time the King fail’d not to ask for Crœsus; which the Officers understanding, acquainted him that Crœsus was still living. "I am very glad, said Cambyses, that he is alive: But will never forgive those who fav’d him." And indeed he made good his Word; for he put them all to Death. Many more Actions of this Nature he did whilst he staid at Memphis, not only against the Persians, but also against his Confederates. He open’d many ancient Sepulchres to view the Bodies of the Dead; and entering into the Temple of Vulcan, derided the Image of the God: Which indeed resembles those Phœnician Figures that are plac’d on the Prow of their Ships, and called Patæcians, not exceeding the Stature of a Pigmy. He likewise went into the Temple of the Cabirian Gods, (which no Man except the Priest may presume to enter,) and after he had ridicul’d the Form of their Images, order’d them to be thrown into the Fire; because they were like that of Vulcan, from whom they are said to be descended. All these things convince me that Cambyses was outrageously mad: Else he would never have attempted to make a Mockery of National Religions and Customs. For if all Men were left at Liberty to introduce from other Places such Rites and Usages
Usages as they should best approve; they would yet chuse to retain their own; every Man being strongly inclin'd to prefer the Manners of his Country before those of any other. That this is the common Sentiment of all Mankind, I could prove by many Instances; but shall content myself with one. Darius having assembl'd the Grecians who liv'd under his Empire, ask'd them for how great a Sum they would oblige themselves to eat the dead Bodies of their Parents; and they answering that nothing was sufficient to induce them to commit so great a Crime; he presently sent for certain Indians call'd Callatians, who are accustomed to eat the dead Bodies of their Fathers, and demanding in the Presence of the Grecians and their Interpreters, how much Money they would take to burn their Parents after Death, they made loud Exclamations, and begg'd he would mention such things no more. This is the Effect of Custom: And therefore Pindar in my Opinion says judiciously, That Custom is the King of all Men.

Whilst the Arms of Cambyses were employ'd in this Expedition, the Lacedæmonians made War against Samos; where Polycrates had put himself at the Head of a Party, and by Violence siez'd the Government. He at first divided his Acquisition with his two Brothers Pantagnotus and Sylojon; but afterwards having put the elder to Death, and expell'd Sylojon, who was the younger, he became sole Master of all, and made an Alliance with Amašis King of Ægypt; which was confirm'd and cultivated on both sides by mutual Presents. His Enterprizes were attended with such
such Successes, that in a short Time all the Ionian and Grecian Cities were acquainted with his Fame; every thing yielding to the Reputation of his Arms, wherever he determin'd to make War. He had a hundred Gallies of fifty Oars each, and a thousand Archers. He attack'd all Places without Distinction; pretending to do a greater Favour to his Friends by restoring what he had taken away, than by leaving them in the quiet Enjoyment of their Possessions. He subdued many of the Islands; took divers Cities on the Continent; defeated the Lesbians in a Sea-fight, as they were going to assist the Milefians with their whole Fleet; and putting them all to the Chain, compell'd them to make the Ditch that surrounds the Walls of Samos. So many Successes were not unknown to Amasis, and plung'd him into no little Perplexity. But when he heard that their Number increas'd daily, he wrote to Polycrates in these Terms. "Amasis to Polycrates: "I have heard with Pleasure the fortunate Successes that attend the Enterprizes of a Friend and Ally. But the Excess of thy Prosperity disturbs me; because I know how envious the Gods are. As for me, I would rather chuse, that my Affairs and those of my Friends should alternately participate of good and bad Fortune thro' the whole Course of Life, than be always accompanied with uninterrupted Felicity. For I cannot remember that I ever heard of a Man, who having been always happy, did not at last perish by some signal Calamity. Be advis'd therefore by me; and fence against good Fortune in this Manner: Consider what you value at a high
high Rate, and would be much concern'd to lose: Deprive yourself of this precious thing so effectually, that it may be utterly lost: And if your Prosperities still continue without other Vicissitude, repeat the Remedy which you have now from me." When Polycrates had read this Letter, and attentively consider'd the Matter, he approv'd the Counsel of Amasis; and deliberating with himself, which of all his Treasures he could not abandon without a most sensible Reluctancy, came at last to this Resolution: He had a Signet made of an Emerald, set in Gold by the Hand of Theodorus the Son of Telecles the Samian; and this he determin'd to lose in the following Manner. He went on board a Galley of fifty Oars compleatly mann'd, commanding the Mariners to put off; and when he saw they had advanc'd to a considerable Distance from the Island, he took the Jewel in his Hand, and in the Presence of all the Company threw it into the Sea. This done, he commanded them to carry him back, and at his Return was not a little disturb'd for his Loss. But on the fifth or sixth Day after, a certain Fisherman having taken a large and beautiful Fish, and thinking it a Present worthy of Polycrates, went to the Gates of his Palace, and desir'd Admission: Which being granted, he presented the Fish to the King, and said, "Tho' I get my Living by hard Labour; yet I could not persuade myself to carry this Fish, which I have taken, to the Market, because I thought it a fit Present for a King." Polycrates pleas'd with these Words, commended the Man; and having thank'd him, as well for his Compliment as for the Fish, invit
vited him to Dinner. The Fisherman receiv'd these Favours with great Joy, and went away to his own Habitation. In the mean Time the Servants opening the Fish, saw the Signet lodged in the Belly; and when they had taken it out, hasten'd with much Satisfaction to Polycrates, restor'd the Jewel, and acquainted him in what Manner they had found it. Polycrates persuaded that the Event was divine, wrote down what he had done, as well as what had happen'd to him afterwards, and sent the whole Account to Ægypt. By which Amasis being convinc'd that no Man can deliver another from the Effects of a fatal Decree, and that the Life of Polycrates would not terminate in such Prosperity as had attended his Actions so constantly that he recover'd even those things which he design'd to lose, sent a Herald to Samos with Orders to renounce his Friendship, and dissolve all Obligations of Hospitality that had been contracted between them; lest the future Calamities of Polycrates should affect him with that Grief which Men owe to the Misfortunes of a Friend.

Against this Polycrates, so universally happy in all his Affairs, the Lacedæmonians prepar'd to make War, at the Solicitation of those Samians who afterwards founded the City of Cydonia in Crete. But Polycrates, being inform'd of their Design, sent a Messenger privately to Cambyses the Son of Cyrus, as he was preparing to invade Ægypt; with Instructions to desire him to demand some Assistance of the Samians. Which when Cambyses heard, he readily dispatch'd a Message to Polycrates, desiring he would furnish a Fleet to assist him in his Ægyptian Expedition.
Upon this Demand Polycrates drew out all those he suspected of seditious Designs, and sent them with forty Gallies to Cambyses, requesting him at the same Time that he would not permit them to return to Samos. Some affirm that these Samians never arriv'd in Ægypt; but in their Passage thro' the Carpathian Sea, calling a Council of War, came to a Resolution not to proceed farther in their Voyage: Others say, that they arriv'd in Ægypt; but finding themselves observ'd and under Guard, they took an Opportunity to make their Escape, and in their Return to Samos met the Fleet of Polycrates, which they defeated, and landed safely in their own Country; where they fought an unsuccessful Battle by Land, and afterwards set Sail for Lacedæmon. Yet some pretend they had the Victory in this Action also; but I think their Opinion is groundless. For they could not have been under a Necessity of imploring the Aid of the Lacedæmonians, if they had found themselves able to resist the Forces of Polycrates. Besides, 'tis repugnant to Reason to imagine that one who had a numerous Army of foreign Mercenaries in his Pay, and such a Body of Samian Bowmen, should be beaten by so unequal a Number as those were who return'd from Ægypt: Especially if we consider, that Polycrates to prevent Treachery, had brought together the Wives and Children of all the Samians into the Arsenal of the Navy; resolving to burn them together with the Naval Stores, if he should find himself betray'd to the returning Exiles.

These Samians, thus expell'd by Polycrates, arriv'd in Sparta; and coming before the Senate, implor'd their Assistance in many Words, and with pressing
pressing Instances. But at this first Audience, the Lacedæmonians gave them no other Answer than that they had forgotten the first Part of their Speech, and therefore could not comprehend the last. At their second Appearance, the Samians caus'd an empty Basket to be brought in, and only said, There was no Bread: Upon which the Lacedæmonians answer'd, That the Basket might have been sufficient to declare their Wants; and immediately decreed to assist them. When all things were ready for the Expedition, the Lacedæmonians transported their Army to Samos, in Requital, as the Samians pretend, for the Assistance they formerly had from Samos, when they were engaged in a War against the Messenians; tho' the Lacedæmonians say, they did not undertake this Enterprise out of good Will to the Samians; but to revenge themselves of that People for intercepting the Bason they sent to Croesus, and robbing them the Year before of a curious Pectoral which Amasis King of Egypt had sent to them. This Pectoral was made of Linen adorn'd with many Figures of Animals woven into the Work, and enrich'd with Gold and Variety of Colours: The Chain is of admirable Artifice, fine and slender, tho' consisting of three hundred and sixty distinct Threads. Such another is seen at Lindus, presented to Minerva by the same Amasis. The Corinthians were easily induc'd to take Part in this War; because they also had been injur'd by the Samians in the preceding Age. For when Periander the Son of Cypselus had sent three hundred Youths, born of the noblest Families of Corcyra to Alyattes King of Sardis, that they might
be made. Eunuchs: And the Corinthian Ships, which transported them, were already arriv'd at Samos; the Samians, who were not ignorant of the Design of this Voyage, in the first place instructed the Boys to take Sanctuary in the Temple of Diana, forbidding the Corinthians to use any violent Means to remove them, because they were under the Protection of the Goddess: And when the Corinthians refus'd to give them Subsistence, the Samians on their Account instituted a Festival, which they observe to this Day. For at Night, whilst the Suppliants were in the Temple, they assembled the young Men and Virgins to dance; and order'd them to carry about certain Cakes made of Flower and Honey, that the Corcyraean Youths might snatch them out of their Hands, and by this Means sustain themselves: Which Practice they continued, till the Corinthians weary of attending, thought fit to depart from Samos; and were no sooner gone, than the Samians sent Home the Boys to Corcyra. Now if the Corinthians had liv'd in Amity with the Corcyraeans after the Death of Periander, they would not have taken Part with the Lacedæmonians against Samos on this Occasion: But indeed from the first peopling of that Island, their Dissensions have been perpetual. The Corinthians therefore not forgetting the Usage they receiv'd at Samos, join'd their Forces to the Lacedæmonians. As for Periander, the Reason he had to send the Sons of the principal Men of Corcyra to Sardis, with the Design I have mentioned was this. When he had kill'd his Wife Melissa, he found that Calamity attended by another. She left him two Sons, one of se-

venteen
venteen, and another of eighteen Years of Age. These young Men Procles Tyrant of Epidaurus, their Grandfather, by the Mother, sent for to his Court, and cares'd with that Tenderness which is usually shewn to the Children of a Daughter. And when he dismiss'd them said, "You know " who kill'd your Mother." The Elder made no Reflexion on these Words; But the Younger, whose Name was Lycophron, returning to Corinth full of Refentment, and detesting the Murderer of his Mother, disdain'd either to speak to his Father, or make any Answer to the Questions he ask'd: 'Till at last Periander in great Anger turn'd him out of his House; and afterwards enquir'd of the elder Brother what Discourses they had heard from their Grandfather. He acquainted him that they had been receiv'd by Procles in the kindest Manner; not at all mentioning the Words he said at their Departure: Because they had made no Impression on his Mind. But Periander insisting that their Grandfather had undoubtedly given him some Instructions, ply'd him so long with Questions, that in the End the young Man recover'd his Memory, and repeated the Words to his Father: Which he having attentively consider'd; and resolving to treat his Son without the least Indulgence, sent to the Persons that had given him Reception, forbidding them to harbour him for the future. Lycophron being remov'd from this House retir'd to another; from whence upon the Menaces and positive Commands of Periander, he was expell'd in like Manner. But betaking himself to a third, he was receiv'd as the Son of Periander, tho' the Persons concern'd were not without Fear of his
Displeasure. At last Periander by an Edict commanded all Men to abstain from receiving him, or conversing with him, under Penalty of a certain Fine to be applied to the Temple of Apollo. After which every one declining his Presence and Conversation, he resolv’d to retire into the publick Porticoes, without making any farther Trial of his Friends in such desperate Circumstances. But on the fourth Day after this Resolution, Periander finding him disfigured by Want and Nastiness, began to relent, and approaching him with Compassion, said; “Son, Art thou better pleas’d with this miserable way of living, than to qualify thyself by obeying me, to enjoy all the Power and Riches I possess? Thou, who art my Son, and a King in the rich City of Corinth, hast chosen a vagabond Life by disobeying and irritating me contrary to thy Duty: For that Misfortune, which so highly disturbs thee, has fallen more heavily on me; because the Fact was perpetrated by myself. Therefore as I doubt not that thou hast sufficiently learnt how much better ’tis to be envied than pitied, and how prejudicial to provoke a Parent and a powerful Man, I give thee Leave to return Home.” Such was the Admonition of Periander to his Son. But Lycophron return’d no other Answer to his Father, than that he had incur’d the Penalty of his own Edict by speaking to him. So that Periander perceiving the Obstinacy of his Son to be insuperable and without Remedy, remov’d him out of his Sight, and sent him by Sea to Coreyra, which was a Part of his Dominions. After the Departure of Lycophron, Periander made War against his
his Father-in-Law Procles, as the principal Author of these Troubles; forc'd the City of Epidaurus, and took Procles Prisoner at the same Time. At length growing old, and perceiving he could no longer attend the Administration of publick Affairs, he sent for Lycophron from Corcyra to take the Government upon him, because he found his eldest Son stupid and incapable; but Lycophron would not vouchsafe to give Audience to the Messenger. Nevertheless Periander still fond of the young Man, sent another Message to him by his own Daughter, who was Sister to Lycophron; thinking she might persuade him to return. At her Arrival she spoke to him in these Terms: "Child, said she, "Hadst thou rather see thy Father's Dominions fall into the Hands of others, and our Family utterly destroy'd than return to Corinth and take Possession of all? Come away from this Place, and cease to punish thyself. Obstinacy is an inauspicious Quality: Think not to cure one Evil by another. Many have preferr'd Equity before the Rigour of Justice; and many have lost their paternal Inheritance by pursuing a maternal Claim. A Tyranny is an uncertain Possession, and coveted by numerous Pretenders. Thy Father, "is old, and infirm: Let nothing therefore prevail with thee to abandon to others the "Advantages which belong to thyself." Thus she press'd him with these Exhortations, as she had been instructed by her Father. But Lycophron refusing to comply, assur'd her he would never return to Corinth so long as he should hear his Father was living. With this Answer she departed, and having inform'd Periander of what
what had pass'd he sent a third Message by a Herald to acquaint his Son, that he himself design'd to retire to Corcyra; and commanded him to return, in order to take immediate Possession of the Government. To this Proposition Lycophron consented; and as Periander was preparing to remove to Corcyra, and his Son to Corinth, the Corcyraeans inform'd of the Design, and unwilling to receive Periander into their Country, kill'd the young Man; And this was the Cause that mov'd Periander to revenge himself against the Corcyraeans.

The Lacedæmonians arriving with a great Fleet, besieg'd Samos; and advancing towards the Wall, pass'd by a Fort which was built upon the Shore near the Suburbs: But Polycrates at the Head of a considerable Force falling upon their Army, compell'd them to retire. Soon after, a good Body of Samians, in Conjunction with their Auxiliary Forces falled out from another Tower, which stands on the Ridge of a Hill, and attack'd the Lacedæmonians; but fled away after a short Dispute, and were pursu'd with great Slaughter: And if all the Lacedæmonians who were in that Action, had behav'd themselves as well as Archias and Lycopes, Samos had been taken that Day. For these two Men alone of all those who pursu'd the Samians, enter'd the City at their Heels, and finding all Hopes of retreat ing cut off, died valiantly fighting within the Walls. I remember to have seen one Archias, the Son of another of that Name, and Grandson to this Archias, in Pitane; for he was of that Tribe. This Person esteem'd the Samians above all other Strangers, and said, that the Surname of Samian was given to his Father, because he...
THALIA.

was Son to that Archias who fell so gloriously at Samos; and that he himself should always pay a peculiar Respect to the Samians, because they had honour'd the Memory of his Grandfather with a magnificent Funeral at the Publick Charge. The Lacedæmonians, after they had been forty Days before Samos, and done little towards the Reduction of that Place, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to Peloponnesus; tho' a groundless Report has been rais'd, that Polycrates having caus'd a great Number of Pieces made of guilded Lead to be coin'd, purchas'd their Departure with that Money. This was the first Expedition the Dorians undertook against Asia, under the Conduct of the Lacedæmonians: After whose Departure, those Samians who had brought this War upon Polycrates, finding themselves abandon'd, and their Treasures exhausted, set sail for Siphnus. The Affairs of the Siphnians were then in a flourishing Condition, and their Riches immense; the Island so abounding in Mines of Gold and Silver, that the Tenth of the Money they coin'd, transported to Delphi, made up a Treasure equal to the greatest: And they never fail'd once every Year to divide the Riches they drew from their Mines. When the Siphnians had amassed these Treasures, they consulted the Oracle, to know if their Prosperity should long continue, and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian,

When publick Structures should be cloath'd in White,
A wise Man's Care should fence against the Rage Of wooden Troops, and Red Ambassadors.
The Prytanean Court and Piazza of Siphnus, were at that Time adorn'd with white Parian Marble. Yet the Siphnians could not comprehend the Intention of the Oracle, either before, or upon the Landing of the Samians; tho' immediately after their Arrival they sent an Embassy to the City in one of their Ships, which according to the Samian Fashion was colour'd over with Red. And this was the thing meant by the Pythian, when she forewarn'd the Siphnians to beware of a wooden Force and red Ambassadors. These Samians being admitted to an Audience, desir'd a Loan of ten Talents; but receiving a Denial, return'd to their Companions, and ravag'd the Territories of Siphnus. Upon which the Siphnians drawing all their Forces together, fought a Battle, and were defeated by the Samians; who took many Prisoners in the Pursuit, by cutting off their Retreat to the City; and receiv'd one hundred Talents for their Ransom. In the next Place, the Samians sail'd to Hermione, and instead of Money, receiv'd the Island of Thyrea, situate near Peloponnesus, which they committed to the Care of the Trœzenians: And afterwards landing in Crete, founded the City of Cydonia; tho' they came not thither with that Intention, but only to expel the Zacynthians out of the Island. Five Years they continued in this Settlement, attended with such Prosperity, that they built the Temple of Dityna, and all other Temples which remain to this Time in Cydonia. But in the sixth Year, they, together with the Cretans, were entirely defeated in a Sea-battle, and utterly subdued by the Ægionetes; who took off the Prows of their Ships,
and dedicated them in the Temple of Minerva. The People of Ægina took this terrible Revenge, in Requital for the War, which the Samians under the Conduct of their King Amphicrates had made against them, and which had reduc'd both sides to great Extremities. I have been more particular in relating the Affairs of the Samians, because they have three things more considerable than are seen in any other Parts among the Grecians. They have open'd a Way thro' a Mountain, one hundred and fifty Fathom high. The Length of this Passage, which pierces the Hill from one side to the other, contains full seven Stades; and the Height and Breadth, eight Foot each. A Canal twenty Cubits deep, and three Foot broad, runs quite along the side of the Aperture, and serves to convey the Water of a plentiful Spring into the City, thro' various Pipes. Eupalinus of Megara, the Son of Naustropbus, was the Contriver and Director of this Work. The second thing worthy to be observ'd is a Mole of one hundred and twenty Foot in Height, embracing the Harbour, and advancing above two Stades into the Sea. The third, is a Temple, greater than all those I ever saw; and of which the principal Architect was Rhœcus, the Son of Phileus, a Native of Samos. These things have induc'd me to enlarge my Discourse concerning the Samians.

Whilst Cambyses the Son of Cyrus continu'd delirious in Ægypt, two of the Mages, who were Brothers, conspir'd against him. One of these, whose Name was Patizites, had been by Camby'ses made Governour of his Household during his Absence. This Person being well inform'd of the
the Death of Smerdis, which was kept private, and known to few of the Persians, (who, for the most Part thought him still alive,) undertook to invade the Throne in the following Manner. He had a Brother, as I said, for his Accomplice; in Shape and Mien perfectly resembling Smerdis the Son of Cyrus, who had been murder'd by Cambyses; and bearing the same Name. This Man Patizitbes instructed in the Part he was to act: And when he had plac'd him in the Throne sent Heralds to all Places, and particularly to the Army in Ægypt, commanding them for the future to acknowledge Smerdis the Son of Cyrus as King of Persia, and no longer to obey Cambyses. The Heralds every where perform'd their Office; and he who was dispatch'd to Ægypt, finding Cambyses with his Forces at Ecbatana in Syria, plac'd himself in the Midst of the Army, and openly proclaim'd the Orders of Patizitbes. Cambyses, who was present at the Proclamation, believing the Words of the Herald to be true, and imagining Prexaspes had treacherously omitted to execute the Order he gave him to kill Smerdis, turn'd to him in Anger and said, "Prexaspes, Thou haft not obey'd my Command." To which Prexaspes answer'd, "Sir, The Words you have heard are false: Your Brother Smerdis cannot rebel against you; neither can you have any Dispute, great or small, with him. I myself put your Order in Execution, and buried him with my own Hands. If indeed dead Men can rise again, then we may expect another Rebellion from Astyages the Mede: But if the Course of things be not alter'd, you have no-
"thing to fear from your Brother. However
"I am of Opinion we ought to pursue the
"Herald and examine; who sent him to com-
"mand us to obey King Smerdis." Camby-
"ses approving his Advice, commanded the Her-
"ald to be pursued; and when he was brought
back, Prexaspes, said to him; "Man, Since
"thou say’st thou art the Messenger of Smerdis
"the Son of Cyrus, speak the Truth, and thou
"shalt be dismissed with Impunity. Did’st thou
"see Smerdis, and receive these Orders from his
"Mouth; or from any one of his Ministers?
"Truly, answer’d the Herald, I have not seen
"Smerdis the Son of Cyrus since Cambyses de-
"parted for Egypt: But the Mage, whom he
"appointed Governor of his Domestic Affairs,
"gave me these Orders, and told me that Smer-
"dis the Son of Cyrus commanded me to pub-
"lish them here." This was the plain Truth;
"and satisfied Cambyses so fully, that, turning to
Prexaspes, he said, "I am now convinc’d
"that thou did’st obey my Command like an
"honest Man; and hast no Part in this Event:
"But what Persian can this be, who has re-
"volted against me, and assum’d the Name of
"Smerdis? O King, replied Prexaspes, I think
"I understand the Intrigue: The Conspira-
tors are the two Mages, Patizithes Go-
"vernor of the Household, and his Brother
"Smerdis." The mention of that Name deeply
affected Cambyses, and reviv’d the Memory of
his Dream; in which he had seen a Messenger,
who came to acquaint him, that Smerdis
was plac’d in the Royal Throne, and touch’d
the Heavens with his Head. Reflecting how
unjustly he had destroy’d his Brother, he wept;
and after he had lamented him, and bitterly complain'd of his own Calamity, he mounted his Horse, with a Resolution to return in all Diligence to Susa, and make War against the Mage. But as he mounted his Horse, his Sword fell out of the Scabbard, and wounded him on the Thigh, in that Part where he had formerly struck the Ægyptian God Apis. Cambyses being thus wounded ask'd the Name of the City, and was inform'd that the Place was call'd Ecbatana. He had formerly receiv'd an Oracle from Butus, that he should end his Life in the City of Ecbatana; and therefore imagin'd he should dye an old Man in the Place of that Name in Media, where all his Treasures were; but the Oracle meant no other than the Syrian Ecbatana. Thus having heard the Name of the City; tho' vex'd with the Injury of the Mage, and afflicted with his Wound, he recover'd his Understanding; and rightly interpreting the Sense of the Oracle, said, "Fate has decreed that Cambyses the Son of Cyrus shall dye in this Place." These Words he said at that Time; and about twenty Days after, having assembled all the principal Men of the Persians who were with him, he spoke to them in these Terms. "I am necessitated to acquaint you with a thing, which above all others I de-" fir'd to conceal. When I was in Ægypt I "saw a Vision in a Dream, which I wish I "had never seen, representing a Messenger ar-"riv'd from Persia with Tydings, that Smer-"dis was seated on the Royal Throne, and "touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Induc'd "by this Dream I fear'd my Brother would de-"prive me of the Kingdom, and acted with "more
more Precipitation than Prudence: For no human Power is able to frustrate the Decrees of Fate. I foolishly sent Prexaspes to Susa with Orders to kill Smerdis; and have liv'd in the profoundest Security since the Execution of that Crime; not at all suspecting that any Mortal would rebel against me, after I had remov'd him out of the World. But I find myself utterly mistaken; I have murder'd my Brother in vain, and nevertheless am depriv'd of the Kingdom. For the God, who sent me that Vision, meant no other Person than Smerdis the Mage, when he admonish'd me that Smerdis would invade my Throne. Since then I have inform'd you that I am guilty of this Crime, you are not to imagine that Smerdis the Son of Cyrus is living; but that two Mages (I mean Patizithes and Smerdis) have taken Possession of the Kingdom: The first of these I appointed Governor of my Household during my Absence, and the other is Brother to him. Now because he, who of right should have reveng'd the Indignity I suffer from the Mages, is prevented by the Inhumanity of his nearest Relation; I think myself oblig'd in this Exigency to let you know what I would have you do for me after my Death. In the first Place I command, by the Gods of the Royal Family adjure you all, especially those among you who are of the Achæmenian Blood, never to permit the Government to return into the Hands of the Medes: And if at any Time they should usurp the supreme Power by Artifice, to use the like Means to recover it; or if they should acquire the Do-
minion by Arms, then likewise to wrest it from them by Arms. On this Condition, may the Earth furnish you with uninterrupted Plenty; may your Wives bring you many Children; your Herds and Flocks increase; and your Liberty remain inviolable for ever. But if you neglect to preserve or recover your Superiority over the Medes, may the contrary Imprecations overtake you, and every one of the Persians end his Life as unhappily as I." When Cambyses had finish'd these Words, he again passionately lamented the Death of Smerdis; and all the Persians seeing their King so deeply afflicted, wept abundantly, and tore their Garments in Pieces. But in a little Time his Wound corrupting the Bone, caus'd a Mortification in his Thigh, and put an End to the Life of Cambyses the Son of Cyrus, after he had reign'd seven Years and five Months; having never had any Children of either Sex. He was no sooner dead, than the Persians who had accompanied him, began to enter into a violent Suspicion, that whatever he had said concerning the Usurpation of the Mages and the Death of his Brother, was fictitious, and contriv'd by Cambyses with Design to render all the Persians Enemies to Smerdis. This Incredulity easily wrought them into a Persuasion, that Smerdis the Son of Cyrus was really the Person who had taken Possession of the Kingdom: And Prexaspses contributed not a little to this Delusion, by denying utterly that he had kill'd Smerdis: For indeed, after the Death of Cambyses he could not safely own, that he had murder'd the Son of Cyrus with his own Hand.
The Mage Smerdis, by pretending to be the Son of Cyrus, reign'd without Disturbance during the seven Months that remain'd to compleat the eighth Year of Cambyses; in which Time he treated the People with such Beneficence, that all the Nations of Asia, the Persians only excepted, express'd their Sorrow at his Death. For upon his Accession to the Throne, he dispatch'd Orders thro' all Parts of his Dominions, to proclaim a general Exemption from Tribute and Military Services for the Space of three Years. But in the eighth Month he was discover'd in this Manner. Otanes the Son of Pharnaspes, a Man equal to the greatest of the Persians both in Fortune and Blood, was the first who suspected him to be an Impostor, and not the Son of Cyrus; because he never went out of the Castle, nor admitted any of the principal Men of Persia to his Presence. In this Suspicion he contriv'd the following Artifice, in order to discover the Truth. His Daughter Phædyma had been one of the Wives of Cambyses, and was kept, as all the rest were, for the Use of Smerdis. To her therefore he sent a Message, to acquaint her, that he desir'd to know, whether the Person she lay with, was Smerdis the Son of Cyrus, or some other Man: And receiving for Answer, that having never seen Smerdis the Son of Cyrus, she could not inform him with whom she lay; he sent to her a second Time to desire, that since she could not resolve his Doubt, she would ask Aioffa, who he was that lay with both; being fully persuaded that she must of Necessity know her own Brother. But his Daughter let him know, that she was not permitted to speak to
Atoxia, or to see any of the other Women; be-
cause the King, whoever he was, had from the
Beginning of his Reign dispers'd all his Wives
into distinct and separate Apartments. This
Answer much increasing the Suspicion of Ota-
nes, he sent a third Message to Phædyma in these
Words. " Daughter, Being descended of an
illustrious Family, you ought to undertake
the most hazardous Enterprize, in Obedience
to the Commands of your Father. If this
Smerdis is not the Son of Cyrus, but the
Person I suspect him to be; he is so far
from being worthy to possesse the Persian King-
dom, or your Person, that he ought not to
escape without exemplary Punishment. Fol-
low therefore my Advice; and when you lye
by him, and perceive him to sleep, carry your
Hand to his Head, and if you find he has
Ears, be assur'd he is the Son of Cyrus;
but if he has none, he can be no other than
Smerdis the Mage." To this Message Phæ-
dyma answer'd, that the Danger was exceed-
ging great; because if the King had no Ears,
and should surprize her endeavouring to find
out such a Truth, he would not fail to kill
her: Nevertheless she would make the Attempt,
and take upon her to satisfy the Doubt of her
Father touching this Smerdis, (whose Ears had
been formerly cut off, for a Reason of Impor-
tance, by Cyrus the Son of Cambyses.) In Pursu-
ance therefore of her Promise, Phædyma the
Daughter of Otanes, carefully executed the Or-
ders of her Father; and going in her Turn to the
King's Bed, as the Manner of the Persian Wo-
men is, she no sooner perceiv'd him to sleep pro-
foundly, than she easily discover'd by her Hand
that
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that the Man had no Ears; and early the next Morning sent an Account to her Father of what she had done. Otanes having receiv'd this Information, communicated the whole Affair to Gobrias and Aspathines, Persians of the first Rank, and of undoubted Honour: Who, because they had entertain'd the same Suspicion before readily assented to the Judgment made by Otanes, and came to an Agreement with him, that each of the three should nominate one of his most trusty Friends among the Persians, to be admitted to a Participation of their Counsels. Pursuant to this Resolution, Otanes made Choice of Intaphernes, Gobryas of Megabyus, and Aspathines of Hydarnes. In the mean Time Darius the Son of Hystaspes arriving in Susa from Persia, where his Father was Governour, the six Persians resolv'd to admit him into their Society. And now being seven in Number, they met together; and after mutual Assurance of Fidelity, enter'd into a Debate touching the thing in question. But when Darius came to speak in his Turn; he said, "I thought no Man, except myself, had known that the Kingdom is usurp'd by a Mage, and that Smerdis the Son of Cyrus is dead: And therefore I came to this Place with a Resolution to kill the Usurper. But since I find that you also are inform'd of this Indignity, my Opinion is, to dispatch the Enterprize with all Expedition, because Delays in such a Conjuncture are not safe. Son of Hystaspes, said Otanes, thou art born of a magnanimous Father, and thy Courage is not inferior to thy Birth; yet forbear to act inconsiderately, and attempt nothing without due Caution: For I think we ought
"ought not to undertake this Enterprize without augmenting our Number." Darius replied, "Believe me, Friends, if you follow the Advice of Otanes, you will all inevitably perish: For one or other will not fail to discover the Conspiracy to the Mage for private Advantage: And indeed you alone, who first form’d the Design, ought to have put it in Execution immediately: But since you have thought fit to communicate your Intentions to a greater Number, and to me among others; let us make the Attempt this Day; or be assur’d, that if you let go the present Occasion, I will prevent any other from accusing me, and accuse you all to the Mage." Otanes perceiving Darius so pressing; "Since then, said he, we are necessitated to precipitate our Enterprize, and not permitted to defer the Execution, pray tell us in what Manner we shall enter the Palace; which, as you know, or at least have heard, is defended by Guards plac’d in all the Passages; and I desire to be inform’d how we shall force them." Darius answer’d, "Some things, Otanes, may be explain’d by Action, that cannot be demonstrated in Words; while other things, which seem easy in Discourse, produce no considerable Effect in the Execution. No Man here can imagine that we shall find any great Difficulty in passing the Guards; because our Quality is such, that every one either from a Motive of Reverence or Dread will presently give us Way. Besides, I am furnish’d with a Pretext which cannot fail to remove all Obstructions: For I will say I come directly from Persia and bring a Message"
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"to the King from my Father. Falshood may take Place, when Truth ought not to be spoken, and when Men aim at the same thing by both. Some make use of an Untruth, in order to persuade to advantageous things; whilst others on the contrary speak the Truth, that they may obtain the same End: And thus by different Ways we compass the same Designs. But if we succeed not there will be little Difference between Truth and Falshood. As for the Guards, they who willingly permit us to pass, shall be rewarded in due Time; but whoever offers to resist, must be treated as an Enemy; till we have forc'd our Passage, and finish'd our Enterprise." To this Gobryas added, "Friends, 'twill be more glorious for us Persians to recover the Sovereign Power, or dye in the Attempt, than to be subject to a Mage of Media without Ears. Those among you, who attended Cambyses during his Sickness, well remember the Imprecations he utter'd at the Point of Death against the Persians, if they should neglect to use their utmost Endeavours to reposess themselves of the Kingdom; tho' his Discourse made little Impression upon us at that Time, because we imagin'd he spoke out of Hatred to his Brother. Therefore I concur with the Opinion of Darius, and think we ought not to separate under any Pretext; but immediately up-on the breaking up of this Meeting go directly to the Mage:" Which Proposal was unanimously approv'd.

WHILST they were concerting this Attempt, the Mages consulted together, and contriv'd to

U 3 engage
engage Prexaspes in their Interests; as well because he had been ill us’d by Cambyses, who shot his Son dead with an Arrow; as because he alone of all the Persians knew certainly that Smerdis the Son of Cyrus was not living; having dispatch’d him with his own Hand: And besides this, he had acquir’d a general Esteem among the Persians. For these Reasons they sent to Prexaspes, and having obtain’d a Promise of his Friendship, they oblig’d him to give his Word confirm’d by an Oath, that he would be silent, and never discover to any Man the Fraud they had put upon the Persians: Assuring him in Consideration of this Service, they would add Millions to his present Riches. When the Mages had persuad’d Prexaspes to promise the Performance of these things, they acquainted him farther, that having determin’d to assemble all the Persians under the Walls of the Palace they desir’d he would ascend a certain Tower, and from thence publicly proclaim, That Smerdis the Son of Cyrus and no other Person was the King then reigning. This Command they laid upon him, because they not only knew he was a Man of principal Authority among the Persians; but also that he had frequently affirm’d with great Assurance, that Smerdis the Son of Cyrus was still living, and utterly denied that he had kill’d him. The Mages having thus induc’d Prexaspes to take upon him this Office, and summon’d the Persians together, commanded him to mount the Tower and from thence to harangue the Assembly. But he, willing to forget the Words they had desir’d him to speak, began his Discourse with the Genealogy of Cyrus, which he deduc’d from Acha-
Achæmenes, in the male Line; and afterwards put them in mind of the great Benefits the Persian Nation had receiv'd from that King. When he had finish'd this Part, he confess'd the whole Truth; and told them, that the Apprehensions he had of the Hazards he must inevitably run by publishing the Fraud, had constrain'd him to conceal it so long; but now seeing the Necessity of discovering the Secret, he acknowledg'd, that he had been compell'd by Cambyses to take away the Life of Smerdis the Son of Cyrus, and that the present Possessor of the Kingdom was no other than a Mage. Then fulminating many Imprecations against the Persians, if they should neglect to recover the Sovereignty and punish the Mages, he precipitated himself head-long from the Tower. Thus died Prexaspes, a Man highly esteem'd during the Course of his whole Life.

In the mean Time the seven Persians having determin'd to execute their Design against the Mages without Delay, went to implore the Assistance of the Gods; and in the Midst of their Way were inform'd of all that Prexaspes had said and done; which obliging them to retire and confer together, Otanes earnestly exhorted them to defer the Enterprize, and not to attempt any thing in the present Disorder of Affairs: But Darius still insisting upon immediate Execution, and rejecting all Propositions of Delay, the Dispute grew warm; and as they were contending, seven Hawks appear'd pursuing two Vultures in the Air, pulling and tearing them to pieces: Which when the seven Persians observ'd, they accepted the Omen; fell in with the Opinion of Darius, and march'd directly to the Palace; where they no sooner
sooner arriv'd than they found his Conjecture verified. For the Guards respecting their Dignity, and no way doubting such a Design from Persons of their Rank and Figure, permitted them to pass without asking any Question. But when they enter'd the Hall, the Eunuchs who attended to receive Messages began to enquire what Business they had there; and threatening the Guards for permitting them to pass, put themselves into a Posture of Resistance, if they should attempt to proceed farther. Then the seven Persians animating each other, drew their Swords; kill'd all that oppos'd their Passage, and in an Instant penetrated to an inner Room where the two Mages were consulting about the late Action of Prexaspes; who, when they heard the Exclamations and Tumult of the Eunuchs, went together to the Door, and perceiving what was doing, resolv'd to have recourse to Arms. To that End, one of them taking up a Bow, and the other a Javelin, they began to engage in the Combat: He who had the Bow, soon found that Weapon of no Use in so close an Action; but the other with his Javelin wounded Aspalthines in the Thigh, and struck out the Eye of Intaphernes, tho' the Wound was not mortal. Thus one of the Mages wounded two of the Persians; whilst he who found his Bow useless, ran to a Bed-Chamber adjoining to the Place where they fought, with Design to shut the Door upon himself; but was so closely pursued by Darius and Gobryas, that they broke into the Chamber with him: And as Gobryas was struggling with the Mage, Darius stood still, doubting how to direct his Blow in the dark: Which Gobryas
Gobryas perceiving, and asking why he held his Hand; Darius answer'd, because he fear'd he might hurt him; "Push, Push, said Gobryas, "tho' you strike thro' the Bodies of both." Upon this Darius resolv'd to put all to the venture, and by good Fortune kill'd the Mage. When the seven had dispatch'd the Mages, they cut off their Heads; and leaving the two Persians who were wounded, to secure the Palace, because they could not be serviceable elsewhere, the other five carrying the Heads of the Mages, march'd out with great Tumult and Exclamation; and calling to the Persians, related what they had done; shewing them the Heads; and kill'd all the Mages they found in their Way. The Persians were no sooner inform'd of what had pass'd, and of the Deceit of the Mages, than they likewise resolving to act in Conformity to the seven, kill'd every Mage they met; and if Night coming on had not prevented, no one of that Order had been left alive. All the Persians celebrate this Day with the greatest Solemnity, and call the Festival by the Name of Magophonia, or The Slaughter of the Mages. On that Day no Mage may be seen abroad; but every one of them is constrain'd to shut himself up in his own House.

Five Days after this Tumult, those who had been concern'd in the Attempt against the Mages, met to consult about the Government, and made the following Speeches; notwithstanding some among the Grecians fondly imagine they are fictitious. Otanes opening the Conference with an Exhortation to the rest that they would establish a Commonwealth in Persia, said; "My Opinion is, that we ought not to entrust the
supreme Power with any single Person among us; because a Monarchical Government is neither good nor safe. You know to what Excesses Cambyses was transported, and have sufficiently experience'd the Insolence of a Mage. And indeed how can that Government be well administered, where one Man may do all Things with Impunity; and in which even the best are easily tempted by an exorbitant Power to abandon the Virtues they had acquire'd? A Man, made Insolent by Greatness, and naturally envious like other Men, cannot but be compleatly vicious; For Insolence, in Conjunction with Envy, pushes Men on to many nefarious Actions. One would think a Tyrant should not be envious, because he possess' such eminent Advantages above other Men; but Experience demonstrates the contrary. He envies the best, and favours the worst Men of the Nation: He hearkens to Calumny with Pleasure; and his Conduct is so irregular, that if any one commend him modestly, he grows angry, and thinks he is not treated with sufficient Reverence: On the other Hand, if he be highly admir'd, he is no less offended, because he suspects he is flatter'd. In Things of greater Importance he is yet more intolerable. He overthrows the Orders and Customs of the Country; violates the Chastity of Women; and murders the Innocent unheard. But a popular Government deservedly bears the charming Name of Equality, and is never guilty of those Excesses that are the constant Attendants of Monarchy. The Magistrates are appointed by
by Election; every Officer is oblig'd to give
an Account of his Administration, and all
Resolutions are pass'd by common Consent.
My Opinion therefore is, that we ought to
reject Monarchy, and establish a popular Go-

ternment: For no valuable Quality can be
wanting in a numerous Assembly." When
Otanes had thus deliver'd his Opinion, Megaby-

zus spoke next; and recommending an * Oligar-
chy to their Choice, said, "I readily concur with
Otanes in the Advice he has given to abolish
the Tyranny; but to counsel us to confer the
whole Power upon the Multitude, is, as I
conceive, a wide Deviation from the right
Way. For nothing can be imagin'd more
foolish and arrogant than the Vulgar; and
therefore nothing can be more extravagant,
than that we, who are endeavouring to avoid
the Insolence of a Tyrant, should give our
selves up to serve the Petulancy of a capricious
Multitude. A Tyrant knows what he does;
but the Populace is brutally ignorant. For
how should they know any thing, who are
bred under no Discipline; and have no Idea of
Virtue, or even of common Order; precipi-
tating all their Actions with a Fury resembling
an impetuous Torrent? Let those then who
desire the Ruin of the Persians, promote the
Establishment of a popular State: As for me,
I am of Opinion that we ought to place the
Sovereign Authority in a select Council of
the best Men; both because we ourselves
shall be of their Number, and because in all
Appearance the best Men will give the best
Advice." After Megabyzus had thus spoken,

Darius

* i.e. Government in the Hands of a Few.
Darius declar'd his Judgment in these Terms. "The things which have been said by Megabythus against a popular Government, seem to me very just and right; but I cannot approve his Opinion touching the excellency of an Oligarchy; because, I think, a Monarchy preferable either to that, or to a popular State, supposing the Powers in each be perfectly well administered. Certainly nothing can be imagin'd more excellent than the Government of a single Person, if he be compleatly virtuous: For such a Man will govern the People without departing from the Rules of Equity, and lock up the Secret of his Designs from the Knowledge of all Enemies. Whereas in an Oligarchy, whilst many are contending to surpass each other in advancing the publick Service, private Enmities will frequently and unavoidably arise: And every Man be willing to be the principal Manager, and desirous to see his own Opinions prevail, Animosities of the most dangerous Consequence must necessarily ensue. From this Source Seditions arise; from Sedition Murder; and from mutual Murders things naturally tend to Monarchy: Which is sufficient to prove this Kind of Government highly preferable to any other. On the other Hand, in a popular State, ill Designs will certainly be sometimes form'd against the Publick; and when that happens, they will not produce Enmity, but the strongest Ties of mutual Friendship and Confidence; for such Men always conceal one another: 'Till at last some Person of great Authority with the Multitude, puts himself at their Head, and stops the Proceedings.
ceedings of the Conspirators: Which this admir'd Man has no sooner done, than he becomes a real Monarch, and shews by his Example the Excellency of monarchical Government. To finish all in a Word; From what Cause, and by whose Means were we made a free Nation? Did we receive our Liberties from the People; from a few select Persons; or from a Monarch? My Opinion therefore is, that since we were deliver'd from Servitude by a single Person, we would resolve to confirm that Kind of Government, and not to alter the Custom of our Country which has been so advantageous to us: For we should not find our Account in the Change." After these three Opinions had been propos'd, four of the seven embrac'd that of Darius; and Otanes, who had endeavour'd to introduce an equal Republick, finding his Sentiment over-rul'd by Number, concluded with these Words, "Since you have discover'd your factious Design, and have determin'd that one of us shall be King, either by the Chance of a Lot, or the Election of the Persian Multitude, or by some other Way, I will not be your Competitor, because I resolve neither to govern nor be govern'd; but quit all my Right, on Condition that neither I nor any of my Posterity may be accounted Subjects." When he had said this, and the six had consented to his Demand, Otanes retir'd without more dispute; and his Descendants alone of all the Persians retain their Liberty to this Day; being no farther subject to the King than they think convenient, and only oblig'd to conform to the Customs and Manners of the Country. After
his Departure, the other six enter'd into a Deliberation touching the most equitable Manner of constituting a King; and in the first Place resolv'd, that if any one of their Number obtain'd the Kingdom, *Otanes,* and his Posterity after him, should every Year receive a Median Vest, accompanied with all other Presents which are accounted most honourable among the Persians. These Advantages they confer'd upon him, because he had been the Author of the Enterprize against the Mage, and brought them together into this Association. In the next Place, they determin'd that the seven should have full Liberty to enter into all the Apartments of the Palace without being introduc'd; unless the King should happen to be in Bed with one of his Women; and that he should not be permitted to marry a Wife out of any other Family, than of the Associated seven. Then taking the future Election into their Consideration, they all agreed, that they would mount on Horseback, and ride to the Suburbs the next Morning upon the Rising of the Sun; and that he, whose Horse should be heard to neigh first, should be declar'd King. In this Resolution the Assembly parted, and *Darius* was no sooner return'd Home, than calling for Oebares, who had the Charge of his Horses, and was a Man of Ingenuity, he said to him, "Oebares, We have determin'd to dispose of the Kingdom in this Manner: He, whose Horse shall neigh first after the Rising of the Sun, is to have the Sovereign Power. Now therefore, if thou hast any Invention, exercise thy Talent, that I may obtain this Glory, with the Exclusion of all other Persons."

"Sir,
"SIR, answer'd Oebares, if nothing else be wanting to make you King, take Courage and be no Way disturb'd; for I know a Secret which will certainly prove effectual, and exclude all your Competitors. If thou hast such a Secret, said Darius, 'tis time to use it without Delay; for the Trial is to be made to Morrow." Oebares having heard this, departed; and when Night came, he led a Mare, which the Horse of Darius lov'd, to the Suburbs, and tied her up: Then he brought his Master's Horse thither also; and after he had led him several Times round the Mare, and suffer'd him to stand in the same Place, he at last let him cover her. The next Morning at Day-break the six Persians appearing on Horseback pursuant to their Resolution, rode about the Suburbs; and as they pass'd by that Part where the Mare had been tied the preceding Night, the Horse of Darius ran to the Place, and neigh'd; which he had no sooner done, than Flashes of Lightening were seen issuing from a clear Sky, and follow'd by a clap of Thunder. This happen'd fortunately to Darius, as if Heaven had consented to his Advancement, and put an End to the Dispute; all his Competitors dismounting from their Horses, and adoring him as King. This Account is most commonly given of the Artifice us'd by Oebares: But others say (and the Persians relate the Story both Ways) that having rubb'd his Hand upon the genital Part of the Mare, he kept it warm under his Garment; and that after the Rising of the Sun, when the Horses were ready to set forward, Oebares drew out his Hand, and strok'd the Nostrils of his Master's Horse; who taking the Scent, began to
to snort and neigh immediately after. However this be, Darius the Son of Hystaspes was declar'd King, and all the People of Asia submitted to his Government, except the Arabians, who tho' they had been conquer'd by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyses, were never reduc'd to the Condition of Subjects by the Persians, but were accounted their Friends, and gave them a free Passage into Egypt; which they could not have compass'd without their Permission and Assistance. The first Persian Wives of Darius were, the two Daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystona. The former had been Wife to her Brother Cambyses, and also to the Mage; but Artystona was a Virgin. To these he added Parmys, the Daughter of Smerdis the Son of Cyrus; together with that Daughter of Otanes, who detected the Mage: And having taken due Care to establish his Power, he order'd a Statue of Stone to be erected, representing a Man sitting on Horseback, and bearing this Inscription, DARIUS THE SON OF HYSTASPES OBTAIN'D THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA BY THE VIGOUR OF HIS HORSE (here the Name of the Horse was read) AND BY THE ART OF OEBARES MASTER OF HIS STABLES. Having done this, he divided his Dominions into twenty Provinces, or Satrapies, and constituted a Governor in each Division. Then he appointed the Tribute, which every Nation should be oblig'd to pay into his Treasury; in some Places uniting to those Nations the Inhabitants of the adjacent Regions; but in other Parts omitting the contiguous Countries, and joyning together divers separated Districts under the same Government.
When he had settled the Provincial Tribute, he farther ordain'd, that all those who brought their Portion in Silver, should make their Payments by the Babylonian Talent, which is equal to seventy Eubœan Mines; and those who paid in Gold, should bring in their Part by the Standard of the Eubœan Talent. During the Reign of Cyrus no Tributes were impos'd, nor even afterwards under Cambyses; but the People made voluntary Presents to the King: And therefore from the Establishment of these Taxes, and other things of like Nature, the Persians say Darius was a mere Trader, Cambyses a Master, and Cyrus a Father to the Country. For Darius made Profit of every thing; Cambyses was Morose and Haughty; but Cyrus was Mild, and always contriving to render the People happy. The Ionians, and Asiatick Magnesians, with the Æolians, Carians, Lyceans, Melyans, and Pamphylians, were appointed to pay a Tribute of four hundred Talents in Silver, and compos'd the first Satrapy. The Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabaliens, and Hygenians, were the second, and paid five hundred Talents of Silver. The Counties that lye on the right Hand of those who fail thro' the Hellespont, together with the Phrygians, Asiatick Thracians, Paphagonians, Mariandenians and Syrians, paid three hundred and sixty Talents, and made up the third Government. The Cilicians were the fourth; and furnish'd Darius with three hundred and sixty white Horses; that is, one for every Day of the Year; besides five hundred Talents in Silver; a hundred and forty of which were consum'd in that Part of Cilicia, where those Horses were kept,
and the remaining three hundred and sixty were paid into the Treasury. The fifth comprehended all the Countries that lie extended from the City of Posideum, built in the Mountains of Cilicia and Syria by Amphilocthus the Son of Amphiaras, down to Egypt, excepting only the Arabian Territories, which are free from any Tribute: This Portion, containing all Phœnicia, the Palestine Syria, and Cyprus, was tax'd at three hundred and fifty Talents. Egypt, and those Parts of Libya which border upon Egypt, together with Cyrene and Barca, made up the sixth Government, and contributed seven hundred Talents, besides the Revenue arising from the Fishery of the Lake Myris; and a sufficient Quantity of Corn for one hundred and twenty thousand Persians and their Auxiliaries, who had their Station within the white Wall of Memphis. The seventh Satrapy consisting of the Sattagydiens, Gandarians, Dadicians and Apparites, paid one hundred and seventy Talents. Susa and the rest of the Cissians were the eighth, and contributed three hundred. A thousand Talents of Silver, and five hundred young Eunuchs, were furnish'd yearly by the City of Babylon, and other Parts of Assyria: This was the ninth Division. Ecbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes, were the tenth, and paid a Tribute of four hundred and fifty Talents. The Caspians, Pau-sics, Pantimatians, and Darites, contributed two hundred Talents, and compos'd the eleventh Satrapy. The twelfth, which extended from the Bactrians to the Æglans, brought in three hundred and sixty Talents. The City of Pactya with the Armenians, and other neighbouring Parts
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down to the Euxine Sea, made the thirteenth Government, and was order'd to pay four hundred Talents. The fourteenth consisted of the Sagartians, Sarangæans, Thamanæans, Utians, Mecians, and those who inhabit the Islands of the Red Sea, where banish'd Persons were confin'd by the King; all these together were oblig'd to bring in six hundred Talents. The fifteenth, comprehending the Saces and Caspians, paid two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasimians, Sogdians, and Arians, were the sixteenth Government, and furnish'd three hundred Talents. Four hundred were requir'd from the Paricanians, and Asiatick Æthiopians, who made the seventeenth Division. The eighteenth consisting of the Mantienians, Sasperians, and Alarodians, brought in two hundred Talents. The Moschians, Tibarenians, Macronians, Mosinaecians, and Mardians, were enjoyned to pay three hundred Talents, and composed the nineteenth Satrapy. The Indians were the twentieth; and as they are more numerous than any other People we know, the Tribute charg'd upon them was proportionably great: For they were oblig'd to bring in yearly three hundred and sixty Talents of Gold. Now, if the Babylonian Talent be reduc'd to the Foot of the Eubœan, we shall find in this Account nine thousand five hundred and forty Talents: And if we esteem the Gold to be worth thirteen Times its Weight in Silver, the Sum will amount to four thousand six hundred and eighty Eubœan Talents. All this computed together, shews that Darius receiv'd the yearly Tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Talents of the Eubœan Value; besides other Sums.
Sums of less Consequence: Which I forbear to mention. These Revenues were paid to Darius by the Inhabitants of Asia, and a small Part of Libya: But in succeeding Times another Tribute was laid upon the Islands, and divers Parts of Europe as far as Thessaly. The King preserves his Treasures in this Manner: He causes the Metals to be melted down, and pour'd into earthen Pots: Which done the Vessels are broken, and when Occasion requires, so much is cut off as seems necessary. Thus the several Governments and Tributes were establish'd.

Among the tributary Countries I have not mention'd Persia; because the Lands of the Persians are free from all Taxes. But the Æthiopians, who border upon Ægypt, and were conquer'd by Cambyses in his Expedition against the Macrobians; together with those who inhabit the sacred City of Nyssa, and celebrate the Festival of Bacchus; are not enjoyn'd to pay Tribute, but send a yearly Present to the King. These Æthiopians and the adjoyning People, who live in subterraneous Dwellings, and use the same Grain with the Calantian Indians, make a Present every third Year of two Chœnix's of unrefin'd Gold; two hundred Bundles of Ebony; five Æthiopian Children; and twenty Elephants Teeth of the largest Size: Which Custom they continue to this Day. The Colchians were also number'd among those who gave Presents; with the Nations that lye between their Country and Mount Caucasus: For so far the Dominions of Persia extend. But the People who inhabit the North side of that Mountain, yield no Obedience to the Persian Power. The Present sent by the Colchians, consisting of one hundred
hundred Boys and the same Number of Virgins, was deliver'd every fifth Year. These Gifts and a thousand Talents of Frankincense presented yearly by the Arabians, were brought in to the King, over and above the ordinary Tribute.

I shall now explain in what Manner the Indians collect that great Quantity of Gold, which serves to pay the Tribute impos'd upon them by the King. That Part of India which faces the Rising Sun is cover'd with Sand; and of all the People who inhabit Asia, and are known to us by certain Information, the Indians are plac'd in the most easterly Situation. The Country which most advances towards the East, is render'd desart by the Sands. The Indians consist of many Nations, and speak different Languages; some apply themselves to the keeping of Cattle, and others not. Some inhabit the Morasses of the River, and feed upon raw Fish, which they take in Boats compos'd of Reeds part'd at the Joint. These Indians wear Garments made of Rushes, which they cut in the River; and interlacing together, form into the Shape of a Cuirass. Eastward of this People lye the Pa-dæans, who keep Cattle, eat raw Flesh, and are reported to use the following Customs. When any one of the Community is sick, his best Friends dispatch him presently; because, say they, he is in a wasting Condition, and the Disease will corrupt his Body: If he deny he is sick, they have no Regard to his Words; but kill him and feast upon his Flesh: And if a Woman be in the same Condition, she is treated in the same Manner by other Women. They kill those who happen to live till they are Old.
Old, and eat their Flesh with Rejoycing; but few among them attain to long Life, because they spare none that fall into any Distemper. On the other Hand some Indians observe a quite contrary Custom. For they neither kill any Animal, nor sow any Seed, nor build Houses; but content themselves with what the Earth freely affords. The Country naturally produces a sort of Grain equal to Millet in Bigness, and cover'd with a kind of Husk: Which being gather'd, and boil'd together with the Skin, serves for Food. When any one among them is sick, he retires into the Desert; where no Care is taken of him, whether he live or dye. All these Indians I have mention'd resemble the Æthiopians in Complexion, and perform the Act of Generation in Publick, like other Animals. The Seed they emit is not white, as that of other Men, but of equal Blackness with their Skin; and such also is the Seed of the Æthiopians. This Part of India is situate to the Southward, very remote from the Persians, and by that Means was not subject to Darius. Other Indians inhabiting towards the North, and confining upon the Territories of Caspatyrus and Patyra, resemble the Bactrians in Manners, and are the most valiant People of all India. These are they, who are appointed to collect Gold upon the uninhabited Sands of their Country. In this Desert are found Pismires, less indeed than Dogs, yet of a larger Size than Foxes. Some of them are kept in the Palace of the Persian King, which were taken in this Place. These Pismires are in Shape exactly like those of Greece; and burrow themselves under Ground;
by carrying out the Sand (which is intermix'd with Gold) after the same Manner as with us. To this Desart the Indians send to fetch Gold, every Man employ'd in that Work tying three Camels together; a Male on each side, and a Female in the Middle, which he mounts himself, and always takes Care she be one that has newly foal'd. These Camels are no less swift than Horses, and much more able to carry Burdens. Their Form I need not describe to the Grecians; and therefore shall only observe, that a Camel has four Thighs and four Knees on his hinder Parts, and the genital Member turning towards his Tail; which things are not commonly known. When the Indians have prepar'd and harness'd their Camels in the Manner abovemention'd they set forwards towards the Desart; having before calculated the Time so as to arrive there during the most scorching Heat of the Day; because the Pits-mires are then all under Ground. In this Climate the Sun is not, as in other Regions, hottest at Noon; but in the Morning: During which, even to the Hour when Men usually Retire from our publick Places, the Heat is more scorching than at Noon in Greece; and for this Reason, as is commonly reported, these Indians are accustom'd at that Time to bathe in cold Water. At Noon the Heat is little different from that which is felt in other Countries; but soon after becomes as moderate as the Morning elsewhere; gradually diminishing as the Sun declines, and upon the Setting changes into excessive Cold.

The Indians arriving in this Place, fill their Sacks with the Sand and return with all possible Expe-
Expedition. For the Pismires, as the Persians say, immediately taking the Scent pursue them with such unparallel'd Swiftness, that none of the Indians could escape, if they did not use the utmost Diligence before these Creatures can get together. For this Cause they untye the Male Camels, lest they should not be equally match'd, and so hinder each other in their Course: Whilst the Females, which are more swift than the Males, and animated by the Remembrance of their Young, spare no Efforts to return with all possible Speed. In this Manner the Indians collect the greatest part of their Gold, as the Persians say: For that which they dig out of the Mines is not so considerable. Thus the remotest Part of the inhabited World possesses some of the most noble things; as Greece is more happily bless'd with an agreeable Temper of Air and Seasons. For in these Regions, which, as I said before, lye farthest to the Eastward, and are call'd India, all Animals, both Quadrupeds and Birds, are bigger than in other Places; except only Horses, which are not so large as the Mysæan Horses of Media. There is likewise Abundance of Gold, either dug out of the Mines, or brought down by the Rivers, or robb'd from the Pismires in the Manner I have related; besides a certain Tree, growing wild and instead of Fruit bearing a Wool, which excels that of Sheep both in Colour and Goodness, and is used by the Indians for Cloathing.

ARABIA is the last inhabited Country lying to the Southward; and the only Region which produces Frankincense, Myrrh, Cassia, Cinnamon, and Ledanum. All these things the Arabi-
Arabians gather with great Facility, Myrrh only excepted. For tho' the Trees which produce Frankincense are guarded by great Numbers of flying Serpents, small of Body, spotted with various Colours, and of the same kind with those that attempt to invade Ægypt; yet the Arabians by burning Styrax underneath, a Gum commonly transported into Greece by the Phœnicians, drive them away with the Smoak, and then gather the Frankincense from the Trees. These Serpents, the Arabians say, would fill all the Country, if they were not subject to the same Effect which is experienc'd in Vipers: And we may rationally conjecture, that the Wisdom of divine Providence has made all those Creatures, which are naturally fearful, and serve for Food, to be very prolific, lest the Species should be destroy'd by constant Consumption: And on the contrary, such as are rapacious and cruel, to be almost barren. Hence the Hare, which is hunted by Beasts, Birds, and Men, is a great Breeder, and the only Animal that conceives to Superfœtation; carrying young ones in her Belly, of which some are forming in the Womb, others naked, and others ready for Birth at the same Time: Whereas a Lyoness, which is the strongest and fiercest of Beasts, brings no more than one Lyon during her Life; because she ejects her Matrix with her Whelp: For he is no sooner capable of Motion, but with his Claws, sharper than those of any other Beast, he begins to tear the Part where he lies; till increasing in Strength, he at last rends it in pieces, and leaves nothing sound behind him at his Eruption. If Vipers and the winged Serpents of Arabia should multiply without
out Impediment, Men could not possibly live. But when they couple together, and the Male emits his Seed, the Female seizes him by the Neck, and presses so hard with her Teeth, that she never lets him go, till she has torn out the Piece. In this Manner the Male dies; and the Female escapes not long with Impunity: For when her young Ones are entirely form'd, they open a Way for themselves with their Teeth thro' her Bowels, and thus revenge the Death of their Father: Whilft other Serpents, which are not hurtful to Men, lay their Eggs, and produce great Abundance of their own Kind. As for Vipers, they are found in all Parts of the World; but flying Serpents are no where seen, at least in any considerable Number, except in Arabia.

Having related the Manner of gathering Frankincense, I shall now give some Account of the Way they take to furnish themselves with Cassia, which is this: They cover all the Body and Face, except the Eyes, with Hides and Skins, and go down to the Lake where the Cassia grows. This Lake is not deep; but infested with great Numbers of winged Beasts, in Form resembling a Bat; making hideous Cries, and assaulting boldly. From these the Arabians take Care to defend their Eyes, and in the mean Time cut the Cassia. But the Manner of getting Cinnamon is yet more admirable. They can neither tell how, nor in what Region this Aromatick is produc'd; and the best they can say is only founded upon Conjecture: Some pretending that it grows in those Countries where Bacchus receiv'd his Education; and from thence, say they, certain great Birds bring those Sticks (which
(which we from the Phœnicians call Cinnamon) to build their Nests, with a Mixture of Dirt, in mountainous Cliffs inaccessible to Men: The Arabians, to surmount this Difficulty, have invented the following Artifice. They cut Oxen, Asses, and other large Cattle into great Pieces, and when they have carried and laid them down as near as is possible to the Nests; they retire to some Distance from the Place. In the mean Time the Birds descend to the Flesh, and carry up the Pieces to their Nests; which not being strong enough to support such a Weight, fall down immediately to the Ground. The Arabians approaching, gather up the Sticks; and by this Means, they and other Nations are furnish'd with Cinnamon. But the gathering of Ladanum, which the Arabians call Ladanum, is far more wonderful. For tho' this Drug be found sticking to the Beard of the He-Goat, like the Mouldiness of putrified Wood, and come from such a stinking Place, yet it is of a most fragrant Scent; entering into the Composition of various Ointments, and is more generally burnt by the Arabians than any other Perfume. But I have said enough of these Odours. For the rest, the Air of Arabia is divinely sweet; and the Country produces two sorts of Sheep, which are very strange, and no where else seen: The first Kind has a Tail at least three Cubits long, which would certainly ulcerate, if they were suffer'd to draw it after them upon the Ground. But every Shepherd learning as much of the Wheelwright's Art as serves his Purpose, makes little Carts; upon which he places the Tails of the Sheep, and fastens them. The other sort has a Tail of a full Cubit in Breadth. South-
South-West of this Country, lye the Regions of Æthiopia, which are the utmost Limits of the inhabited World; abounding in Gold, Ebony, and Elephants of a prodigious Size. The Trees grow wild and uncultivated; and the Inhabitants are tall, beautiful, and of long Life. These are the Extremities of Asia and Libya; but I have nothing certain to relate concerning the western Bounds of Europe: Neither can I assent to those who tell us of a River, by the Barbarians call’d Eridanus, which, they say, furnishes Amber, and runs Northward into the Sea. I know as little of the Islands call’d Caffiterides, from the Tin which is thence import-ed among us. Indeed the very Name of Eri-danus, which is Greek, and not Barbarous, discovers it to be the Fiction of some Poet. And tho’ I have diligently inquir’d; yet I have ne-ver seen any Man, who by his own Experience could inform me concerning the Nature of that Sea, which bounds the Extremities of Europe. However ’tis certain that Amber and Tin come from the remotest Parts: And great Abundance of Gold is found in the Northern Regions; but in what Manner I am not able to relate with Certainty; tho’ ’tis said that the Arimaspians, a People who have only one Eye, steal it from the Griffins. But I cannot believe that Men are born with one Eye, and yet resemble the rest of Mankind in all other things. In a Word, these extreme Parts seem to contain another Re-gion, abundantly provided with whatever we account rare and excellent.

There is a Plain in Asia encompass’d on every side with a Ridge of Hills, opening into five several Passages. This Country was for-merly
merly in the Possession of the Chorasmians, inhabiting the Mountains; and of the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thomanians; but since the Establishment of the Persian Power, belongs to the King. A great River, known by the Name of _Aces_, flows from these Hills, and in Times past water'd the Territories of the Nations before mention'd. But these People have suffer'd much since they were reduc'd under the Dominion of the Persians. For the King caus'd the Apertures to be so effectually stopp'd, that the River finding no Passage out, was inclos'd within the Hills as in a Bason: And the People, who before had been supplied with those Waters, being depriv'd of a thing so necessary, were reduc'd to great Extremities. For tho', as other Countries, they have Rain in Winter; yet in Summer, when they sow Panicum and Sefamus, they stand in need of a farther Supply of Water; and therefore finding themselves totally excluded from the Benefit of the River, they went with their Wives to the King's Palace, howling, and making loud Exclamations before the Gates. Upon which the King gave Order that the Passages should be open'd towards those Lands that were in the most pressing Want, and shut up again when they were sufficiently water'd; and afterwards to do the like to the rest, in such Order as should be found necessary. But this, as I am well inform'd, was only a Contrivance to extort great Sums of Money besides the usual Tribute.

_INTAPHERNES_, one of the seven who had conspir'd against the Mage, was seiz'd and put to Death by the King, on the following Occasion.
Soon after that Enterprize, he went to the Palace, in order to confer with Darius; pursuant to the Agreement beforementioned, by which Provision was made, that all the Accomplices might freely go into the King at any Time, except when he should happen to be in Bed with one of his Wives. Intaphernes therefore, in Confidence of this Privilege, attempting to enter the Royal Apartment without an Introducer, was stopp’d by the Door-keeper and Messenger, under Colour that the King was then accompanied by one of his Women. But Intaphernes suspecting they lyed, drew his Scymiter, and after he had cut off the Ears and Nosês of both those Officers, he fasten’d a Bridle to the Head of each, and fo left them. In this Condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the King, acquainted him with the Cause of the ill Usage they had receiv’d. Upon which Darius fearing the six might have concerted this Attempt together, sent for them, one after the other, and ask’d if they approv’d the Action. But finding by their Answers that Intaphernes was singly guilty, he caus’d him to be seize’d with his Children and Family, having many Reasons to suspect that he and his Relations might raise a Rebellion. Whilst they were under Confinement, and bound, in order to Execution, the Wife of Intaphernes went to the Gates of the Palace, weeping and lamenting loudly; which she continued so assiduously, that at last Darius mov’d with Compassion, sent a Messenger to speak to her in these Terms, “Woman, The King gives you the Life of any one among your Relations, who are Prisoners, and leaves you the Choice of the Person.” “Since the King, said
"said she, after some Deliberation, will grant me no more than one, I chuse my Brother." Darius, when he heard her Answer, wondering at her Choice, dispatch'd another Messenger to ask her in his Name, "Why she had shewn so little Regard to her Husband and Children, and rather chosen to save the Life of her Brother, who was not so near related to her as her Children, nor could be so dear to her as her Husband." She answer'd, "That by the Permission of God she might have another Husband and other Children, if she should be depriv'd of those she had; but could never have another Brother, because her Father and Mother were already dead." The King was so well pleas'd with this Answer, that he not only pardon'd her Brother, but gave her likewise the Life of her eldest Son, and put all the rest to Death. Thus Darius caus'd one of the seven to be executed in the Beginning of his Reign.

OROETES a Persian, who had been constituted Governour of Sardis by Cyrus, undertook a detestable Enterprize about the Time of Cambyses's Sickness. For he form'd a Design against the Life of Polycrates the Samian, tho' he had never seen him, nor ever receiv'd any Injury from him by Word or Deed. But the most current Report is, that the Cause was this. As he was one Day sitting at the Gates of the Palace with another Persian, whose Name was Mitrobates, at that Time Governour of Dascylium, they fell from ordinary Discourse into a most violent Contestation concerning Valour; in which Mitrobates upbraided Oretes in these Terms. "Art thou then, said
"said he, to be accounted a Man of any Esteem, who haft not yet reduc'd the Island of Samos to the King's Obedience; which lies near thy Government, and is so easy a Conquest, that the present Possessor made himself Master of all, and siez'd the Sovereign Power, with the Assistance only of fifteen Men?" This Reproach, they say, left a deep Impression on the Mind of Orates, and made him take a Resolution to revenge himself; not upon Mitrobates who had done him the Injury, but against Polycrates, as the Cause of the Affront he had receiv'd. Others pretend, tho' not with so good Authority, that a Messenger dispatch'd by Orates to Polycrates, to demand something, which is not mention'd, found him reposing in an inner Chamber, with Anacreon of Teos sitting by his Couch; and either knowing and deliberately, or else by Accident, when the Herald deliver'd his Message, Polycrates continued all the Time with his Face towards the Wall, and never turn'd about, nor condescended to make him any Answer. Both these Reasons are alleg'd to have been the Cause of the Catastrophe of Polycrates; and I leave every Man to determine for himself. However, Orates, who resided in the City of Magnesia upon the River Maander, being acquainted with the Intentions of Polycrates, sent a Message by Myrsus the Son of Gyges the Lydian to Samos. For Polycrates was not only the first of all the Grecians we know, who form'd a Design to render himself Master of the Sea, except Minos of Crete; or perhaps some other before his Reign; but the first of all Men, who to that time had entertain'd the Thought of subduing Ionia and the Islands. Orates therefore
fore well inform’d of his Design, sent him a Message in these Words; “OROETES to PO-LYCRATES. I hear you have great things in View; but want Money to put your Projects in Execution. Now if you will hearken to my Advice, you may succeed in your Enter-prizes, and preserve me: For I have certain Information that Cambyles has resolv’d to take away my Life. Receive me therefore with my Treasures, and you shall have one Part, on Condition I may enjoy the other: By these Means you cannot fail to acquire the Dominion of Greece. If you doubt what I say concerning my Riches, send to me one of the most faithful Persons about you, and I will satisfy him in that Particular.”

Polycrates push’d on by Covetousness receiv’d the Proposition of Orestes with Joy; and resolv-ing to pursue his Advice, sent his Secretary Meandrus the Son of Meandrius to take a View of his Wealth. This Man was a Citizen of Samos; and not long after presented all the magnificent Furniture found in the Apartment of Polycrates, to the Temple of Juno. When Orestes heard that he was coming with this Design, he caus’d eight Chests to be almost fill’d with Stones; and having spread a thin Covering of Gold upon the Surface, he made them fast, and kept them ready ’till the Arrival of Meandrus; who, when he had in-spected the pretended Treasure, departed, and at his Return acquainted his Master with what he had seen. Upon this Information Polycrates resolv’d to go in Person to Orestes, tho’ he was earnestly dissuaded by his Friends, and by the Oracles; but especially by his Daughter, who dream’d
dream'd she saw her Father elevated in the Air; wash'd by Jupiter, and anointed by the Sun. Deeply affected with her Dream, she endeav'rd by all Means possible to divert him from his intended Voyage; and as he was going to imbark on a Galley of fifty Oars, persist'd to tell him that nothing but Misfortune could attend his Enterprize. On the other Hand he threatened her, if he return'd safe, that she should long continue unmarried; which she willingly imprecated upon herself; choosing rather to remain a Virgin, than to lose her Father. Thus Polycrates rejecting all Counsel, went away to Orætes, accompanied by divers of his Friends, and among others by Democedes the Crotonian, who was Son to Callipbon, and the most skilful Physician of his Time. When he arriv'd in Magnesia he was put to Death in an infamous Manner, unworthy of his Person and Magnanimity: For none of all the Grecian Tyrants, not even those of Syracuse, are to be compar'd with Polycrates for Dignity and Grandeur. But O-rætes put him to Death in a Manner not to be mention'd without Indignation: For he caus'd him to be crucified; and retaining all the Strangers and Servants, who had follow'd him, as Captive Slaves, he dismiss'd the rest of the Samians, and told them they ought to thank him for their Liberty. Thus Polycrates accomplish'd the Dream of his Daughter. For as he hung upon the Cross, he was wash'd with the Rain of Jupiter; and anointed by the Sun, as the Moisture of his Body was exhal'd. And such was the End of all his Prosperities, as Amasis King of Ægypt had foretold.
But the Fate of Polycrates remain'd not long unrevenge'd. For after the Death of Cambyses, and during the Usurpation of the Mages, Orœtes, continuing at Sardis, gave no Manner of Assistance to the Persians, who had been fraudulently dispossess'd of their Power by the Medes; and not only took that Opportunity to murder Mitrobates Governor of Dascylium, because he had upbraided him with the Actions of Polycrates; together with his Son Cranaspes, both highly respected by the Persians; but among an infinite Number of other Crimes, caus'd a Messenger, who brought an unwelcome Message to him from Darius, to be assassinated in his Return by certain Persons appointed to way-lay him, and bury him privately with his Horse, after they had put their Orders in Execution. Darius therefore upon his Accession to the Throne, resolv'd to punish Orœtes for all his Crimes; and especially for the Death of Mitrobates and his Son. But because he knew his own Affairs were not yet firmly establish'd in the Beginning of his Reign; and that Orœtes, besides a Guard of one thousand Persians, could draw together great Forces out of his Governments of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, he declin'd to send an Army immediately against him; and chusing rather to make use of other Means, summon'd the principal of the Persians together, and spoke to them in these Terms. "Who among you, O Persians, will take upon him by his Wisdom to execute an Enterprize on my Account, without having Recourse to Violence or Numbers of Men? For where Prudence is requir'd, Force is unnecessary. Who among you will bring me the Body of Orœtes either alive or dead?
"dead? Of Orætes, I say, who has never done
any Service to the Persians, but brought inﬁ-
nite Mischiefs upon them: Who has already
murder'd two of us, I mean Mitrobates and
his Son; and by an unparallel'd Insolence, af-
fassinated the Messengers I sent to recal him.
Therefore we ought by his Destruction to
prevent him from bringing greater Evils upon
the Nation." When Darius had thus spok-
en, thirty of those who were present, profefted
themselves ready to execute his Orders; and every
one contending for the Employment, Darius
order'd them to determine the Dispute by Lot;
which being done, Bagæus the Son of Artontes
was charg'd with the Enterprize, and perform'd
it in this Manner. He wrote divers Letters
about several Affairs; and after he had seal'd
them with the Signet of Darius, he departed
for Sardis; and coming into the Presence of Oræ-
etes, deliver'd the Letters, one after the other,
to be read by the King's Secretary; for every
Governour has one of these Secretaries attending
him. This he did in order to fee if the Guards
would shew any Signs of Defection: And per-
ceiving they paid great Respects to the Letters,
and much greater to the Contents, he put an-
other into the Hands of the Secretary, contain-
ing these Words, "Persians, King Darius
forbids you to serve any longer for Guards
to Orætes:" Which they no sooner heard, than
they laid down their Lances. When Bagæus
faw them so readily obey, he took greater Con-
ﬁdence, and deliver'd his last Letter to the Se-
cretary, written in these Terms, "King Darius
commands the Persians who are in Sardis, to
kill Orætes." Upon the reading of which
the Guards drew their Scymiters, and kill'd him immediately. Thus Vengeance overtook Orætes the Persian for the Death of Polycrates, and all his Treasures were transported to Susa.

Not long after, as Darius was hunting, he hurt his Foot by a Fall from his Horse, so grievously, that his Heel was dislocated from the Joint; and thinking he had the best of the Ægyptian Physicians about him, he made Use of their Assistance. But they by violent pulling and distortion of the Part, augmented the Pain to such a Degree, that he lay seven Days and seven Nights without Sleep. On the eighth Day Darius still continuing in a restles Condition, was inform'd of the Ability of Democedes the Crotonian, by one who had heard of him at Sardis; and presently commanded him to be brought into his Presence. He was found among the Slaves of Orætes, altogether neglect-ed; and introduc'd to the King, loaded with Fetters, and cloath'd in Rags. When Da-rius saw him, he ask'd him whether he under-stood the Art of a Physician. But he fearing such a Confession might for ever prevent his Return to Greece, would not acknowledge his Skill. So that Darius suspecting by his Dis-course that he knew more than he was willing to confess, and commanding those who had brought him thither, to bring out the Instru-ments of Whipping and Torture, Democedes presently declar'd, that indeed he could not pre-tend to understand the Art in Perfection, but had learn'd something by the Conversation of one who was a Physician. Upon which being permitted to take Care of Darius, he applied Medicines after the Grecian Manner; and bath-
ing the Part with strong Fomentations, gave him Rest; and in a little Time restor'd him to his Health; tho' the King had before despair'd of ever recovering the Strength of his Foot. When he had perform'd this Cure, Darius presented him with two Pair of golden Fetters. But Democedes ask'd him, if he meant to reward him with a double Evil for restoring his Health. With which Answer Darius was pleas'd, and sent him to the Womens Apartment attended by some of his Eunuchs; who having inform'd them that this Man had sav'd the King's Life, every one of his Wives gave Democedes a Vial cover'd with a Case, and so full of Gold, that his Servant Sciten, who follow'd him, collected a considerable Treasure, of the Pieces he took up as they fell to the Ground. This Democedes came to be known to Polycrates in the following Manner. He had liv'd with his Father in Crotona; but growing impatient of his excessive Severity, remov'd to Ægina; where within the Space of a Year, tho' he was altogether unprovided with the Instruments requisite to his Profession, he surpass'd the most skilful of their Physicians; and the second Year obtain'd a Talent for his Salary out of the Publick Treasury. The third Year he was entertain'd by the Athenians at the Rate of a hundred Mines; and the fourth by Polycrates with a Reward of two Talents; and on that occasion went to Samos. The Crotonian Physicians became very famous by the Reputation of this Man, and generally esteem'd the ablest of all the Grecians. The Cyrenæans possess'd the second Place; and the Argians were at the same Time accounted the most skilful in the Art of Musick.
DEMOCEDES having thus cur'd Darius, liv'd at Susa, in a magnificent House, was admitted to the King's Table, and enjoy'd every thing in Abundance, except the Liberty of returning to Greece. He obtain'd a Pardon for the Ægyptians, who having been the King's Physicians, were condemn'd to be impal'd for suffering themselves to be outdone by a Grecian; and procur'd the Liberty of a certain Prophet of Elis, who had attended Polycrates, and lay neglected among the Prisoners. In a Word, Democedes was the principal Favourite of Darius.

Not long after these things had pass'd, Atosfa the Daughter of Cyrus, and Wife to Darius, had a Tumour in her Breast; which breaking, spread so far, that tho' in Modesty she had to that Time conceal'd it from all Persons, yet finding the Danger to encrease, she at last sent for Democedes, and shew'd him the Ulcer. He presently promis'd to cure her Breast; and at the same Time earnestly desir'd that she on her Part would confer a Favour upon him, which should be no way dishonourable to her. When Atosfa was perfectly recover'd, and instructed by Democedes, she address'd herself to Darius, as she lay in his Bed, with these Words. "'Tis strange that a King of so great Power should be unactive; and not rather conquer Nations, and enlarge the Empire of the Persians. A young Prince, possess'd of such vast Treasures, ought to render himself considerable by his Actions, and to convince his Subjects that they are govern'd by a Man. Two Reasons oblige you to this Conduct: First that the Persians may know they are commanded by a valiant King; "Y 4 " and
and then that they may be employ'd in War,
and not tempted by too much Ease to rebel.
Exert yourself therefore, while you are in
the Flower of your Years. For as the Fa-
culties of the Mind keep equal Pace with the
Body in advancing to their utmost Vigour:
So both decline together gradually: And be-
come incapable of any Enterprize.” Thus
Atoffa express'd herself at the Sollicitation of
Democedes, and Darius in Answer, said, “Wo-
man, Thou hast advis'd me to do as I had al-
ready determin'd. For I resolve to make
War upon the Scythians, and to that end
design to lay a Bridge from our Continent
to the other; which I will do in a short
Time. Consider well, said she; and by no
Means make your first Expedition against the
Scythians; who will be an easy Conquest
whenever you please, but take my Advice
and lead an Army into Greece. For the Ac-
count I have heard of the Lacedemonian,
Argian, Athenian, and Corinthian Women,
has inspir'd me with a vehement Desire to
have some of them for Servants. Besides,
you have the fittest Man in the World to
inform you of every thing concerning Greece,
I mean the Person who cur'd your Foot.”
Since then, replied Darius, you are of Opin-
nion that I ought to make my first Attempt
against Greece, I think convenient to send
some Persons thither with the Man you men-
tion; in order to discover what they can
relating to the Country; and when they
have satisfied me in all Particulars, I will
follow with my Army.” Having said this,
he soon began to make good his Word. For early
the
the next Morning he sent for fifteen eminent Persians, and commanded them to accompany Democedes in taking a view of all the maritim Places of Greece, and to bring him back again, without affording him any Opportunity of making his Escape. After he had given these Instructions to the Persians, he sent also for Democedes, and enjoyn'd him to return, so soon as he had assist'd them in viewing all the Parts of Greece, and discovering whatever could be known of their Affairs; commanding him to carry all his Goods and Furniture for a Present to his Father and Brothers, and promising to furnish him with better at his Return. He affir'm'd him farther, that he would provide a Ship for the Transportation of his Presents, and would cause all things necessary and convenient for his Voyage to be embark'd in her. My Opinion is, that Darius promis'd him all these things sincerely and without Art: But Democedes fearing the King might have a Design to try whether he had any Inclination to abandon him, desir'd he might be permitted to leave his own Goods in his House 'till he should return; and only to accept the Ship with what should be put on board for a Present to his Brothers. Thus having receiv'd their Instructions, and taken leave of Darius, they departed; and passing thro' Phœnicia arriv'd in the City of Sidon: Where having caus'd two Gallies to be made ready with all Diligence for the Transportation of their Persons, and another Ship of great Burden to attend them with all things necessary and commodious, they set sail for Greece; and after they had view'd and describ'd all the maritim Places, and curiously
ously observ'd whatever is accounted most remarkable in that Country, they pass'd on to Italy, and landed at Tarentum. But Aristophilides King of the Tarentins, who was a Native of Crotona as well as Democedes, took off the Rudders of the Median Ships, and seiz'd all the Persians as Spies. During their Confinement Democedes went to Crotona and in the mean Time Aristophilides set the Persians at Liberty, and restor'd all that he had taken out of their Ships: Upon which they set sail from Tarentum in Pursuit of Democedes; and arriving in Crotona, found him and laid Hands on him in Publick. Some of the Inhabitants dreading the Persian Power, were for delivering him up; but others took hold on the Persians, and beat them with Clubs, tho' they admonish'd the Crottonians to desist in these Terms. "Men of Crotona, consider what you do, in protecting one who is a Fugitive from the King: What will you get by offering this Injury to Darius? And what will be the Event if you force this Man from us? Shall we not certainly make War against your City before all others? And use our utmost Endeavours to reduce you into Servitude?" Yet these Words were not sufficient to persuade the Crotonians; for they not only detain'd Democedes, but seiz'd the great Ship that attended the Persians: Who being thus depriv'd of their Guide, reembark'd in order to return to Asia, without endeavouring to inform themselves farther concerning Greece. At their Departure Democedes requir'd them to tell Darius, that he was preparing to marry the Daughter of Milo; for he was not ignorant that the Name of Milo, the famous Athlete,
le to the King. And I am inclin’d to believe that Democedes par’d no Expence to haften the Conclusion of this Match, in order to persuade Darius that he was no inconsiderable Person in his own Country. After the Persians departed from Crotona, they fell in with some Ships near Iapygia, and being taken and carried Prisoners thither, were ransom’d by Gillus a banish’d Tarentin, and conducted by him to Darius: For which Service the King profess’d himself ready to reward Gillus in the Manner he should desire. But he, relating the Cause of his Banishment, ask’d nothing more than to be restor’d to his Country by the Authority of Darius. Yet left all Greece should take the Alarm, if a great Fleet should be sent thro’ their Seas to accompany him to Italy, he said the King might easily effect his Restitution by the Cnidians alone, because they were in Amity with the Tarentins. This Expedient Darius approv’d; and having dispatch’d a Messenger to require the Cnidians in his Name, to conduct Gillus to Tarentum, they readily obey’d his Orders; but could obtain nothing from the Tarentins, and were not strong enough to constrain them by Force. In this Manner these Things pass’d; and the Persians I have mention’d, were the first, who went from Asia to discover the Affairs of Greece.

After these Transactions, Darius conquer’d Samos; which was the first of all the Cities he took either from the Grecians or Barbarians. The Cause was this. During the Expedition of Cambyses the Son of Cyrus against Egypt, many Grecians resorted thither; partly, as one may conjecture, on Account of Trade, and partly, to take
take a View of the Country. Among the last
was Syloson the Son of Æaces; brother to Poly-
crates, and an Exile of Samos. His good Fortune
led him to make use of a scarlet Cloak, with
which he cover’d himself, and walk’d publickly
in the Streets of Memphis. Darius, who was
one of Cambyses’s Guards, and made no great
Figure at that Time, looking upon him, grew de-
sirous of the Cloak, and ask’d him if he would
fell it. Syloson perceiving Darius to be passion-
ately fond of the Garment, made this Answer,
as if he had been extraordinarily inspir’d, “ I
would not fell my Cloak for any Riches; yet
if you desire it so much, I will give it you
for a Present.” Darius accepting his Offer
with Thanks, took the Cloak; and Syloson
thought himself a Loser by his forward Gene-
rosity. But when, after the Death of Cambyses,
and the Destruction of the Mages by the seven
Persians, Darius, who had been one of that
Number, was advanc’d to the Throne, Syloson
hearing that the Kingdom was fallen into the
Hands of the Man he had presented with his
Cloak in Ægypt, went to Susa, and sitting at
the Gates of the Palace, said he had been a Be-
nefactor to Darius: Which being reported to
the King by one of the Doorkeepers, he an-
swer’d with Surprize, “ What Grecian is this,
who pretends to have conferr’d Benefits up-
on me, and to be respected on that Account?
I have but lately taken Possession of the King-
dom, and few or none of that Country have
been seen here: Neither can I remember
that I am at all oblig’d to any Grecian. How-
ever bring in the Man, that I may know the
meaning of his Words.” The Doorkeeper
presently
presently introduc'd Syloson, and as he stood in the Midst of the Company, the Interpreters ask'd him, who he was, and what he meant by saying he had been a Benefactor to the King. Then Syloson related what had pass'd between Darius and himself concerning the Cloak; and having own'd that he was the Person who had made him that Present, the King answer'd, "O thou most generous of Men! Art thou then the Man, from whose Hands I receiv'd that Gift; which tho' small in itself, yet at that Time, when I had no Power, was of no less Value to me, than a very great thing would be now? I will reward thee with great Abundance of Gold and Silver, that thou mayst not repent thy Kindness to Darius the Son of Hyfiaspes." O King, replied Syloson, give me neither Gold nor Silver; but save my Country, which ever since the Death of my Brother Polycrates, who was kill'd by Orætes, has been usurp'd by one of our Servants: Give me, I say, Samos without Blood, and without the Expulsion of my Countrymen." When Darius had heard his Request, he sent an Army under the Conduct of Otanes, one of the seven, with Orders to act in Conformity to the Desires of Syloson. And being thus instructed Otanes march'd to the Sea-Coast, and imbark'd his Army for Samos.

In the mean Time Meandrus the Son of Meandrius had taken upon him the Government of Samos; which had been committed to his Care by Polycrates; and resolving to shew himself an honest Man, was thus prevented from accomplishing his Intention. When he heard of the Death of
of Polycrates, he presently erected an Altar to Jupiter the Deliverer, and mark'd out the Ground for a Temple, which is now seen in the Suburbs of the City. Having done this, he summon'd a general Assembly of the Citizens, and made the following Speech. "You know, said he, that "I was entrusted with the Scepter and all the "Power of Polycrates, and that the Government "is wholly in my Hands. But I will use the "best of my Endeavours to abstain from a Crime, "which I should condemn in another. For the "arbitrary Power assum'd by Polycrates over Men "equal to himself, was never approv'd by me; "neither shall I ever approve the like in a- "ny other Person. Now seeing the Decree of "Fate has been accomplish'd by his Death, I "surrender the Government into your Hands, "and proclaim an equal Liberty to all. Only "I desire you would grant me six Talents "out of the Wealth of Polycrates; and confer "upon me, and my Descendents for ever, the "Priesthood of the Temple I have built to Jupi- "ter the Deliverer, as a just Reward of my Ser- "vice in restoring your Liberties." When Mea- andrus had made these Demands, Telesearchus, an eminent Citizen of Samos, standing up in the Assembly said, "Thou art utterly unworthy to "govern us, and deservedly obnoxious to ac- "count for the Treasures thou haft imbezzled. "For thou wast born to be a publick Pest, and "common Calamity." Meandrus perceiving by the Tenour of these Words, that if he should divest himself of the Power, some other would assume the Tyranny in his Place, resolv'd to keep Possession of the Government. To which end retiring
retiring to the Castle, and sending for the Citizens thither, under Colour of giving them an Account of the publick Treasure, seiz'd their Persons, as they came, one after the other. But whilst they were under Confinement, he fell sick; and his Brother Lycaretus imagining he could not recover, kill'd all the Prisoners, that he might with greater Facility usurp the Dominion of Samos; where Men seem'd to retain so little Affection for Liberty, that when the Persians came before the City with Sylofon, no Man lifted up a Hand against them; and Maeandrus with those of his Party, offer'd to depart the Island under a Promise of Protection: Which Proposition when Otanes had accepted, and a Truce was agreed on both sides, the principal Men of the Persians sat down in their Chariots before the Castle. In the mean Time Charilaus another Brother of Maeandrus, and extravagantly foolish, was kept Prisoner in a Dungeon for some Fault he had committed. This Man having overheard what was doing, and from an Aperture of his Prison observ'd the Persians sitting in great Tranquillity, demand'd with many Exclamations to speak with Maeandrus: Which Maeandrus hearing, commanded him to be brought into his Presence: Where immediately after his Admission, he began with opprobrious and reviling Language to excite him to fall upon the Persians. "Thou art, "said he, the basest of Men: Thou hast "thrown me into a Dungeon, who am thy "Brother, and have done nothing to deserve "such Usage; but hast not Courage enough "to avenge thyself on the Persians, tho' no-"thing be more easy, and thou know'st they "are
"are come to drive thee out of thy Country."
"If thy Fears are so great, lend me thy Aux-
iliary Forces, and I will not only make them
repent their coming; but expel thee out of
the Island likewise." Meandrus readily ac-
cepted the Offer of Charilaus: Not, as I sup-
pose, that he was so destitute of Understanding,
to imagine his own Power superior to that of the
King; but out of Envy to Syloson, who, he
saw, would otherwise posses himself of the City
without Resistance. He resolv'd therefore to
provok the Persians, and by this Means to
weaken the Power of the Samians, before
they should fall into the Hands of Syloson.
For he knew the Persians would not fail to
take a severe Revenge against the Samians for
the Outrages they should suffer: And, as for
himself, he could make his Escape out of the
Island at his Pleasure; which he did afterwards
by a private Passage he had made under Ground,
leading from the Castle to the Sea. In the
mean Time Charilaus having arm'd the Auxili-
aries, set open the Gates; and sallying out upon
the Persians, who expected not any Hostility,
and thought every thing had been agreed, sur-
priz'd and kill'd the principal Men among them
as they were sitting in their Seats. But the rest
of the Army taking the Alarm, came in to their
Succour, and repuls'd the Auxiliaries into the
Castle. When Otanes the General saw the great
Loss he had sustain'd by the Slaughter of these
Persians, he neglected to obey the Orders given
him by Darius at his Departure, importing
that he should neither kill nor take Prisoner
any Samian, but deliver the Island to Syloson
without Damage; and on the contrary com-
manded
manded his Army to put all the Samians they should find to the Sword, without sparing the Children. So that while one Part of his Forces was employ’d in besieging the Castle, the rest kill’d all they met, as well within the Temples as in other Places. Meandrus made his Escape by Sea, and fled from Samos to Lacedæmon; and, soon after his Arrival with the Riches he had carried off, order’d his Servants to take out and cleanse his Cups of Gold and Silver, and at the same Time conducted Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandrides, and then King of Sparta, to his House, discoursing together. The King viewing the Cups, was fill’d with Surprize and Astonishment: Which Meandrus perceiving, solicited him to take whatever he desir’d, and repeated his Offer several Times. But Cleomenes shew’d himself an honest Man, by refusing steadfastly to accept any thing; and being afterwards inform’d that other Citizens had receiv’d his Presents, he went to the Ephori, and told them it was necessary to expel this Samian out of Peloponnesus, lest he should corrupt him or others of the Spartans. Upon which they took his Advice, and banish’d him by publick Proclamation. In the mean Time the Persians put Samos into the Hands of Syloson, plunder’d and depopulated. But Otanes the Persian General repeopled the City afterwards, upon a Vision he saw in a Dream, and a Distemper which seiz’d him in his private Parts.

While these Forces were employ’d in this Naval Expedition against Samos, the Babylonians revolted, after they had provided all things necessary to that Purpose. For during the Usurpa-
tion of the Mage, and the Enterprize of the seven, they had made Use of those Times of Confusion to prepare themselves to sustain a Siege, and had not been discover'd. But when they appear'd in open Rebellion, they took the following Method to prevent the Consumption of their Provisions. They preserv'd their Mothers in general: And after they had permitted every Man to reserve the Wife he best lov'd, with another Woman to make his Bread, they assembled all the rest together and strangulated them. Darius being inform'd of these Affairs, drew all his Forces out; march'd to Babylon, and besieged the City. But the Babylonians not at all solicitous about the Event mounting the Ramparts of the Wall, fell to dancing; and derided Darius with his Army; one of them adventuring to speak in this Manner to the Persians; "What Business have you here to detain you? Decamp rather and march off: "For you will not be Masters of this Place till a Mule brings forth a Colt:" Which Words were spoken by the Babylonian in full assurance that a Mule could never breed. When Darius had spent a Year and seven Months before Babylon, and was grown no less uneasy than his Army with the tedious Length of that Siege, he endeavour'd by various Stratagems and Artifices to take the Place, and among others by that which had succeeded so well with Cyrus; but all his Efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied Vigilance of the Babylonians. In the twentieth Month of this Siege, a Prodigy happen'd in the Quarters of Zopyrus, the Son of Megabythus one of the seven Persians who destroy'd the Mage. For a Mule
THALIA

that carried his Provisions brought forth a Colt: Which Zopyrus hearing, and doubting the Truth of so strange an Event, he went to the Place; and after he had fully satisfied himself, strictly commanded all that were present to conceal the thing: And because he well remembered the Words of the Babylonian, who said, "The City might be taken when Mules should begin to breed;" He concluded that the Man had spoken, and the Mule brought a Colt, by the Influence of a divine Power; and that therefore the Time for reducing Babylon was come. In this Persuasion Zopyrus going to Darius, ask'd him if the taking of Babylon would be acceptable to him; and being assur'd by the King that he vehemently desir'd to repossefs himself of that Place, he began to consider by what Means he alone might accomplislh the Work: For among the Persians great Achievements are the Steps by which Men ascend to the highest Honours. And after mature Deliberation, finding no other possible Way to compass his Design, than by mutilating his Body, and in that Condition desiring to the Enemy; he laid aside all Regard to the Dignity of his Person, and having cut off his Nose and Ears, whipp'd himself, and cut his Hair in the most indecent Manner, went thus horribly disfigur'd into the Presence of Darius. The King in the utmost Surprize to see a Man of his Rank so atrociously mangled, rose up hastily from his Throne, and with loud Exclamation ask'd, who had been the Author of that Outrage, and on what Occasion. "You alone, answer'd Zopyrus; for no other Person could have treated me in this Manner; tho' I my-

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self
"self was the immediate Executioner; because
"I could no longer see the Persians baffled by
"the Assyrians." Wretched Man, said Darius,
"thou hast endeavour'd to put a fair Colour
"on a foul Action; pretending to have in-
"flicted this Indignity on thyself by Reason
"of the Siege. Art thou so foolish to believe
"the Babylonians will surrender the sooner
"for thy Wounds? Or rather hadst thou not
"lost thy Understanding, before the Commis-
"sion of this cruel Fact?" "Had I, replied
"Zopyrus, inform'd you of my Intentions, you
"would not have permitted me to proceed. But
"because I consulted only with myself, I have
"executed my Design; and if your Troops
"are not wanting to themselves, we shall take
"Babylon. For I will desert to the Babyloni-
"ans in this Condition, and tell them I have
"suffer'd these Indignities from you; and
"when I shall have persuaded them of my
"Sincerity, I doubt not to obtain the Com-
"mand of their Forces. My Opinion there-
"fore is, that on the tenth Day after my De-
"parture, you would command a thousand Men
"of those you least value, to march up to
"the Gate of Semiramis; two thousand on
"the seventh Day after to the Gate of Ninus;
"and twenty Days from the Expiration of
"that Term, four thousand more to that of
"the Chaldaeans. But none of these Par-
"ties are to be permitted to carry any other
"Arms, than Swords only for their Defence.
"After the twentieth Day is pass'd, command
"all the rest of the Army to march up directly
"to the Walls, with particular Orders to the
"Persians, to post themselves at the Gates of

"Belus
"Belus and Cissia. For unless I deceive myself, the Babylonians will not fail among other things to entrust me with the Keys of the Gates, in Consideration of my great Actions: And then I and the Persians will take care to perform the rest." When he had given this Advice, he took his Way towards the City; and the better to act the Part of a Deserter, look'd frequently behind him as he went. The Guards who were plac'd on the Towers seeing him approaching, went down, and drawing back the Gate ask'd him who he was? And what Business brought him thither? He answer'd, he was Zopyrus, and desired to be receiv'd into the City: Which the Guards hearing, they conducted him to the Common Hall; where he was no sooner admitted, than he began to deplore his Condition, and assur'd them he had suffer'd from Darius what indeed he had done to himself; for advising him to break up the Siege, because he saw no Appearance of taking the City. "Now therefore, said he to the Babylonians, I put myself into your Hands, with a Resolution to do you the greatest Service, and all possible Mischief to Darius, his Army, and to the Persians. For I will not be long unreveng'd of his Cruelty; since I am perfectly inform'd of all his Counsels and Designs." The Babylonians seeing a Man of that Distinction among the Persians depriv'd of his Ears and Nose, and cover'd with Wounds and Blood, never doubted the Truth of his Words; and assuring themselves of his Assistance, shew'd a Readiness to grant him whatever he would ask. Accordingly he desired the Command of some Forces; and having obtain'd
A MAP of the WORLD.
THE HISTORY OF Herodotus.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

After the Reduction of Babylon, Darius undertook an Expedition against Scythia; and seeing Asia abounding in Men and Riches, grew very desirous to revenge himself upon the Scythians; who without Provocation had formerly invaded the Territories of Media, and defeated all those who appeared in Arms against them. The Scythians, as I have said already, continued twenty eight Years in the Possession of Upper-Asia; having enter'd those Provinces in Pursuit of the Cimmerians, and suppress'd the Power of the Medes, who before that Time were Masters of all Asia. But after they had spent so many Years abroad, they met with as great Difficulties in returning to their own Country, as they had encounter'd before in Media, and found an Army of no inconsiderable Force ready to oppose their Entrance. For during so long a Time of Absence, the Wives of those Scythians had us'd the Company of their Slaves; who are all blind, and serve to draw the Milk they drink in this Manner. They have Bones shap'd like Flutes;
Flutes; which being apply'd to the genital Part of a Mare, one of these Slaves blows with his Mouth, whilst another milks the Beast. They say this Invention is practis'd, because the Wind makes the Veins of the Mare to grow turgid, and her Teats to descend. When the Milk is drawn, and pour'd into hollow Vessels of Wood, the blind Men standing round the Tubs beat it for some Time. Then they skim off the Substance which lies uppermost, and is esteem'd the most precious; leaving the rest, as of less Value. And on this Account the Scythians put out the Eyes of all the Prisoners they take; never applying their Care to Husbandry; but only to the keeping of Cattle. Born of these Slaves and the Wives of the Scythians, a new Generation was grown up, who knowing their own Extraction, marched out to oppose the Return of those that came from Media. To this End they fortified the Frontier of the Country by a broad Ditch, carried on from Mount Taurus to the Lake Maeotis, which is the greatest of all others, and when the Scythians endeavour'd to force their Intrenchments, they drew together and made a vigorous Resistance. The Scythians repeated the Attempt several Times, and were as often repuls'd; upon which one among them said, "Men of Scythia, What can we mean by making War with our Slaves? If we are kill'd, our own Power diminishes; and if we kill, we lessen the Number of those we ought to command. My Opinion therefore is, that we would lay aside our Bows and Spears, and every one taking his Horse-whip in his Hand, go directly to them in that Pore."
MELPOMENE. 347

"Sure. For so long as they shall see us arm’d,
so long they will think themselves equal to
us, and born of as good Blood as we. But
when they shall perceive us approaching with
our Whips instead of Arms, they will soon be
convinc’d they are our Servants, and under
that Apprehension will resist no more.” The
Scythians did as he advis’d, and the Slaves
struck with Astonishment forgot they were to
fight, and fled away. Thus the Scythians, who
had the Dominion of Asia, and were afterwards
expell’d by the Medes, return’d to their own
Country: And Darius desiring to take Revenge,
assembled an Army, in order to invade their
Territories.

The Scythians say their Nation is of a later
Original than any other, and began in this
Manner. The first Man that appear’d in Scythia,
then an uninhabited Desert, was Targitaus,
concerning whom they relate things in-
credible to me. For they affirm that he was
born of Jupiter and a Daughter of the River
Borysthenes: That he had three Sons who went
by the Names of Lipoxais, Apoxais, and Co-
laxais: That during their Reign a Plow, with
a Yoke, an Axe, and a Bowl, all of Gold,
fell down from Heaven into Scythia: That
the eldest, who saw those things first, approach-
ing with Design to take them up, found them
burning hot, and retir’d: That the second
came immediately after, and found the Gold
in the same Condition: That when they had
both withdrawn themselves from the burning
Metal, the youngest Son advance’d, and find-
ing the Fire extinguish’d, carried away the
things with him; and that the elder Brothers
having
having observ'd this Event, surrendred the Kingdom to the youngest. They farther say, that the Auehatian Scythians are descend'd from Lipoxais; the Catiarians and Traspians from Apoxais; and the Race of their Kings, which they call Paralates, from Colaxais, the third Son of Targitaus. They give themselves the general Name of Scolotes; which is also the Surname of their Kings: But the Grecians call them Scythians. This Account they give of their Original; and reckon about a thousand Years at most, from the Reign of Targitaus the first King of Scythia, to the Time they were invaded by Darius. The Kings take all imaginable Care to preserve the sacred Gold, and annually assist at the magnificent Sacrifices, which are offer'd to those holy Instruments. If he who has the Guard of these things on the Festival Day, happen to fall asleep in the open Air, the Scythians say he cannot live long, and therefore make him a present of as much Land as he can ride over on Horseback in one Day. Colaxais perceiving the Country to be of vast Extent, divided the Kingdom between his three Sons; and made that Share most considerable, where the Gold which fell from Heaven, is kept. The Scythians say, that those Parts which are situate to the Northward of their Territories, are neither visible nor practicable, by reason of the Feathers that fall continually on all sides. For the Earth is entirely cover'd, and the Air so full of these Feathers, that the Sight is altogether obstructed. These things are related by the Scythians concerning themselves, and the Regions that lye above them. But the Grecians who inhabit Pontus give a different Account; and say, that
as Hercules was driving away the Cows of Geryon, he arriv'd in the Country now possess'd by the Scythians; which was then an uninhabited Desert; and that Geryon liv'd in an Island by the Grecians call'd Erythia, remote from Pontus, and situate not far from Gades, beyond the Columns of Hercules upon the Ocean. They likewise affirm that the Ocean rising in the East surrounds the whole Earth; but bring no Proof of their Assertion: That Hercules in his Return pass'd thro' the Country, which is now call'd Scythia; and finding the Weather cold and frosty, lay down to sleep wrapp'd in the Lyon's Skin: That while he slept, the Mares which drew his Chariot, led by a divine Hand, stray'd from the Place where they fed; and that when he awak'd he sought them all over the Country, and coming to a Place call'd Hylœar found a Creature of an ambiguous Nature, resembling a Virgin from the Thighs upwards, and shap'd like a Serpent in the lower Parts. Astonish'd at the Sight, he ask'd her if she had seen his Mares. She told him they were in her Power; but that she would not restore them, unless he would lye with her: To which he consented, in order to recover his Mares. Nevertheless she delay'd to perform her Promise, out of a Desire to enjoy the Company of Hercules as long as she could; till finding him no less desirous to depart, she restored the Mares, and spoke to him in these Terms. "I preserv'd your Mares when they stray'd hither, and you have given me the Recompence of my Care; for I have three Sons by you. Tell me therefore how I shall dispose of them when they are grown up: Whether they shall continue to live
"live in this Country, where I am Missisf? or whether I shall send them to you?" To this Question Hercules answer'd; "When you see the Children arriv'd to the Age of Men, you cannot err, if you retain in these Regions that Son, who shall be found capable of drawing this Bow and wearing this Belt, and send away those who shall be of inferior Force. If you do this, you will consult your own Happiness, and perform my Orders." Then drawing out one of his Bows (for he carried two at that Time) and delivering it into her Hands, with the Belt, which had a golden Cup hanging at the lowest Seam, he took Leave and went away. When her Sons had attain'd to the Age of Men, she nam'd the eldest Agathyrsis, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha; and remembering the Orders of Hercules, put them in Execution, as he had enjoyn'd; but finding two of her Sons, Agathyrsis and Gelonus, unable to perform the things requir'd, she sent them out of the Country; retaining Scytha her youngest Son with her, because he had accomplish'd the Will of his Father. All the Kings of Scythia have been the Descendants of this Scytha the Son of Hercules; and from his Time the Scythians have always carried a Cup fasten'd to the lower Part of their Belt. These things are reported by the Grecians who inhabit Pontus: But another Relation, which seems more probable to me, runs in this Manner. The Scythian Nomades were once Inhabitants of Asia, and being harrass'd by the Massagetes with frequent Wars, they pass'd the River Araxes, and enter'd the Country of the Cimmerians; who, they say, were the ancient Possessors of those Regions
Regions which are now inhabited by the Scythians: The Cimmerians finding themselves invaded by the Scythians with a numerous Army, assembled in Council, but could not come to any Agreement, because the Kings and the People were of different Sentiments; both founded upon strong Reasons, tho' that of the Kings was the more generous. For the People were of Opinion to abstain from Force, and not put all to hazard against so great a Multitude. But the Kings on the contrary advis'd, that they would oppose the Invaders of their Country by Arms. Thus when neither the People would assent to the Persuasions of the Kings, nor the Kings to those of the People; and one Party resolv'd to depart without fighting, and leave their Possessions to the Invaders; whilst the other reflecting on the great Advantages they had enjoy'd at Home, and the apparent Evils they must suffer if they should forfake their Country, determin'd rather to dye on the Spot, than betake themselves to Flight with the Multitude: In this Contrariety of Opinions they divided; and being equal in Numbers, the two Parties engag'd in Battle, and all those who fell in the Dispute, were buried by the rest of the People near the River Tyras; where their Sepulchre remains to this Day. When the Cimmerians had perform'd that Office, they abandon'd the Country and left it entirely dispeopled in the Possession of the Scythians. Divers Ports and Walls are still seen in Scythia, which retain the Name of Cimmerian; together with a whole Province, and a Bosphorus or a narrow Sea. 'Tis certain the Cimmerians who fled from the Scythians into Asia,
Asia, settled in that Peninsula where the City of Simope, a Colony of the Grecians, was afterwards built: And 'tis no less evident that the Scythians pursuing them, fell into Media, and mistook their Way. For the Cimmerians in all their Flight never abandon'd the Coast of the Sea: Whereas the Scythians in their Pursuit leaving Mount Caucasus on the right Hand, deflected towards the midland Countries, and so enter'd Media. Another Report is generally current as well among the Grecians as Barbarians. For Aristæas, a Poet of Proconnesus and Son to Castræus, says in his Verses, that he was transported by Apollo into the Territories of the Issedonians; beyond which the Arimaspians inhabit, who are a People that have only one Eye; that the next Region abounds in Griffins, which guard the Gold of the Country; and that the Hyperboreans are situate yet farther, and extend themselves to the Sea: That all these, except the Hyperboreans, following the Example of the Arimaspians, were continually employ'd in making War against their Neighbours: That the Issedonians were expell'd by the Arimaspians; the Scythians by the Issedonians; and that the Cimmerians, who inhabited on the South-Sea, were forc'd by the Scythians to abandon their Country. So that this Aristæas differs from the Scythians in the Account he gives of these Regions. I have already mention'd the Place of his Birth, and shall now add what I heard concerning him in Proconnesus and Cyzicus. Aristæas, say they, who was inferior to no Man of the City in any kind, entering one Day into a Fuller's Shop, died suddenly: Upon which the Fuller, after
after he had shut up his Door, went and acquainted the Relation of the Deceas'd with what had happen'd. When the News of his Death had spread over the City, a certain Cyzicenian arriving from Artace, disputed the Truth of the Report; affirming that he had seen and convers'd with him in his Way to Cyzicus; and while he persisted obstinately to maintain his Assertion, the Relations of Aristeas had been at the Fuller's Shop, with all things necessary for removing the Body, but could not find him either alive or dead. In the seventh Year he appear'd again in Proconnesus; compos'd tho'fe Verfes, which by the Grecians are call'd Arimaspian, and then disappear'd a second Time. These things are commonly reported in the Cities I have mention'd; and that which follows happen'd among the Metapontins of Italy three hundred and forty Years after the second Disappearing of Aristeas the Proconnesian, as I found by Computation in Proconnesus and Metapontium: At which Time, the Metapontins say, Aristeas appear'd in their City, and exhorted them to erect an Altar to Apollo, and a Statue by that Altar, which should bear the Name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; telling them, "They were the only " Nation of the Italian Coast which had ever " been favour'd with the Presence of Apollo; " that he himself attended the God, and was " then a Crow; tho' now he went under the " Name of Aristeas." Having pronounc'd these Words he vanish'd; and the Metapontins say they went to Delphi to inquire of the God concerning the Apparition; and that the Pythian in Answer admonish'd them to obey the

a 1 Phantom,
Phantom, and their Affairs should be prosperous. In pursuance therefore of this Oracle, they did as Aristeas had desired, and his Statue is seen to this Day in the publick Place, erected near the Image of Apollo, and surrounded with Laurels. Thus much I thought fit to say concerning Aristeas.

No Man knows, with certainty, the Countries that lye beyond those, about which I am now to speak; neither could I ever find a Person who had view'd them with his own Eyes. Aristeas himself, who is just now mention'd, says, in his Verses, that he went no farther than the Issedonians, and that he learnt from them whatever he relates touching those Parts. Nevertheless, I shall repeat, as fully as I can, all that I have heard concerning this Matter.

Above the principal Port of the Borysthenians, which is situate in the midst of the maritime Places of Scythia, the first People seen are the Callipedes, who derive their Original from Greece; and next to these is another Nation, call'd Halazons. Both these observe the Customs of the Scythians; except only that they sow Wheat, Onions, Garlick, Lentils, and Millet, for Food; whereas the Scythians, who lye beyond the Halazons, and are Husbandmen, sow Wheat, not for Food, but Sale. The Neurians are the next People, and I am inform'd that the northern Parts of their Country are utterly uninhabited. These Nations are situate along the River Hypanis, on the West Side of the Borysthenes. But if we pass over to the other Side of the Borysthenes from the Sea, we shall first enter into Hylea, and then into another Region posses'd by Scythians, who apply themselves
themselves to Agriculture, and are call'd Borysthenians, by those Grecians who inhabit on the Hypanis; tho' they give themselves the Name of Olbiopolitans. These Scythian Husbandmen possess, to the Eastward, a Country of three Days March, extending to the River call'd Panticapes; and of eleven Days Sail by the Borysthenes to the Northward. Beyond this Region lies a vast Defart, and beyond that Defart, a Country inhabited by the Androphages, or Men-eaters, who are a distinct People, and not of Scythian Extraction. All beyond this is uninhabited, no Man being found there, that we know. To the Eastward of those Scythians who apply themselves to the Culture of Land, and on the other Side of the River Panticapes, the Country is inhabited by Scythians, who neither plow nor sow, but are employ'd in keeping Cattle; none of those Parts producing Trees, except Hylæa only. These Herdsmen possess a Tract of Land of fourteen Days March from the East to the River Gerrbus. On the other Side of this River are the Royal Provinces, full of People, and possess'd by the most valiant of all the Scythians, who think all the rest to be only their Slaves. Their Country extends from the South to Mount Taurus; and from the East to the Intrenchments that were made by the Sons of the blind Men, and to the Port of Chremni, on the Lake Maeotis; besides that Part which borders upon the River Tanais. Above these Royal Scythians the Melanchlæni-ans inhabit to the Northward; a distinct Nation, and not of Scythian Race. But beyond them all is full of Fens, and uninhabited, as we are inform'd.
The Regions that lye beyond the River Tanais, are no Part of Scythia. The first Portion belongs to the Sauromatians; who inhabit a Country of fifteen Days March from the farthest Part of the Lake Meotis to the Northward, destitute of all kind of Trees, either wild or cultivated. The second is possess'd by the Budians; abounding in Trees of all sorts, and ending in a Desart of seven Days Journey: Next to which, and a little deflecting to the Eastward, the Tyssagetes inhabit; who are a separate People, very numerous, and living upon the Venison they take. The Iyrcians are contiguous to these; and possessing another Part of the Country, subsist also by hunting, in this Manner. They climb the Trees (which abound in all Places) and wait for the Game, attended by a Dog, and a Horse taught to lye down upon his Belly to prevent Discovery. When the Hunter sees the Beast from the Tree, he lets fly an Arrow, mounts his Horse, and pursues the Chace with his Dog. The next Region to the Eastward, is inhabited by Scythians, who separating from the Royal Scythians, settled themselves there. Thus far Scythia is a plain Country, and of a deep Soil: But the rest is rocky and uneven. After a long and difficult Passage from hence, arriving at the Foot of very high Mountains, Men discover a certain People, who naturally, both Men and Women, are bald from their Infancy. They have short retorted Noses, and great Chins; speak a peculiar Language; wear the Scythian Habit; and feed upon the Fruit of a Tree which they call Ponticon, equal to the Fig-tree in Bigness, and bearing Fruit with a Kernel of the Shape of a Bean.
When this Fruit is ripe, they put it into a Press, and squeeze out a thick and black Liquor, call'd Aschy, which they suck, and drink mingled with Milk; making Cakes of the Sediment, to serve instead of other Food: For they have few Cattle in these Parts, because they are not industrious. They sleep in the Winter under Trees, which are cover'd with a strong white Cloth; in the Summer without any other Covering than the Tree. No Man offers Violence to this People; for they are accounted sacred, and have no warlike Weapon among them. They determine the Differences that arise among their Neighbours; and whoever flies thither for Refuge, is permitted to live unmolested. This bald People goes by the Name of Argippæans. Their Country has a wide Prospect of all the Regions before mention'd, and one may, without Difficulty, be inform'd concerning them; because not only some of the Scythians, but the Grecians, inhabiting the Ports of the Boryhienes and of Pontus, frequent these Parts. The Scythians arrive in this Country, thro' seven different Languages, and by the help of seven sorts of Interpreters. Thus far therefore things are known: But no Man can speak with certainty of those Regions that are situate beyond these bald Men, for high and inaccessible Mountains render the Way impracticable. Yet they pretend that those Mountains are inhabited by Men who have Feet like Goats, which is to me incredible: And that beyond those Hills another People is found, who sleep continually the Space of six Months; which I can less admit for true than the former. We certainly know
that the Issedonians inhabit to the Eastward of this bald Nation. But whatever lies to the Northward, either of the Argippæans or Issedonians, is utterly unknown, except only from what they are pleased to tell us.

The Issedonians are said to observe these Customs. When a Man's Father dies, all his Relations bring him Sheep; which, when they have sacrific'd, and divided into Pieces, they likewise cut the Body of his dead Parent into like Portions, and having mingled all this Flesh together, sit down to feast. Then taking off the Hair, and cleansing the Head, they gild the Skull, and annually celebrate magnificent Sacrifices to this Relick. Every Son performs these Funeral-Rites to his Father, as a Grecian solemnizes the Day of his Nativity. They add farther, that this Nation is likewise accounted just, and that the Women are not inferior in Fortitude to the Men. These Countries are not unknown. But the Issedonians affirm, that the Regions beyond them, are possess'd by Men who have only one Eye, and by Griffins that guard the Gold. The Scythians repeat these things from the Issedonians, and we have them from the Scythians, who give the Name of Arimaspiansto the People above-mention'd, because Arima, in the Scythian Language, signifies One, and Spou an Eye. All this Country is so infested with Cold during the Winter, and Frosts so excessive for eight Months in the Year, that if a Man pour Water on the Earth, he shall not make Dirt, unless he stand by a Fire. Even the Sea freezes; together with the whole Cimmerian Bosporus, in such a Manner, that the Scythians who live within the In-
trenchment, lead their Armies, and drive their Chariots over the Ice as far as India. Eight Months their Winter continues; and the other four are more than ordinarily Cold; the Climate differing from all others in this particular, that little or no Rain falls in the proper Season, and that the Summer is incessantly wet. Thunder is frequent in Summer; but seldom heard at those Times when 'tis most common in other Parts. If any happen in Winter, 'tis taken for a Prodigy; and an Earthquake either in Summer or Winter, is no less astonishing. Their Horses are not affected by the long continued Cold; but their Mules and Asses are unable to resist the Beginnings of the Winter: Whereas in other Places, Horses are ruin'd by that Cold, which Mules and Asses easily bear. These Winters seem to me to be the Cause, why their Cows and Oxen have no Horns; and the following Verse of Homer in his Odysses confirms my Opinion;

And Libya, where the Lambs have early Horns.

Rightly intimating, that the Horns of Cattle shoot speedily in hot Countries; for in those which are violently cold, they either cannot shoot early, or never grow to any Bigness. These are the Effects of Cold in Scythia: And because I always propos'd to myself to make such Inquiries, I must not omit to mention my Surprize, that no Mules are ingender'd in all the Territories of Elis, tho' the Climate be no Way distemper'd with Cold, nor any visible Cause of this Defect appear. The Eleans pretend they are under the Force of a Charm in this particular; and therefore at the Times of Breeding, they lead
lead their Mares to some of the Parts adjacent; where they cause them to be cover'd by He-Asses, and after they have conceiv'd, bring them Home again. Touching the Feathers, with which the Scythians say the Men can neither see nor pass farther upon the Continent, my Opinion is, that perpetual Snows fall in those Parts, tho' probably in less Quantity during the Summer than in Winter: And whoever has observ'd great Abundance of Snow falling, will easily comprehend what I say; for the Snow is not unlike to Feathers. On this Account therefore, as I conjecture, the Regions situate to the Northward of that Continent, are uninhabited; and the Scythians with other adjoining People, imagine the Snow to be Feathers. But I have insisted long enough on these Reports.

Concerning the Hyperboreans, nothing is said either by the Scythians or any other Nation that inhabit those Parts, except the Issedonians; and as I think they say little to the Purpose, so I am of Opinion the Scythians could inform us no better than they have done of the People with one Eye: Hesiod indeed mentions the Hyperboreans, and Homer speaks of them in his Epigones, if we may believe him to have been the Author of those Verses. But the Delians say much more about the Hyperboreans; affirming that their sacred things were transmitted to Scythia wrapp'd in a Bundle of Wheat-Straw, and from the Scythians gradually advanc'd thro' the bordering Nations; 'till they penetrated very far Westward, and were receiv'd in Adria: That from hence they travelld towards the
the South, and that the Dodonæans were the first of all the Grecians who admitted them: That by this Way they descended to the Gulph of Melis; pass’d into Eubœa, and from thence thro’ various Cities to Carystus: That they were not introduc’d among the Andrians; but that the Carystians transported them to Tenus, and the Tenians to Delos: In this Manner the Delians say they receiv’d these Rites. They add, that the Hyperboreans had first sent two Virgins to carry these sacred things abroad, and call them by the Names of Hyperoche and Laodice: That for their Security they appoint’d five Citizens to accompany them, whose Memory is to this Day in great Veneration among the Delians, and their Persons known by the Title of Peripherees: But the Hyperboreans finding that none of those they had charg’d with these Orders, return’d Home, were greatly displeas’d; and tying up their holy Things in a Bundle of Wheat-Straw, dispatch’d certain Persons to carry them into the next adjacent Countries, and to exhort the Inhabitants to send them forward to other Nations. And thus the Delians say these sacred Rites were introduc’d, thro’ many other Parts, into their Island. Something like these Mysteries, I have observ’d among the Thracian and Pæonian Women, when they sacrific’d to Diana the Royal. For they never celebrate those Ceremonies without using the Straw of Wheat, as I myself have seen. These Hyperborean Virgins died in Delos, and their Memory is honour’d by the Delian Maids and young Men in this Manner. The Maids cut off a Lock of their Hair before Marriage; which they wind about a Distaff, and dedicate
dedicate upon the Sepulchre of the Virgins, built within the Temple of Diana on the left Hand of the Entrance, and cover'd by an Olive-tree. The young Men twist their Hair about a Tuft of Grass, and consecrate it on the same Monument: Such Veneration is paid to these Virgins by the Inhabitants of Delos. They likewise say, that Argis and Opis two other Hyperborean Virgins landed at Delos in the same Age, before Hyperoche and Laodice: That these last came only to make an Acknowledgment to Lucina for a speedy Delivery; but that Argis and Opis arriv'd with the Gods, and were honour'd by the Delians with great Solemnities; for the Women assembleing together sing a Hymn to their Praise compos'd by Olen the Lycian, which the Ionians and Islanders afterwards learnt to perform in the same Manner: That the Names of Argis and Opis are frequently repeated in the Hymn, and that this Lycian was the Author of other ancient Compositions which are sung in Delos: That the Ashes of the Sacrifices burnt on the Altar are thrown upon their Sepulchre, which stands behind the Temple of Diana, facing to the East, and adjoyning to the Refectory of the Cians. And this I think sufficient to say concerning the Hyperboreans. For I shall not mention the Fable of Abaris, who, they say, was of that Country, and, without eating, carried an Arrow thro' all the Parts of the World. Yet if there be any Hyperboreans, lying so far to the Northward, we may as well presume there are other Hyperaustralian People inhabiting to the Southward. And here I cannot forbear Laughter, when I consider how many Men have describ'd the Circumference of the Earth.
Earth without any kind of Judgment; pretending that the Ocean surrounds the whole; that the Earth is round as a Ball; and that Europe is equal in Extent to Asia. I shall therefore briefly discover the Dimensions of each Part, and give a just Description of their Form. The Countries inhabited by the Persians, and extending Southward, are bounded by the Red Sea; to the Northward they have the Medes; then the Sapirians, and beyond these the Colchians, whose Country reaches to the North Sea, into which the River Phasis runs. These four Nations possess whatever lies between those Seas. To the Westward, two Tracts of Land lye extended along the Shore, which I shall describe. One of these, beginning at the River Phasis, descends Northward to the Sea by the Way of Pontus and the Hellespont, down to the Trojan Sigmaum; and is extended to the Southward from the Gulph of Mariandynia, which borders upon Phœnicia, to the Promontory of Triopis. This Region is inhabited by thirty several Nations. The other begins among the Persians and reaches to the Red Sea; comprehending likewise Assyria, and terminating in the Gulph of Arabia: Which could not have been, if Darius had not introduc'd the Nile by Canals into that Sea. The Countries that lye between the Persians and Phœnicians are spacious and of great Extent. From Phœnicia the same Coast stretches along the Sea by the Palestine Syria and Ægypt; terminates there, and contains only three Nations. These Regions are situate in Asia, from Persia to the Westward; and those that lye beyond the Persians, Medes, Sapirians and Colchians, are bounded on the East by
by the Red Sea and on the North by the Caspian, and the River Araxes, which flows towards the Rising Sun. All Asia is inhabited even to India: But beyond India whatever lies to the Eastward, is Defart, or utterly unknown. Such, and so great is Asia. Libya is in another Region, and begins where Ægypt terminates. In this Part the Country is narrow; and no more than a hundred thoufand Rod, or one thousand Stades, are computed from the Ægyptian to the Red Sea. Beyond these Streights, the Coast opens, and becoming vastly spacious is call'd Libya. I admire therefore as those who have made the Division and Separation of Europe, Libya, and Asia; because the Disproportion is great. For tho' Europe exceed the other in Length; yet in Breadth it is not comparable to either. Libya is surrounded by the Sea, except in that Part which borders upon Asia: And this Discovery was first made by Nesus King of Ægypt; who after he had desist'd from opening the Channel, that conveys the Waters of the Nile into the Arabian Gulph, furnish'd certain Phœnicians with Ships, in order to pass by the Columns of Hercules into the Northern Sea, and then to return to Ægypt. These Men set sail from the Red Sea, and entering into the Southern Sea, went ashore in Libya about the Time of the Autunnal Equinox, and having sow'd the Land in what Partsoever they arriv'd, waited the Time of Harvest, and when they had cut the Corn, put to Sea again. After they had spent two Years in their Voyage, they pass'd by the Columns of Hercules in the third; and returning to Ægypt, related a thing which I cannot believe, th'o' per-
haps others may; affirming, that as they fail’d round the Coast of Libya, they had the Sun on their right Hand. And in this Manner Libya was first discover’d. Since that Time, the Carthaginians say, that Sataspes the Son of Teaspes one of the Achaemenian Blood, was sent with Orders to fail round Libya, and did not finish his Enterprize: But tir’d with the Length of the Voyage, and the inhospitable Desarts, return’d Home without accomplishing this Labour; which was impos’d upon him by his Mother, for forcing a Virgin, who was Daughter to Zopyrus the Son of Megabyxus. Xerxes had condemn’d him to be impal’d for this Crime: But his Mother, who was Sister to Darius, fav’d him from that Death, by assuring the King she would inflict a greater Punishment upon her Son, than he had appointed; by enjoying him to surround the Coast of Libya, till he should arrive in the Gulph of Arabia. Xerxes accept’d her Proposition, and Sataspes departed into Egypt: Where, having furnish’d himself with Ships and Men, he set fail; and passing by the Pillars of Hercules, doubled the Libyan Cape of Sylois, and steer’d to the Southward. But after he had been many Months at Sea, and found many more would be necessary to finish his Voyage, he discontinued his Course, and return’d to Egypt. From thence he went to Xerxes, and told him he had fail’d very far, and seen a Nation of little Men cloath’d in the Phoenician Habit, who upon the Approach of his Ships left their Cities, and fled to the Mountains; that he had indeed taken some Provisions in their Country; but had not done them any other Injury. Then, to excuse himself
himself for not performing his Voyage, he al-
ledg'd that his Ships became immovable, and
hindred him from proceeding farther. But
Xerxes not believing what he said, put the for-
mer Sentence in Execution, and commanded
him to be impal'd, because he had not accom-
plish'd the Enterprize imposed on him: Upon
which the Eunuch of Satafes hearing of his
Master's Death, ran away with great Riches to
Samos; where a certain Samian, whose Name I
forbear to mention, defrauded him of all.

Much of Asia was discover'd in the Reign
of Darius. For that King being desirous to
know in what Part the Indus, which is the
second River that produces Crocodiles, runs
into the Sea, sent Scylax of Caryanda with o-
thers of approv'd Fidelity to make the Dis-
covery. Accordingly they departed in divers
Ships from Caspatyrus and the Territories of
Paitya; fail'd down the River Eastward to
the Sea, and then altering their Course towards
the West, arriv'd in the thirtieth Month at
that Place where the King of Ægypt had caused
the Phœnicians I mention'd before to embark,
in order to surround the Coast of Libya. After
this Voyage, Darius subdued the Indians, and
became Master of that Sea. By which Means,
without accounting those Regions that are si-
tuate in the Eastern Parts, the rest of Asia is
known to be equal in Extent to Libya. But
Europe has not been fully discovered by any
Man; and we have no Account whether it be
bounded on the North and East sides by the Sea,
or not: Only we know that in Length 'tis not
unequal to the other Parts. And I cannot com-
prehend with what Reason Men have impos'd
three
three distinct Names upon the Earth, which is but one; and those properly the Names of Women; some limiting this arbitrary Division by the Ægyptian Nile, and the Colchian Phasis; and others by the River of Tanais, the Lake Maeotis, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Nor could I ever learn by what Persons these Names were impos’d, and from what Original they were deriv’d. The most prevailing Opinion among the Grecians is, that Libya was so call’d from a Woman of that Name and Country; and Asia from the Wife of Prometheus. But the Lydians put in a Claim to the last, and say that Asia had its Name from Asius the Son of Cotys, and Grandson to Maneus, and not from Asia the Wife of Prometheus; alledging for a Proof of their Assertion, that they have a Tribe in Sardis which goes under the Name of the Asian Tribe. In Conclusion, no Man knows whether Europe be surround by the Sea; nor from whence that Name was deriv’d. Neither are we more certain who was the first Imposer; unless we will say that the Tyrian Europa gave her Name to that Region, which, like the rest, before her Time had none. Besides, we are sure she was of Asia, and never came into those Parts which are now call’d Europe by the Grecians; but arriv’d in Crete from Phœnicia, and from thence fail’d to Libya. Thus having reported the common Opinions, I shall say no more concerning these things.

All the Nations that border on the Euxin Sea, are extremely ignorant, except the Scythians, against whom Darius was preparing to make War: And we have nothing to say touching the Wisdom of any of those People; nor ever heard of
of any learned Man among them, Anacharsis and other Scythians only excepted. But in Scythia one thing is observ'd more prudently contriv'd than in any other Nation we know. For whoever enters their Country, can never make his Escape; neither are the Scythians ever to be found, unless they are willing; because they have no Cities, nor inclos'd Places; but every Man has a moveable House; and fights on Horseback, arm'd with a Bow and Arrows. They have not their Subsistence from the Plow, but from the Cattle, and use Carts instead of Houses. If these things were not so, they would be an easy Conquest, and unable to make Resistance. The Situation of their Country, which is Level, and the Frequency of their Rivers, have greatly contributed to these Advantages. For the Soil is rich and well water'd; and the Rivers are almost as numerous as the Canals of Ægypt. Of these the most celebrated, and most navigable from the Sea, are, the Ister, the Tyres, the Hypanis, the Borythbenes, the Panticapæs, the Hypacyris, the Gerrbus and the Tanais. The Ister is the greatest of all Rivers we know, flowing with an equal Stream both in Summer and Winter, and descends from the Westward into Scythia. This River becomes so great by the Addition of many other Waters. In the first Place, five several Rivers passing thro' Scythia, contribute to swell its Stream. The first of these is by the Scythians call'd Porata, and by the Grecians Pyreton. The other four go under the Names of Tiarantus, Ararus, Naparis, and Ordissus. The Porata is a considerable River; and running towards the East, flows into the Ister. The Tiarantus is
and deflects rather to the Westward: The Ararus, Naparis, and Ordifius, pass between both, and fall likewise into the same River. All these are properly Scythian Rivers; but the Maris descends from the Agathyrsians, and mixes with the same Stream. The Atlas, the Auras, and the Tibeis, three great Rivers rising in the Mountains of Hæmus, and descending Northward; besides the Athres, Noes, and Atarnes, which pass thro' Thrace and the Thracian Crobyzians; and the River Cius, beginning in the Pæonian and Rhodopean Hills, and flowing thro' the midst of Hæmus: All these likewise discharge their Waters into the Ister. In like Manner the Angrus, a River of Illyria, flowing towards the North, and crossing the Plains of Traballis, enters into the Brongus, and both these, considerable in themselves, are receiv'd together by the River Ister. And lastly, from the Regions that are situate above the Umbrians, two other Rivers, which go by the Names of Carpis and Alpis, descending to the Northward, fall into the same Stream. The Ister rises in the Country of the Celtes, who, with the Cynetes, inhabit the remotest Parts of Europe to the Westward, and traversing all the European Regions, enters obliquely into the Borders of Scythia. And thus, by the Addition of the Waters I have mention'd, with the Contributions of divers other Streams, the Ister becomes the greatest of all Rivers. But if we compare the Waters of the Nile, with those that properly belong to the Ister, we shall find the former much superior in Quantity; because no River or Fountain enters into the Nile, nor contributes any thing to its Increase. The Ister is

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of equal Height in Summer and in Winter, for this Reason, as I conjecture. The Rains of Winter, tho’ moderate, raise the Ister to its full Height, or rather somewhat higher than ordinary; and in Summer the Snows, which never fail to cover the Country during the Winter-Season, melting and running down from all Parts, together with copious and frequent Rains, keep the River full: And, tho’ more Water falls into the Ister in Summer than in Winter, yet the Sun in compensation exhaling a great Part of that Moisture, renders the Stream, in a Manner, equal in both Seasons. The first River then of Scythia is the Ister. The second is the Tyres, which comes from the North, issuing out of a vast Lake, and separates Scythia from Nebris. At the Mouth of this River certain Grecians inhabit, who, for that Reason, are call’d Tyrites. The third is the Hypanis, descending likewise from a great Lake in Scythia, which is deservedly nam’d the Mother of that River. Great Numbers of wild Horses, white of Colour, are seen grazing about the Borders of this Lake. The Chanel of the Hypanis is narrow, and the Water sweet, during the Navigation of five Days; but then becomes horribly bitter, and so continues for four Days Voyage down to the Sea. This Effect is caus’d by the Bitterness of a Spring; small indeed, yet so very bitter, as to infect the Hypanis; which nevertheless is equal to most other Rivers in Bigness. This Spring rises in the Borders of the Scythian Husbandmen and Alazons, and from that Part of the Country is call’d by the Name of Exampanis; which, in the Grecian Language, signifi-
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fies, The sacred Ways. The Tyres and Hypanis run near together, along the Territories of the Alazons, and then separating, leave a wide Space between each Chanel. The Borythbenes, which is the fourth and greatest River of Scythia, after the Ister, surpasses, in my Opinion, not only the rest of the Scythian Rivers, but all others, except the Ægyptian Nile; to which none may justly be compar’d. This noble River renders the adjoyning Lands beautiful, and abounding in Pasture for the Cattle; affords great Variety of exquisite Fish, and Water of a moft pleafant Taste. The Streams are pure and limpid, tho' passing thro' a rich Soil; and the bordering Plains produce excellent Corn, with Plenty of Grass in the Places which are left uncultivated. At the Mouth of this River abundance of Salt is incessantly made by the Hand of Nature; and a fort of Whale is taken, of great Bigness, and without any spinous Bones; which the Scythians use to salt, and call by the Name of Antacæus. So much of the Borythbenes is known, as may be navigated in a Voyage of forty Days, from the North to the Country of Gerrbus: But no Man can affirm any thing certain concerning the remoter Parts, thro' which this River passes: Probably they are uninhabited Desarts, down to the Regions of the Scythian Husbandmen, that lie extended along the River during a Sail of ten Days. The Head of the Borythbenes, as well as that of the Nile, is unknown to me, and, I think, to all other Grecians. This River, and the Hypanis, join at a little Distance from the Sea, and discharge their Waters together. The Space that lies between the two Streams, is call’d the Pro-

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montory
montory of Hyppoleon, in which a Temple dedicated to Ceres is built, and beyond that Temple the Borysthenians inhabit the Country to the River Hypanis. But we have said enough of these. The fifth River is the Panticapes, which also descends from the North, and out of a Lake; and between this River and the Borysthenes, the Country is inhabited by Scythian Husbandmen. The Panticapes enters into Hylea, and passing quite through that Region, mixes with the Borysthenes. The Hypacaris is the sixth River; which beginning in a Lake, traverses the Country of the Scythian Herdsmen; and then closing the Borders of Hylea on the right, together with that Place, which is call’d the Race of Achilles, rolls into the Sea at the City of Cacinos. The seventh is the Gerrhus; which, by a Country of the same Name, is separated from the Borysthenes, in those Parts where this River begins to be known; dividing the Territories of the Herdsmen from those of the Royal Scythians, and then falling into the Hypacaris. The eighth River is the Tanais, originally descending from a great Lake, and entering into another yet greater, call’d Maeotis, which separates the Royal Scythians and the Sarmatians. The River Hygris runs into the Tanais; and all these celebrated Rivers serve for the Use and Defence of Scythia. The Grass that grows in this Country is the most bitter of any we have seen, as Experience shews at the opening of the Cattle. Such are the most considerable Advantages of the Scythians. Their Customs and religious Ceremonies are establish’d in this Manner. They worship no other Gods than these. In the first Place, Vesta, who
who is their principal Deity: Then Jupiter; and the Earth, which is accounted his Wife: After them Apollo; Venus, Urania; Hercules, and Mars. All these are generally acknowledg'd: But those who go under the Name of Royal Scythians, sacrifice likewise to Neptune. Vesta, in the Scythian Language is call'd Tabiti: Jupiter is, in my Opinion, rightly nam'd Papæus: The Earth Apia: Apollo Octofyrus: The Celestial Venus Artimpasa, and Neptune Thamimasades. They erect no Images, Altars, or Temples, to any other God, except Mars alone. Their Sacrifices are perform'd in all Temples alike, without Variation, and in this Manner. The Animal is led out, and after they have tied his Fore-feet together, he who sacrifices standing behind him, first takes off the Band, then strikes the Victim, and as he falls, invokes the God they worship. This done, he throws a Halter about his Neck, and straining the Cord with a Stick, strangles him; without kindling any Fire, or offering either first Fruits or Libations. When he hath perform'd this Office, and taken off the Skin from the Body, he immediately applies himself to dress the Flesh. But because the Country is very ill furnish'd with Wood, the Scythians have found out this Contrivance. When they have flay'd the Victim, they strip the Bones, and put the Flesh into Pots, made in Scythia, and resembling those of Lesbos in Form, though not altogether so large. Then making a Fire of the Bones, they boil the Flesh of the Animal. If they have no Pot at Hand, they throw all the Flesh into the Paunch, with a competent Quantity of Water, and burn the Bones underneath. So this Fire being abundantly
dantly sufficient for the Purpose, and the Paunch
easily containing all the Meat separated from
the Bones, the Ox, and all other Cattle us'd in
their Sacrifices; furnish all things necessary to
boil themselves. When the Flesh is sufficiently
prepar'd, he that sacrifices, in the first Place,
makes an Offering of Part of the Meat and
Intestines, which he throws out before him.
They make use of divers sorts of Cattle in these
Sacrifices, but chiefly of Horses: And this is
the Form of their Oblations to all the Gods
they worship, except only Mars; who, accord-
ing to an ancient Custom, has an Altar in every
District, built in the following manner. A
great Quantity of small Wood, tied up in
Bundles, is brought together, and plac'd upon
three Stades of Land, covering the whole
Ground both in Length and Breadth; but not
of a proportionable Height. The Top is qua-
drangular; three of the Sides perpendicular,
and the fourth a gradual Declivity, and easy Ac-
cess. One hundred and fifty Loads of Faggots
are annually brought to this Place; because many
are putrified by the Winter. On each of these
Heaps an old Scymeter of Iron is erected, which
they call the Image of Mars, and honour with
yearly Sacrifices of Horses and other Cattle, in
greater Abundance than they offer to the rest
of their Gods. They likewise sacrifice to this
Deity every hundredth Man of the Prisoners
they take from their Enemies: But in a diffe-
rent Manner from the Offerings they make of
other Animals. For after they have pour'd a
Libration of Wine on the Head of the Prisoner,
they cut his Throat over a Bowl, and then
ascending the Heap of Faggots, wash the Sword
with his Blood. This they do at the Top of the Altar: And below, after they have kill'd the Man on the sacred Place, they cut off his right Arm by the Shoulder; which they throw into the Air, and leave on the Ground where it falls. Thus the Body lies in one Part, and the Arm in another. When they have perform'd these and other Ceremonies, they depart. And such are the Sacrifices instituted by the Scythians. They make no Use of Swine, nor will suffer any to be kept in their Country.

The Military Affairs of Scythia are order'd in this Manner. Every Scythian drinks the Blood of the first Prisoner he takes, and presents the King with the Heads of the Enemies he has kill'd in Fight. For if he brings a Head, he is intituled to a Share of the Booty, otherwise not. They flay these Heads by cutting a Circle round the Neck close under the Ears; and stripping off the Skin, as they would do that of an Ox: Then they soften the Skin with their Hands; and these Skins thus prepar'd serve instead of Napkins, hanging on the Bridles of their Horses when they ride. He who has the greater Number of these, thinks best of himself, and is accounted the most valiant Man. Many Scythians clothe themselves with the Skins of Men sew'd together, as others with the Skins of Beasts; and frequently stripping the right Hands of the Enemies they have kill'd, extend those Skins with their Nails, and use them for Coverings to their Quivers. For the Skin of a Man is thick, and of a brighter white, than that of any other Animal. Many take off the Skins of Men intire, and carry them about on Horseback stretch'd out upon
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upon a Board. These Usages are receiv'd among the Scythians. Yet they are not accustom'd to use all Heads alike; for those of their greatest Enemies are treated in the following Manner. They cut off the whole Face from the Eye-brows downwards, and having cleans'd the rest, if they are poor, they content themselves to cover the Skull with Leather: But the Rich, besides this Covering of Leather, guild the inside with Gold; and these serve instead of Cups for their Drink. They do the same to their familiar Friends; if upon any dispute they conquer them in the Presence of the King. When they entertain any Stranger of Consideration, they shew him these Heads, and relating the injurious Usage they receiv'd from their Friends, together with the Victory they obtain'd, value themselves much upon these Actions. Every Provincial Governour provides a Vessel of Wine once a Year in his own Province, to treat all those Scythians who have kill'd Enemies: Whilst those who have not perform'd any such Exploit, sit at a Distance with shame, and are not permitted to taste the Liquor; which is accounted a great Disgrace: But they who have kill'd many Men, drink out of two Cups, which they bring with them. The Scythians abound in Prophets, who divine by Rods of Willow in the following Manner. They collect great Bundles of these Twigs; which they lay down, and open on the Ground. Then separating the whole Parcel one from the other, they begin to utter their Predictions, and whilst they are yet speaking, gather up the Rods again, and tye them in Faggots as before. This Way of Divination is originally
nally Scythian; but the Enarians and Andro-gynes pretend that Venus gave them the Power of predicting by the Bark of a Lime-tree, which they split in three Places; and tearing the Parts asunder with their Fingers, pronounce the Oracle. When the King of Scythia is sick, he sends for three of the most famous of these Prophets; and they generally tell him, that some Scythian, whom they name, has per-jur'd himself, in swearing fallly by the Royal Throne. For that is the Oath which the Scythians swear, when they would affirm a thing with the greatest Solemnity. The Person accus'd is presently seiz'd, and brought into the King's Presence; where the Prophets charge him with Perjury, and pretend to have discover'd by their Art, that he has sworn fallly by the Throne, and so brought this Distemper upon the King. If he deny the Fact, and complain of the Injury, the King sends for a double Number of Prophets: And in Case they confirm the former Judgment after they have perform'd the usual Ceremonies, the Man immediately loses his Head, and the first three divide his Riches among themselves. But if they judge him innocent, more and more of these Diviners are call'd; and if he is at last acquitted by a Plurality of Voices, those who first accus'd him are condemn'd to dye; and the Sentence is executed in this Manner. When they have laid a great Quantity of small Wood upon a cover'd Cart drawn by Oxen, they tye the Prophets Hand and Foot; stop their Mouths, and place them close together on the midst of the Faggots: Then setting fire to the Pile, and terrifying the Oxen with loud Exclamations, they
they withdraw. Many of these Beasts are con-
sum'd with the Diviners, and many escape half
burnt, by running away after the Axle-tree falls
asunder. In this Manner, and sometimes for
other Reasons, they burn these Men, and call
them false Prophets. The King never spares
the Sons of those he puts to Death; but de-
stroying all the Males, saves only the Female
Children.

The Scythians in their Alliances and Con-
tracts use the following Ceremonies with all
Men. They pour Wine into a large Earthen
Vessell, and mingle it with Blood taken from
those who are to swear, by making a slight
Wound in their Flesh with a Knife or Sword.
When they have done this, they dip a Scymeter,
some Arrows, a Bill, and a Javelin in the Vessell;
and after many Imprecations, the Persons ap-
pointed to conclude the Agreement, with the
most considerable Men there Present, drink off
the Liquor. The Sepulchres of the Kings are
in the Country of the Gerrhians, where the
Borylthenes is first known to be navigable. When
their King dies, they dig a great Hole in the
Ground, of a quadrangular Form, and having re-
ciev'd the Body cover'd with Wax, they open
and cleanse the Belly, filling the Space with
bruis'd Cypress, Incense, Seeds of Parsley, and
Anis: And after they have sow'd up the Belly
again, they carry the Body in a Chariot to an-
other Province; where, those who receive it
imitate the Royal Scythians in the following
Custom. They cut off Part of one Ear; shave
their Heads; wound themselves on the Arms,
Forehead, and Nose; and pierce the left Hand
with an Arrow. Having done thus, they ac-
company
company the Chariot to another District; and this Manner is observ'd in every Province; till having carried the dead Body of the King thro' all his Dominions, they bury him in the Country of the Gerrhians, who inhabit the remotest Parts of the Kingdom. Here they lay him in the Sepul-chre, upon a Bed encompass'd on all sides with Spears; which they cover with Timber, and spread a Canopy over the whole Monument. In the Spaces that remain vacant, they place one of the King's Concubines strangled; with a Cup-bearer; a Cook; a Groom; a Waiter; a Messenger; certain Horses; and some of all things necessary. To these they add Cups of Gold; because Silver and Brass are not used among them. This done, they throw up the Earth with great Diligence, and endeavour to raise the Mound as high as possibly they can. After a Year is expir'd, they perform these things farther. They chuse such Servants as they judge most useful, out of the King's Household; which consists wholly of native Scythians. For the King takes those that please him best, and is never serv'd by Men bought with Money. These Officers being fifty in Number, they strangle; and with them fifty beautiful Horses; and after they have emptied and cleans'd their Bellies, they fill them with Straw, and sow them up again. Then they lay two Planks of a semicircular Form upon four Pieces of Timber, plac'd at a convenient Distance, with the half Circle upwards; and when they have erected a sufficient Number of these Machines, they set the Horses upon them, spitted with a strong Pole quite thro' the Body to the Neck: And thus one Semicircle supports
supports the Shoulders of the Horse, the other his Flank, and his Legs are suspended in the Air. After this they bridle the Horses, and hanging the Reins at full Length upon Poffs erected to that End, mount one of the fifty young Men they have strangled, upon each Horse, and fix him in the Seat, by driving a straight Stick upwards from the End of the back Bone to his Head, and fastening the lowest Part of that Stick in an Aperture of the Beam that spits the Horses. Then placing these Horse-men quite round the Monument, they all depart. And this is the Manner of the King’s Funeral. But when any other Scythian dies, his nearest Relations carry him about in a Chariot among his Friends; who receive and entertain the whole Company, in their Turn, setting the same things before the dead Man as before the rest. In this Manner all private Men are carried about forty Days, before they are buried: And those who have assisted at these Funerals, purify themselves thus. When they have cleans’d and wash’d their Heads, they set up three Pieces of Timber leaning to each other, and laying a good Number of Woolen-Bags close together, throw burning Stones into a hollow Space left in the midst of the Wood and Bags. In this Country a sort of Hemp grows, very like to Flax; only longer and thicker; and much more excellent than ours, whether sow’d or produc’d by Nature. The Thracians cloath themselves with Garments made of this Hemp; so well resembling Flax, that a Man must have great Experience in those Materials to distinguish one from the other: And he who had never seen this Hemp, would think their
their Cloaths were wrought out of Flax. The Scythians put the Seeds of this Hemp under the Bags, upon the burning Stones; and immediately a more agreeable Vapour is emitted than from the Incense burnt in Greece. The Company extremely transported with the Scent, howl aloud; and this Manner of Purification serves instead of washing: For they never bath their Bodies in Water. But their Wives grinding the Wood of Cypress, Cedar, and Incense upon a rough Stone, and infusing the Powder in Water, compound a thick Substance, which they spread over all the Parts of the Body and Face. This Composition is taken off the next Day, and renders the Women sweet, shining, and clean. They studiously avoid the Use of any other Customs than their own; not admitting even those of their Scythian Neighbours; and are particularly averse to those of the Grecians, as the Examples of Anacharsis, and afterwards of Scyles, sufficiently demonstrate. For Anacharsis, after he had view'd many Countries, and acquir'd great Wisdom failing thro' the Hellespont in his Return to Scythia, and landing at Cyzicus, found the Inhabitants of that Place celebrating a Festival to the Mother of the Gods with great Solemnity; and made a Vow to the Goddess, that if he return'd in Health and Safety to his own Country, he would sacrifice in the same Manner he found practis'd by the Cyzicenians, and introduce the nocturnal Ceremonies. Accordingly when he arriv'd in Scythia, he went privately into the Country of Hylea, situate near the Race of Achilles, and abounding in Trees of all kinds. There he fully perform'd all the Rites of the Goddess; holding a
a Timbal in his Hand before the Images he had hung in the Trees. But a certain Scythian observ-
ing what he was doing, discover'd the whole Matter to King Saulius; who coming to the Place, and seeing Anacharsis thus employ'd, drew his Bow and kill'd him on the Spot. Yet if any Man question the Scythians concerning An-
acharsis, they presently say they know nothing of him; because he travell'd into Greece, and af-
lected foreign Customs. Nevertheless I have been inform'd by Timnes the Guardian of Spar-
gapythes, that Anacharsis was Uncle to Indathyrfus King of Scythia Son to Gnurus and Grand-
son of Lycus the Son of Spargapythes: And if he was of that Family, he was kill'd by his own Cousin German: For Indathyrfus was the Son of Saulius, and Saulius kill'd Anacharsis. But I had a different Account from the Peloponnesians; who said, that Anacharsis was sent abroad by the King of Scythia; that he became a Disci-
ple of the Grecians; and at his Return told the King, that all the Grecians were employ'd in acquiring Knowledge, except the Lacedæ-
monians, who only studied how to give and receive with Prudence: But this is a Ficti-
on contriv'd in Greece; and Anacharsis was in-
deed kill'd in the Manner I have mention'd; becausc he affected foreign Customs, and had convers'd with the Grecians. Many Years af-
ter this Event, Scyles the Son of Aripitbes King of Scythia, met with the like Fate. Aripitbes was the Father of many other Children: But he had Scyles by an Istrian, not a Scythian Wo-
man. His Mother instructed him in the Grec-
cian Language and Letters; and when, after some Time Aripitbes was kill'd by the Fraud of Sparga-
Spargapythes, King of the Agathyrsians, Scyles took Possession of the Kingdom, and married Opea his Father's Wife, a Native of Scythia, and Mother of Oricus, another Son of Aripithec. But tho' Scyles was King of the Scythians, he dislik'd the Customs of Scythia; and much rather inclining to the Grecian Manners, in which he had been educated from his Infancy, he contriv'd this Invention. Leading the Scythian Army to the City of the Borysthenians, which they say is a Colony of the Milesians, and arriving before the Place, he left his Scythians without the Walls, and entering alone, caus'd the Gates to be immediately shut; put off his Scythian Garment; and having cloth'd himself in the Grecian Habit, walk'd in Publick without Guards, or other Attendants. And that no Scythian might fee him dress'd in this Manner, he plac'd Sentinels at every Gate; conforming himself to the Grecian Customs in the Worship of the Gods, no less than in all other things, and after he had stay'd a Month or more in this Place, he refus'd the Scythian Habit, and departed. This Practice he frequently repeated; built a Palace in the City and married a Wife, who was a Native of the Place. But the fatal Decree was pass'd, and his ill Fortune fell upon him on this Occasion. He was very desirous to be initiated in the Rites of Bacchus; and when all things were prepar'd for the Ceremony of his Initiation, a great Prodigy happen'd. The outward Court of the magnificent Palace, which, I have said, he built in the Capital of the Borysthenians, was adorn'd quite round with Images of white Marble, representing Sphynxes and Griffins. In this Place the Thunder
Thunder of Jupiter fell, and demolish'd them all. Yet Scyles still persisted in his Resolution, and accomplish'd his Initiation. Now because the Scythians reproach the Grecians with these Bacchanals; and say, that to imagine a God driving Men into the most violent Transports of Madness, is not agreeable to right Reason; a certain Borysthenian, whilst the Ceremonies of Initiation were perform'd, went out, and discover'd the Thing to the Scythian Army in these Words. "You Scythians, said he, laugh at us, because we celebrate Bacchanals, and are posses'd by the God: But now the same Deity has taken Possession of your King. For he also celebrates the Rites of Bacchus, full of a divine Fury: And if you will not believe me, follow, and I will demonstrate the Fact." The principal of the Scythians accompanied him accordingly; and being privately introduc'd by the Borysthenian into one of the Towers, they perceiv'd Scyles with the Chorus performing the Bacchanalian Rites. They saw these Things with great Grief, and going back to the Camp, acquainted all the Army with what they had seen. After some Time, when Scyles was return'd Home, the Scythians revolted from him, and elected his Brother Octamasades, born of the Daughter of Tyres: Which Scyles hearing, and understanding the Reason of their Proceeding, he fled to Thrace. Octamasades being inform'd of his Flight, march'd with an Army against Thrace, and arriving on the Banks of the Ister, found the Forces of the Thracians advancing to meet him. But as both Sides were preparing for a Battle, Sitalces the Thracian sent a Herald to Octamasades with this
this Message; "Why should we try the Fort-
tune of War? Thou art the Son of my
Sister, and hast my Brother with thee. Sur-
render my Brother to me, and I will deliver
Scyles into thy Hands; and so neither of us
shall run the Hazard of a Defeat." For the
Brother of Sitalces having formerly fled from
him, was now in the Power of Octamasades;
who accepting the Condition, surrendered his
Uncle to Sitalces, and receiv'd his Brother
Scyles in exchange. Sitalces, upon the Delivery
of his Brother, decamp'd with his Army; and
Octamasades took off the Head of Scyles the
same Day. Thus the Scythians preserve their
own Customs; and thus they punish those who
introduce foreign Manners.

The Discourses I heard concerning the
Numbers of the Scythians were so various, that
I could not obtain any certain Information on
that Subject; some pretending they were ex-
ceedingly numerous, and others saying they
were very deficient of People. I shall there-
fore only relate what I have seen. The District
of Exampæus, which I lately mention'd when I
spoke of the Spring that infects the Waters of
the Hypanis, is situate between the Borysthenes
and that River. In this Place lies a Bowl of
Brass, six times bigger than that which was
plac'd by Pausanias, the Son of Cleombrotus, at
the Mouth of the Euxin Sea. They who have
not been Eye-witnesses, may be here inform'd,
that the Scythian Vessle is six Inches thick,
and large enough to contain full six hundred
Amphoras. The Inhabitants say it was wrought
up out of the Points of Arrows, by the Order
of their King Ariantes; who being desirous to
know
know the Number of the Scythians, command-
ed every one to bring him the Point of an Ar-
row on Pain of Death, by which Means so
great a Number was brought together, that re-
olving to leave a Monument of the Thing, he
caus’d the Bowl of Bras to be made, and dedi-
cated in Exampæus. This I heard concerning
the Numbers of the Scythians. Their Country
has nothing wonderful except the Rivers, which
are very many, and very great. But whatever
may seem worthy of Observation, besides the
Rivers, and Extent of the Plains, shall not be
omitted. They shew the Print of the Foot of
Hercules, upon a Stone lying by the River Tyres;
shap’d like the Step of a Man, and full two
Cubits in Length. But I must now return to
the Subject I principally design’d.

WHILST Darius was making Preparations
against the Scythians, sending Messengers to
some Places, with Orders to raise Land-Forces,
and commanding others to provide a Fleet, and
to lay a Bridge over the Thracian Bosporus;
Artabanus the Son of Hyftaspes, and Brother of
Darius, endeavour’d by all possible Means to dif-
uade him from his intended Enterprize; repre-
senting the Poverty of Scythia, and giving him
most useful Counfel; but finding he could not
prevail, forbore to press him any farther. When
all things were ready, and Darius was marching
from Susa with his Forces, Oeobazus, a Persian,
who had three Sons in his Army, came and de-
sir’d him that one of the three might be left at
Home. The King spoke kindly to him; told
him the Favour he ask’d was small, and that he
would leave him all his Sons: Which Answer
Oeobazus receiv’d with great Joy; because he
hop’d
hop'd his Sons would have their Dismission from the Army. But Darius commanded the Officers appointed for such Purposes, to put all the Sons of Oeobazus to Death, and in that Condition left them to their Father. Then marching with his Army from Susa, he advanc'd to Chalcedon upon the Bosphorus, where a Bridge was laid ready for his Passage; and going on board a Ship, sail'd to the Cyanean Islands, which, the Grecians say, were formerly unfix'd. There, sitting in the Temple, he took a View of the Euxin Sea: A Prospect truly beautiful. This Sea, of all others the most admirable, is eleven thousand one hundred Stades in Length; and, in the widest Part, three thousand two hundred in Breadth. The Mouth is four Stades over; and the Length of the Streights, which is call'd the Bosphorus, where the Bridge of Communication was laid, contains about an hundred and twenty Stades, and extends to the Propontis. The Propontis is five hundred Stades in Breadth, one thousand four hundred in Length, and flows into the Hellespont; which being seven Stades over in the narrowest Place, and extending to four hundred Stades in Length, falls into the wide Ægean: And this is the Measure of those Seas. A Ship commonly advances about seventy thousand Rod in a long Day, and about sixty thousand in the Night. So that a Voyage from the Mouth of the Euxin Sea to the River Phasis, which is the utmost Point, may be perform'd in nine Days and eight Nights, comprehending the Measure of a hundred and ten thousand and one hundred Rod, or eleven thousand and one hundred Stades. From the Coast of Scythia to Themiscyra, situate on the River Thermodon, which
which is the broadest Part of the Euxin Sea, the Passage is made in three Days and two Nights; being three hundred and three thousand Rod, or three thousand and three hundred Stades over. These are the Dimensions of the Euxin, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, which are situate as I have related. The Euxin receives the Waters of a Lake call'd Maeotis, not much inferior, in Circumference, to that Sea, and usually nam'd the Mother of the Euxin. When Darius had survey'd the Situation of this Sea, he return'd to the Bridge, which was contriv'd by Mandrocles, a Samian Architect. He likewise view'd the Bosphorus, and erected two Columns of white Stone on the Shore, with an Inscription in the Assyrian Tongue on the one, and another in the Grecian Language on the other; mentioning the several Nations he had in his Army; which was compos'd of Men drawn out of every Country of his Empire, and amounted to the Number of seven hundred thousand Horse and Foot; besides six hundred Sail of Ships. In succeeding Times these Pillars were remov'd, by the Byzantians, into their City, and us'd in building an Altar to the Orthosian Diana; except one Stone, full of Assyrian Letters, which they left in a Temple dedicated to Bacchus, in Byzantium. The Place where Darius caus'd the Bridge to be laid over the Bosphorus, was, as I conjecture, in the middle of the way between Byzantium and the Temple which stands at the Mouth of that Sea. The King was so pleas'd with the Performance, that he rewarded the Samian Architect Mandrocles, with more than ten times the Value of the Work. And Mandrocles in Gratitude
Gratitude having painted the Conjunction of the two Shores, with Darius sitting on a Throne, and his Army passing over the Bridge, dedicated the Picture in the Temple of Juno, under this Inscription,

To Juno sacred, by Mandrocles plac'd,
This Piece describes the artful Bridge he lay'd
Over the Thracian Bosphorus. He joyn'd
The fertile Asia to Europa's Shore,
Pleas'd the great King Darius, and acquir'd
Fame to his Country, to himself a Crown.

This Monument serv'd to preserve the Memory of the Person who contriv'd the Bridge. And Darius, after he had rewarded Mandrocles, order'd his Army to pass into Europe; commanding the Ionians to sail by the Euxin Sea to the *Ister; there to wait his Arrival, and lay a Bridge over that River: For his naval Forces consisted of Ionians, Æolians, and Hellesponts. They pass'd accordingly by the Cyanean Islands, shaping their Course directly to the Ister, and after they had sail'd up the River during two Days, arriving at that Neck where the Stream divides into several Branches, they form'd a Bridge. In the mean Time Darius had pass'd over the Bosphorus, and marching thro' Thrace, arriv'd at the Head of the River Tearus, and encamp'd there with his Army three Days. The Inhabitants of the Country say, this River is more excellent than any other for the Cure of various Distempers; and especially of Ulcers either in Men or Horses: The Springs of the Tearus are thirty eight; and

* The Danube.
some of these are hot, and others cold; yet all descend from the same Rock. They are at an equal distance from Heræopolis near Perintbus, and Apollonia on the Euxin Sea; two days journey from each. The Tearus runs into the Contadesius; the Contadesius into the Agriane; the Agriane into the Hebrus, and the Hebrus into the Sea by the City of Ænus. Darius incamping at this River, was so pleas'd, that he erected a Pillar with the following Inscription; The Springs of the Tearus Yield the best and most beautiful Water of all Rivers: Darius the Son of Hystaspes, King of the Persians and of all the Continent, the best and most excellent of Men, leading an Army against the Scythians, arrived here. When he had done this, he decamp'd, and advanced to another River call'd Artiscus; which passes thro' the Country of the Odrysians, where, at his Arrival he mark'd out a certain Ground, commanding every Man of the Army to bring a Stone thither as he should pass by the Place; and when they had executed his Order, he mov'd again, leaving vast Heaps of Stones behind him. But before he reach'd the Ister, he subdued the Getes, who think themselves immortal. For the Thracians of Salmophus, together with the Cymrians and Myphæans, who inhabit above the Cities of Apollonia and Mesambria, submitted to Darius without Resistance. But the Getes oppos'd him thro' Ignorance; and tho' they are the most valiant and honest of all the Thracians, were easily conquer'd, and reduc'd to Servitude. They pretend to Immortality, in
this Manner. They imagine that the Man who ceases to live, is not dead, but goes to Zamolxis, accounted by some among them to be the same with Gebelizis. Every fifth Year they elect a Person by Lot, and send him to Zamolxis with Orders to let him know what they want. This Messenger they dispatch thus. Certain Persons are appointed to hold three Javelins erected; whilst others taking the Man they are to send, by the Hands and Feet, throw him up into the Air; that he may fall down upon the Points. If he dyes in their Presence, they think the God propitious: If not, they load him with Reproaches, and affirming he is an ill Man send another, whom they furnish with Instructions while he is yet alive. These Thracians, in Time of Thunder and Lightning, let fly their Arrows against the Heavens, and threaten their God; whom they think the only Deity. But I am inform'd by the Grecians who inhabit about the Hellespont and Euxin Seas, that this Zamolxis was a Man, and liv'd at Samos in the Service of Pythagoras the Son of Mnesarchus: That having procur'd his Liberty, and acquir'd great Riches, he return'd to his own Country; and finding the Thracians ignorant and miserable, he, who had learnt the Ionian Way of Living, and Manners more polite than those of Thrace, by conversing with Grecians, and with Pythagoras, a Sophist of no small Esteem in Greece, built a Hall for the Entertainment of the principal Persons of the Country, and taught them at their Feasts, that neither he, nor any of those present, or their Posterity, should ever dye; but go into a Place, where they should live eternally in all Manner of
of Felicity. In the mean Time he contriv'd a subterraneous Habitation for himself, and having finish'd the Building, went down and continued there during three Years. The Thracians seeing him no more, regretted their Loss, and lamented him, as dead: But in the third Year he appear'd again, and by that Means persuaded them to believe the things he had said. Thus the Story is told: And for my own Part, I neither absolutely reject, nor intirely believe the Account of this Person and his subterraneous Habitation: But I am of Opinion that Zamolxis liv'd many Years before Pythagoras. Yet whether this Zamolxis was a Man, or a native Daemon among the Getes, I shall not dispute. However, that People, observing such Customs as I mention'd before, follow'd the Army of Darius, after they were subdued.

The King arriving with all his Land Forces at the Ister, pass'd over the River, and commanded the Ionians to break the Bridge, and joyn the Army with the Men they had on board. But as they were preparing to execute his Orders, Coes the Son of Erxandrus, and General of the Mitylenians, after he had ask'd Darius if he might be permitted to deliver his Opinion freely, spoke to him in these Terms; "O King, said he, since we are going to make War in a Country which uses no Plow, nor has any inhabited Cities, let the Bridge remain intire, under the Guard of those who put it together: That, whether we find the Scythians and succeed in our Enterprize, or whether we find them not, we may at least secure our Retreat. I am not afraid the Scythians will defeat us in Battle; yet
yet I fear we may suffer, by mistaking the Way, if the Enemy will not be found. Per-
haps some may think I say this for my own sake; in order to continue here. But, O
King, I sincerely propose what I judge most conducing to the Good of your Affairs: For
I design to march with an Army, and not to remain in this Place." Darius pleas'd with his Advice, answer'd him thus: "Lesbian Friend,
If I return Home in Safety, fail not to come into my Presence; that I may reward the best of Counsels with the greatest Ac-
knowledgment." Then tying sixty Knots upon a String, and calling for the Ionian Com-
manders, he said, "Men of Ionia, I have alter'd the Resolution I had made concerning the Bridge: And therefore, take this String,
and do as I direct. Every Day, after you see me beginning to march against the Scythians,
untie one of these Knots: And if I return not within that Time, and the Days of my Absence exceed the Number of the Knots,
you may depart with your Ships to your own Country. In the mean Time, be upon your Guard, and apply the utmost of your Care to preserve and secure the Bridge: Which will be the most acceptable thing you can do for me." And after Darius had spoken these Words, he broke up with his Army, and began his March.

The Territories of Thrace lye extended along the Borders of Scythia, and descend to the Sea in the Form of a Bay. Above these Countries Scythia begins, and the Ister falls into the Euxin, with his Mouth turn'd towards the East. But I must now describe those Regions of Scythia, that
that begin at the Ister, and stretch down by the Sea Coast. That Part, which lies North and South of the Ister, is the ancient Scythia, and extends to the City of Carcinitis. And the mountainous Regions, which begin at that Place, and are situate along the Exin, descending towards the Shore, belong to the People of Taurus, and reach to the rocky Chersonesus, that terminates in the Eastern Sea. Thus Scythia is divided into two Parts, both extending to the Sea; one towards the South and the other towards the East; not unlike the Region of Attica. For the Inhabitants of Taurus are so plac’d in Scythia; as any other People would be, who instead of the Athenians, should possess the Promontory of Sunium, which advances to the Sea between the Tribes of Thoricus and Anaphylitus. Such is the Situation of Taurus; if I may be permitted to compare small things with great. But to those who have never fail’d by that Part of Attica, I shall explain my self farther: Suppose then, that a Nation distinct from the Japygians, should possess the Promontory of Japygia, from the Port of Brundusium to Tarentum, and by that Means cut off the Communication between the other Parts of the Country. Many other Instances of the same Nature might be given; but I need add no more to illustrate the Description of Taurus. The Scythians inhabit the Countries that lye beyond the Taurians, and those that extend to the Eastern Sea; together with the Regions situate to the Westward of the Cimmerian Bosporus and the Lake Maeotis, to the River Tanais, which flows into that Lake. So that those Countries which beginning at the Ister, advance upwards to the midland
midland Parts, are border’d first by the Agathyrsians; then by the Neurians; next by the Androphages; and in the last place, by the Melanchlænians. Thus Scythia if of a quadrangular Form; and the two Parts that descend to the Sea, are equal to the other two that lye far within the Land. For from the Ister to the Borysthenes, is a Journey of ten Days; ten more from the Borysthenes to the Lake Maeotis; and twenty from the Sea by the midland Countries to the Melanchlænians, who inhabit above the Scythians. Now if we allow two hundred Stades for every Day’s Journey, the Way that traverses Scythia, contains four thousand Stades in Length; and the direct Passage upwards by the midland Parts; the same Number. Such is the Extent of this Country.

The Scythians, after they had consult’d together, and found they were not able with their own Forces to resist the Army of Darius in the open Field, dispatch’d Messengers to the adjoining Nations; and when their Kings were assembled, they consult’d how to act, under the Apprehensions of being invaded by so numerous an Army. This Assembly consisted of the Kings of Taurus; of the Agathyrsians; of the Neurians; of the Androphages; of the Melanchlænians; of the Gelones; of the Budians, and of the Sarmatians. Of these, the Taurians observe the following Customs. All those who suffer Shipwrack, and the Grecians they seize upon their Coast, they sacrifice to a Virgin in this Manner. After many Imprecations, they strike the Man on the Head with a Club, and, as some affirm, precipitate the Body from a Hill, on which their Temple
Temple is built; reserving only the Head to be fixed on a Pole; whilst others, acknowledging this to be the Way they use in disposing of the Head, yet pretend they never throw the Body down from the Hill, but bury it under Ground. The Inhabitants of Taurus say, that the Dæmon they worship with these Sacrifices, is Iphigenia the Daughter of Agamemnon. Those who fall into their Hands in Time of War, are treated in another Manner. For every one cuts off the Head of an Enemy; which he carries Home, and fixes to a long Pole erected on the Top of his House, and, for the most Part, over the Chimney: Which they say, is done in order to guard the House. This People live by War and Rapine. The Agathyrsians are a luxurious Nation, and usually wear Cloaths embroider’d with Gold. They have their Women in common, to the End they may be all Brethren; by this Means conversing so familiarly together, that they never exercise any mutual Envy and Animosities. In other things they approach the Manners of the Thracians. The Neurians observe the Customs of Scythia; and one Generation before the Expedition of Darius, were driven out of their Country by Serpents. For besides those that were bred in their own Territories, a much greater Number came down from the Deserts, and so infested them, that they were compelled to abandon their Habitations, and retire among the Budians. These Men attempt to be Magicians; and the Scythians, with the Grecians who inhabit in Scythia, say, that all the Neurians once every Year are transform’d into Wolves for a few Days, and then resume their former
former Shape. But I am not persuaded to believe this, tho' they affirm their Assertion with Oaths. The Androphages live in a more savage Manner than any other Nation; having no publick Distribution of Justice, nor establish'd Laws. They apply themselves to the breeding of Cattle; cloath themselves like the Scythians, and speak a peculiar Language. The Melanchlænians wear no other Garments than Black, and had their Name from that Custom. These follow the Usages of Scythia; but are the only People of all those Countries, who feed upon human Flesh. The Budians are a great and populous Nation, with Eyes very blue, and red Hair. They have a City call'd by the Name of Gelonus; built with Timber, and surrounded by a high Wall of the same Materials; each side of which is three hundred Stades in Length. The Buildings, as well sacred as private, are of Timber likewise: And they have Temples dedicated to the Gods of Greece, adorn'd after the Grecian Manner with Images, Altars, and Chapels of Wood. They celebrate the Triennial Festivals of Baccus, and perform the Bacchanalian Ceremonies. For the Gelonians were originally Grecians; who transplanted themselves from the trading Ports of Greece, and settled among the Budians: Where they use a Language compos'd of the Scythian and Grecian Tongues. But the Budians differ from the Gelonians in Speech, and in their Manner of Living. For being Original Inhabitants of the Country, they apply themselves to the keeping of Cattle; and are the only People of these Parts who eat Lice: Whereas the Gelonians till the Land; feed upon Corn; cultivate
cultivate Gardens; and are utterly unlike the Budians both in Mien and Complexion; tho' the Grecians without ground call the Budians by the Name of the Gelonians. Their Country abounds in Trees of all Kinds; and in that Part, where they grow in greatest Numbers, lies a deep and spacious Lake, surrounded by a Morass cover'd with Reeds. In this Place, Otters, Beavers, and other Animals of a square Visage, are frequently taken. Their Skins sew'd together serve for Garments, and their Testicles are useful in the Diseases of the Mother. Concerning the Sarmatians we have the following Account. When the Grecians had fought a Battle on the River Thermodon against the Amazons, who by the Scythians are call'd Aiorpata, or in our Language Manslayers; Aior signifying a Man, and Pata to kill; they departed after the Victory they had obtain'd, and in three of their Ships carried off all the Amazons they could take alive. Whilst they were out at Sea, these Amazons conspir'd against the Men, and kill'd all they found on Board. But having no Knowledge of Navigation, nor any Skill in the Use of the Rudder, Sails or Oars, they were driven by Wind and Tide, 'till they arriv'd at the Precipices of the Lake Maeotis in the Territories of the Free Scythians. Here the Amazons went a-shoar, and marching into the Country seiz'd and mounted the first Herd of Horses they found, and began to plunder the Inhabitants. The Scythians could not imagine the meaning of this Incurssion; and being utterly ignorant of their Language, Habit and Nation, wonder'd from whence they came. They first conjectur'd that they were Men, all of the same Age: But'

after
after they had skirmish'd with them, and taken some Prisoners, they soon perceiv'd they were Women. The Scythians therefore consulting together, resolv'd not to kill them; but to send out a Party consisting of a like Number of young Men, with Orders to post themselves near their Camp, and attend their Motions. If the Women should attack the Party, they were commanded to fly, without making Resistance; and when they should find themselves no longer pursued, then to return again, and encamp within the least Distance they could. This Resolution the Scythians took, out of a great Desire to have Children by these Women. The young Men observ'd their Instructions, and when the Amazons found they were not come with hostile Intentions, they suffer'd them to continue there without Molestation: And as they had nothing except their Arms and Horses, they liv'd in the same Manner by Hunting and Pil-lage. About Noon the Amazons usually separated themselves; and sometimes single, sometimes two together, went out to comply with the Necessities of Nature: Which when the Scythians perceiv'd, they did so likewise. And by this Means one of these walking alone, met with an Amazon: Who not offering to withdraw, and resolving to make use of the Occasion, tho' she could not speak to him in Words, because neither understood the Language of the other; yet she made him understand by certain Motions of her Hand, that if he would come the next Day to the same Place, accompany'd by another Scythian, she would bring one of her Companions with her. The young Man, after this Invitation, departed; and having
having related his Adventure to the rest, went the next Day with another Scythian to the Place of Assignment, and found the two Amazons expecting their Arrival. Upon Information of which Success, the rest of the young Men address'd themselves to the remaining Amazons; the two Camps were joyn'd, and every one kept for his Wife the Person he first convers'd with. But because the Men could not attain to speak the Amazonian Tongue, the Women learn'd the Language of Scythia; and when they found on both sides, that they liv'd in a perfect Agreement, the Scythians spoke to the Amazons in these Terms. "We have our Parents and Possessions; and being on that Account unwilling to continue longer in this Way of living, we would return and live among our Countrymen; always retaining you and no other Persons, for our Wives." To this the Amazons answer'd; "We shall never induce to live with the Women of your Country; because we differ in Manners. For we have been accustomed to draw a Bow; throw a Javelin; and mount a Horse; and were never instructed in the usual Employments of other Women. Whereas the Scythian Wives do none of the things we have mention'd: But are employ'd in Womanish Labours; sitting still in your Waggons; unaccustom'd to Hunting or any other Exercise; and therefore we cannot comply with their Manner of Life. Nevertheless, if you are desirous to keep us for your Wives, and to act like honest Men, go to your Parents; and after you have receiv'd your Part of their Riches, return and we will live together." The young Men, consenting
Contenting to go as they desir'd, obtain'd every one his Portion; and at their Return, the Amazons propos'd another Expedient, in these Words: "Two things deter us from living "in this Country: For we have depriv'd you "of your Parents; and have committed great "Depredations in these Parts. Therefore, since "you have thought us worthy to be your "Wives, let us unanimously agree to pass the "Tanais, and fix our Habitations on the other "Side of that River." The young Men con- senting to this also; they pass'd the Tanais; and after a March of three Days from the River Eastward, and three more from the Lake Maeotis to the Northward, they arriv'd and settled in the Regions they now inhabit. Hence the Wives of the Sarmatians still continue their ancient Way of Living. They hunt on Horseback in the Company of their Husbands, and sometimes alone: They march with their Armies, and wear the same Dress with the Men. The Sarmatians use the Scythian Language; but corrupted from the Beginning; because the Amazons never learnt to speak correctly. Their Marriages are attended with this Circumstance: No Virgin is permitted to marry, 'till she has kill'd an Enemy in the Field; so that some always grow old before they can qualify themselves as the Law requires.

The Messengers dispatch'd by the Scythians, inform'd the Kings of the Nations I have mention'd, in their Assembly, that the Persian, having subdued all the Countries on the other Continent, had joyn'd the two Shores by a Bridge, and pass'd over the Neck of the Bosporus to this Side: Where he had already reduc'd the Thra-
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...and laid another Bridge upon the Ister, with design to conquer all those Regions in like Manner: "And therefore, said they, you ought not to sit still at Home, and look upon our Destruction with Indifference; but joyning all our Forces together, let us unanimously march out, and meet the Invader. If you refuse to take this Resolution, we shall be compell'd either to abandon the Country, or make our Composition; for to what End should we suffer the last Extremities, if you refuse to assist us? Besides you are in equal Danger: The Persian is marching against you no less than against us; and, that he will not content himself to destroy our Country, and leave you undisturb'd, his own Actions are the clearest Demonstration: For if he had undertaken this Expedition only against us, in order to revenge former Injuries, he ought to have march'd directly into our Territories, without offering Violence to any other Nation; and by that Means have convinc'd all, that he had no other Enterprize in his Intentions, than the Conquest of Scythia. Whereas on the contrary, at his Arrival on this Continent, he receiv'd the Submissions of those Places that lay in his Way; and reduc'd the rest of Thrace, with our Neighbours the Getes, to his Obedience." When the Scythians had finish'd these Words, the Kings who were present on the Part of several Nations, deliberated touching their Proposal, and divided in Opinion. Those of the Gelonians, Budians, and Sarmatians, unanimously determin'd to assist the Scythians: But the Kings of the Agathyrians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlaenians, and
and Taurians, made this Answer to the Messengers. "If you had not been the first Aggres-
sors, and done the first Injury to the Persians,
we should acknowledge the Equity of your
present Demands; and readily yielding to
your Desires, would concur with you in one
common Cause. But as you invaded their
Territories without our Participation, and
kept your Acquisitions there, during all the
Time God favour'd your Arms: So now, by
the Instigation of the same God, they return
you the same Measure: And therefore, hav-
ing had no Part in that unjust Invasion, we
will not now begin to injure the Persians.
Yet if this Man should wrongfully attack us,
and exercise Hostility in our Country, we
would not endure the Affront. 'Till that
Time we shall remain quiet at Home: Be-
cause we think the Persians are not come
with hostile Intentions against us; but against
those, who were the Authors of the first In-
juries."

When the Scythians had receiv'd an Ac-
count of this Negotiation, they determin'd to
fight no Battle in the open Field, because so
many Nations had refus'd to assist them: But to
withdraw themselves gradually from the Front-
tiers; and filling up all the Wells and Springs in
their Way, and destroying the Herbage, to di-
vide their Forces into two Bodies. They re-
solv'd that the Sarmatians should advance to the
Territories of King Scopafis; with Directions,
if the Persian should turn his March that Way,
to retire by the Lake Maeotis to the River Tanais,
and upon his Retreat, to follow him and harrass
his Army. These Orders were to be observ'd,
in relation to that Part of the Kingdom. The two other Divisions; one of which being the greater, was under the Government of India- therus, and the other commanded by Taxacis, were directed to act in Conjunction with the Geloians and Budians; keeping a Day's March before the Persians, and tiring them with frequent Skirmishes: Then retreating again, pursuant to their Instructions, they were to endeavour, by all possible Means, to draw the Enemy into the Territories of those who had rejected their Alliance; that since they refus'd to take Part voluntarily in the War against the Persians, they might be compell'd against their Will to defend themselves: And if that Design should succeed, they might return to their own Country, and attempt whatever they should judge most necessary. When the Scythians had fix'd these Orders, they march'd by private Ways towards the Army of Darius, and commanded the best of their Horse to advance before the rest; having already sent away their Wives and Children in the Waggons they use instead of Houses, with all their Cattle, except so many as they thought necessary for their Subsistance, ordering them to retire incessantly Northward. The Detachment of Scythian Horse finding the Persians advanc'd about three Days March from the Ister, encamp'd; and having destroy'd all the Product of the Ground, fled away. The Persians seeing this Cavalry appear, trac'd them by the Marks they left behind; and entering one of the Districts, pursu'd the Scythians; who fled Eastward to the River Tanais, which they pass'd; the Persians still following them thro' Sarmatia, into the Territories of the Budians. All the time the i Persians
Persians were marching thro’ the Scythian and Sarmatian Region, they found nothing to ravage, because those Parts were utterly unimprov’d. But entering the Country of the Buc- dians, and arriving at their City, which was built with Wood, and abandon’d by the Inhabitants, after they had carried all away, they set fire to the Place. Then pursuing their March, they travers’d the whole Region, and arriv’d in an uninhabited Defart, situate above the Buc- dians, and not to be pass’d in less than seven Days. Beyond this Defart the Thessagetes inhabit; and four great Rivers known by the Names of the Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, and Syr- gis, rise within their Country; and passing thro’ the Territories of the Maëotians, flow into the Lake Meotis. Darius arriving at the Defart, ceas’d his Pursuit, and encamp’d with his Ar- my on the River Oarus. During his Stay there, he built eight spacious Cities, equally distant, about sixty Stades from each other; the Ruins of which remain to this Day: And whilst he was employ’d in this Work, the Scythians marching about by the upper Regions, return’d into Scythia; and Darius, perceiving they were withdrawn, and appear’d no more, left his Ci- ties unfinish’d, and turn’d his March to the Westward; supposing them to be all the Scy- thians, and that they had fled that Way. He advanc’d with his Army in great Diligence; and entering Scythia fell in with two of the Scythian Divisions, and pursu’d them a whole Day without Intermission. The Scythians de- signedly flying towards those Nations that had refus’d to assist them, enter’d first into the Ter- ritories of the Melanchlænians: And when they
and the Persians had equally contributed to put all things there into Confusion, they drew the Persians after them into the Country of the Androphages: Where, after they had committed the like Disorders, the Scythians led the Enemy among the Neurians; and having brought these also into the same Circumstances, withdrew again towards the Agathyrsians. But before they enter'd the Country, the Agathyrsians seeing all their Neighbours flying in Confusion before the Scythians, dispatch'd a Herald to forbid them to come within their Limits; and at the same Time to inform them, that, if they should attempt to force their Way, they must first fight with the Agathyrsians. This Message was no sooner sent, than the Agathyrsians march'd to the Borders, with a Resolution to defend their Territories against all Invaders. Whereas the Melanchlænians, Androphages, and Neurians, never thought of defending themselves against the Invasion of the Scythians and Persians; but forgetting their former Menaces, fled with the utmost Precipitation to the Northern Desarts. The Scythians, upon the Admonition of the Agathyrsians, did not attempt to enter their Country; but departing from Neuria, retreated before the Persians into their own Territories. And after they had continued to withdraw themselves in this Manner for a considerable Time, Darius sent a Horseman to Indathyrsus King of Scythia, with the following Message, "Wretched Man, Why dost thou incessantly betake thyself to Flight, when thou mayest choose one of these two things? If thou art persuaded thy Forces are able to encounter my Army in the Field; halt, and fight: If not, come,
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"come, and own me for thy Lord, by presenting me with Earth and Water, in Testimony of thy Submission." To this Message the Scythian King made Answer in these Words. "The Way I have taken is most suitable to the State of my Affairs. I never fled from any Man out of Fear; neither have I declin'd to give thee Battle from that Motive. For in all this, I have done nothing new; or different from our constant Custom, even in Time of Peace. But I will not conceal the Reasons that move us to this Conduct. We have no Towns, nor cultivated Lands; and therefore being under no Apprehension of Depredation and Ravage, we did not immediately offer you Battle. Yet if you are so desirous to constrain us to fight, we have the Sepulchres of our Ancestors among us; which if you find, and attempt to violate, you will soon be convinc'd whether we will fight on that Account, or not. For we are resolv'd not to come to a Battle without good Reason. But to leave this Point; I am to tell you in the next Place, That I acknowledge no other Lords, than Jupiter my Progenitor, and Vesta Queen of the Scythians: That instead of presenting you with Earth and Water, I shall send you such a Present as you deserve; and perhaps, you may repent your Insolence, in assuming the Title of my Master." With this Answer the Messenger departed, and at his Return inform'd Darius of all that had pass'd.

When the Kings of Scythia had heard the Name of Servitude, they were fill'd with Indignation; and order'd the Division of Scopasis, which
which had been joyn'd by the Sarmatians, to ad-
vance, and confer with the Ionians, who guard-
ed the Bridge they had laid over the Ister. And
after their Departure the rest resolv'd, to lead the
Persians no longer out; but to attack them
whenever they should go out to forage: which
Design they put in Execution, and surpriz'd
the Troops of Darius at those Times. In these
Encounters the Scythian Horse always routed
the Persians, and drove them to their Camp:
Where finding they were succour'd by their In-
fantry, the Scythians were forc'd to retire out
of fear of the Persian Foot. Besides they fre-
quently attack'd the Enemy in the Night, and
alarm'd their Camp. But that, which was no
less strange, than prejudicial to the Scythians in
the Assaults they made; and very advantageous
to the Persians; was the Cry of the Asses, and
Form of the Mules. For Scythia produces nei-
ther of those Animals, as I have already ob-
serv'd; the Climate being utterly improper to
that End by Reason of Cold. The braying
of the Asses put the Scythian Horse into Con-
fusion; and frequently as they were advancing
to fall upon the Persians, their Horses no sooner
heard the Noise, than in a great Fright, and
with erected Ears, they turn'd short about;
having never before heard such a Voice, nor
seen such a Shape: And this Accident was of
some Importance in the War. But when the
Scythians saw the Persians falling into great
Difficulties, they contriv'd this Stratagem to
detain them longer in Scythia, to the end
they might be reduc'd to the utmost Straits,
and the want of all things necessary: They
remov'd to a greater Distance; leaving their
Cattle
Cattle to the Care of Shepherds; and the Persians coming up, took the Booty, and pleas'd themselves with their good Fortune. This they repeated several times; 'till at last the Scythian Kings understanding that the Necessities of Darius were become very pressing, sent a Herald to present him on their Part with a Bird, a Mouse, a Frog, and five Arrows. The Persians ask'd the Meaning of this Present; but the Herald made Answer, That he had no other Orders, than to deliver the things, and return immediately; yet should advise, that the Persians would consider, if they were Men of any Penetration, what such a Gift might signify. The Persians having heard this Answer consulted together, and Darius declar'd his Opinion to be, That the Scythians had by their Present made a Surrender of themselves, and given him Possession of the Land and Water: "For, said he, the Mouse is bred in the Earth, and subsists by the same Food as a Man: A Frog lives in the Water; a Bird may be compar'd to a Horse; and with their Arrows they seem to deliver their whole Force into my Hands." This was the Opinion of Darius. But Gobryas, one of the seven who had depos'd the Mage, being of a different Sentiment, said the Present intimated, "That unless the Persians could ascend into the Air like a Bird; or conceal themselves in the Earth like Mice; or plunge into the Fens like Frogs; they should inevitably perish by those Arrows; and never return Home." To which Interpretation the rest of the Persians concurred. In the mean Time that Part of the Scythians, which had been appointed to guard the Lake Maeotis, and were then commanded
commanded to parly with the Ionians at the J/ier, arriv'd in the Place where the Bridge was laid, and spoke to this Effect; "Men of Ionia, If you will hearken to us, we are come to make you an Offer of your Liberty. We have heard that Darius commanded you to guard the Bridge sixty Days only, and then return into your own Country, unless he should arrive before the Expiration of that Time. Now therefore, since you have continued here 'till all those Days are e- laps'd, put his Orders in Execution, and make no Difficulty to depart: By which Means you will avoid to give any just Occasion of Offence either to Darius or to us." The Ionians promis'd to do as they desir'd, and the Scythians return'd to their Station with all Expedition.

The rest of the Scythians, after they had sent the Present I have mention'd, to Darius, advanc'd towards the Persians with all their Forces both of Horse and Foot, as if they intended to fight; and as they stood in Order of Battle, a Hare started in the Interval between the two Armies. The Scythians immediately quitting their Ranks, pursued the Hare with loud Outcries; and when Darius saw the Confusion of the Enemy, and understood that they follow'd a Hare, he said to those he trusted with all things; "These Men treat us with great Contempt; and I am convinc'd that Gobryas judg'd rightly concerning the Present of the Scythians. Therefore being now of the same Opinion, I think we stand in need of the best Advice, to secure our Return into our own Country." To this, Gobryas answer'd; "Fame had made me in some
Measure acquainted with the Indigence of these Men: But I have learnt much more since I came hither, and observ'd in what Manner they deride us. My Opinion therefore is, that immediately upon the Clofe of the Day, we should light Fires according to Custom, and leaving the worst of our Forces in the Camp to deceive the Enemy, with all the Asses tied up in a usual Manner, decamp and march away, before the Scythians go and break the Bridge on the Iftor, or the Ionians contrive Mischief against us, as they easily may.” This was the Advice of Gobryas; and when Night came, Darius put his Counsel in Execution; leaving all the sick behind in his Camp, with those whose Loss would least affect him, and, the Asses rang’d in order. He left the Asses, that they might make a continual Noise; and the Men, under Colour of attacking the Enemy with the found Part of the Army, whilst they should remain for the Security of the Camp. Thus Darius imposing upon those he was preparing to abandon, and having caus’d the usual Fires to be kindled, marched away in great Haste towards the Iftor. The Asses being left alone, began to bray much louder than before; so that the Scythians hearing the Noise, firmly believ’d the Persians were still in their Camp. But upon the Appearance of Day, the Men that were abandon’d, finding themselves betray’d by Darius, extended their Hands, and acquainted the Scythians with the State of Affairs: Who presently drawing together the two Scythian Divisions; and joyning the other Part, which had been reinforce’d by the Budians and Gelonians; follow’d the Persians towards
towards the Iper: But because the Persians had great Numbers of Foot in their Army, and were altogether ignorant of the Ways; whereas the Scythians were all Horse, and perfectly well acquainted with the various Turnings of the Country, the two Armies miss'd each other. By which Means the Scythians arriving at the Bridge much before the Persians, and being inform'd the Enemy was not yet return'd, they spoke to the Ionians, who were on board the Ships, in these Terms: "Since the Number of Days appointed for your Stay, O Ionians, is already pass'd, you have not done as you ought, in continuing here: And therefore if Fear has hitherto been the Cause of your Delay; now, take the Bridge in pieces; depart in full Possession of your Liberty, and give Thanks to the Gods and to the Scythians, As for the Man who to this Time has been your Master, we will take Care to bring him into such Order, that he shall be no longer in a Condition to make War against any Part of Mankind." The Ionians met without Delay to consult about the Measures they should take in this Conjuncture; and Miltiades General of the Athenians, and Tyrant of the Hellepontin Chersonesians, advis'd the Assembly to comply with the Demand of the Scythians, and to restore the Liberty of Ionia. But Hesicles the Milesian, being of a contrary Opinion, represented, that, whereas every one there present was Tyrant of his own Country by the Power of Darius; if that should be once abolish'd, he himself could no longer continue Master of Miletus, nor any of the rest in the Places they then posses'd; because the People would undoubtedly,
undoubtedly choose to live under a popular Government, rather than under the Dominion of a single Person. Hestiaeus had no sooner deliver'd this Opinion, than they all went over to his side, tho' they had before assented to the Counsel of Miltiades. The Names of those who differ'd from the Opinion of Miltiades, and had some Part in the Esteem of Darius, were Dapbnis Tyrant of Abydus; Hippocrates of Lam披sacus; Erophan-tus of Pariam; Metrodorus of Proconnesus; A-ristagoras of Cyzicus, and Ariston of Byzantium: All these were Hellestontin Tyrants. Those of Ionia were, Stratias of Chio; Aesicles of Samos; Laodamas of Phocæa; and Hestiaeus of Miletus, whose Opinion was preferr'd before that of Miltiades. On the Part of the Æolians no other Person of Consideration was present, except only Aristagoras of Cyma. When these Men had approv'd the Sentiment of Hestiaeus, they concerted in what Manner they should act and speak. Accordingly they resolv'd to take away so much of the Bridge on the Scythian side, as an Arrow might reach; that they might not only seem to do something, when in Effect they did nothing; but that they might prevent the Scythians from preventing by Force to pass the Ister over their Bridge: And whilst they should be employ'd in removing that Part, which was on the Scythian side, they agreed to profess their Readiness to do any thing that might be acceptable to the Scythians. When they had determin'd to make this Addition to the Opinion of Hestiaeus, and chosen him out of all the Assembly to acquaint the Scythians with their Answer, he spoke to this Effect; “Men of Scythia, You have given us good Advice, and season-
"ably press'd us to put it in Execution: You have pointed out the right Way, and we are prepar'd to follow your Directions. We have already cut off the Passage as you see, and will finish the Work with all Diligence; because we resolve to be Free. In the mean time your Part is, to find out the Persians, and take full Revenge for the Injuries they have done both to you and to us." The Scythians believing a second Time that the Ionians were sincere, march'd back to seek the Persians; but entirely mis'd the Ways they had taken. Of this Error the Scythians themselves were the Cause, by destroying the Pasture for the Horses, and choking the Springs; which if they had not done, they might without difficulty have found the Persians. But now, that which they thought they had contriv'd to their great advantage, prov'd the very thing that misled them. For they sought the Enemy in those parts of the Country, where Forage and Water were to be found; imagining they would return by that Way. But the Persians without Deflexion, repeating the March they had made before, trac'd their Way to the River under great Difficulties. They arriv'd in the Night, and not finding the Bridge, fell into the utmost Consternation, supposing they were abandon'd by the Ionians. Darius had about his Person an Ægyptian, surpassing all other Men in the Strength of his Voice. This Man he commanded to stand on the Bank of the Ister, and call Hestiaus the Milesian. Which when he had done, Hestiaus, who heard him at the first Cry, brought all the Vessels together, and joyn'd the Bridge immediately, that the Army might pass.
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Thus the Persians escap'd, and the Scythians were a second time disappointed. On this Account they say, that if the Ionians are consider'd as a free People, they are the worst and basest of Men: If as Slaves, they indeed love their Master, and are not inclin'd to abandon his Service. These Reproaches the Scythians fling out against the Ionians.

DARIUS march'd by the Way of Thrace to Sestus in the Chersonesus; and imbarking there pass'd over into Asia, after he had constituted Megabyzus, a Persian, to be his General in Europe. He had already in Persia express'd his high Esteem of this Man. For being one Day about to eat some Pomegranates, he had no sooner open'd the first, than his Brother Artabanus ask'd him, Of what thing he would wish to possess a Number equal to the Grains of that Fruit; and receiv'd for Answer, That he would rather choose so many Men perfectly resembling Megabyzus, than the entire Conquest of Greece. Thus he honour'd this Persian at Home; and now left him the Command of an Army consisting of eighty thousand Men. Megabyzus render'd his own Name immortal among the Hellepontins, by the following Expression. Being inform'd, when he was at Byzantium, that the Chalcedonians had inhabited in that Country seventeen Years before the Arrival of the Byzantians; "Sure, said he, the Chalce-
donians were blind in those Times: For if "they could have seen, they would never have "chosen so foul a Situation, when they might "have built their City in so beautiful a Place." In Conclusion Megabyzus being left in these Parts to command the Army of Darius, subdued
About the same time another army undertook an expedition into Libya; the causes of which I shall relate, and explain some things by way of Introduction. The descendants of the Argonauts being expell'd Lemnos by those Pelasgians who seiz'd the Athenian Women at Brauron; set sail for Lacedæmon, and arriving at Taygetus, lighted Fires; which the Lacedæmonians seeing, dispatch'd a Messenger to demand who they were, and whence they came. Their answer was, that they were Minyans, Grandsons of those Heroes who fail'd in the Argos, and arriving in Lemnos begot their Fathers. When the Lacedæmonians heard they were of Minyan extraction, they sent another Messenger to enquire with what design they had landed and lighted Fires in their Territories. They said, that being ejected by the Pelasgians, they might justly return to the country of their Ancestors: And therefore desire'd to inhabit in Laconia, and to participate of their honours and lands. The Lacedæmonians receiv'd the Minyans on such terms as they desire'd, for divers reasons; and especially because Castrus and Pollux the sons of Tyndarus had been present in the expedition of the Argos. They allotted to every man a certain portion of land, and distributed the whole number among their tribes. On the other part, the Minyans gave the wives they brought from Lemnos to other men, and took Spartan women in their place. But not long after growing insolent, they committed many crimes, and form'd a design to usurp the kingdom. Upon which,
the Lacedæmonians having determin'd to punish them with Death, seiz'd and imprison'd all the Minyans. But because, by the Customs of the Country, all condemn'd Persons are executed in the Night, and not by Day; the Wives of the Minyans, who were Daughters to the principal Persons of Sparta, ask'd Leave to speak with their Husbands in the Prison before the Execution. The Lacedæmonians not suspecting Fraud, granted their Request; and the Women being admitted accordingly, gave their own Garments to their Husbands, and cloath'd themselves with those of the Men. Upon which the Minyans dress'd like Women went out of the Prison, and fled in that Disguise to Taygetus. At the same Time Theras the Son of Auteson, and Grandson to Tifamenes, whose Father Thersander was the Son of Polynices, went out with a Colony from Lacedæmon. He was of the Cadmæan Race: Uncle, by the Mother's Side, to Eurythbenes and Procles, Sons of Arisodemus, and Regent of the Kingdom during their Minority. But after they came to be of Age, and had taken the Administration of Affairs into their Hands, Theras, who had tasted the Pleasure of commanding, impatient to see himself reduc'd to obey, declar'd his Resolution to depart from Sparta, in order to settle with those of his own Blood. The Island now call'd Thera, and formerly known by the Name of Callifta, was then posses'd by the Potterity of Membliares the Son of Pæcles a Phœnician. For Cadmus, the Son of Agenor, arriving there, in the Search he made after Europa; either pleas'd with the Beauty of the Country, or mov'd by other Reasons, left his Kinsman Membliares
Membliares with some Phœnicians in that Island: And Callistra had been in the Possession of these Phœnicians eight Generations before the Departure of Theras from Lacedœmon. To this Place Theras went, accompanied by many Persons drawn out of the Spartan Tribes; not with Design to expel the Inhabitants, but to live among them, and contribute to render the Island more populous. And because the Lacedæmonians still persisted in their Resolution to destroy the Minyans, even after they had fled from the Prison to Taygetus, he interceded for their Lives, and promised he would transport them out of that Country. Upon this Assurance the Lacedæmonians condescended to his Desires, and Theras departed with his Company for Callistra, in three Galleys of thirty Oars each; carrying some of the Minyans with him, but not many. For the greater Part had already enter'd into the Countries of the Paroreates and Caucones; where, after they had driven out the Inhabitants, they distributed themselves into six Divisions, and founded the Cities of Leprium, Macis, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium; most of which have been destroy'd in our Time by the Eleans. Theras chang'd the Name of the Island Callistra, into that of Thera; and to his Son, who had refus'd to accompany him in his Voyage, he said at his Departure, that he would leave him as a Sheep among Wolves: From which saying the young Man was ever after call'd Oiolycus. This Oiolycus was the Father of Ægeus, from whom the Ægides, a principal Tribe in Sparta, derive their Name. The Men of this Tribe finding they had not the Fortune to bring up their Children, built a Temple by the Admo-
hition of the Erinnyan Oracle; dedicated to Laius and Oedipus; and posses'd afterwards by those Theraëans, who were descended from these Men. Thus far the Lacedæmonians and the Theraëans agree: But of that Part which remains, the Theraëans only are the Relaters. Grinus, say they, the Son ofÆsanius, one of the Descendents of Theras, and King of the Island Thera, went to Delphi in order to sacrifice a Hecatomb. He was attended by divers Citizens of the Place, and among them by Battus Son to Polymnestus, of the Minyan Family of Euphemus: And whilst he consulted the Oracle concerning other Affairs, the Pythian admonish'd him to build a City in Libya. But he answer'd, "I am old, and unfit for such an Enterprize: Therefore rather command one of these young Men to execute that Order:" and as he said these Words, he pointed to Battus. At their return they slighted the Oracle; because they had no Knowledge of the Situation of Libya; nor durst adventure to send a Colony upon so obscure an Attempt. During seven Years from this Time, they had no Rain in Thera; and after all the Trees of the Island, except one, had perish'd for want of Moisture, the Theraëans applied themselves again to the Oracle: But the Pythian made no other Answere, Than that they should send a Colony to Libya. Thus seeing no End of their Calamity, they dispatch'd certain Persons to Crete, with Orders to inquire, if any of the Cretans or other Inhabitants of that Island had ever been in Libya. These Messengers travelling from Place to Place, arriv'd in the City of Itanus; where having met with one Corobius a Dyer in Purple, who assur'd them he had been driven by the
the Winds to an Island of Libya call'd Plataea, they persuaded him by the Promise of a large Recompence to go with them to Thera. At first the Theræans sent only a small Number of Men, under the Conduct of Corobius, to the Island Plataea: And they soon departed again, to give an Account of the Place to the Theræans: Leaving Corobius behind with Provisions for about two Months. But these Men not returning within the Time appointed, Corobius was reduc'd to the last Necessity; when a Ship of Samos bound Homewards from Egypt, under the Pilotage of Colæus, arriv'd in the Harbour; being driven thither by Stress of Weather: And after the Samians had been inform'd by Corobius of all things relating to this Expedition, they left him Subsistence for a Year, and set sail from the Island, wishing to recover the Coast of Egypt; but on a sudden were surpriz'd by a strong Levant Wind; which never ceas'd, 'till they had pass'd the Columns of Hercules, and arriv'd at Tartessus, push'd on by a most fortunate Compulsion. For as that Port had never been attempted before, the Profits they made of their Merchandize were so considerable, that at their Return they brought Home a greater Treasure than any of the Grecians we know had ever done, since the Time of Softratus the Son of Laodamus of Ægina, who is above all Comparison. These Samians with the tenth Part of their Gain, amounting to six Talents, made a Bason of Brass, resembling that of Argolis, and surrounded with the Heads of Griffins leaning to each other. This they plac'd in the Temple of Juno, supported by three Colossos of Brass in a kneeling Posture, and seven Foot in Height.
And on this Occasion, the Cyrenæans and Theræans contracted a great Friendship with the Samians.

When those Theræans, who left Corobius in Platea, were return'd Home, with an Account, that they had taken Possession of an Island in Libya, the Theræans resolv'd to send a Colony thither, compos'd of Men drawn out of all their Districts, which were seven in Number; and that every Brother should cast Lots with his Brother to determine who should go; appointing Battus to be their King and Leader, and commanding two Gallies of fifty Oars to be made ready for their Transportation. These things are reported by the Theræans only: For what remains, we have the concurring Testimony of the Cyrenæans; tho' they differ from the Theræans in the Account of Battus, and relate the Matter thus. Etearchus, say they, King of Oaxus a City of Crete, after the Death of his first Wife, married another Woman; who resolving to be effectually a Stepmother to his Daughter, whose Name was Phronima, treated her in the most injurious Manner; and besides an infinite Number of other wicked Contrivances, accus'd her at last of Unchastity; and prevail'd with her Husband to believe the Calumny. Etearchus persuad'd by his Wife, form'd a wicked Design against his Daughter, and sending for one Themison a Merchant of Thera, who, he knew, was then at Oaxus, receiv'd him kindly, and compell'd him to take an Oath to serve him in any thing he should desire. When he had done this, he deliver'd his Daughter to the Merchant, and commanded him to drown

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drown her in the Sea during his Voyage. Themison disturb'd that he had been induc'd to swear rashly, and yet unwilling to break their mutual Hospitality, resolv'd to act in this Manner. He receiv'd the King's Daughter, and yet fail. But after he was out at Sea, that he might comply with the Obligation of his Oath, he let her down into the Water with Cords tied about her; and after he had drawn her up again, pursu'd his Voyage to Thera. Polymnestus, an eminent Man in that Island, took Phronima for his Concubine, and after some Time had a Son by her, who from his shrill and stammering Voice was nam'd Battus, as the Theraëans and Cyrenæans say: But I am of Opinion he had another Name; and receiv'd that of Battus after his Arrival in Libya, pursuant to the Answer of the Delphian Oracle, and on Account of the Honour confer'd upon him. For the Libyans call a King Battus; and therefore I conjecture that the Pythian Prophetess foreseeing he should be a King in Libya, gave him that Title in the Libyan Language; having return'd this Answer, when, being grown a Man, he came to consult the Oracle concerning his Speech,

**Battus! about thy Voice inquire no more;**
Apollo sends thee to the Libyan Shore
_In Wool abounding._

As if she had said in the Language of Greece, _O King, about thy Voice. Battus answer'd, "I came to consult the Oracle about my Voice, and the God requires things impossible; commanding me to go to Libya. I desire to know, with what_
“what Power, and with what Numbers?” But when nothing could persuade the Pythian to give any other Answer, and Battus found she repeated the same Words again, he left the Oracle, and return’d to Thera. From that Time both he and the Theraeans felt the Revenge of the Pythian: And the People not knowing whence their Misfortunes came, sent again to Delphi to enquire concerning the Cause, and receiv’d for Answer; “That their Affairs should prosper better, if, under the Conduct of Battus, they would build a City in Libya, by the Name of Cyrene.” Upon this Admonition the Theraeans made ready two Gallies of fifty Oars each, and Battus with his Company imbariking, set sail for Libya: But not being able to perform their Voyage, they return’d Home: Where the Theraeans having refus’d to receive them, or suffer the Men to land, commanded them to resume the Expedition. Thus compell’d by Necessity they sail’d again, and settled in an Island of Libya; call’d, as I said before, Platea, and reported to be of equal Extent with the Territories now possess’d by the Cyrenæans. After they had been two Years in this Place, and found their Condition no way amended; leaving one of their Company behind, the rest sail’d to Delphi; and having remonstrated to the Oracle, that tho’ they had settled in Libya, yet the State of their Affairs still continued the same, they had the following Answer from the Pythian;

Strange! You should know wool-bearing Libya’s Coast
Better than I: You, who were never there.
When Battus and his Companions heard this, and found they must return to Libya, because the God would by no Means permit them to abandon their Enterprise, they departed, and arriving again in the Island of Platea, took on board the Man they had left there, and went to inhabit a Country of Libya, situate over against an Island call'd Aziriftus surrounded with agreeable Hills, and water'd by two Rivers running on each side. Six Years they continued in this Region, and in the seventh resolv'd to leave it, by the Persuasion of the Libyans, who said they wou'd shew them a better Place. In effect, the Libyans conducted them Westward into the most beautiful Country imaginable; and having computed the Hours of the Day, brought the Grecians thither by Night, that they might not observe the Way. The Region is call'd by the Name of Irafa: And when the Libyans had shewn them a Fountain, accounted sacred to Apollo; "Grecians, said they, "Here you may inhabit most conveniently; "and the Heavens seem to invite you". Accordingly the Cyrenæans, fix'd their Habitations in this Place, and continued to be about the same Number as at their Arrival, during all the Time of Battus, who reign'd forty Years, and that of his Son Arcesilaus, who reign'd sixteen. But under the Reign of another Battus, their third King, surnamed the Happy, the Pythian encourag'd all Grecians to undertake the Voyage of Libya, and joyn with the Cyrenæans, who invited them, to an equal Division of the Country. The Words of the Oracle were these,
Regret attends the Man, who comes too late,
To share the lovely Libya's fertile Plains.

By these means a great multitude met together at Cyrene; and after they had divided a vast extent of land among themselves, the Libyans with their king, whose name was Adicrau, finding they were deprived of their possessions, and injuriously treated, sent an embassy to Egypt with a tender of their submission to Apries king of that country; who assembling a numerous army of Egyptians, sent them to attack Cyrene. But the Cyrenæans having drawn out their forces to the Fountain Thestis in Irasa, fought and defeated the Egyptians, who to that time had been unacquainted with the Grecian valour, and therefore despis'd their power. The victory was so great, that few of the Egyptians return'd home: And the ill success of this expedition caus'd such discontent amongst that people, that they revolted against Apries.

Arcesilaus the son of Battus, succeeded him: And in the beginning of his reign had so many contests with his brothers, that they left the kingdom; and arriving in another part of Libya, founded the city of Barca, which bears the same name to this day; and whilst they were settling their new colony, persuaded the Libyans to revolt. But Arcesilaus led an army, not only against the revolted Libyans, but also against those who had given reception to his brothers; which put them into such a consternation, that they fled to the eastern parts of Libya. Arcesilaus pursu'd them till he arriv'd at Leucon.
Leucon: And there the Libyans having resolv'd to attack him, fought the Cyrenæans successfully, and kill'd seven thousand Men upon the Spot. After this Disaster Arcefilaus fell sick, and taking a Medicinal Draught, was strangled by his Brother Aliarchus. But his Wife, whose Name was Eryxo, reveng'd his Death, and kill'd Aliarchus by an Artifice of her own Contrivance. Battus the Son of this Arcefilaus; a lame Man, and unable to walk, succeeding him in the Kingdom, the Cyrenæans who had receiv'd so great a Blow, sent to enquire of the Delphian Oracle, under what Form of Government they might live most happily; and the Pythian in Answer commanded them to send for a Legislator from Mantinea a City of Arcadia. The Cyrenæans did as they were instructed, and the Mantineans chose a Man for that purpose, highly esteem'd in their Country, and known by the Name of Demonax. This Person arriv'd in Cyrene; and after he had fully inform'd himself of their Affairs, divided the People into three Tribes. The first consisted of the Theræans and their Neighbours; the second of Peloponnesians and Cretans; and a third contain'd all the rest of the Islanders. He took away the Temples and sacred Offices of Battus; together with all other things, which had been peculiar to their Kings, and put them into the Hands of the People. These Regulations were exactly observ'd during the Reign of Battus: But in the Time of his Son Arcefilaus great Disorders arose about those Honours. For Arcefilaus the Son of the lame Battus and Pheretima, declaring he would not submit to the Constitutions of Demonax, challeng'd all the Prerogatives his Ancestors had
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had enjoy'd; and having rais'd a Tumult on that Occasion, he was defeated, and fled to Samos. His Mother escap'd to Salamis a City of Cyprus, then in the Possession of that Euelthon, who dedicated the curious Thurible at Delphi, which is deposited in the Treasury of the Corinthians. Pheretima after her Arrival, desir'd Euelthon to assist her with an Army in order to re-establish her Family in Cyrene: But he chose rather to present her with all other things, than to grant her the Forces she demanded. Yet she accepted his Presents; and admiring their Beauty, always added, that tho' these were very valuable, an Army would be far more acceptable to her. In the end Euelthon gave her a golden Reel, and a Distaff of the same Metal, cover'd with Wool; and finding she repeated her Acknowledgment in the same Terms, he told her, these were the most proper Presents for Women, and not Armies.

In the mean Time Arcesilaus continued at Samos, soliciting all Men to joyn with him by Promises of an Agrarian Division; and having by that Means collected a numerous Army, he fail'd to Delphi, in order to consult the Oracle concerning his Restoration, and had the following Answer from the Pythian. "Apollo grants you the Dominion of Cyrene during eight Descents, down to the fourth Battus, and the fourth Ar-cesilaus; and exhorts you to aim at no more. Be contented therefore to live peaceably at Home: And if you find a Furnace full of Pitchers, throw them out unburnt: But if you set fire to the Kiln, forbear to enter into a Place bounded with Water on each side. Un-less you observe this, you shall certainly perish.
"perish with the beautiful Bull." Arcesilas having receiv'd the Answer of the Pythian, took with him the Forces he had collected in Samos; and returning to Cyrene, recover'd the Possession of his Kingdom. But forgetting the Counsel of the Oracle, he brought those who had ejected him to a Tryal, and charg'd them with the Guilt of his Expulsion: So that many were compell'd to abandon their Country; whilst others falling into their Hands, were sent to be executed in Cyprus. But these arriving in the Port of Cnidus, were rescued by the People, and sent away safe to Thera. In the mean Time Arcesilas being inform'd that another Party had retir'd to a Tower belonging to Aglomachus, he surround'd the Place with Wood, and consum'd all those who were within. Which he had no sooner done, than he understood the Meaning of the Oracle's Command, Not to burn the Vessels he should find in the Kiln; and in that Persuasion voluntarily departed from Cyrene, under violent Apprehensions of his own Death, predicted by the Pythian; who, as he thought, could mean no other Place, because Cyrene is situate between two Rivers. He had a Wife related to him in Blood; and because she was Daughter to Alazar King of the Barcæans, he retir'd to Barca: Where some of the Inhabitants, in Conjunc tion with others of the exil'd Cyrenæans, being one Day inform'd that he was walking in the Publick Place, kill'd both him and his Father-in-law. Thus Arcesilas disobeying the Oracle, whether wilfully or otherwise, accomplish'd his own Destiny. His Mother Pheretima, whilst he was hastening to Destruction in Barca, continued at Cyrene, and enjoy'd all the Honours
Honours he had possess'd; exercising the same Functions, and presiding in the Council: But when she heard the Manner of his Death, she fled to Ægypt; because her Son Arcesilaus had deserv'd well of Cambyses the Son of Cyrus, by putting Cyrene into his Protection, and settling a Tribute to be paid for an Acknowledgment of their Submission. Arriving in Ægypt, and applying herself to Aryandes in the Form of a Suppliant, she besought him to revenge the Death of her Son, who she pretended, had been kill'd because he was a Partizan of the Medes. Aryandes had been constituted Governor of Ægypt under Cambyses, and in succeeding Time was put to death by Darius for attempting to emulate one of his Actions. He had seen that Darius exceedingly desir'd to leave such a Monument of himself as no King had done before; and resolving to imitate the Example, he receiv'd the Reward of his Presumption. For after Darius had coin'd Pieces of Gold, refin'd to the utmost Perfection; Aryandes Governor of Ægypt, caus'd the same to be imitated in the purest Silver; and this Aryandian Money is in high Esteem to this Day. But when Darius knew what he had done, he charg'd him with a Design to rebel, and under that Colour put him to death. This Aryandes in Compassion to Pherestima, assisted her with all the Forces of Ægypt both by Land and Sea; appointing Amasis, one of the Maraphian Blood, to lead the Land Army, and Badres of Passargadian Extraction to command the Fleet. But before he gave Orders for the Departure of these Forces, he sent a Herald to Barca, to demand who they were that had assassinated Arcesilaus. The Bar-
caeans readily acknowledg'd the Action to be their own, in Requital of the many Evils they had suffer'd by him: And when Aryandes receiv'd their Answer, he caused the Army to march away with Pheretima. This was the Pretext of the War. But in my Opinion he sent these Forces to conquer the Libyans. For of the Libyan Nations which are many and differing in their Customs, few were subject to Darius, and the far greater Part despis'd his Power. To begin with those who inhabit next to the Aegyptians: The Adrymachides are the first People we find; and for the most Part observe the Usages of Aegypt: Only they cloath in the Libyan Habit. Their Wives wear a Chain of Brass on each Leg; dress in their Hair, and if they happen to find a Louse, kill it with their Teeth, in Revenge of the Bite they receiv'd; and then spit it out again. In the Observation of one Custom they are singular; being the only People of all Libya, who bring their Virgins before Marriage into the King's Presence, that if he like any one above the rest, he may lye with her. This Country extends from the Borders of Aegypt to the Port of Plymus. Westward of this Nation the Gigames are seat-ed, and posses the Country down to the Island Aphrodisia. In the midst of their Coast the Island of Platea is situate, which was inhabited by the Cyrenaens; and the Lake of Menelas, with the City of Aziris, built likewise by the same People, are on the Continent. At this Place the Territories of Silphium begin, and extend from that Island of Platea to the Chops of the Syrtis. This People in their Customs re-semble the rest of the Libyans. The Asbytes are
are next adjoyning to the Gigames, and inhabit a Country lying to the Westward above Cyrene. They possesse no Part of the Coast; because the Cyrenæans are Masters of all the maritime Places. They are no les, but rather more experienc'd than the rest of the Libyans in mounting their Chariots; and for the most Part endeavour to imitate the Manners of the Cyrenæans. The Auschises are seated to the Westward of the Asbystes, in a Region situate above Barca, and extending to the Sea by the Country of Euesperides. In the midst of the Auschises, the Ca-bales inhabit a small Territory, reaching to Tau-chira a maritim City of Barca. Both these observe the same Customs with those who dwell above Cyrene. The next Country to the Westward of the Auschises is possess'd by the Nafamones, a very numerous People. In Summer they leave their Cattle on the Coast, and go up to the Plains of Ægyla, in order to gather the Fruit of the Palm-trees; which abound in that Place, and are all Bearers without Exception. There they take Grass-hoppers, which having dried in the Sun they grind, and infusing them in Milk, compose a Liquor for their Drink. Every Man by the Custom of the Country has divers Wives; which he uses, like the Massagetes, in publick, after he has set up his Staff for a Mark: And when they marry, the Bride goes the first Night to all the invited Guests; and after they have lain with her, they make her a Present, which every one brings from Home to that end. In their solemn Oaths and Divinations they observe the following Manner. When they swear, they lay their Hands on the Sepulchres of those, who are generally esteem'd
esteem'd to have been the most just and excellent Persons among them. And when they would divine, they go to the Tombs of their Ancestors, and after certain Prayers, they lie down to sleep; and ground their Predictions upon the Dreams they have at those Times. In pledging their Faith to each other, they mutually present a Cup of Liquor; and if they have none, the Parties take up some Dust from the Ground, which they put into their Mouths. The Pfyllians are the next adjacent People to the Na-samones, and were destroy'd in this Manner: All their Country lying within the Syrtis, is destitute of Springs; and when the South-Wind had dried up all their Reserves of Water, they consulted together, and determin'd to make War against that Wind (I only repeat what the Libyans say;) and after they were arriv'd at the Sands, the South-Wind blowing hard buried them alive, and the Nafamones took Possession of their Habitations. The Country that lies above the Nafamones is inhabited by the Garamantes, who avoid the Sight and Society of all other Men; possessing no military Weapon, nor daring to defend themselves. But in the maritim Places situate to the Westward they have the Maces for their Neighbours, who shave their Heads quite round; only leaving a Lock of Hair growing in the middle of the Crown: And when they make War, they wear the Skin of Ostriches instead of Armour. The River Cinyps runs thro' their Country; rising in an Eminence call'd the Hill of the Graces; which is cover'd with Trees (tho' all the other Parts I have mention'd are naked) and distant two hundred Stades from the Sea.
Next in Situation are the Gindanes, whose Wives the Libyans say, wear as many Borders on their Coats as they have had Men: And she who has the most of those Borders, is most esteem'd because she has had the greatest Number of Lovers. The Promontory that advances from this Country to the Sea, is possess'd by the Lotophages, who live altogether upon the Fruit of the Lotus, which is of equal Bigness of that of the Lentiscus; but exceedingly sweet like the Date. The Inhabitants make Wine of this Fruit. Next adjoyning to the Lotophages, are the Machlyes, on that side which descends to the Sea. They eat the Fruit of the Lotos: But subsist not wholly upon it, like those I mention'd before. The Triton, a considerable River; runs along the Borders of this Country, and falls into the great Lake Tritonis; where the Island of Phlia is situate; to which the Lacedæmonians were admonish'd by an Oracle to send a Colony, on this Occasion. When Jason had built the Argos at the Foot of Mount Pelion, and put a Hecatomb on board, with a Tripos of Brass, he fail'd round the Coast of Peloponnesus, in order to go to Delphi: But endeavouring to double the Cape of Malea; he was surpriz'd by a violent Storm blowing from the North, and driven to the Coast of Libya: Where, before he could discern the Shore, he found his Ship engag'd in the Sands of the Lake Tritonis. In this Perplexity, they say, a Triton appearing to Jason, promis'd to bring the Ship off, and send her away safe, if he would present him with the Tripos. Jason accepted the Condition; and the Triton, after he had shewn him a Passage out of the Shelves, plac'd the Tripos in his own Temple:
Temple: Which he had no sooner done, than he deliver'd an Oracle from thence; declaring to Jason and his Companions, That when any of the Descendents of those who were on board the Argos, should be posses'd of that Tripos, Fate had determin'd that the Grecians should establish a hundred Colonies about the Lake of Tritonis: And when the neighbouring Nations of Libya were inform'd of this Prediction, they took care to conceal the Tripos. Next to these is the Seat of the Auses; whose Territories, together with those of the Machlyes, encompass the whole Lake of Tritonis, and are separated by the River Triton. They let their Hair grow on the fore Part of their Head, and the Machlyes behind. The Auses celebrate an Annual Festival to Minerva; in which the Virgins dividing themselves into two Companies, engage in a Combat with Sticks and Stones. This, they say, is done, pursuant to ancient Custom, in Honour of a National Goddess call'd Minerva; and maintain that all those who dye of the Wounds they receive in these Combats, were not Virgins. But before they depart out of the Field, they take the Virgin, who by common Consent has behav'd herself most valiantly; and having dress'd her in a Corinthian Helmet, and a whole Suit of Grecian Armour, they place her in a Chariot, and conduct her in Triumph round the Lake. What kind of Arms these Virgins us'd before the Grecians came to inhabit in those Parts, I cannot affirm; but I conjecture they were such as the Ægyptians use: And I am of Opinion, that the Shield and Helmet were brought from Ægypt into Greece. They say, Minerva was born of
of Neptune and the Lake Tritonis; and that being discontented with her Father on some Occasion, she gave herself to Jupiter, who made her his Daughter by Adoption. The Men of this Country have no Wives appropriated to particular Persons; but accompany with all Women indifferently, after the Manner of other Animals: And when a Boy has been educated by his Mother to a convenient Age, he is admitted into an Assembly of the Men, which is held every three Months to that purpose; and the Man he applies himself chiefly to, is reputed his Father. This Nation inhabits the maritim Parts, below the Libyan Nomades: And above these, ascending farther within the Land, lies a Region frequented only by wild Beasts; beyond which is a Ridge of Sands, stretching from the Egyptian Thebes to the Columns of Hercules. After a Journey of about ten Days within this Space, Rocks of Salt are found, rising like Pillars, and spouting out a cool and pleasant Water from the Top of each. Those who inhabit the Parts adjacent to these Springs, are the last of all the Libyans on this side the Desarts, and beyond the Beasts of Prey. Ten Days Journey from Thebes, the Territories of the Ammonians begin, who have a Temple resembling that of the Theban Jupiter. For, as I said before, the Image of Jupiter, which is plac’d in the Temple of Thebes, has the Head of a Ram. They have likewise a Fountain, which in the Morning is tepid; and growing cool during the Hours of walking abroad, becomes very cold about Noon, and is then us’d in watering their Gardens. As the Day declines, this Cold gradually diminishes, till about the Set-
ting of the Sun the Water becomes tepid again, and continuing to increase in Heat, boils at Midnight like a Tide, and from that Time to the Morning cools by degrees. This Fountain is call'd, *The Fountain of the Sun*. At the End of about ten Days more, Men arrive by a sandy Way at another Pillar of Salt, like those of the Ammonians; spouting out Water in the same Manner, and surrounded with Habitations. The Region goes by the Name of *Ægila*; and is frequented by the Nafamonies on Account of the Dates. Ten Days more bring a Man to another Pillar of Salt, with an Eruption of Water and Palm-trees covering the adjacent Lands, as in the Places abovemention'd. This Country is inhabited by a populous Nation; known by the Name of the Garamantes, who, after they have laid fresh Earth upon the Salt, sow their Corn in that Ground. From these to the Lotophages the Way is short: But from the Lotophages to that Region where the Oxen go backward, is as far as a Man can walk in thirty Days. The Horns of these Animals shoot directly forward; and compel them to draw back as they feed. For they could not possibly go forward; because their Horns must stick in the Ground. In every thing else they are like other Oxen; except only that their Hide is harder and thicker. These Garamantes are accustom'd to sit in Chariots; and hunt the Æthiopian Troglodytes; who are reported to be swifter of Foot than any other Nation in the World. They feed upon Serpents, and Lizards; with many other Kinds of Reptils; and their Speech resembles the shrieking of a Bat, rather than the Language of Men.
At the Distance of about ten Days Journey from the Garamantes, is seen another Mound of Salt, with a Fountain issuing out of the Summit. The adjacent Parts are inhabited by the Atlantes, who are the only People, we know destitute of a particular Name. For that of Atlantes is the common Appellation of all the Libyans in Conjunction, and not given to any distinct Nation, this only excepted. This People curse the Sun as it passes over their Heads; pursuing him with the vilest Reproaches; because he consumes both the Men and the Country with his scorching Heat. After a Journey of ten Days more, another Hill of Salt appears, with a Spring like the former, and Habitations of Men in the adjoyning Region. In the Neighbourhood of this Place Mount Atlas is situate; circular in Form, and slender in Circumference; but of so great a Height, that his Head is always invisible, being ever surrounded with Clouds, both in Summer and Winter; and therefore by the Inhabitants call'd The Pillar of Heaven. From hence these Men derive their Name, and are call'd Atlantes. They neither eat the Flesh of any Animal, nor are ever interrupted in their Sleep by Dreams. Thus far I have been able to set down the Names of those Nations that inhabit this Ridge of Sands; but cannot proceed farther; tho' they reach beyond the Columns of Hercules. Within that Space, Mines of Salt are found, branching out in Veins, so far as a Man may travel in ten Days; and those Parts are inhabited by Men, who build their Houses with Lumps of this Salt. In these Parts of Libya no Rain falls; for Walls of Salt could not stand long, if any Rain should fall there.
there. The Salt which is dug out of these Mines is of two Colours, White and Purple. All above this Ridge, tending to the South, and midland Parts of Libya, is utterly desart; without Spring or Beast, Wood, Rain, or any kind of Moisture. From Ægypt to the Lake Tritonis, the Libyans are Breeders of Cattle; eat Flesh, and drink Milk; but abstain from the Flesh of Cows, no less than the Ægyptians, and will not keep Swine. Nay, among the Women of Cyrene, to strike a Cow is accounted a Crime; because they celebrate the Faits and Festivals of the Ægyptian Isis: Neither will the Barcæan Women taste the Flesh either of a Hog, or of a Cow. And this is the State of things in those Parts.

The Libyans who inhabit to the Westward of the Lake Tritonis, are not Keepers of Cattle, and differ from the Customs of those that are; one especially relating to Children. For many of those who live upon Pasturage, tho' I cannot affirm the same of all, are accustomed, when their Children attain to the Age of four Years, to cauterise their Veins, either on the Crown or Temples, with an Application of Sheep's-Wool in the Grease: To the End that, during all the Time of their Lives, they may never be offended by pituitous Defluxions from the Head. This, they say, is the Cause of the perfect Health they enjoy: And indeed the Libyans of all the Nations we know, are the most healthy; but whether from this or any other Cause, I shall not determine. If any of their Children faint under the Operation, they recover again by a sprinkling of Goats Urine; which is a Remedy of their own Invention. These things I repeat after the Libyans. In their Sacrifices, these
these Libyan Nomades use the following Ceremonies. They cut off the Ear of the Victim; which they throw over the Top of the Building, as the First-fruits: And after that, they turn the Head of the Animal from them. They sacrifice to no other Deities than the Sun and Moon, which are universally worshipp'd by all the Libyans. But those who inhabit about the Lake Tritonis, sacrifice also to Triton and Neptune; and principally to Minerva. From these the Grecians receiv'd the Apparel and Buckler of Minerva's Images: Except only, that in Libya her Habit is made of Skins, and the Fringes that hang below the Buckler, are Thongs of Leather, and not Serpents. In all other things the Resemblance is perfect: And even the Name testifies that the Stole of the Palladion came from Libya. For the Libyan Women wear a Mantle of tann'd Goat-skins, dyed in Red and fring'd, over the rest of their Garments. From these Skins the Grecians gave the Name of Ægis to Minerva's Shield: And I am inclin'd to think that the Songs of Lamentation, which are sung in Temples, had the same Original; because they are commonly us'd by the Women of Libya, and gracefully perform'd. The Grecians likewise learn'd from the Libyans, the manner of guiding their Chariots with four Horses rang'd in Front. All the Nomades interr the Dead like the Grecians; except the Nafamones; who observe the Time when the sick Person is ready to expire, and then place him in a sitting Posture, that he may not dye with his Face upward. Their Houses are made of Shrubs compacted with Rushes, and portable. Such are the Customs of these People.
The West side of the River Triton is inhabited by the Libyan Auses; who being Husbandmen, and accustomed to live in Houfes, are call'd Maxyes. They wear long Hair on the right side of the Head, and shave the left. They paint the Body with Vermilion, and pretend to be of Trojan Extraction. Their Country, with all the rest of the western Parts of Libya bounds more in Woods and wild Beasts, than those of the Nomades. For the Regions of Libya that lye to the Eastward, and are inhabited by Herdsmen, are low and sandy, as far as the River Triton: Whereas those that are posses'd by Husbandmen, and situate beyond that River, to the Westward, are mountainous; abounding in Woods, and Beasts of Prey. Serpents of incredible Bigness are seen in this Country; with Lyons, Elephants, Bears, Aspicks, and Asses arm'd with Horns. The Cynocephalus, which, as the Libyans say, has Eyes plac'd on his Breast; together with Savages, both Men and Women; and many other strange Animals; are likewise frequent in those Parts. None of these things are seen among the Nomades: But in Recompence, they have Eagles with a white Tail; Buffaloes; small Deer; and Asses that never drink. They have likewise the Orys; which is a wild Beast, equal in Bigness to a Cow: And from the Horns of this Animal the Phcenicians took the Measure of their Cubit. There is also the Bassaria; the Hyaena; the Porcupine; the wild Ram; the Dictys; the Thois; the Panther; the Borys; and Land-Crocodiles of about three Cubits in Length, resembling the Lizard in Shape; together with a sort of Ostrich that burrows in the Earth, and a small Serpent
Serpent with one Horn. These, and all Kinds of Animals that live in other Countries, except the Stag and the wild Boar, abound in the Regions of the Nomades. But neither of those two are ever seen in any Part of Lybia. They have three sorts of Rats; some of which are call'd by the Name of Dipodes, or two-footed; some by that of Zegeries, or Mountain-Rats, as the Lybian Word sounds in the Grecian Language; and others are nam'd Echines. There are also Weesels in the Territories of Silphium, perfectly like those of Tartessus. So many are the wild Beasts produc'd in the Countries of the Lybian Nomades; according to the best Information I could attain by the strictest and most diligent Inquiry. Next adjoyning to the Maxyes, the Zaveces are situate, whose Wives drive their Chariots in War: And after them the Country of the Zygantes, where abundance of Honey is made by Bees; and they say, a much greater Quantity by the Artifice of Men. All these paint themselves with Vermilion, and eat Monkies, which are bred there in great Numbers, especially in the Hills. The Carthaginians say, that an Island call'd Cyranis lies at a small Distance from this Shore; inconsiderable in Breadth, but comprehending two hundred Stades in Length; of easy Access from the Continent, and abounding in Olive-trees and Vines. They add, that there is a Lake in this Island, out of which the Virgins of the Country take up with Feathers a pitchy Sub stance intermix'd with Sprigs of Gold. I cannot affirm the Fact to be true; but I write no more than they say. Yet 'tis not impossible. For I have seen Pitch drawn up out of a Lake in
in the Island of Zacynthus; which contains several Lakes: The largest of which is a Square of seventy Foot on every side, and of two Fathom in Depth. They let down a Pole into this Lake, with a Myrtle fasten'd to the End, and draw out Pitch hanging about the Myrtle, of a Bituminous Scent, and better than that of Pieria. This they put into a Pit prepar'd to that purpose near the Lake; and when they have collected a great Quantity, they pour it off into Vessels. All that falls into the Water, passes under Ground, and appears again upon the Surface of the Sea, which is about four Stades distant from the Lake. These things being so, the Account given of the Libyan Lake may not seem improbable. The Carthaginians farther say, that beyond the Columns of Hercules there is a Region of Libya well inhabited; where when they arrive, they unload their Merchandize on the Shore, and returning again to their Ships, make great Fires: That the Inhabitants seeing the Smoak, come down to the Coast, and leaving Gold in Exchange for the Goods, depart again to some distance from the Place: That the Carthaginians at the same Time going ashore, view the Gold; and if the Quantity seem sufficient for the Goods, they take it up and sail away; but if they are not contented, they return to their Ships and continue there: That the Libyans upon this come again, and lay down more Gold to the former, 'till they have satisfied the Merchants: That no Wrong is done on either part, the Carthaginians never touching the Gold, before they acquiesce in the Price; nor the Inhabitants the Merchandize, before the Gold is taken away. And thus I have
have nam'd all the People of *Libya* I can: The
greater Part of which have had little Regard
to the King of the Medes, either at that Time
or since. But I must add, that this Country is
inhabited by four several Sorts of People, and
no more, that we know. Two of these are
Original Inhabitants, and the other two are Stran-
gers. Of the first Sort are the Libyans and
Æthiopians; of the other, the Phœnicians and
Grecians. Nevertheless in my Opinion *Libya* is
not comparable to *Asia* or *Europe* in Fertility,
except in the Territories of *Cinyps*, which lies
upon a River of the same Name, and is equal
to any other Land in the Production of Corn,
and altogether unlike the rest of *Libya*. For
the Soil is black, and well water'd with Springs;
secure from immoderate Dryness; and never
hurt by excessive wet; tho' some Rain falls in
that Region. These Lands produce as great a
Measure of Plenty as those about *Babylon*. The
Country of the Euesperides is likewisefruitful;
yielding in a very plentiful Year a hundred for
one; but that of *Cinyps* about three hundred.
The Territories of *Cyrene* are in Situation higher
than any other Part of the Country that belongs
to the Libyan Nomades, and contain three Regi-
ons worthy of Admiration. For no sooner is
the Harvest of the maritim Places laid up, and
Vintage over, than the Fruits of the second
Region, which they call the Hills, attain to
maturity: And whilst they are carried off,
those of the highest Part become ripe. So that
during the Time they eat and drink the first
Productions, the next Crop is perfectly ready.
Thus the Cyrenæans are eight Months em-
ploy'd in a continued Succession of Harvests;
and this may be sufficient to say concerning these things.

The Persians who were sent by Abyandes from Egypt to revenge the Quarrel of Phere- tima, arriving before Barca laid Siege to the City, and by a Herald demanded those Persons who had been concern'd in the Death of Arcesilaus: But the Inhabitants having universally consented to the Fact, refus'd to hearken to the Message. And after the Besiegers had been about nine Months before the Place, carrying on divers Mines towards the Walls, and using battering Engines of War; an Artificer in Brass discover'd their Saps in this Manner. He carried a Shield of that Metal round the City within the Wall, and applying it to the Ground, heard no Noise where the Earth was solid: But when he came to the Parts that were undermin'd, the Brass rung. Upon which discovery some of the Barceans fell to countermine, and kill'd all the Persians who were employ'd in the Mines. Whilst others dismounted their Engines. Much Time had been spent in the Siege; many of the Barceans kill'd, and the Loss of the Persians no less considerable; when Amaefs General of the Army, finding he could not succeed by Force, resolv'd to reduce the City by Fraud; and to that End contriv'd this Stratagem. He open'd a broad Trench in the Night, which he cover'd with slight Planks of Wood; and by spreading a Surface of Earth upon the Timber, rendred that Part equal to the adjoyning Ground. Early the next Morning he demanded a Conference with the Barceans; which they readily accepted, because they were desirous to come to an Accommodation;
accommodation; and accordingly a Treaty was concluded on both sides, and confirm'd by Oath on that Spot of Ground, which was undermin'd; importing, "That the Agreement should continue in force as long as the Earth on which they stood should remain in the present Condition: That the Barceans should pay a competent Tribute to the King, and that the Persians should innovate nothing in Barca." Under the Faith of this Treaty the Barceans opening their Gates, went frequently out of the City, and receiv'd all the Persians who desir'd to be admitted. But during this Intercourse, the Persians enter'd the Place with all their Forces; after they had broken down the Covering of the Trench they had made. Which they did, to free themselves from the Obligation of the Oath they had taken to the Barceans, "That the Treaty should subsist so long as the Earth on which they stood should continue in the same Condition:" And suppos'd, that upon the Alteration they had made in that Place, they had likewise dissolv'd the Force of their Engagement.

When the Persians had thus surpriz'd the City, and put the Power into the Hands of Pheretima, the caus'd those who had been principally concern'd in the Death of Arcephlaus, to be impal'd round the Walls; and having cut off the Breasts of their Wives, affix'd them about the same Places. She gave the Pillage of the other Inhabitants to the Persians; excepting only the BattiaDES, who had not consented to the Enterprize: And on that Account she put them into Possession of the City. The Persians after
after they had reduc'd the rest to Servitude, march'd away; and when they arriv'd in the Territories of Cyrene, the Cyrenæans, in Obe-
dience to some Oracle, permitted them to pass freely. But as they pass'd; Bares, who com-
manded the Naval Forces, endeavour'd to per-
suade them to plunder the City: To which Amasis, General of the Land Army, would not con-
sent; saying, He was sent against no other Grecian City than that of Barca. Nevertheless when they had march'd thro' the Country, and were arriv'd at the Altar of the Lycaen Jupiter, they began to repent that they had not posses'sd themselves of Cyrene, and attempted to return thither. But tho' the Cyrenæans were not upon their Guard, nor had drawn out any Force to oppose them, the Persians were struck with a Panick Fear; and turning back again with great Precipitation, encamp'd at the Distance of about sixty Stades. In this Camp they receiv'd an Order of Arvandes for their Return; and hav-
ing desir'd a Supply of Provisions from the Cy-
renæans, they obtain'd their Request, and march'd away towards Ægypt. In their March they were continually harass'd by the Libyans; who, to get their Clothes and Baggage, kill'd all they found sick or straggling, 'till the Army arriv'd in Ægypt; after they had penetrated the farthest Part of Libya to the Country of the Euesperides. The Barcaen Captives were sent from Ægypt to King Darius; and by his Com-
mand settled in a District of Bactria; which they afterwards call'd by the Name of Barca, and the Place is inhabited at this Time. Never-
the End of Pheretima was not happy: For soon after she had taken Revenge against the Barcaens, and was return'd to Egypt from Libya, she was eaten alive by Worms, and perish'd miserably. So odious to the Gods are the Excesses of human Vengeance. Such, and so exorbitant was the Cruelty exercis'd against the Barcaens by Pheretima the Daughter of Battus.

The End of the Fourth Book.
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Ægypt, and its Productions, largely describ'd; together with the Rites, Customs, Manners and History of the Ægyptians: These make the Subject of the whole second Book, and the Beginning of the third Book; viz. from Page 137 to 256.

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