Herodotos Book 2. Euterpe.

Brief Notes: P.G. Brown

Figure 1. Herodotos.

Chapters: 1-3, 35-37, 43-45, 50-64, 99-146 (leaving out 108 and 109).

Herodotos:

Herodotos lived from 484 to somewhere between 430 and 424 and is often called `The Father of History', although he was not the first to write what might be termed an historical work. His other name is `the Father of Lies' since he often embellished his writings with what we would call unsubstantiated stories. In his work, the Histories, (really `the enquiries') he relates the origins and details of the war between Greece and Persia, the so-called `first Persian War' in 490, and the `second Persian War' of 480-479. Herodotos was born in Halicarnassus (present day Bodrum in Turkey) in what was then Asia Minor, but, having fallen foul of the tyrant Lygdamis, he moved (or was exiled) to Samos. He later travelled extensively over the known world until he finally ended up in Athens. He took part in the founding of Thurii in Italy and may have died as early as 430, shortly after the Peloponnesian War began. His Histories appeared shortly before this time. Herodotos uses the framework of the Persian saga to record many of the tales and anecdotes he collected in his travels. For example, Book 2 is mainly devoted to Egypt, justified by his relating the rule of Cambyses who added this land to the Persian Empire. Similarly, in Book 4, Herodotos relates the `history' of the Scythians, a war-like race that the Persians tried to make part of their empire and who were renowned for their skill as archers.

The work was divided into 9 books in the Alexandrine period and the books were given names corresponding to the 9 muses. The work is written in the Ionic dialect which was standard in Asia Minor.

Very Brief Summary of the Books:

Book 1: Lydia, Medes, Persia, Cyrus.

Book 2: Egyptian and African History, Customs, Geography

Book 3: Cambyses' conquest of Egypt and his death; Darius and the Persian Satrapies.

Book 4: Europeans; Darius fails to conquer Scythia, Greek colonies in Libya; Persian invades Libya.

Book 5: Persia conquers Thrace; The Ionian Revolt, Athenian tyrants and democracy, the beginnings of conflict between Athens and Darius.

Book 6: Conquest of Miletos and quelling of the Ionian Revolt; Athens and Aegina conflict, the battle of Marathon.

Book 7: Death of Darius and kingship of Xerxes, invasion of Thrace, shipwrecks of the Persians, the Battle of Thermopylai.

Book 8: The Battle of Artemision, the invasion of northern Greece and the sacking of Athens, the Battle of Salamis.

Book 9: The Battle of Plataea and the death of Mardonios, the Battle of Mykale and the siege of Sestos.

Short Bibliography:

Herodotus: Book II, ed. W.D.Waddell, 1939. (**Sadly bowdlerized**.)

A Commentary on Herodotus, W.W. How and J. Wells, 1912. (Vol. 1 and 2.)

Herodotus, J. Gould, 1989.

The World of Herodotus, A. de Selincourt, 1962.

Herodotus: Notes on Books 1 and 2, J.W. White.

Herodotus: Books 1 and 2, H.E. Woods, 1873.

Herodotus: Book 2, Alan B. Lloyd, 2 Volumes, Vol. 1, 1976, Vol. 2, 1988.

Ionic Dialect:

The following points should be noted which will help to explain some of the differences between Ionic and Attic.

- Lack of contraction: This occurs both in nouns and verbs. For example, we see ἡμέων, οἰχέαι, καλέεις.
- Psilosis: This refers to an absence of the *spiritus asper* in various places where we would expect to see it. For example we have ἀπ’ ὧν, ἐπίκεο, ἀπείλοντο.
- Etacism: There are many examples of where both short and long alpha are written as eta. For example: νηός, πρῆγμα, τριήκοντα, λάθρη, λίην, πέρην.
- The replacement of sonant ν with α in the third personal plural endings in the perfect and pluperfect middle/passive: Thus -αται = -νται, -ατο =-ντο.
- The use of κ instead of π for labio-velar q^w, for example κῃ for πῃ, ὅκως for ὅπως etc.
- Ionic uses the definite article in place of the relative pronoun. Thus τόν = ὅν and τάς = ἅς.
- Reverse aspiration, for example: ἐνθεῦτεν for ἐντεῦθεν.

Note also the following: ἰθύς = εὐθύς, ὦν = οὖν, ἀγινέω = ἄγω, πολλός = πολύς, ει for ε, for example in: εἵνεκεν, κεινός, ξεῖνος, οι for ει, for example in οἰκός for εἰκός, and also ω for αυ as in θῶμα = θαῦμα.

Also, πτώσσω for πτήσσω and of course the double sigma for the Attic double tau. We also have τάμνω, τράπω with α for ε, and αἰεί for ἀεί as we see in Koine Greek.

There is also a preference for weak aorist ending for what would be in Attic a strong verb; for example εἶπαν, as we see frequently in Koine Greek. Note also γίνομαι for γίγνομαι and γινώσκω for γιγνώσκω, as we see in the New Testament.

Other dialectic variations and idioms will be noted as we go.

Opening Words: (Book 1)

Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά. τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι’ ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Chapter 1.

1. Cyrus the Great ruled Persia from 558-529BC. His successor Cambyses ruled for three years. Under Cyrus’ rule, the empire embraced all the previous civilized states of the ancient Near East, expanded vastly and eventually conquered most of Southwest Asia and much of Central Asia and the Caucasus. From the Mediterranean Sea and Hellespont in the west to the Indus River in the east, Cyrus the Great created the largest empire the world had yet seen. (Wikip.)

Figure 2. Cyrus the Great. **Cambyses.**

1. πένθος ἐποιήσατο -`mourned’. Note the alliteration in this section.

προεῖπε -`proclaimed’.

2. ἐπεκράτεε - not just an equivalent to ἦρχε, but meant to deny the rightfulness of the conquest.

Chapter 2.

1. Psammetik I, c. 663-609 of Dynasty XXVI. On the experiment see W. *ad loc.*

πρὶν ἤ - commonly in H. instead of πρίν.

2. πυνθανόμενος - `making enquiries’.

πόρον ... τούτου ἀνευρεῖν -`means of solving this problem’.

τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων - lit. `of those he chanced upon’, hence `ordinary folk’.

διδοῖ- ionic for 3rd p. pres. δίδωσι.

τρέφειν ... τροφὴν τινα τοιήνδε -`to rear in the following manner’.

ἀντίον αὐτῶν -`in their hearing’.

στεγή -`hut’, part for whole.

ἐπ’ ἑωυτῶν - `by themselves’. Lat. *per se.*

τὴν ὥρην -`at the right time’.

ἐπαγινέω = ἐπάγω.

τἆλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι - `to do everything else necessary’, `make other such arrangements’.

3. θέλων -`because he wanted to’.

ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κνυζημάτων -`when rid of the meaningless cries of infancy’, `after they had ceased form meaningless whimpering’.

ῥήξουσι - like our `break forth (into speech)’.

προσπίπτοντα -`approaching’.

4. ἐπιμελομένῳ -`paying careful attention’.

πολλόν -`often (said)’.

5. συνεχώρησαν -`they agreed, gave place to the opinion’.

σταθμησάμενοι ... πρήγματι -`attached weight to the view’.

The Phrygians were, in fact, regarded as a relatively recent people.

Hephaistos - i.e. Ptah.

τὴν δίαιταν οὕτως ἐποιήσατο - Tr. `had the children brought up’.

Chapter 3.

Thebes was locally called No, and the name is a Greek form of Apet. It remained important until it was sacked by the Assyrians in the 7th century B.C.

αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν -`for the very same purpose’.

λογιώτατοι-`most learned in records’.

2. τὰ θεῖα -`the matters related to their gods’.

ἀπήγμη -`tale, narrative’. Tr. `I am not keen to relate the matters related to their gods such as I heard from their narratives’.

ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος -`as required by my account’.

Chapters 35-76 describe various religious practices and the theories in relation to the gods and their origins.

Chapters 35-36 describe some of the `odd customs’ of the Egyptians.

Chapter 35.

1. μηκυνέων -future participle.

ἤ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρη -deleted by Stein as a marginal gloss.

λόγου μέζω -tr.`beyond description’.

πρός -`in comparison with’.

2. Αἰγύπτιοι … ἐστήσατο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους

τῷ οὐρανῷ -`the climate’.

ἑτεροῖος-`of a different kind’.

ἀλλοῖος-`of another sort’.

τὰ πολλὰ πάντα-`in almost all respects’.

ἔμπαλιν-`contrary’.

Men doing the weaving -there is evidence of this during the New Kingdom period, but perhaps H. here is trying to overpress his point about difference.

κρόκην-`woof’.

3. εὐμαρείῃ χρέωνται -i.e. `they relieve/ease themselves’.

αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαια-lit. `unseemly necessities’.

4. ἱρᾶται -`acts as priestess’.

`Men don’t have to look after their parents if they don’t want to but daughters must even if they don’t want to.’ This appears from the written texts to be indeed the case.

Chapter 36.

1. κῆδος -`funeral’.

τοὺς μάλιστα ἱκνέεται -`those whom it (the death in the family) touches most nearly’.

ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους-`just after death’, temporal sense like *sub* in Latin.

ἀνιεῖσι -`they allow’. In Egypt being clean-shaven is the norm with beards very rare.

τέως ἐξυρημένοι -`until (then) they are shaven’.

2. ἀποκρίνομαι-`to set apart’. Tr.`their way of life is kept separate away from the animals’.

πυρῶν και κριθέων -`wheat and barley’.

ὄλυρα -either `rye’ or `spelt’.

τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι -`which some of them call `spelt/emmer’.

μεθεξέτεροι = ἔνιοι.

3. τὸ σταῖς -`dough’, spelt mixed with water.

Dung was probably used for combustion – wood being fairly scarce.

4. τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους -`the rings and ropes (for a ship)’.

λογίζονται ψήφοισι -tr.`calculate’.

Chapter 37. Religious observances of the Egyptians.

1. διασμάω-`to wipe thoroughly’.

ἐπιτηδεύω -`to take care to do something’.

2. εὐπρεπής -`comely, good looking’, `of good appearance’.

φθείρ -`louse’.

μυσαρός-`loathsome thing’.

ἐγγίνηται -tr. `infest’.

3. βύβλινα -`made of papyrus’.

4. τι τῶν οἰκηΐων τρίβουσι -lit. `waste (tr. consume) anything of their own’.

πεσσόμενα-`cooked’.

5. τοὺ γενομένους -tr. `that which grows (naturally)'.

πατέομαι -`to eat'.

οὐδὲ ὁρέοντες ἀνέχονται -`cannot bear even to look at them'.

ὄσπριον -`any kind of pulse, legumes that grow in pods'.

Chapters 38-9. The manner of sacrifice of bulls.

Chapters 43-45. Herakles.

Chapter 43.

1. It appears that the Egyptian pantheon consisted of 8 (or 9) gods, Re-Amun, Geb, Shu, Tefnut, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Seth. From these was born the 12 gods mentioned here. Herodotos believes there were two Herakles, one coming from the Egyptians (identified with Chonsu) and one from the Greeks. These appear to be rather conflated since some Greeks thought of Herakles as a son of Zeus, and others as the son of Amphitryon and Alkmene.

2. τὸ ἀνέκαθεν-`by descent', adverbial acc. Both Alkmene and Amphitryon were grandchildren of Perseus, who was thought to be Egyptian.

ἀποδεδέχαται -tr. are reckoned' < ἀποδέχομαι -`to accept'.

3. τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα … -lit. `of these (names) they would not least but most of all be about to have a remembrance'. Tr. `for this reason most of all they would remember it'.

ναυτίλοι -`sea-farers'.

ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρέει-lit. `as my opinion takes (persuades) me', tr. `as seems right to me'. This idiom is also common in Plato.

ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον … ἐξεπιστέατο-`would have been better known'.

4. ἀρχαῖος-`very ancient'.

ἔτεα ἐστι ἑπτακισχίλια…-`it is 17,000 years before (lit. to the beginning of) the reign of Amasis’. Amasis (dynasty 26) reigned from 570 to 526 B.C.

Chapter 44.

1. The Tyrian god Melkart was often identified by the Greeks with Herakles (cf. biblical Samson). Note the trouble that H. goes to, to get information.

2. ἀναθήμασι -`offerings’.

ἄπεφθος -`refined’, lit. `boiled down’.

μεγάθος -hard to explain but generally taken as acc. of respect, meaning `it was so great that it shone at night’, but possible textual error here and some word(s) may have fallen out. Waddell lists several conjectures, including μέγα φῶς.

3. συμφερομένους -`agreeing with’.

ἄλλο ἱρόν …-lit. `another temple of Herakles (to exist), having the name from Thasos’, the εἶναι is redundant. Thasos was a Phoenician colony founded about 1400B.C.

4. κατ’ Εὐρωπης ζήτησιν -tr. `in search of Europe’.

5. ὀρθότατα-`most rightly’.

διξά for δισσά.

ἔκτηνται < κτάομαι.

ἐπωνυμίην -adverbial, `by name’ (the Olympian).

ἐναγίζω -`to offer sacrifice to the dead’.

Chapter 45.

1. ἀνεπισκέπτως -`inattentively, without due consideration’.

εὐήθης -`simple-minded’, originally `good-hearted’.

τέως-`for a while’.

αὐτοῦ … κατάρχοντο-`made a beginning of the rites over him’. They intended to sacrifice him.

ἐς ἀλκήν-`to self-defense’, lit. `to valour’.

3. ἕνα-`alone’.

φύσιν ἔχει -`is it natural’.

εὐμένεια -`goodwill, favour’. H. fears upsetting the gods.

Chapter 46. The goat who is sacred to Pan.

1. τράγος-`he-goat’, whereas αἴξ is more general and genderless.

Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι -lit. `the aforesaid among the Egyptians’.

2. γράφουσι -tr. `paint, depict in painting’.

3. παντὶ τῷ Μ. …-`in all the Mendesian district (nome)’.

3. εἷς μάλιστα -`one he-goat, in particular’.

Mendes was a city in the delta. The god Mendes, refers to Banebdjedet, the god of the region.

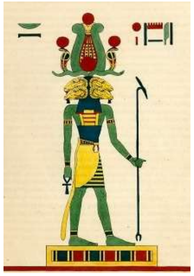


Figure 3. Mendes/Banebdjedet.

4. ἐπ’ ἐμεῦ-`in my lifetime’.

ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀθρώπων -tr. `to public attention’.

Chapters 50-52. H. claims the Greek gods came from Egypt and were developed by the Pelasgians.

Chapter 50.

1. ἐόν-`being (true/the case)’.

2. The Pelasgians (`sea people ?’) were perhaps a pre-Greek race settled in various parts of Greece but especially in the area near Dodona. The term appears in many ancient authors, but was perhaps a catch-all term of any group of pre-Greek inhabitants.

3. οὐδαμοί -`no-one’, Ionic for οὐδείς. The singular is not used.

νομίζουσι -tr. `give recognition to’.

Chapter 51.

2. τελέουσι – dat.pl. participle. Tr. `were reckoned among’. Extension of the sense `to be enrolled in respect of paying taxes’.

ὅθεν περ-`for which reason (they (the Pelasgians)came to be considered as Greeks)’.

On the Kabeiroi see How and Wells ad loc.

ὄργια μεμύηται -`has been initiated into the rites’.

τά-`which’.

ἐπιτελέω -lit. `discharge a religious duty’, tr. `practice’.

4. τά-`which’, pl. for singular. *Constructio ad sensum*.

Chapter 52.

1. πάντα -acc. of respect.

προσωνόμασαν -`they named’.

θεούς … θέντες -note the false etymology here.

νομάς< νομή -`assignment, divisions’. Godley translates `they maintained all their dispositions’.

2. Διονύσου -sc. `the name’.

χρηστηριάζω -middle, `to consult the oracle’.

μοῦνον-`was the only one’.

3. ἀνέλωνται-`they should adopt’.

ἀνεῖλε -`answered’. Note the jingle here. The word is used of oracular responses and comes from the practice of `picking up’ beans and lots used in the practice of prophesy.

Chapter 53. Homer and Hesiod.

1. ἐγένοντο -`came to be’. Note the singular use of ἕκαστος which is quite common in Greek.

τὰ εἴδεα -internal acc.

οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ …-lit. `they did not know until yesterday or the day before, so to speak’.

2. ἡλικίην -`in time’, adverbial acc. of respect.

διελόντες -`distinguishing, distributing’.

3. τὰ μέν -seems to refer to the view that the poets were earlier. H. rejects this. The order of the early poets during the late 5th and 4th centuries was: Orpheus,

Musaios, Hesiod and Homer. Tr.`the poets who are said to have been earlier than these men (Homer and Hesiod), seem to me (*infinitive absolute, a common expression in H.*) to have been later. The Dodonian priests hold the former view, the later view, the things relating to Hesiod and Home, I hold.'

τὰ … ἔχοντα -`the things relating to Hesiod and Homer'.

Chapter 54- 57. The oracles of Siwa and Dodona.

Chapter 54.

2. ζήτησιν-`search for'.

Chapter 55.

2. αὐδάζομαι for αὐδάω.

ὑπολαβεῖν -`assume, suppose, assumed'.

τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον -tr. `the message'.

ποιήσαι -sc. μαντήιον.

Chapter 56.

1. Thesprotia is a region in Epirus just below modern day Albania.

Figure 4. Remains at Thesprotia.

2. ἀμφιπολέω-`to serve as an attendant’.

3. χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο -`she gave instruction in divination’.

συνέλαβε-`she understood’.

φάναι -`(they said) that she said …’.

Chapter 57.

2. συνετά -`intelligible’.

3. τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντική -`divination from the sacrificed victim’.

Chapters 58-64. Various ceremonies and festivals of the Egyptians and Greeks.

Chapter 58.

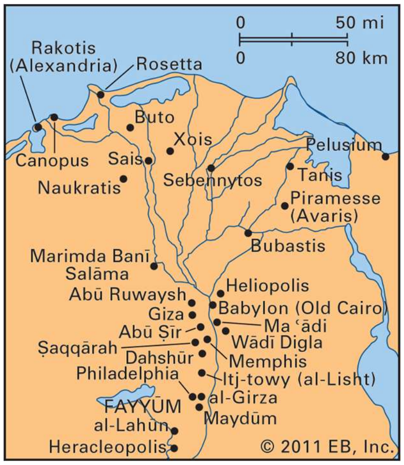
πανηγύρις-`solemn assembly (approaching a shrine)’. (Note: Perseus has this form for the acc. pl. but OCT has πανηγυρίας).

αἱ μὲν -refers to the festivals.

Chapter 59.

1. προθυμότατα-`most enthusiastically’.

Artemis – the reference here is to Bast, the cat/lion-headed goddess.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Bubastis
Marimda Banī Salāma
Abū Ruwaysh
Heliopolis
Giza
Babylon (Old Cairo)
Abū Ṣīr
Ma ʿādi
Ṣaqqārah
Wādī Digla
Dahshūr
Memphis
Philadelphia
Itj-towy (al-Lisht)
al-Girza
FAYYŪM
Maydūm
al-Lahūn
Heracleopolis
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Chapter 60.

1. καὶ πολλὸν τι πλῆθος …-`a certain large number of each (men and women) in each flat-boat'.

ἑκάτερων -`of each kind' (i.e. male and female).

κρόταλον -`clapper, rattle'.

πλόον-`voyage'.

2. ἐγχρίμπτω -`to bring near to'.

τωθάζω-`mock, jeer at'. Possibly aimed at warding off the evil eye.

ἀνασύρομαι -`to pull up one's clothes', very rare.

3. ἀναισιμόω -`to consume'. Only in H. and Xenophon.

ὅ τι-generalising usage, tr. `every'.

Chapter 61.

2. τοσούτῳ … ὅσῳ-`by so much more … to the extent that'.

The practice of self-mutilation was associated with the cult of Attis, the Phrygian counterpart of the Syrian Adonis.

Chapter 62.

1. ἐμβάφια -`saucers’. Very rare word. See note in Waddell.

ἐπιπολή-`the surface’.

ἐλλύχνιον-`lamp wick’.

2. ἔλαχε-lit. `was allotted’.

Chapter 63.

1. θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι-`they offer sacrifices only’.

καὶ ἱρὰ κατά περ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῦσι -`and sacred rites just as they do elsewhere’.

καταφερής-`going down’.

πεπονέαται -`were busied, were occupied’.

ξύλων κορύνας -`clubs of wood’.

εὐχωλάς-`vows’.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἁλέες-`crowded together on the other side’.

2. νηῷ -tr. `shrine’.

οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι …-`while the vow-keepers, acting as avengers for the god, strike them, as they defend themselves’.

4. νομίσαι -`to be customary’. There is other evidence for these ritual battles in ancient Egypt.

ἐκ τοῦδε -`for the following (reason)’.

ἀπότροφον -`reared apart’.

ἐξανδρωμένον -`having grown up, having grown to manhood’.

συμμεῖξαι-tr. `to visit, commune with’. Others see a more sinister meaning here. The word is used in a sexual sense in Book IV, 114

περιοράω-`to allow’, lit. `overlook’.

περισπεῖν < περιέπω -`handle, treat’.

τῷ Ἄρεϊ-`in honour of Ares’. It is not clear which Egyptian god is being identified with Ares here.

Chapter 64.

2. ὀχευόμενα -`copulating, mating’.

Chapters 99-146.

The third section of Book 2 begins at chapter 99 and discusses the history of Egypt. The first subsection of this (up to 146) tells the history as related by the priests, while the second relates the history of Egypt based on other evidence.

Chapter 99.

1. ὄψις -`observation’.

γνώμη -tr`. judgement’.

λέγουσά ἐστι -lit. `are speaking these things’, tr. `Up to now all I have said is based on my observation, judgement and enquiry’.

ἔρχομαι - `I proceed’.

προσέσται-`there will be in addition’.

2. Mina is the Egyptian Menes who unified Upper and Lower Egypt and founded the first dynasty, c. 3200 B.C. Some scholars regard him as a composite legendary

figure comprised of several early kings, such as Scorpion, Narmer and Aha. Manetho regarded him as a legitimate king, and Narmer and Menes were likely the same person.

Figure 5. Menes.

τοῦτο μέν -note the corresponding τοῦτο δὲ doesn't come until the end the section.

ἀπογεφυρῶσαι- lit. `dammed off', i.e. to form the site by raising dykes. (Only here in Greek.)

ψάμμινον -`sandy'.

πρός Λιβύης -`on the Libyan side'.

ἄνωθεν -`higher up'.

τὸν ... προσχώσαντο -`having formed with dykes the bend (ἀγκών) (of the river) towards the south'.

Tr. `but Min, having formed with dykes the bend (ἀγκών) (of the river) towards the south, about (ὅσον) twelve and one half miles above Memphis, thereby drying up the ancient channel, and conducted (ὀχετεῦσαι)the river (by a channel) so that it flowed midway between the hills.' This would have created space for the new city between the hills and the new stream.

The Nile does make a great bend to the east, 14 miles to the south of Memphis, but there is debate about how correct H.'s claims here are.

ὀχετεῦσαι-`to carry, conduct’.

3. ὑπο Περσέων -`under Persian control’.

ἀπεργμένος-`confined, constrained’. Tr.`Up to this day this bend of the Nile is watched closely by the Persians so that it might flow constrained (ἀπεργμένος), being dammed up anew (ἀνά) every year, for if the river intended to break its banks at this point and overflow, then all Memphis runs the risk of being flooded’.

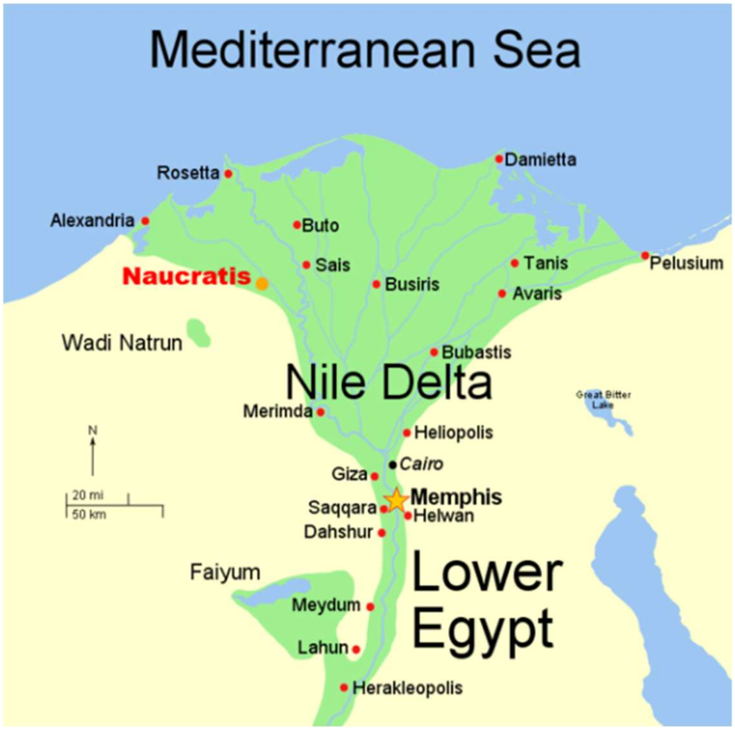
φρασσόμενος ἀνά -`damned up anew’.

4. ὡς ... -`when he, …., made that which was cut off into dry land (χέρσον), …’.

περιορύξαι -sc. αὐτόν i.e. Mina.

ἀπέργει-`bounds it’.

ἀξιαπηγητότατον -`most noteworthy, most worth relating’.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Rosetta
Damietta
Alexandria
Buto
Sais
Tanis
Pelusium
Naucratis
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Avaris
Wadi Natrun
Bubastis
Nile Delta
Great Bitter Lake
Merimda
Heliopolis
N
Giza
Cairo
20 mi
50 km
Saqqara
Memphis
Helwan
Dahshur
Faiyum
Lower Egypt
Meydum
Lahun
Herakleopolis

Figure 6. Memphis.

Chapter 100.

1. ἐξ βύβλου-`from a papyrus roll’.

The 25th dynasty comprised of Ethiopian kings, c. 715-663. Note that there is no mention of the Hyksos rulers.

2. τό περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ -`The same as the queen of Babylon’.

Nitokris is of doubtful existence (but possibly last Pharaoh of the Sixth dynasty as in Manetho) and may be a corruption of Neterkara who was, in fact, a man. No mention, however, is made of Hatshepsut who was indeed a female ruler of Egypt. She might have been an interregnum queen. If she were in fact a historical person, then she may have been the sister of Merenre Nemtyemsaf II and the daughter of Pepi II and Queen Neith.

τούτῳ τιμωρέουσαν -`getting revenge for him’.

3. οἴκημα- `chamber’.

περίμηκες-`very lofty’.

καινοῦν τῷ λογῷ -`ostensibly to inaugurate it’.

τοὺς ... ᾔδεε -`whom she knew’.

ἱστιᾶν -`to feast’.

ἐπεῖναι from ἐπίημι.

αὐλῶνος -`channel’.

4. αὐτήν μιν -`herself’.

σποδοῦ -`(hot) ashes’. (A Persian form of punishment).

ἀτιμώρητος γένηται -`might escape revenge’.

Chapter 101.

1. Moirios is probably Amenemhet II (1849-1801 B.C.), the name here being taken from Lake Moiris which he constructed. Herodotos is incorrect in placing him 10 generations before Psammetichos.

Figure 7. Amenemhet II

ἀπόδεξιν-`display, record'.

κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος -`of no degree of brilliance'.

2. ἀποδέξασθαι < ἀποδείκνυμι -`point out', tr. `achieve, construct'. Tr.`to have achieved as his memorial'.

μνημόσυνα-`monument'. Tr. `temple.

Godley: `whose circumference, as many stades as it is, I will make clear later, and built pyramids there also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said; of none of the rest had they anything to record.'

Chapters 102-111 concern the life of Sesostris = Senwosret III of Dynasty 12. There were several Pharaohs of this name and we probably have here a pastiche of details from each of them, and from Rameses II.

Chapter 102.

1. Lit. `Swapping these then for the king that came after them (in addition to them)’.

2. ἐς ὅ -`until’.

ὑπὸ βραχέων -`by reason of its shallowness’.

This section is not historical. Sesostris III campaigned south into Nubia and the Egyptians did not have control of Arabia until the time of the Ptolemies.

4. `and to those whom he met who were valiant …’.

δεινῶς-`desparately’.

γλίχομαι -`to strive after’.

ἐνίστη = ἐνέστη.

διὰ γραμμάτων -`by means of inscriptions’.

δυνάμι τῇ ἑωυτοῦ -`with his own might’.

5. κατὰ ταὐτά -`in the same manner’.

ἀνδρεῖος-tr. `brave, courageous’.

The reference to cowardice appears to be a Greek addition to the story.

Chapter 103.

1. προσώτατα -`the furthest’. i.e. `he went no further’. Tr. `their farthest destination’.

2. ἀποδασάμενος -`having detached’.

οἰκήτωρ -`inhabitants’, perhaps `colonists’.

τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες -`having grown weary of his wanderings’.

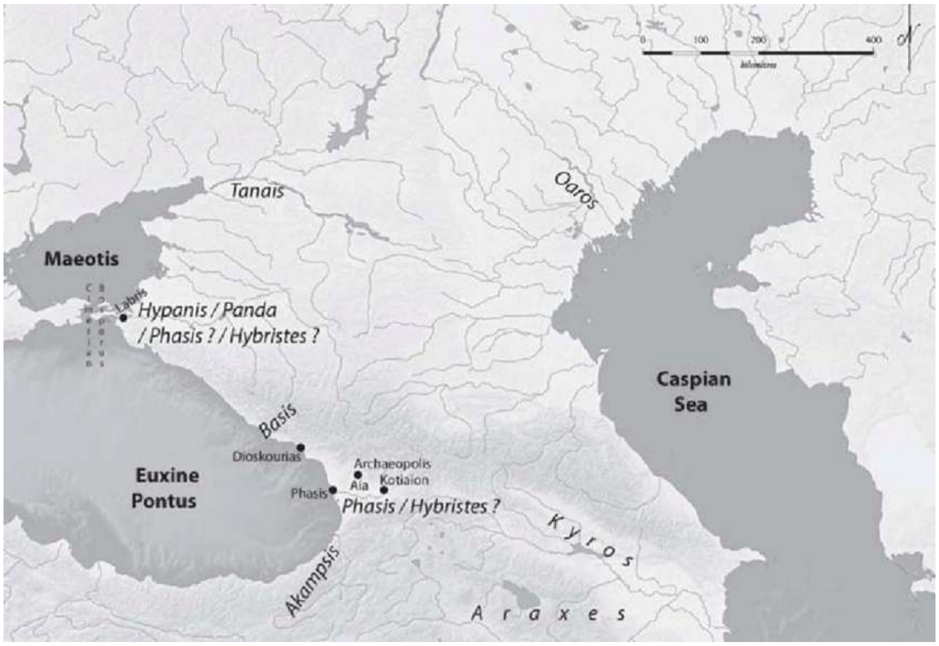
0
100
200
400
kilometres
Tanais
Oaros
Maeotis
Cimmerian
Bosporus
Labris
Hypanis / Panda
/ Phasis ? / Hybristes ?
Caspian
Sea
Basis
Dioskourias
Archaeopolis
Aia
Kotiaion
Phasis
Phasis / Hybristes ?
Euxine
Pontus
Kyros
Akampsis
Araxes

Figure 8. River Phasis.

Chapter 104.

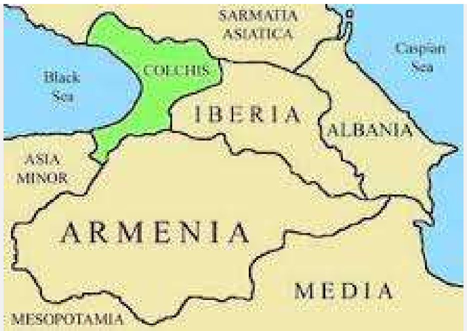
SARMATIA
ASIATICA
Caspian
Sea
Black
Sea
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
ASIA
MINOR
ARMENIA
MEDIA
MESOPOTAMIA

Figure 9. Area near the Black Sea

1. ἐν φροντίδι -`in my mind’.

ἐμεμνέατο-an ionic form from μιμνήσκω

2. εἴκασα -`I guessed’.

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει - `and this by itself amounts to nothing’.

περιτάμνονται -`practice circumcision’. This appears at an early stage to have been limited to the priests.

4. ἐπιγινομένους -`those born later’.

Chapter 105.

προσφερής = ἐμφερής-`similar to’.

ζόη -tr. `way of life’.

Σαρδονικόν -nothing to do with Sardinia, probably just a Greek version of a local foreign word with similar sound.

Chapter 106.

1. ἵστα-`set up’, imperfect.

ὥρων = ἑώρων -`I saw’.

2. Herodotos is confused here. See Waddell ad loc.

τύποι -`figures’. This probably refers to statues of Rameses II. Others think it refers to two Hittite statues. See Waddell ad loc.

ἐγκολάπτω -`to carve’.

τῇ -`on the (road where)’. The following verb is indefinite, `one comes’.

3. A `spithame’ is a about half a cubit about 46 centimetres. A `fifth span’ (gen. of measure) apparently means `four cubits and a span’, which is a little over 2 metres.

σκευή -`equipment’.

`for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian’.

4. διήκω -`extend’.

ἑτέρωθι -`elsewhere’.

5. μετεξέτεροι-`certain ones’.

Memnon - the reference here is to Memnon the king of Ethiopia who assisted Priam (See Od. iv. 188). He was later identified by the Greeks with Amenophis III.

πόλλον … ἀπολελειμμένοι -lit. `having fallen short very much’.

Chapter 107.

How and Wells say that this episode is quite unhistorical despite being repeated in Diodoros and Manetho.

1. ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι -`when he was on his way back (ἀνακομίζω -LSJ says passive can mean `return’), at Daphnai of Pelusion’. The other accusatives in the whole chapter are dependent on ἔλεγον.

ἐπέτρεψε -`had entrusted’.

ἐπὶ ξείνια -`to a banquet’.

περινέω -`to pile around’.

ὕλῃ -tr.`brushwood, firewood’.

2. τὴν δέ οἱ συμβουλεῦσαι -`(they say) she advised him’.

ἐπὶ πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καιόμενον -`having stretched them over the fire to make a bridge over the burning’.

Chapter 110.

1. 120 cubits, just under 55 metres. Waddell says that there were two fallen statues in the village near Memphis. Sesostris I started the incursion into Numia and Sesotris III completed it.

2. οὐ περιεῖδε -`did not permit’.

3. ὑπερβαλλόμενον-`having exceeded’.

συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι -`to agree’.

Chapter 111.

(Waddell’s edition has been bowdlerized.)

1. Pheron is simply our `Pharaoh’. Manetho’s list does not contain the name.

ἀποδέξασθαι < ἀποδείκνυμι. tr. `engaged in’, the word can mean `perform’.

κατελθόντος -tr. `flooding’. 18 cubits is just over 8 metres.

μέγιστα δὴ τότε -Tr. `greater than ever before’. Greek likes the superlative, whereas English the comparative.

κυματίης - (nom.) `surging, billowy’.

2. ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον -Tr. `being so arrogant’.

ἐξήκω -`expire’.

3. πεφοίτηκε - tr. `had slept with’.

Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος -`The Red Clay (Clod)’. The exact location of this is unknown.

συναλίζω -`to assemble’.

4. ἱρὰ ... λόγιμα -`in all the noteworthy temples’.

Chapters 112-120 relate the tales of Proteus and Helen in Egypt.

Chapter 112.

1. Proteus -possibly from the Egyptian title *Prouti*. Manetho identifies him with the last ruler of the 19th dynasty.

ἐσκευασμένον-`decked out'.

2. The Tyrians were Phoenicians.

στρατόπεδον -tr.`settlement' here.

συμβάλλομαι-`I guess'.

διαιτέομαι-`to live, dwell'.

Chapter 113.

1. ἐξῶστης -`which drive ashore', `violent'.

Taricheia - the word seems to mean a fish-curing station.

2. `if a servant of any man takes refuge there and is branded (ἐπιβάληται -*`has put upon himself', middle*) with certain sacred marks, delivering himself to the god, he may not be touched.'

διατελέω -`continue'.

τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ -`to my time'. τό goes with the whole phrase.

3. ἀπιστέαται < ἀφίστημι -lit. revolted', tr. `ran away from'.

τοῦ στόματος -`the mouth of the Nile'.

Her. has both φύλακος and φῦλαξ. In Odyss. IV 219ff. we are told that Helen obtained `potions' from the wife of Theon/Thon while in Egypt (cf. θῶνις). That Helen never went to Troy is mentioned in a fragment of Hesiod, but was explicitly stated in Stesichoros' famous poem which contains the eidolon theory. Euripides based his play `Helen’ on the belief that Helen never went Troy, but was kept in Egypt by Proteus.

Chapter 114.

2. Teukros -i.e. a Trojan. However the Teukrians appear to have settled in Troy long after the Trojan War and first appear in literature in the 7th century.

ἀπενειχθείς -`being brought up’ < ἀναφέρω.

λέγων - the manuscripts have λέγοντα.

Chapter 115.

3. πλανωμένου ... ἐν τῷ λόγῳ -`being evasive in his speech’.

ἤλεγχον -`began to refute’.

4. λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει -`declared the following judgement’.

εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην ... -`If I did not regard it as very important ...’.

παρά ... ἦλθεν - lit.`you have come beside’, tr. `you have slept with’.

καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρεσκε -tr. `as if this was not good enough for you’.

ἀναπτερώσας - lit. `having given her wings’, tr. `having egged her on’.

5. κεραΐσας -`having plundered’.

6. προίημι-`to send on’.

προαγορεύω -`proclaim publicly’.

μετορμίζεσθαι -lit. `change one’s anchorage’, tr. `sail away’.

ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι-`I will regard you as enemies’ <περιέπω -`to treat’. The form is probably middle but passive in meaning. Lit.`I declare you to be treated like enemies’.

Chapter 116.

1. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ... περ ἐχρήσατο -`it was not so well-suited to epic poetry as the story he did indeed make use of'.

μετῆκε -`rejected'.

ἐπίσταιτο -pres. opt. middle.

2. ἀνεπόδισε - lit. `was he made to step back', so `retract' or `correct'.

ἀπηνείχθη -`he was driven away'.

τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ -tr. `among other places'.

3. The lines quoted are from Iliad vi.289-292, `The Prowess of Diomedes'.

4. The second quotation is from Odyssey iv.227-30.

5. The third quotation is from Odyssey iv.351-2.

νέεσθαι -`to return'.

οὔ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας -`I had not sacrificed entire hecatombs'.

6. ὁμουρέω -`to border on'.

Chapter 117.

χωρίον -`passage'.

The Kypria is a post-homeric work (c. 700BC) of which only fragments survive.

εὐαεί -connected with ἄημι -`I blow'. Elsewhere only in poetry. The word contains only vowels.

ἐπλάζετο -`he wandered off course'.

Chapter 118.

1. τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι -`regarding the things which took place at Troy’.

2. ἱδρυθεῖσαν -`encamped’ (middle/passive usage of the word).

3. ὀμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί -`sworn and unsworn’, i.e. under oath and without an oath.

ἐπικαλεύμενα -`being demanded’, `claimed’.

δίκας ὑπέχειν-`make reparations, pay the penalty ’.

Chapter 119.

1. ἀντάω -`to meet with’.

Note τὰ ξείνια -`guest gifts, entertainment’ and ἡ ξεινίη -`friendship’ (here).

πρὸς δὲ καί -`and in addition’.

2. ἐγένετο ... ἄδικος -`was guilty of injustice (towards)’.

ὁρμημένον - tr. `when he tried’.

ἐπὶ πολλόν -`for a long time’.

ἐπιτεχνᾶται -`he devised’.

3. ἔντομα -`sacrificial offerings’.

ἐπάϊστος -`detected’. (Verbal adjective).

τὰ δὲ παρ’ ἑωυτοῖσι -`what took place in their own country’.

Chapter 120.

1. προστίθεμαι -`I agree’ (middle sense, active means `add’.)

ἐπιλεγόμενος -`reasoning’.

2. φρενοβλαβής -`mad, crazy’, mentally disturbed’.

3. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον -`and if at the beginning they were of such a mind’.

οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ - `always’. Lit. `there was no time when it was not the case’.

μάχης γινομένης -`whenever battle took place’.

ἐποποιός -`epic poet’.

χρεώμενον -`relying on’.

τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων -`when such things took place’.

4. περιήιε <περίειμι (*ibo*) - `(was likely) to pass to’.

ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ -`in his (Paris’) power’. Tr. `so that the whole affair would be in Paris’ power since (ὥστε for ὡς) Priam was an old man’.

ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐών -`being more of man (tr. a better man) than him (Pasis)’.

τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἀδικέοντι ... ἐπιτρέπειν -lit. `he would not submit to him, (so as) to allow his brother to do wrong’. Others supply ἀδικεῖν, `he would not submit to his brother doing wrong, to allow (him to do wrong)’.

5. λέγουσι -dat. pl.

ἀποφαίνομαι -`I declare’.

τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος-`the divine power contrived this’.

καταφανές ... -`they make this clear to all mankind’.

τῇ -`in the way in which’.

Chapters 121-123 concern a certain Rhampsinitis. This imaginary king seems to have some of the aspects of Rameses III, as well as other kings from the 19th and 20th dynasties. The narrative falls into two sections:

121. The Tale of the treasury

122. The tale of Rhampsinitis going to the underworld.

Figure 10. Rameses III. Karnak

Chapter 121.

25 cubits is about 11.5 metres.

θέρος-`Summer’.

τὰ ἔμπαλιν -`the opposite’.

A1. ἐπιτραφέντων -`succeeding’.

ἔχειν -`to extend’. Perhaps `to abut’.

τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης -tr. `the outer side of his palace'. The sense is that the chamber was inside the palace and had one of its walls being the wall of the palace.

τὸν ἐργαζόμενον -`the one who built it'.

2. οἰκοδόμος -`the builder'.

ὡς ἐκείνων προορῶν -`how providing for them (he had contrived ...)'.

βίον ἄφθονον-`ample livelihood'.

τεχνάσαιτο -`he contrived'.

ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες -i.e. paying attention to what he had said.

3. οὐκ ἐς μακρήν -`with no delay.' Lit. `did not hold back from the task for a long time'.

μεταχειρίζομαι -`to handle, deal with'.

B1. καταδεᾶ -`wanting in'.

ἀγγήια -`containers, vessels'.

κεκλημένου < κλείω.

ἀνιέναι κεραΐζοντας-`desist their plundering'.

πάγας -`traps'.

2. ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν -`one of the two of them having entered in'.

καταρμόσαντα-`having fitted into place'.

C1. ἐντείλασθαί σφι -`(he) instructed them'.

2. ἀμελήσει -lit. `were to neglect', tr. `were to ignore'.

D1. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ... - lit. `when the mother took the surviving son violently in hand/dealt harshly with him'.

κατασκευάσμενον -tr.`harnessed’.

ποδεῶνας -`neck’ of the wineskins. Tr. `he drew up two or three necks of the wineskins and loosed their fastenings’.

2. οὐκ ἔχοντα -`not knowing’.

ὁκοῖον = ὅντινα - tr. `which’.

πολλόν -`abundantly’.

ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους -`thinking it a stroke of luck’.

3. διαλοιδορέω +dat. -`to abuse’.

προσποιέεσθαι -`to pretend, feign’.

πραύνω -`to make soft, soothe’.

κατασκευάζειν - `put things in order’, i.e. he fixed up the wineskins.

4. ἐγγίγνομαι-`to take place’.

σκώπτω -here `to make a joke with someone’.

τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας -`they lay down there just as they were’.

πίνειν διανοέεσθαι -`turned their mind to drinking’.

παραλαμβάνειν -`include’.

5. ὡς δέ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἠσπάζοντο -`when in their drinking they greeted him in a friendly way/merrily’.

δαψιλής -`abundant’.

6. ἐπὶ λύμῃ -`by way of mockery’. A similar thing occurs in 2 Samuel 10:4-5.

E. Waddell’s text has been slightly bowdlerized here. Use OCT.

1. δεινὰ ποέειν -tr. `complained loudly’, `was beside himself in anger’, `showed himself very angry’.

πάντως -`by every means’.

2. κατίσαι ἐπ’ οἰκήματος - `to place in a brothel’.

πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι -`to receive all alike’.

3. τῶν εἵνεκα -`for what reason’.

ἐν πολυτροπίῃ -`in cunning’. Tr. `wanting by cunning to do these things to get the better of the king’.

4. προσφάτου -`newly slaughtered’, `fresh’.

τὴν χεῖρα-tr. `arm’.

ὡς -`to’.

οἱ ἄλλοι -sc. `were asked’.

5. προέμενον αὐτῇ -`leaving it with her’, from προίημι -`to surrender’.

F1. ἀνηνείχθη -`were referred back’.

πολυφροσύνῃ -`shrewdness, ingenuity’.

διανέμοντα -tr.`having sent a proclamation’, lit. `having spread abroad’, in later Greek it has this meaning in the passive.

ἀδείην -`immunity’. Tr. `offering to give a free pardon and promising (ὑποδεκόμενον) a great (reward)’.

2. πλεῖστα ἐπισταμένῳ - tr. `the cleverest’.

προκεκρίσθαι -`surpassed’.

Chapter 122.

1. συγκυβεύειν -`to play dice’.

καὶ τὰ μὲν νιμᾶν ... -`he defeating her in some games and being defeated by her in others’.

χειρόμακτρον-`hand towel’.

2. καὶ ἐς ἐμέ -`even in my time’.

ὁρτάζουσι -`they celebrate’.

3. κατ’... ἔδησαν – tmesis and gnomic aorist.

μίτρῃ-`as a head-band’.

αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω -`they themselves go back’.

λύκων -`wolves’, but jackals may have been meant, since these are sacred to Anubis and may represent a journey to the dead.

20 stades is approximately 3 km.

Chapter 123.

1. ὅτεῳ -`to whatever extent’. `Lit. `Let the things said by the Egyptians be used to whatever extent they are believable. Through all my account the rule is that I record that which is said by all as I have heard it’.

Demeter and Dionysos represent Isis and Osiris.

ἀρχηγετεύειν -`rule’. Note Perseus has ἀρχηγετέειν which is extremely rare and means `to make a beginning’.

2. τόνδε τὸν λόγον -`the following doctrine’.

τὰ χερσαῖα -`the things on land’.

περιήλυσις -`cycle’.

3. The doctrine of metempsychosis was widely spread in the 6th century, but H. refrains from naming the various individuals who proclaimed this teaching. Th earlier ones include the Orphics and Pythagoras, the latter Empedokles.

Chapters 124 -136 concern the pyramid builders. Thus H.’s chronology is way out of kilter, since the rulers previously mentioned were from a much later period. The pyramid builders belong to the 4th dynasty and under their rule Egypt appears to have been very well-governed.

Chapter 124.

1. εὐθενέω -`to prosper’.

Figure 11. Cheops

ἀπέρξαι -`prevented’.

2. ἀποδεδέχθαι - impersonal use, `orders were given’.

It appears that only the casing stones were brought from elsewhere, the other stones were quarried locally at Giza.

3. κατά - used distributively, `in groups of’.

ἐγγίνομαι - (of time) `to pass’.

τριβομένῳ-`being worn out’.

τῆς ὁδοῦ … - tr. `(working) on the road, which they were building, a task, in my opinion, not much less than the pyramid (itself)’. Two roads can still be traced near the pyramids. The name pyramid appears to come from *per-em-us* meaning a building with sloping sides.

4. `for the road is nearly a mile long (1.6km) and twenty yards wide (about 18 metres), and elevated at its highest to a height of sixteen yards (about 14.6 metres)’…

ζῴων ἐγγεγλυμμένων -`carved figures’.

ταύτης-tr. `of this (road)’.

θήκη -`coffin, tomb’.

διώρυχα -`channel’. This is nonsense. The water level inside the chamber is well above the level of the Nile.

5. `Its base is square, each side (μέτωπον) eight hundred feet (about 244 metres) long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet (about 9 metres) in length.’

See How and Wells for details of the measurements (1 plethron is about 100 feet) of the pyramid and the impossible connection with the Nile.

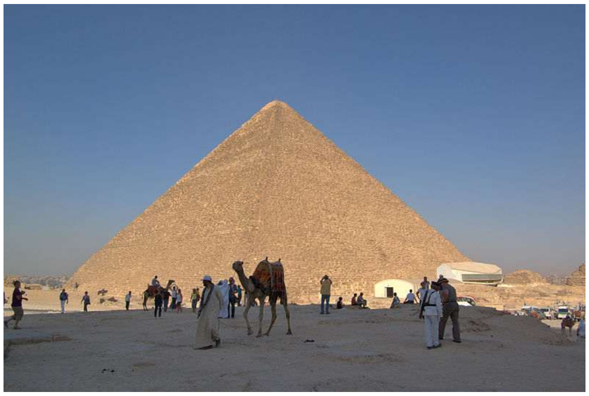

Figure 12. Cheops/Khufu and the Great Pyramid.

Chapter 125.

1. ἀναβαθμῶν -`steps’.

τὰς μετεξέτεροι ... - tr. `which some call steps and others tiers’. The Homeric word κρόσσας refers to `stepped courses of masonry’.

2. The `remaining stones’ refers to the stones used to fill in the steps to give a smooth side to the pyramid.

ξύλων βραχέων -`short wooden logs’.

στοῖχος -`row, course’.

3. The μηχανή is some sort of `lever’.

4. λέγεται -sc. `by the Egyptians’. Tr. `let me speak of both methods, since (both) are mentioned (by the Egyptians).

5. τὰ ἀνώτατα -`the upper sections’.

6. It is just possible that there was some kind of writing on the (now lost) outer casing of limestone of the pyramids. These would have been religious texts rather than lists of monies.

συρμαίην καὶ κρόμμυα -`radishes and onions’.

ἀναισιμῶ -`to spend’.

ἐπιλεγόμενος-`recounting’.

τετελέσθαι -`to have been paid’.

7. δεδαπανῆσθαι ἔς σίδηρον -`to have been spent on iron, with which …’.

Chapter 126. (Removed from Waddell’s edition).

The entire story is obviously fictitious and designed to impugn the character of the pyramid builders.

1. οἴκημα-here in the sense of `brothel’, as in 121 E1.

πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δή τι-`to charge a certain sum of money’.

ἰδίῃ-`privately’.

διανοέομαι-`to intent’.

ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις-tr.`to go towards the work’.

2. There are three small pyramids near the sphinx. One of these is thought to be the pyramid of Cheops’ daughter and is built in similar style.

3. κῶλον -`side’. 150 feet is roughly 46 metres.

Chapter 127.

Modern Egyptologists assign about 23 years to Cheops, and about 29 to Kephren.

1. τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ-`to have behaved in the same manner as the other (Cheops). Given the total time, they could hardly have been brothers. Chephren was Cheops’ son.

ἀνήκω -`to attain’.

2. There are in fact two subterranean chambers in the second pyramid. It is odd that Herodotos (nor any other Greek before the Roman period) does not mention the sphynx.

διῶρυξ -`channel, canal’.

ῥέουσα ... περιρρέει -`(canal) flowing through a built passage and encircling an island’.

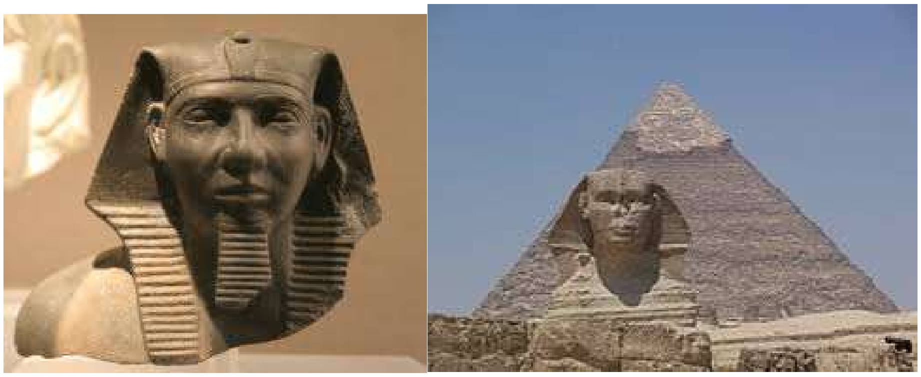

Figure 13. Kephren; his sphinx and pyramid.

3. δόμον -`course, layer’.

ὑποβάς -`going 40 feet lower than the other’. The grammar is difficult here. Lit. `he built it going lower than the other (τῆς ἑτέρης gen. of comparison) by 40 feet, (but in other respects) the same size, hard by (ἐχομένην) the great one’.

Chapter 128.

The shepherd Philistis, after whom they `name’ the pyramids, is probably a dim memory of the so-called Hyksos rulers, or `Shepherd Kings’.

ἔνεμε κτήνεα-`pastured his cattle’.

Chapter 129. The next four chapters concern the rule of Mykerinos. Chapter 131 has been left out in Waddell’s edition.

1. ἀπανδάνω -`to displease’.

τρύω -`to wear down, grind’.

ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ -`to extreme misery’.

ἀνεῖναι < ἀνίημι -tr.`return to’.

δίκας δέ σφι-`judgements for them’, σφι for σφισί.

Figure 14. Mykerinos and his pyramids.

2. ἐπιμεμφομένῳ -tr. `dissatisfied’.

ἐκ τῆς δίκης-`in consequence of his judgement’.

παρ’ ἑωυτοῦ -`from his own estate’.

ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν -tr. `to compensate him’, lit. `to satisfy his soul’.

3. ἠπίῳ -`mild’.

ἐπιτηδεύων -`contriving, practicing’.

ὑπεραλγήσαντα-`deeply grieved’.

περισσότερον -`more extravagantly’.

Chapter 130.

The pyramid builders had nothing to do with Sais and H. is confusing this with the latter period and the worship of Osiris.

1. ἠσκημένῳ -`furnished’.

καταγίζω -`to dedicate, offer (in religious sense)’.

Chapter 131. (Missing from Waddell.)

2. ἀπήγξατο -`strangled herself’.

3. ἀποβεβλήκασι-`had fallen off’.

ἐν ποσί -`lying at their feet’.

Chapter 132.

2. ὀρθή -`upright’.

τύπτωνται -`is mourned for’.

τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ-`whose name I will omit’.

3. δεηθῆναι -`to have made a request’.

ἀποθνῄσκουσαν -`as she was dying’.

The ceremony was part of the worship of Osiris and the bringing forth of the cow symbolized Isis’ search for him.

Chapter 133.

2. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον -`he took this badly’.

πάτρως -`uncle’.

3. συνταχύνω -`to shorten, hurry on’. Very rare word.

τὸ χρεόν-`that which must be’.

κακοῦσθαι-`to be afflicted’.

4. ὡς κατακριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων -`knowing that his doom was already fixed’. ὡς+ gen. abs.

εὐπαθεῖν -`to enjoy himself’.

ἀνιέντα -`letting up’.

ἐνηβητήρια -`places of amusement’.

5. `turning night into day’.

Chapter 134.

1. The pyramid of Mykerinos had been intended to be encased in red granite, but the Pharoah died before it was finished and his son completed the work in limestone.

`each side twenty feet short of (καταδέουσαν-lit. `wanting 20 feet of (being) 3 hundred plethra’) three hundred feet long, square at the base, and as much as half its height of Ethiopian stone’.

ἑταίρης γυναικός -`the courtesan’.

2. ἀνατίθημι -`ascribe’.

ἀναισιμόω -`use up, spend’.

ἀκαμάζουσα-`was flourishing’.

κατὰ τούτον -`at the time of this man (i.e. Mykerinos)’.

3. ἦν ᾽Ιάδμονος-`was (the slave) of Iadmon’.

ὡς διέδεξε -`as is made clear’.

4. ποινὴν ... ἀνελέσθαι -`to accept compensation’. Aesop was apparently put to death for failing to distribute money sent from Croesus to the Delphians.

παιδὸς παίς -i.e. `grandson’.

Chapter 135. (This chapter has been bowdlerized by Waddell, see OCT.)

1. ἀπικομένη δὲ καὶ ἐργασίην -`following her trade' (as a courtesan).

2. ὡς εἶναι Ῥοδῶπιν - tr. `sufficient for someone like Rhodopis (but not …)'.

ἐξικέσθαι -`to reach, be capable of (affording)'.

3. τῆς γὰρ τὴν ... βουλομένῳ -`for it is still possible even to this day for anyone who wishes to, to see (?work out) a tenth of her assets.'

ποίημα ποιησαμένη …-`having produced that that which no-one had chanced to invent, and setting it up in the temple, she dedicated it to Delphi as a memorial to herself'.

4. ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους -` iron spits for piercing (roasting) beef'. These were well known as sacred artifacts.

ἐνεχώρεε -`sufficed', i.e. `as many as a tenth would pay for'.

5. φιλέουσι -`are wont'. Tr. `The courtesans of Naukratos are wont to be very alluring'.

ἀοίδιμος -`a topic of song'.

περιλεσχήνευτος -`notorious', lit. `spoken of in the lesche'.

6. It is not clear who the μιν refers to, probably Sappho's brother Charaxos. Athenaeus says that Sappho refers to Rhodopis as `Doricha', but in her poems she mocks Doricha, the mistress of Charaxos. Given the small amount of poetry of Sappho that survives, it is not clear what H. is referring to here.

Chapter 136.

Asychis may be Shepseskaf, who was third in succession after Mykerinos in Dynasty IV.

1. προπύλαια-tr.`outer temple'.

τύπους ἐγγεγλυμμένους -`carved figures’.

ἄλλην ὄψιν ... μυρίην -`innumerable graces of architecture’.

2. ἀμειξίης ... χρημάτων -`lack of financial dealings, dearth of circulating money’.

ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον ... τὸ χρέος - lit. `showing the corpse of his father as surety, a man might borrow funds’. ἐνέχυρα ἀποδεικνύναι -`to offer a pledge’, χρέος-`debt, loan’.

τήνδε ἐπεῖναι … -`to impose this fine if he is not willing to repay the debt’.

θήκη -tr. `burial vault’.

ἀπογενόμενον -`related’.

3. ὑπερβαλέσθαι -`excel’.

ἐγκολάπτω -`to carve upon stone’.

4. κατόνομαι -` to blame’.

προέχω -`excel, surpass’.

ὑποτύπτω- `plunge in’.

πρόσσχοιτο -`clung to’.

τοῦτον μὲν ...-sc.` The priests say’, τοῦτον refers to Asychis.

Chapter 137.

In Manetho's list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).

1. Anysis was a local chief from the Delta, not a Pharaoh.

The reference here is to the Nubian invasion of Egypt under Shabaka (H. has Sabacos).

2. ἀποδέξασθαι -tr. `distinguished himself'.

3. τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος … δικάζειν-`to sentence each one according to the severity of their offence'.

χώματα χοῦν -`to raise embankments. (The verb is χόω.)

4. ἐχώσθησαν …-`they were raised up by those who dug canals'.

5. ἀξιαφήγητος-`worth telling'. Only here and once in Arrian.

Boubastis refers to the goddess Bastet.

Figure 15. Bastet.

Chapter 138.

1. διώρυχες -`channels'.

ἐσέχω -`stretch into'.

ἡ μὲν τῇ … -`the one and the other flowing around it'.

2. `The outer court is sixty feet high, adorned with notable figures ten feet high. The whole circumference of the city commands a view down into the temple in its

midst; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from above.’

4. ἐστρωμένη -`paved’.

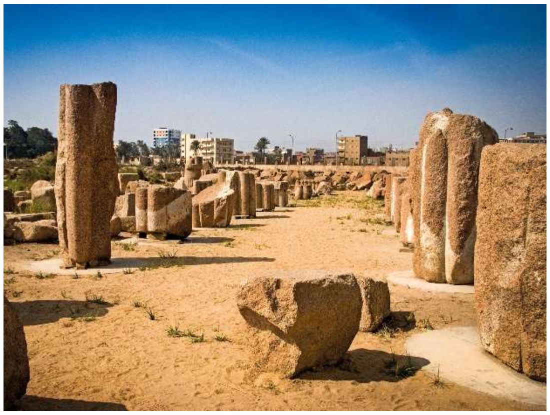

Figure 16. Remains of the temple of Boubastis.

Chapter 139.

1. τέλος ἀπαλλαγῆς -tr. `final departure’.

διαταμεῖν -`to cut them in half’.

2. ἀλλα γὰρ οἱ … -`for the time had passed during which it was foretold he would rule Egypt, (after which) he was to depart’.

Chapter 140.

1. σιγῇ -tr. `without the knowledge of’.

2. πρότερον … ᾿Αμυρταιου -`before the time of Amyrtaeus’.

Chapter 141.

1. Sethon is otherwise unknown.

τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι -`He despised and had no regard for the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them’.

παραχράομαι -`to treat with contempt’.

ἀπέλεσθαι -`took away’.

2. Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt. See 2 Kings 18. The repulse of Sennacherib probably belongs to the reign of Taharka, just before 663.

3. ἀπειλημένον < ἀπειλέομαι -`brought into great straits’.

δόξαι -inf. `(they said that) it seemed’.

ἀντιάζων -`encountering’.

αὐτός -nom. despite acc. and inf. construction, referring to the god.

τιμωρούς-`champions’.

4. ἐσβολαί -`inlets’, `entry roads’.

καπήλους … -`but only merchants and craftsmen and traders’.

5. τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι -`the enemy’.

μῦς -`mice’ (acc. pl.)

κατά … φαγεῖν -tmesis.

τὰ ὄχανα -`the straps’.

γυμνῶν -`unarmed’.

6. ἐς ἐμέ τις … -`Look at me and believe’.

Chapter 142.

1. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι … -`and that in this time this also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests.

2. `Now three hundred generations are ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a hundred. And over and above the three hundred, the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years.’

3. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ πρότερον ... -`nor had there been any such either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt’.

4. ἐξ ἠθέων -lit. `away from his usual seat’, i.e. `diverging from his usual path’.

ὑπὸ ταῦτα -`at these times’.

ἑτεροιωθῆναι -`underwent change’.

Chapter 143.

1. γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτόν -`making a genealogy for himself’.

ἀναδήσαντι -`tracing his lineage to a god in the 16th generation’. See LSJ ἀναδέω section II.

2. `they tallied them up to the number I have stated’.

ἱστᾷ …-`sets up a statue of himself during hos own lifetime’.

3. `pointing to these and counting, the priests showed me that each succeeded his father; they went through the whole line of figures, back to the earliest from that of the man who had most recently died’.

4. ἀντεγεηλόγησαν ... -`the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting’.

`for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a `Piromis’ the son of a `Piromis’; in Greek, one who is in all respects a good man.’

Chapter 144.

1. ἀπαλλαγμένους -`differing’.

2. καταπαύσαντα -`having deposed’. Typhon is the Egyptian Seth.

Chapter 145.

4. `Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.’

Chapter 146.

1. `With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, one may follow whatever story one thinks most credible; but I give my own opinion concerning them here. Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope appeared in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity;’

Herodotos-Book_2.1-3,35-76,99-146.docx

2. `but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks do not know what became of him after his birth. It is

therefore plain to me that the Greeks learned the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.’