

Two conceptions of the tribal geography of the Royal Scythian Empire  
in classical literary tradition.

by

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Dedicated to my parents.

Transliterations, translations and references.

Hellenized forms have been used for all Greek proper nouns except when a Latin form is used in a quoted secondary source or translation or is used to form an adjective, or where a common English form exists (e.g. Thucydides). The original Greek or Latin text is quoted when the wording is essential to the argument or when the text is thought to be relatively inaccessible. English translations are given when it is necessary simply to give the idea of a text or when it is my own translation and none other is available. Unless otherwise specified, all English translations of Classical texts are from Loeb Classical Library editions. Full footnote references are given for modern works upon their first citation but references to ancient sources are abridged (see Bibliography for full reference), references to Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart) are abridged to RE plus date and pages (volume number is shown in Bibliography if a supplement), and fragments in Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, (Leiden, 1961) are referred to simply by the ancient writer's name or his Jacoby number, plus the Jacoby Testimonium or Fragment number (e.g. 1 F37).

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## INTRODUCTION

From the late 6th to the late 4th centuries B.C. there existed in the lands between the Danube and the Don a confederation of tribal peoples of various racial and linguistic backgrounds under the overlordship of a nomadic Iranian-speaking tribal group sometimes referred to by the Greeks as the Βασιλήϊοι Σκύθαι<sup>1</sup> or 'Royal Scythians'. It is necessary to use the word 'sometimes', as the subject of the present research is in fact the varied conceptions in Classical Greek literature of the tribal geography (the distribution and inter-relation of the tribes) of this confederation. For convenience the historical entity will be referred to throughout this paper as 'The Royal Scythian Empire'. It is not however the historical questions related to the birth, development and disintegration of this Empire which are the concern of this research, but rather historiographical questions: not such questions as how in reality the Empire was organised, but how the Greek writers perceived the Empire to be organised<sup>2</sup>.

The Greeks had a long history of contact with the Royal Scythians. The contact preceded the establishment of Royal Scythians' European Empire and persisted after its demise. Although there were but a few Greek writers who were themselves involved in these contacts, there is scarcely an ancient author who omits to mention 'Scythians'. Study of these Classical writings proves, therefore, to be above all a study of literary traditions.

An attempt will be made, not simply to trace the course of the traditions, but to identify two major and mutually

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1. Βασιλήϊος is the Ionic form (in Herodotos) of the Attic Βασιλείος. See Her. IV.20.2; 22.3, 56, 57, 59.11; cp. 20.1 τὰ βασιλήϊα (of their territory).
  2. For an annotated bibliography of the major contributions to the historical study of the tribal geography and organisation of the Royal Scythian Empire, see Appendix 1.

incompatible conceptions. These may be described as follows: on the one hand, there was a conception from which such a concept as a 'Royal Scythian Empire' was totally absent, and in which the entire region from the Danube to the Jaxartes, and northwards as far as the encircling Ocean, is considered to be *Skythia* and the inhabitants *Skythai*. This wide definition of *Skythia* and *Skythai* was often accompanied by idealised descriptions of the tribesmen's customs, way of life and tribal organisation, and by gross geographical misconceptions. The first to make full use of this wide definition was Hekataios of Miletos. On the other hand, there was a conception in which an appreciation of the identity and nature of the *Basileioi* empire is evident, and in which *Skythai* was used in the more particular sense of the overlord group, the *Basileioi*, or at the most for those within the limits of their empire. The northern tribes outside this empire were non-Scythians. This narrow definition of *Skythia* and *Skythai*, was accompanied by a realistic description of the tribesmen's customs, way of life and tribal organisation, as well as of the geography and nature of their land. The first to use this narrow definition was Herodotos.

The first of these conceptions may be termed Hecataean and the second Herodotean. Some of the materials for the former were derived from Homeric poetry, while for the latter some materials were drawn from the poetry of the adventurer, Aristeeas<sup>3</sup>. It is the subsequent course of these traditions, however, which is the main interest of this thesis.

The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate the strong possibility that writings dealing with Scythians from the time of Hellanikos to the Alexander historians, with but a very few exceptions, derived their form, concepts and contents from Hekataios and not from Herodotos, and that of the two traditions, the Hecataean was the major and the Herodotean the minor.

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3. See Appendix 2.

This aim will be pursued by detailed analysis of the works of the relevant Greek writers and investigation of possible uses of either Hekataean or Herodotean material or concepts.

## CHAPTER 1

HEKATAIOS AND HERODOTOS

Before undertaking the task outlined in the introduction several related questions may be raised. Who were Hekataios' and Herodotos' sources? To what degree may Herodotos himself have been dependent upon his great predecessor? What are the distinguishing characteristics of the Hecataean and Herodotean conceptions of the 'Royal Scythian Empire'? Chapter 1 of this Thesis will be devoted solely to these preliminary questions.

The work to which the 'Hecataean' fragments dealing with Scythians are attributed is one called the Γῆς Περίοδος. Within this work two divisions are found; a 'Εὐρώπη' and 'Ἀσίη'.<sup>1</sup> A subject which may be broached here at the outset is that of the genuineness of Hekataios' Γῆς περίοδος. This was a question first raised in antiquity by Athenaeus who qualifies his reference to Hekataios' *Asia* on two occasions; 'Hekataios of Miletos, in the Description of Asia (granting that this book is a genuine work of the historian, since Kallimachos ascribes it to Nesiotes; whoever, then, the author may be), ...'<sup>2</sup> and 'as Hekataios, or whoever wrote the account of travels entitled *Asia*, makes clear'.<sup>3</sup> Arrian is later to echo these doubts<sup>4</sup>. These doubts as well as several other circumstances (such as what Pearson calls 'the somewhat surprising state of affairs' that with the exception of Heraclitus and Eratosthenes, no authors quote Hekataios' *Ges Períodos* prior to the 2nd century A.D.), have given rise to the theory that Hekataios' *Períodos* either never existed or was lost at an early date and that the copy in the Alexandrian library was the work of another purporting to be Hekataios<sup>5</sup>. The above theory entered modern scholarship in 1885 with Cobet conjecturing that the work's resemblance

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1. 1 F37-359.

2. Own translation, *Athenaeus* II.70a=1T.15a.

3. Own translation, *Athenaeus* IX.410e=1T.15b.

4. Arrian, *Anabasis* V.6.5=1T.15c.

5. Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (1939, rep. 1975, Oxford) p.31.

to Herodotos was a result of the forger's use of Herodotos<sup>6</sup>. This theory was argued much further by J. Wells in 1909<sup>7</sup>. Among Wells' arguments in favour of denying authenticity to the extant fragments, are six arguments upon external grounds. Firstly, the evidence that Herodotos used and alludes to such a work of Hekataios is insignificant<sup>8</sup>. Secondly, Hekataios' fame was not as a geographer but as a mythographer<sup>9</sup>. Thirdly, Hekataios is not quoted by Aristotle - although Herodotos, Thales and Anaximander were<sup>10</sup>. Fourthly, Kallimachos is said by Athenaios to deny genuineness to the 'Asia' book<sup>11</sup>. If this book was in the Alexandrian library, why would Kallimachos denounce his own treasure without good cause? Eratosthenes, Kallimachos' successor as the Alexandrian librarian, declared the work genuine, but did so out of literary ignorance and a prejudice in favour of the geographical sciences<sup>12</sup>. Arrian did not accept Eratosthenes' decision as final<sup>13</sup>. Fifthly, Strabo's references to Hekataios (twelve in number) are unimportant. Sixthly, the references by Agatharchides, Agathemerus and Hermogenes to Hekataios as a geographer, could well have been to the third century forger<sup>14</sup>. Wells also argued upon several internal grounds. If the *Periodos* was genuinely Hekataean then Herodotos would seem to be on the one hand using Hekataios (thus, the passages in common) and on the other, attacking him (such as with respect to the encircling ocean); 'To use a man's book and at the same time to sneer at him, and to call him names, is not an honourable proceeding'. Accordingly Wells believes it

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6. C.G. Cobet, 'Hecataei Milesii scripta  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\pi\lambda\gamma\iota\omega\alpha$ ' *linesmosyne*. XI (1883) pp.1-7. See also Pearson, *ibid.*, p.32.
  7. J. Wells, 'The Genuineness of the  $\Gamma\eta\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  of Hecataeus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* xxix (1909) pp.41-52.
  8. *Ibid.*, pp.42-44.
  9. *Ibid.*, p.44. See Herakleitos' assertion, Diogenes Laertius IX.1.
  10. Wells, *ibid.*, pp.44-45. The Spurious *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* contains the only possible allusion to Hekataios (128, 842 b 27).
  11. Wells, *ibid.*, pp.45-46. See note 3.
  12. Strabo I.xi.
  13. Arrian, *Anabasis*, V.6.5.
  14. Agatharchides, *De Rubro Mari* 48 (2nd century B.C.); Agathemerus i.1 (c.200 A.D.); Hermogenes, *De Genere Dicendi* ii.12 (2nd century A.D.).

inconceivable<sup>15</sup>. Wells could not bring himself to adopt a position where: 'Herodotus becomes in his account of Egypt the dwarf on the giant's shoulders, and the Father of History is convicted of owing his reputation to other's researches, and of using dishonourable means to conceal his obligations.'<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Herodotos' use of Hekataios was not asserted till late (the end of the first century A.D.) and there are inaccuracies in the details of some of the supposed Hecataean geographical fragments<sup>17</sup>.

Those who argued in favour of the alternate verdict of genuineness were never lacking. Prior to Wells, A. von Gutschmid (1885) and Diels (1887) had already argued this case<sup>18</sup>. In 1910 M.O.B. Caspari would seem to have successfully disposed of every one of Wells' arguments<sup>19</sup>. To Wells' list of the internal inaccuracies in the fragments attributed to Hekataios' *Periodos*, Caspari is able to add several other examples. Nevertheless, such inaccuracies indicate only the defective condition of the extant text of the *Ges Periodos* and not the spuriousness of the treatise as a whole<sup>20</sup>. With respect to Wells' external evidence Caspari makes several observations. Firstly, Aristotle never cited Hekataios, but nor did he refer to Hanno or Scylax by name<sup>21</sup>. Secondly, Strabo's brevity in dealing with Hekataios is simply due to his confidence in the work of Eratosthenes. He found it unrec-

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15. Wells, 'The Genuineness of the Γῆς περίοδος', pp.48-9.  
 16. *Ibid.*, p.49.  
 17. *Ibid.*, pp.50-51. See Porphyry *FGrH* 1 F 324A and Diony. Hal. *FGrH* 4 T12.  
 18. A. von Gutschmid, 'De rerum Aegyptiacarum scriptoribus Graecis ante Alexandrum Magnum', *Philologus*, x (1885) pp.522-42 (636-700); reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, i. pp.35f. H. Diels, 'Herodot und Hekataios' *Hermes*, xxii (1887) pp.411-44.  
 19. M.O.B. Caspari, 'On the Γῆς περίοδος of Hecataeus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* xxx (1910) pp.236-48.  
 20. *Ibid.*, pp.237-8.  
 21. *Ibid.*, pp.239-40.

essary to go back to earlier sources<sup>22</sup>. Thirdly, the nature of Kallimachos' attack upon 'Hekataios' geographical work is not clear - it would seem to be directed only at the part entitled 'Asia',<sup>23</sup>. Fourthly, Eratosthenes' verdict cannot be dismissed lightly for he, having studied the development of geographical method, was clearly judging the *Periodos* from a scientific standpoint<sup>24</sup>. Caspari goes on to demonstrate how insubstantial Wells' 'proofs' drawn from internal evidence are, and advances several 'positive proofs' of genuineness<sup>25</sup>. The geographical knowledge evident in the treatise would seem to fit well into the context of the late sixth century. There are similarities in style between the *Ges Periodos* and Hekataios' *Genealogiai*<sup>26</sup>.

Jacoby has been notable in his support of Caspari's verdict, and this same verdict has been accepted by nearly all subsequent writers<sup>27</sup>. The sole exception has been J. Grosstephan, but as Pearson notes 'It is, indeed, surprising that Grosstephan, writing in 1915, could bring up old arguments which had been so effectually refuted by earlier

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22. *Ibid.*, p.240. G. Nenci even prefers to eliminate the name 'Νησιώτου', taken to be the real author of the treatise, as a copyist's error, in his article 'Callimaco e la periegesi di Ecateo, in Ateneo II.70 A', *La Parola del Passato, Rivista di Studi classici* VI, 1951 No.19 pp.356-360.
23. Caspari, *ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, pp.240ff.
25. *Ibid.*, p.243-4. '...It would be a remarkable feat on the part of Mr Wells' forger to have kept so successfully within the narrower bounds of Hecataeus' knowledge.' That the knowledge of the author of the *Periodos* at times exceeded that demonstrated by Herodotos and others - such as with respect to Spain and North Africa - need occasion no surprise. Hekataios was writing at the time of much colonisation. Nor need the detailed description of the Euxine coast by a Milesian author be remarkable. The description of the north Iranian plateau (vastly superior to Herodotos') may be accounted for in the proposition that Hekataios had access to Persian material/information (See Ch.1, pp.26-7).
26. *Ibid.*, p.240; 'fondness for pedigree-tracing and etymological speculation.'
27. Jacoby, 'Hekataios' *RE* 1912, 2670-2674. Jacoby concludes: 'Weder ist der ganze literarische Nachlass des H. eine hellenistische Fälschung, wie Cobet behauptete (...), noch ist nur die Περίοδος gefälscht

critics'<sup>28</sup>. Wells himself had not changed his position by the time he joined with W.W. How in *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912)<sup>29</sup>.

Jacoby performs the further important task of highlighting the reason behind the reluctance of such men as Wells to entertain the possibility that the explanation for common passages between the *Ges Periodos* and Herodotos' work, was that Herodotos was using the work of his predecessor, Hekataios. The reason was, 'Herodot ist "Klassiker", und ein Klassiker darf natürlich niemand benutzen'<sup>30</sup>. Wells himself, as has been seen, admitted to such a belief<sup>31</sup>. That such an attitude involves a total misconception of the nature of Greek historiography had already been pointed out by Hermann Diels. Diels even gave examples of the uncited borrowings from Herodotos' work made by such a respected researcher as Aristotle<sup>32</sup>. Jacoby punctuated Diels' point: 'Herodotus Bedeutung als Historiker und Künstler oder besser als historischer Künstler hängt ja doch in keiner Weise davon ab, ob er in Teilen seines Werkes ... den wissenschaftlich bedeutenden Vorgänger benützt. ... Wer Herodot hier verteidigen zu müssen glaubt, hat weder seine literarische Entwicklung noch

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27. (contd.) (Wells); noch ist das echte Werk durchgehend oder in einzelnen Partien direkt oder aus einem gefälschten H. interpoliert (C. Mueller p.XII.ff. Nissen 7. Max C.P. Schmidt 10. Fischer 96f. Wachsmuth 510, 1); noch stand endlich neben dem echten Werke ein gefälschtes Buch über Ägypten (Hollander. Lipsius 15. Niese 240). Diels "Behauptung, dass die von den Modernen aufgespürten Verdachtsgründe gegen einzelne Fragmente, auch nicht den leisesten Anhalt an der Tradition" haben (soweit es sich nicht etwa um einfache Schreib- oder sonstige Traditionsfehler handelt), besteht auch jetzt noch zu Recht.' (2674). Cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.33.
28. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.33. J. Grosstephan, *Beiträge zur Periege des Hekataios*, (Dissertation, Strasbourg, 1915), known to me only through Pearson).
29. A summary of Wells' position is offered in the commentary, i.24-7.
30. Jacoby, 'Hekataios' *RE* 2675.
31. See quotations from Wells (on p.3, references in notes 16 and 17).
32. Diels 'Herodot und Hecataios' pp.429-432.



seine literarische Bedeutung begriffen, vor allem aber nicht den fundamentalen Unterschied, der in Zweck, literarischer Form und sachlichem Inhalt zwischen H. und Herodot besteht.'<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, a relationship did exist between Herodotos' and Hekataios' works, and the investigation of this relationship should be the legitimate work of the modern historian.

Though it is most unlikely that our modern understanding of classical historiography could permit the return of such conceptions as those with which Wells worked, and although the particular question of the genuineness of Hekataios' *Ges Periodos* (as defective as the extant fragments may in places be) would seem to have been settled as early as 1910<sup>34</sup>, it has for several reasons been necessary to draw attention to the doubts of authenticity which have been raised - even if seventy years ago. Secondly and more importantly, the prejudice which Wells showed in favour of Herodotos and which was to lead him into such error, did not die seventy years ago. The same prejudice has led many later scholars into error - an error of a different kind. Today Hekataios' authorship of the *Ges Periodos* is unchallenged, yet when it comes to determining the influences in and sources of the late fifth to mid-fourth century writings on the tribal geography of the Scythians, Hekataios is often overlooked. Herodotos is regarded as the prime and original authority. Thus, the fact that Herodotos is a 'Klassiker' and that unlike Hekataios', his work is extant in its entirety, works in two directions. On the one hand there is a reluctance to believe that Herodotos used Hekataios' work, and on the other hand there is a tendency to believe that Herodotos was the authority used by subsequent writers.

Both beliefs are dubious. The weakness of the former has been discussed above. The weakness of the latter will be

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33. Jacoby, 'Hekataios' *RE* 2675.

34. Pearson even writes: 'All the important arguments have already been answered, and a lengthy treatment of the question is quite unnecessary here.' *Early Ionian Historians* p.33.

discussed below, for as stated, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate that with respect to the tribal geography of the Royal Scythian Empire the scholarly Greek writings in the century following Herodotos were chiefly dependent upon Hekataios' work and conceptions, and not upon those of Herodotos<sup>35</sup>.

As an aid to the consideration of the texts herein discussed a sketch may be given of the chief characteristics which will be used throughout the course of this paper as criteria for the identification of either Hecataean or Herodotean ideas and influences in any particular piece of writing dealing with the Scythians, and ultimately for the allocation of the writing to a position in the literary traditions. There are two major criteria. Firstly, the definition of the physical geography of the north: whether the north is conceived of as limited by an encircling ocean and Rhippean mountains and whether the Tanais (Don) is conceived of as the boundary between Europe and Asia. Secondly, the definition of 'Scythians': whether it is used in the absence of further qualifications or whether divisions within the 'Scythians' are recognised. Though it is this second criterion which is the most relevant and decisive the literature which is to come under consideration does not always provide enough material for an accurate reconstruction of the definition of 'Scythians' along these lines, and in such circumstances the other criterion proves invaluable. Supplementary to the above criteria use will be made of numerous miscellaneous indications of the probable influence of either Hekataios or Herodotos (such as indications of a periplous style). The two major criteria may now be discussed in turn.

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35. Hekataios' general significance in the classical tradition of geography will not be treated here. See K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, vol 1 (Wiesbaden, 1972) pp.95-99. Hekataios combined a comprehensive handbook for trade and travel with an entertaining book of exotic wonders, but still aimed for nothing less than 'eine systematische, wissenschaftlich - exakte Erforschung der fremdvölkischen Umwelt.' (p.95). On Hekataios' rationalism (even though persistently dealing with myths) see O. Musso, 'Hekataios von Milet und der Mythos von Geryones', *Rheinisches Museum*, CXIV, 1971, pp.83-85.

## I

In IV.36 of his *Histories* Herodotos wrote: 'And I laugh to see how many have ere now drawn maps of the world, not one of them showing the matter reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the river of Ocean, and Asia and Europe of a like bigness ...' Van Paassen believes Herodotos is here criticising three things<sup>36</sup>: 1. the idea that the 'ocean' runs round the oikoumene. 2. the idea that Europe and Asia were identical in size. 3. the idea that the oikoumene could be a circle drawn by compasses. Herodotos seems to object in principle to the schematising of the world's map. His own map, though still often diagrammatic, is less symmetrical<sup>37</sup>. Harmatta is, however, without doubt correct in reducing the whole problem of Herodotos' criticisms and his own geography to the one problem of the 'ocean'<sup>38</sup>. The conception of an encircling ocean was the inheritance of mythology. That Hekataios, half mythographer, half geographer, willingly accepted the inheritance is evident from a fragment found in the Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios IV.259; 'Hekataios the Milesian said the Argonauts went from the Phasis out into the Ocean and then from there into the Nile and thence into our sea.'<sup>39</sup> Similarly Hekataios appears to have accepted the conception of Rhippean mountains and Hyperboreans<sup>40</sup>.

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36. C. van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, (Groningen, 1957), p.139.
37. For example, Scythia is described as a square (IV.101). On the various schemes employed by Herodotos see the most original treatment of the subject by J.L. Myres, 'An attempt to reconstruct the maps used by Herodotus' *Geographical Journal* 1896 pp.605-31, particularly pp.606-609.
38. Johannes Harmatta, *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot* Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok Szerkesztői Moravesik Gyula 14 (Budapest, 1941), referred to by van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition*, p.140.
39. Own translation = F302c = F18a.
40. As there are no fragments citing Hekataios with reference to either the Rhippeans or the Hyperboreans, the arguments in favour of the attribution of such a concept to Hekataios cannot be anticipated here. See the chapter on 'Hippocrates' pp.79-83.

Hekataios simply transformed the mythical ideas into a rational geographical model<sup>41</sup>.

Herodotos' remark in IV.36 is clearly an allusion to Hekataios. Not only is Hekataios known to have believed in an encircling ocean, it is highly probable that he produced a map. Thus Agathemeros wrote: 'Anaximandros the Milesian, a pupil of Thales, was the first who dared draw a map of the world on a tablet. After him Hekataios of Miletos, a much travelled man, went into such detail that the matter excited astonishment. Hellanikos of Lesbos, that very learned man, produced his history without figures.'<sup>42</sup> Dionysios Periegetes provided similar information: 'Some formerly drew the oikoumene on a tablet, firstly Anaximandros, secondly the Milesian Hekataios, thirdly Demokritos, pupil of Thales, fourthly Eudoxos.'<sup>43</sup>

Herodotos did not accept the mythographical inheritance. He first tried to find reliable witnesses for the existence of such an ocean. Though such would seem to have been forthcoming with respect to the west, south and the south east<sup>44</sup>, they were not with respect to the north. The non-existence of an ocean in the north could not be proved, but the non-existence of witnesses to such an ocean could be argued. It is the latter that Herodotos does<sup>45</sup>. He repeatedly offers information wherein the northern horizon is

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41. (See note 35).

42. Own translation from I T 12a.=Agathemeros, *Geographiae informatio* i.1.

43. Own translation from I T 12b.

44. Thus the stories of Nekos (IV.42) and Skylax (IV.44).

45. IV.45: 'But of Europe it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of its eastern or its northern parts so as to say if it is encompassed by seas'.

III.115: '...nor for all my diligence have I been able to learn from one who has seen it that there is a sea beyond Europe.'

IV.8. 'As for the Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows from the sun's rising round the whole world, but they cannot prove that this is so.'

invariably reported to be a desert. Thus, in IV.13 Herodotos offers the following enumeration: Issedonians-Arimaspians-griffins-Hyperboreans-θάλασσα. This would seem to be based faithfully upon Aristetas' poem<sup>46</sup>. In IV.16 Herodotos expresses his own doubts concerning the catalogue: 'As for the land of which my history has begun to speak, no one exactly knows what lies northward of it; for I can learn from none who claim to know as an eyewitness. For even Aristetas, of whom I lately made mention - even he did not claim to have gone beyond the Issedones, no, not even in his poems, but he spoke of what lay northward by hearsay; saying that the Issedones had so told him. But as far as we have been able to hear an exact report of the farthest lands, all shall be set forth.' Then in IV.17 Herodotos gives the following catalogue: Borysthenites-Kallippidai-Alazones-Aroteres Scythians-Neuroi-uninhabited (ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἔδμεν). In IV.18 between the Borysthenes and Panticapes; the Georgoi Scythians-desert-Androphagoi-the desert and uninhabited (ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἔδμεν). In IV.19 between the Gerros and Maiotis; Basileioi Scythians-Melanchlainoi-lakes and uninhabited (καθ' ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἔδμεν). In IV.21f across the Tanais northwards; Sauromatai-Boudinoi-desert-Thyssagetai-Iyrkai-other Scythians who had revolted from the Basileioi Scythians - stony ground - the bald Argippaioi - high and impassable mountains with goat-footed men (which Herodotos cannot accept for true). To the east the Issedones, although 'of what lies northward either of the bald-heads or the Issedones we have no knowledge, save what comes from the report of these latter.'

Rhipæan mountains or any such concept of an imposing northern mountain range from which the north wind blows finds no place in Herodotos' work. The Hyperboreans are mentioned a total of five times, but never accredited much historical reality. In IV.13 they are mentioned in the same catalogue

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46. See Appendix II.

as the 'Sea' - a catalogue taken directly from Aristeas. They are omitted from all Herodotos' own catalogues and return only in a discussion of the Homeric-Hesiodic and other early Greek legends<sup>47</sup>. Herodotos in fact claims that: 'Concerning the Hyperborean people neither the Scythians nor any other dwellers in these lands tell us anything, except perchance the Issedones. And, as I think, even they tell nothing; ...'<sup>48</sup>

Hekataios' commitment to an encircling ocean (with the probability that this involved an additional commitment to a northern mountain range called the Rhipians and a people called the Hyperboreans), and the deviation of Herodotos with respect to these matters, are more readily apparent than his commitment to a particular definition of a continental boundary and of the relationship that this definition has to the Herodotean.

There are numerous problems with the reconstruction of Hekataios' conception of this boundary. The starting point for this reconstruction must be <sup>the</sup> Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios IV.259<sup>49</sup>. This passage from the Argonautic section of the *Genealogiai*, wherein the Phasis flows into the Ocean, intrinsically involves the recognition of the Phasis as the continental boundary. Though Hermann does not cite his evidence, it is doubtless this passage which led him to conclude 'Hekataios hatte noch den Phasis als Grenze zwischen Europa und Asien eingesetzt ...'.<sup>50</sup> Such a model, however, would seem to be inconsistent with the assignation in the *Periodos* of Caucasian tribes such as the Koraxoi and Kooloi and the Greek city of Panagoreia (on the straits of Kerch) to Asia.<sup>51</sup> If the continental boundary is supposed to be south of the

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47. IV.32, 33, 35, 36.

48. IV.32.

49. See translation p.11 note 39 .

50. Hermann, 'Tanais' *RE* 2166.

51. F 212, 210, 209.

Caucasus then they would be expected to be located in Europe.

Pearson (1939) believes that no problem exists. Hekataios did speak of, and conceive of, the real Phasis as the continental boundary, but the subject-matter of the 'Asia' and 'Europe' sections of the *Periodos* overlapped to a certain extent; that is, Asian tribes were mentioned in the 'Europe' where and when relevant, and *vice versa*<sup>52</sup>. This is inconceivable. The continental boundary, though evading a universally accepted definition would not have been so easily flouted in a work purporting to divide its subject between Europe and Asia, and which followed a clear periplous style.

Jacoby and Junge (1937) make more significant contributions to the subject with their observations that, while some of the tribes of the Caucasian region are placed in Asia, others are in Europe, and with their suggestion that Hekataios may have had the Hypanis-Kuban, and not the real Phasis (Rhion), in mind<sup>53</sup>. Junge believes the question settled:<sup>54</sup> *Anaximandros*, Hekataios' predecessor, may have erred in believing the Colchian Phasis flowed directly from the Ocean - and thus Hekataios' version of the Argonauts' route. In his geography Hekataios rationalised this model and applied the name Phasis to a combination of water courses: the Ocean-Araxes-Caspian Sea-Hypanis-Pontus, 'eine Stromverbindung ... die durch das Mittelmeer und die Säulen des Herakles wieder in den Okeanos führte.'<sup>55</sup> This reconstruction has the advantage of accounting for Hekataios' supposed division of the world into two equal parts. Herodotos would have only been able to ridicule those (i.e. Hekataios) 'who make Asia the

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52. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.65.

53. Jacoby, commentary to 1 F 195. pp.352-3. Julius Junge, *Saka-Studien: der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike*, Klio, Beiheft XLI (1939, rep. 1971), p.23.

54. *Ibid.*, 'Es ist längst festgestellt, dass dies bei Hekataios nicht mehr der kolchische Phasis, sondern der spätere Hypanis-Kuban gewesen sein muss, weil die in der Nähe des Kaukosos sitzenden Völker teils zu Europa, teils zu Asien Gezählt sind.'

55. *Ibid.*

same size as Europe' if this was readily apparent from their (Hekataios') maps<sup>56</sup>. It no doubt was. The map was simple; the northern half Europe, the southern Asia, and between them the chain of water courses.

Jacoby describes the stages in the historical development of the conception of an intercontinental boundary as follows:<sup>57</sup> (i) it is the Colchian Phasis of the Argonautic legend, leading into the Ocean. (ii) it is moved north to the Hypanis and the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the latter is also called the 'Tanais' by some authorities). (iii) it is moved still further north to the Don, which is then called 'Tanais'. Whereas Hekataios meant (i) in his *Genealogiai*, he meant (ii) in his *Periodos*. This model would resolve all the problems raised above. Yet problems still remain. As Bolton points out, the only ancient author to call the/a Hypanis the boundary is Cornelius Gallus - not substantial evidence<sup>58</sup>. Moreover, the allocation of Hekataios' Caucasian tribes to Asia or Europe is not in any case regular - whether the error be the responsibility of Hekataios, those who quote him, or scribes - and cannot be used as evidence of an Hypanis boundary. Jacoby does not suggest who may have been responsible for the final identification of the Tanais as the boundary (stage iii). Hermann does make a suggestion. Some time between Hekataios and Herodotos 'muss sich ein Jüngerer ionischer Geograph (Dionysios von Milet?) für den T. entschieden haben.'<sup>59</sup> This is highly unlikely. The fragmentary and testimonial evidence does not suggest this Dionysios was at all widely read<sup>60</sup> - and this would be a pre-requisite for the identification of the

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56. IV. 36.

57. Jacoby, commentary to I F 195, pp.353-354, summarised by J.D.P. Bolton, in his *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, (Oxford, 1962), p.190 n.21.

58. Bolton, *ibid.* Cornelius Gallus in W. Morel, *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum* (Stuttgart, 1923) p.99.

59. Hermann, 'Tanais', 2166.

60. Dionysios of Miletos was the author of a work entitled 'Περὶ τὰ μετὰ Δαρειῶν' in five books. See Jacoby 687 and Schwartz 'Dionysios von Milet' *RE* (1903) pp.933-934.



originator of what was to become the major tradition concerning the intercontinental boundary.

The above model shows how the concept development can be improved upon dramatically by approaching the subject from the opposite direction. It is this task Bolton so ingeniously and successfully performs<sup>61</sup>. The strait which joined the Ocean in the earliest legends was the 'Phasis' by definition. The strait was not named after the Colchian river, but *vice versa*. Bolton suggests the following three stages in the history of the 'Phasis': (i) a legendary strait towards the east connecting with the Ocean. (ii) the river (Don) which came to be called the 'Tanais'. (iii) the most easterly river flowing into the Euxine, the Rhion. The advantages of this model are numerous: No. (i) would account for the Phasis ever being selected as an intercontinental boundary at all; (ii) for the Tanais being selected as a boundary; and (iii) for the tiny Rhion assuming such disproportionate importance. To these Bolton adds several other arguments in favour of the model.

Of greatest relevance to this paper is stage (ii) above, the identification of the Tanais (Don) as the strait 'Phasis'. This is echoed in several places. Skymnos claimed that the Argonauts sailed by way of the Tanais to the Ocean and from there back into the Mediterranean<sup>62</sup>. Even in the 'Orpheus' *Argonautica* the Tanais flowed from the Ocean<sup>63</sup>. Pytheas of Marseilles claimed to have explored the whole ocean seaboard from Gades to the Tanais<sup>64</sup> and must therefore have believed the Tanais joined the ocean ('whatever river it was whose mouth

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61. Bolton, *Aristeas*, pp.57-60.

62. Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios IV.284.

63. See Bolton, *Aristeas*, p.58 and ch.iii, note 22. Orpheus' *Argonautica* 749f; 1036-82.

64. Strabo II.iv.1.

he took to be the northern outlet of the Don').<sup>65</sup> Eratosthenes had said: 'there has been much discussion about the continents, and that some divide them by the rivers (the Nile and the Tanais), declaring them to be islands.'<sup>66</sup> As Eratosthenes is known to have made frequent use of Hekataios and as Hekataios is known to have joined the Nile to the Ocean<sup>67</sup>, it is probable that Eratosthenes is here alluding to Hekataios' conception. Finally, prevalent in the late fourth century B.C. was the conception of the Maeotis being joined to the Ocean, of the Araxes sending many arms into the ocean/swamp while also bifurcating into the Caspian and, through the Tanais, into the Maeotis<sup>68</sup>. As Hekataios is never directly cited as the source for these conceptions, the arguments given in chapter 11, 'Alexander', in favour of considering Hekataios the source should not be anticipated here for fear of a circular argument. It may none the less be noted at this point that this conception fits in well with the late sixth century model now being reconstructed.

As early a writer as Aischylos is known to have considered the Cimmerian Bosphorus as part of the continental boundary<sup>69</sup>: the Tanais was considered the boundary as early as Ps Skylax<sup>70</sup> and, as already mentioned, Eratosthenes suggests Hekataios considered this river the boundary. It thus seems highly probable that Hekataios considered the intercontinental boundary to lie at the Tanais. In his *Genealogiai* Hekataios continued the poetic tradition of naming the channel which joined the Ocean, the Phasis, but in his

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65. Bolton, *Aristeas*, p.59. Bolton should perhaps have said the northern 'end' instead of 'outlet'. The river did not flow in two directions but was more of a strait.
66. Strabo I.iv.7.
67. F.302c. (see p.11 n.39.)
68. See Bolton, *Aristeas*, p.60 and ch. 'Alexander' (pp.219-233).
69. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* i.729-735. See notes in Bolton, *ibid.*, pp.55-56. See also Strabo VII. 4.5.
70. Ps Skylax 68; Skymnus 867f; Strabo VII.iv.5; XI.1.1; Pliny, *Natural Histories*, II.245; Dionysios Periegetes 14; Mela 1.8ff.

*Periodos* he would seem to have called it the Tanais<sup>71</sup>.

Herodotos' conception of the intercontinental boundary is markedly different. Hermann claims that 'Herodot führt sie (die Grenze) am Kaukasos, dem Kaspischen Meer und dem unteren Araxes entlang'<sup>72</sup>, while Heidel says he 'commonly placed it at the Phasis'.<sup>73</sup> Neither Hermann nor Heidel give an accurate account of the situation. Herodotos nowhere (let alone 'commonly') volunteers a definition of the intercontinental boundary. On the contrary, he consciously avoids doing so. It does, however, appear in II.103 that the definition of the Phasis as such a boundary is implicit to the sense of the passage<sup>74</sup>.

The most relevant and useful criterion for the identification of Hecataean and Herodotean influence in writings dealing with Scythian tribal geography is without doubt the actual conception of Scythian tribal geography apparent (if apparent) in the texts. In this respect the conceptions of the two writers differed markedly. As Herodotos' conception in this respect is by far the clearest, it is his which may here be discussed first.

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71. This theory may hold, even though Homer at one point declares that all rivers come from the Ocean (*Iliad*, XXI. 196). The Hecataean geography of the north would seem to correspond very closely with the Aeschylean geography, as reconstructed in the thorough and brilliant work of Bolton, *Aristeas*, pp.45-62 (and map I 'Io's Journey'). One further conclusion, which Bolton does not draw, is that Aeschylus had (consciously?) adopted Hekataios' model, suggested by Jacoby 'Hekataios' *RE* 2680 and Borzak, *Die Kenntnisse*, p.8 - possibly having seen a copy of Hekataios' annotated map.
72. Hermann 'Tanais' *RE* 2166.
73. William Arthur Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, (New York, 1937) p.15 note 33. Heidel does seem to qualify this claim in pp.32-33 when, in discussion of the variant conceptions of the Tanais, Phasis and continental boundary, he writes: 'No wonder that Herodotus thought it was arbitrary.'
74. Sesostris passed over from Asia to Europe when attacking the Scythians and Thracians, and then returned back to the Phasis.

## II

Herodotos' conception of Scythian tribal geography is complex<sup>75</sup>. Herodotos did not work with a simple and internally consistent model, and his definition of 'Scythians' ranges from a broad to a narrow one. Use of a wide definition of the term 'Scythians' and the presence of a relatively general conception of the 'Scythians' is to be found in Herodotos' narrative of Darius' campaign. Here the Scythians would all appear to be nomadic horsemen wandering freely across the steppes between the Istros and the Tanais (in defiance of such hindrances as rivers<sup>76</sup>) and without any attachments to cultivated lands or

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75. Herodotos' other conceptions and preconceptions related to the geography and anthropology of the Scythian north will not be discussed here. On Herodotos' conception of Scythian geography see J. Talboys Wheeler, *The Geography of Herodotus*, (1854, London), pp.141-156; E.H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 2V, (London, 1979) pp.173-201 and 205-214; Friedrich Westberg, 'Zur Topographie des Herodots' *Klio* IV, 1904, pp.182-192 (particularly pp.182-3 on 'Die Wohnsitze der König-Skythen'). Van Paassen, *The Classical tradition of Geography*, also discusses Herodotos' cartography - stressing the importance in it of rivers and an horizon (or lack of one).  
On Herodotos' anthropological assumptions see the following works: J.L. Myres, 'Herodotus and Anthropology' pp.121-168 in R.R. Marrett (ed.) *Anthropology and the Classics* (1908, rep. 1968) on the use of such criteria for tribal distinction as physique, customs, dress, language; attention to marriage customs, belief that food influences man and his institutions, concern with horizon; Van Paassen, *op.cit.*; interest in origins of people (pp.80-81), in migrations (p.94) and in the individuality of peoples (pp.158-60); Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie*; theory of climate (p.118) and relation between a people's culture and history (p.130).
76. Discussion of the numerous difficulties and inconsistencies within Herodotos' account of Darius' Scythian campaign falls outside the scope of this paper. Major discussions of this subject are to be found in Reginald Walter Macan, *Herodotus, the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books* (U.S.A., 1973 reprint of 1895) p.43f; W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* 2V (London, 1964) V 1. pp.432-3; and the Soviet works Анад В.В.Струве, Дарий I и Скифы Причерноморья *VDI* 1949, 4, No.30, pp.15-28; and Б.А.Рыбаков, *Геродотова Скифия*, (Moscow, 1979) in particular, pp.169-184. Whereas the last of the above scholars seems to underestimate the difficulties and find facile solutions (believing Herodotos' account is largely consistent, and that Darius and the Scythians did conduct their campaigns as Herodotos says), others have seriously overestimated the difficulties; George Beardoe Grundy, *The great Persian war and its preliminaries, a study of the evidence, literary and topographical*, (London, 1969 ed.) p.52 and Andrew Robert Burn, *Persia and the Greeks, the defence of the West, c 546-478 B.C.* (London, 1962) p.131, 'About the campaign north of the Danube, it must be confessed that we know nothing.'

association with any particular territories.<sup>77</sup> The only qualification of this general definition is the naming of the neighbouring non-Scythian tribes. Herodotos relates how the Scythians, under threat from Dareios, sent messengers to their neighbours whose kings had already met and were taking counsel. These were the Kings of the Tauroi, Agathyrsoi, Neuroi, Man-eaters (Androphagoi), Melanchlainoi, Gelonoi, Boudinoi and Sauromatai<sup>78</sup>. Herodotos goes on to give a note on each of these people, comparing them to the Scythians, but clearly considering them non-Scythian. Thus Herodotos writes that the Agathyrsoi wear gold and share their women but 'In the rest of their customs they are like to the Thracians'<sup>79</sup>; the Neuroi 'follow Scythian usages'<sup>80</sup>; the Androphagoi 'are nomads, wearing a dress like the Scythians, but speaking a language of their own'<sup>81</sup>; of the Melanchlainoi 'their usages are Scythian'<sup>82</sup> and 'the language of the Sauromatai is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, seeing that the Amazons never rightly learnt it'<sup>83</sup>.

Though the above catalogue of Scythian neighbours is found also in IV.100, IV.119 and 125, the conception of the

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77. Her. IV. 97-143. For example, Koes cautions Dareios: 'that you are about to march against a country where you will find neither tilled lands nor inhabited cities'.
78. IV.102.
79. IV.104.
80. IV.105. νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι.
81. IV.106; νομάδες δὲ εἰσὶ, ἐσθῆτά τε φορέουσι τῆ Σκυθικῆ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην.
82. IV.107; νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.
83. IV.117; Φωνῆ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῆ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπει οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. With regard to both the Androphagoi and Sauromatoi Herodotos mentions language as a criterion for tribal definition. These references present a problem, for Herodotos' observations of dress and customs are likely to be more accurate than his classification of languages. It is, however, probable that his conclusions with regard to the languages came from a more reliable source - Aristetas. Aristetas, on his trek with Scythians from the Euxine to the Issedones, seems to have noted the use of seven interpreters and seven languages (Her. IV. 24).

'Scythians' evident in the narrative section, is not the same one evident in IV.16-20. Here, where Herodotos provides his fullest catalogue of the peoples of Scythia, the nomadic Scythians are only found east of a river called the Panticapes<sup>84</sup>. West of this river all tribes mentioned are engaged in agricultural activities.

The starting point for Herodotos' geography in IV.16-20 is Olbia, and the enumeration of the peoples in the initial section moves northwards from there. The Graeco-Scythian tribe, the Callipidae, and beyond them the Alizones 'though in other matters they live like the Scythians, sow and eat corn, and onions, garlic, lentils and millet' and to their north the Agricultural Scythians (Ἐκύθαι ἀροτῆρες) are found 'growing grain not for food but for export.'<sup>85</sup> Similarly the people called the 'γεωργοὶ Ἐκύθαι' who are said by Herodotos to dwell between the Borysthenes and Panticapes (a three days distance) and 'as far up the Borysthenes as a boat can sail in eleven days', would seem to be an agricultural people.<sup>86</sup> Only after enumerating these people is an account given of the eastern nomadic tribes<sup>87</sup>, and of particular significance in this account is Herodotos' reference to one of these nomadic groups, the 'Βασιλῆιοι Ἐκύθαι', 'the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves.'<sup>88</sup> This group is located by Herodotos between the Gerros river, the Tauric land and the Maiotis.<sup>89</sup>

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84. The identification of the Panticapes is not certain. According to Herodotos it should lie just east of the Borysthenes, but as there exists no suitable river in this location, it may perhaps be identified with the Borysthenes itself, or one of its tributaries - as the map would suggest at the end of Basilius Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* 3V (Hildesheim, 1965, reprint of 1890).

85. Her. IV.17.

86. Her. IV.18.

87. Her. IV.19-20.

88. Her. IV.20; 'καὶ Ἐκύθαι οἱ ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Ἐκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι ...

89. *Ibid.*

Many of the deficiencies of this ethnography, such as the reference to rivers which are impossible to locate and the confusion of tribal boundaries, may have resulted from the limited perspective of Herodotos' sources. It is, however, the nature of these sources which gives the account a great credibility, for although the source for the tribal geography may have been in part literary, most of the information was clearly gained from first-hand reports (and, in part, possibly first-hand observations).<sup>90</sup> From the orientation towards Olbia, the references to major rivers and the order in which tribes are enumerated, it is evident that these reports were from people involved in commerce. Given the limitation of Herodotos' view of Scythia to those commercial routes frequented in and out of Olbia, some of the inconsistencies in his ethnography may be explained<sup>91</sup>. The division between the Nomades and the Basileioi may be a misconception. The Gerros is impossible to identify with any river between the Borysthenes and Maiotis. It may be that the Nomades were the Scythian horsemen viewed from the Borysthenes eastward, and the Basileioi the same people viewed on the return from the Maiotis or Tauric Peninsula<sup>92</sup>. Alternatively Herodotos, or his source, has given a geographical distinction when the situation actually demanded a political or linguistic one<sup>93</sup>.

The above difficulty aside, Herodotos' tribal geography of 'Scythia' clearly reflects the supremacy of one particular group among a confederation of tribes most of which were agricultural. Herodotos gives evidence of having understood this division and the possibility of both a wide and narrow definition of 'Σκύθαι'. He found it difficult to ascertain the number of Scythians because: 'the accounts which I heard

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90. See Endnote B.

91. Macan, *op.cit.*, p.32.

92. *Ibid.*, and Her. IV.19.

93. See Appendix I.

concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, so far as they are true Scythians (ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι).<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere a similarly narrow conception of Scythians is reflected in the terms Σκολότοι and Παραλάται<sup>95</sup>. Herodotos may have even been aware of correspondence between the social distinction between early and late 'Scythian' arrivals. Thus Herodotos writes that 'ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον'<sup>96</sup> but on another occasion refers to the ancient Scythian lands which begin at the Ister<sup>97</sup>, and to the Scythian belief that a thousand years had passed since their first King, Targitaos<sup>98</sup>. Rather than suggesting confusion on Herodotos' part, these references may be seen to allude to the historical relationship between the tribes in the west (between the Ister and Borysthenes) and the tribes in the land of the Basileioi. The former had occupied their land and brought it under agriculture some time before the arrival of the nomadic Basileioi.

The above distinction which Herodotos completely overlooks in his narrative passages did not arise in the years between Darius' invasion and the time of Herodotos' research. Herodotos' description of a nomadic people with waggons, sheep and cattle and of armies of horsemen roaming the lands as far south as the Danube, must be reconciled with his account of the presence in the same area and at the same time of numerous agricultural peoples who tilled the land, cultivated onions, garlic, lentils, millet and wheat, who even sold the last of these products, and who were considered as inhabiting Scythia<sup>99</sup>. Such a reconciliation may be effected in the recognition of the existence of a nomadic empire. 'Scythia',

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94. Her. IV.81.

95. Her IV.6. On the significance of these terms see Appendix I.

96. Her. IV.5.

97. IV.99.

98. IV.7.

99. See p.22 and notes 85 and 86.



far from being a land peopled by a homogeneous race of Iranian nomads, was effectively the empire of the nomadic Basileioi<sup>100</sup>. These Scythians, as Herodotos was aware, inhabited the steppes between the Borysthenes and Tanais, and ruled the agricultural peoples further west through a system of military chiefs and alliances. The reason for the use of the much simplified model in the narration of Dareios' campaign may lie in the identity of Herodotos' source. Herodotos' account of the Persian expedition is increasingly believed to have originated from Scythian tales<sup>101</sup>. In their own histories it would not be surprising to find the Basileioi overlords omitting any mention of their subjects.

Herodotos also shows some understanding of the divisions within the Basileioi Scythians themselves and the organisation of their empire. At the head of the Scythian Empire was the King. From Herodotos' account of the burial of a king, it is evident that a king of Scythia (the Empire) may be equated with a king of the Royal Scythians and that the lands over which these Royal Scythians ruled were extensive<sup>102</sup>. The number of these Kings at any one time presents a problem.

It would seem that there was always one supreme King, whose position was hereditary, and who traced his descent back to the Gods. Thus in the Scythian legend, Kolaxais inherited his father's royal power at the expense of his brothers<sup>103</sup>, and when Kolaxais came to divide his kingdom

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100. See Appendix I.

101. See Endnote B.

102. Herodotos relates the initial ceremonies undertaken whenever a King dies and these were clearly carried out by the Royal Scythians, for it is only after these that the body is borne about the land and others 'do the same as the Royal Scythians' (IV.17). On the northern limit to the Royal Scythian's Empire: 'Thence the bearers carry the king's body on the waggon to another of the tribes which they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distance of all tribes under their rule, and at the place of burial'.

103. Her. IV.5-6.

between his own three sons, one region, that where the gold was kept, was the greatest<sup>104</sup>. This suggests the favouring of one son with more power than the others - perhaps even supreme power. Similarly in the Greek story, only the youngest of the three sons was allowed to remain in the land - the others were cast out<sup>105</sup>. Idanthyrsos would seem to hold just such a supreme position on the eve of Dareios' invasion, and the arrangement of authority found in the legends is reflected in the military arrangements of the Scythians in preparation for the campaign<sup>106</sup>. The army had three leaders - Idanthyrsos, Skopasis and Taxakis - with the greatest division under Idanthyrsos' command<sup>107</sup>. Though all three of these 'Kings' are recorded as acting together when communicating with the Persians, on those occasions on which Darius sends a message to only one King, and those occasions when only one King replies, it is always Idanthyrsos'<sup>108</sup>. The exact position of Idanthyrsos' colleagues is not clear, but it is possible that the Royal Scythians, whenever involved in major conflict or migration traditionally divided their army into three divisions and that the tradition of dividing authority three ways was echoed in their own legends. It is perhaps even possible that these Scythians were designated at a very early date as 'Royal Scythians', both in their own language and the language of foreign peoples, because their social system was characterised by the existence of a form

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104. Her. IV.7.

105. IV.10.

106. It is possible that such an arrangement had been forced upon the organisation of command by Herodotos in an attempt to reproduce the legend - and indeed such a triple command is not evident in later history. Nevertheless, as Herodotos in no way intimates a relationship between the three sons, kingdoms and army commanders to exploit any such falsification, and as the army organisation is mentioned in some detail, it would seem that Herodotos is relating the story as he heard it.

107. Her. IV.120.

108. Her. IV.126, 127. See also IV.76 for his sole identification as 'τοῦ Σκυθέων Βασιλέος'.

of triarchy with the coexistence of three 'royal' families<sup>109</sup>.

Command, however, was not all that was divided, for Herodotos also reveals a system of territorial division with Scythia divided into 'provinces' (ἀρχαί) and each of these into 'districts' (νομοί)<sup>110</sup>. The number of these ἀρχαί and νομοί is nowhere indicated<sup>111</sup>. Each <sup>ἀρχή</sup> appears to have had a 'king' of Royal Scythian blood (and thus there were possibly three main *archai*) and under each of these Kings, ruling the *nomoi* of the *archai*, were several governors (ὁ νομάρχης). The distinction between the ruler of the Royal Scythians, of an *arche* and of a *nomos* is barely preserved in Herodotos' *Histories*. As the term βασιλεύς seems to be used for both the first two types of rulers, these offices are particularly difficult to differentiate. Herodotos does, however, allude to several features which differentiate the last officers.

The *nomarches* would attend a yearly gathering of all warriors and he 'brews a bowl of wine in his own *nomos*, whereof those Scythians drink who have slain enemies; those who have not achieved this, taste not this wine but sit apart dishonoured...'<sup>112</sup> The 'King' of an *arche*, on the other hand, appears

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109. See Appendix I, in particular Kothe, 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot' pp.55-63, 75-76; and 'Pseudoskythen' p.67. See also Hans-Joachim Diesner, 'Die Skythenkönige bei Herodot', *Griechische Städte und einheimische Völker des Schwarzmeergebietes*, (Berlin, 1961) pp.11-20 - an analysis of the King's role in sharing booty, in military command and as head of 'state', with the additional suggestion that the Scythian King was also being used by Herodotos as an agent for the idealisation of the northern people, e.g. the confrontation between Dareios and Idanthysos was a vehicle for 'Einschätzung und, Idealisierung der Skythen und ihrer königlichen Repräsentanten...'

110. Her. IV.62.

111. Though T.T. Rice curiously enough numbers the former at four: Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Scythians*, (Thames and Hudson, London, 1957) p.54.

112. IV.66. This gathering may have been required for the taking of a census, administration of justice and the organisation of troops. Census of armed men may be considered a characteristic feature of tribal societies; with respect to the Scythians see the story in Her. IV.81.

to have had a select body of men permanently at his service and rewarded for this service from his booty. It is to such a king that a follower carries the heads of all whom he slays, for otherwise he received no booty<sup>113</sup>. Feuds among followers may be settled in combat before the King - and a warrior is permitted to make a cup of the head of a kinsman so slain<sup>114</sup>. Those horsemen in the army, but not in the King's personal retinue, were probably paid in kind.

The army was clearly the main instrument of a Scythian King's authority, and the centre of the Basileioi society. It is this society which Herodotos appears to be describing when, after the organisation of the army in preparation for the campaign, he writes that: 'As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.'<sup>115</sup> Such an army and nomadic camp was doubtlessly the form which the Scythian presence took in those western *nomoi* between the Borysthenes and the Ister.

The mechanism for the collection of tribute from within the Empire is not described by Herodotos, nor indeed is any mention of tribute made. It must therefore remain uncertain whether Herodotos did in fact have any knowledge of a system of tribute collection<sup>116</sup>.

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113. Her. IV.64.

114. IV.65.

115. IV.121.

116. Strabo does provide such a description: 'they turn over their land to any people who wish to till it, and are satisfied if they receive in return for the land the tribute (φóρος) they have assessed, which is a moderate one, assessed with a view, not to an abundance, but only to daily necessities of life; but if the tenants do not pay, the Nomads go to war with them.' (VII.iv.6) This description of the mechanism appears to have been supplied by Ephoros. See 'Ephoros' (pp.163-169, 177-183.)

Herodotos had, therefore, a remarkably detailed conception of the tribal geography and organisation of the Royal Scythian Empire. As our modern understanding of this subject is not wholly dependent upon Herodotos (there being substantial archaeological and literary material which will support this concept<sup>117</sup>) it is possible to further conclude that Herodotos' concept was largely accurate.

### III

Hekataios' conception of the tribal geography of the north differed sharply from Herodotos'. Hekataios conceived of all the northern tribal peoples as 'Scythians'. Scythia stretched from the Don to the Ocean north-east of the Caspian. Without anticipating the discussion in the following chapters (concerned with the identification of uncited Hecataean 'fragments'), that such was Hekataios' conception is evident even from the cited fragments preserved by Stephanos Byzantios. Five entries in Stephanos' *Ethnika* demonstrate most clearly Hekataios' application of a wide definition of 'Scythian', incompatible with even the wider definition used by Herodotos.

Fr184: 'Καρκινῦτις · πόλις Σκυθική. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπηι. οἱ κατοικοῦντες Καρκινῦται.'

Herodotos locates this city at the mouth of the Hypakuris, close to the Tauric Chersonese<sup>118</sup>. Though this city may well have been in contact with Scythian peoples in the hinterland, Herodotos does not call it Scythian and nor was he likely to have. Herodotos calls no Greek Euxine city 'Scythian' and appears to have had a much greater understanding of the relat-

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117. See Appendix I.

118. Her. IV.55. See also Jacoby, commentary on fr.184 for the following references to this town; Anonymus Periplus 57 and citing Artemidoros in 63; Strabo VII.iii.18; iv.5; Pliny, *NH* IV.85; Ptolemy III.5.2; 'Carine'; Mela II.4 and Pliny *NH* IV.84; Καρκινίτης ποταμός, Ptolemy III. 5.1, 2.

ionship between the Greeks and Scythians<sup>119</sup>.

F.185: 'Μελάγχλαινοι· ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπηι. λέλληνται ἀφ' ὧν φοροῦσιν, ἄς Ἰππημολγοὶ παρὰ τὸ τὰς ἵππους ἀμέλγειν καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι παρὰ τὰς οἰκήσεις.'

Herodotos locates the tribe as follows: 'Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Black-cloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock...'<sup>120</sup> Again Hekataios uses the word Σκυθικόν where Herodotos does not and would not.

F.193: 'Ἰσσηδόνες· ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίαι Ἀλκιμαν (F.136A) δὲ μόνος Ἐσσηδόνας αὐτοὺς φησιν· εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα παρ' ἄλλοις διὰ τοῦ Ἐ. Λέγονται καὶ Ἰσσηδοὶ τρισυλλάβως. ἔστι καὶ Ἰσσηδῶν πόλις.'<sup>121</sup>

Herodotos clearly considers the Issedonians a people very different to Scythians. Thus he repeats Aristeeas' tribal enumeration; Scythians, Issedones, Arimaspians, Hyperboreans, and 'The Issedones were pushed from their lands by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country.'<sup>122</sup> Moreover, Herodotos writes that 'Concerning the Hyperborean people neither the Scythians nor any other dwellers in these lands tell us anything, except perchance the Issedones.'<sup>123</sup>

F.189: 'Ματυκέται· ἔθνος Σκυθικόν· Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπηι.'

119. For an overview of the history of relations between Scythians and the Greek Euxine cities, see Gajdukevic, *Das bosporanische Reich*, ch.1-7; Aleksandra Wasowicz, 'La campagne et les villes du littoral septentrional du Pont-Euxin (Nouveaux temoignage archéologique)', *Dacia* XIII (1969) pp.73-100; D.M. Pippidi, 'Le problème de la main-d'oeuvre agricole dans les colonies grecques de la mer noire' in M.I. Finley (ed.) *Problème de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, pp.63-82.

120. Her. IV.20: 'τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν.'

121. Jacoby believes 'Ἀσίαι' to be a scribal error - replacing it with 'Εὐρώπηι' - see 'Hellanikos' (n.89).

122. Her. IV.13.

123. IV.32.

If the 'Ματυκέται' of Hekataios are the same as the 'Μασσαγέται' of Herodotos<sup>124</sup>, the difference between the Hecataean and Herodotean definitions of Scythians is again evident. Hekataios calls the Matyketai a Scythian people, while Herodotos clearly believes the Massagetai to be a non-Scythian people dwelling in lands well beyond the eastern Tanais boundary of 'Skythia'. Herodotos may indeed be referring to Hekataios when he writes that the Massagetai: 'are said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.'<sup>125</sup> Hekataios is known to have referred to the Araxes and Issedones in his *Periodos* and it is thus highly probable that it was Hekataios whom Herodotos had in mind as describing the Massagetai as Scythian.

F.295: 'Κασπάπυρος · πόλις Γανδαρική, Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀντίη, Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίαι.

Jacoby, adopting a conjecture of Sieglin, reads ἀντίη for ἀκτὴ and believes κεῖται to be understood<sup>126</sup>. Heidel is perhaps correct in doubting the need for such a change<sup>127</sup>. The city was identified as lying in the 'Scythian tract'. Herodotos refers to the city twice<sup>128</sup>. From Hekataios'

124. As van Paassen suggests, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, p.382 note ch.III. 75 to page 136. Jacoby, commentary to F 186-190, p.350, suggests 'Ματυκέται' bears some relationship with the name by which Strabo is said by Dionysius Periegetes (298) to have claimed the Danube was once called 'Ματόαι'. (Loeb Strabo, Frag. VII.65). The similarity is not that compelling.

125. Her. IV.I.201.

126. Jacoby, Commentary on 1 F 295.

127. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, p.34 n.79. Marquart had believed this 'Σκυθῶν ἀκτὴ' was a 'stapelplatz für den handel zwischen Indien und den ländern im norden und osten des Hindukush und Pamir, den die Saken vermittelten.' (Marquart, *Philol. Suppl.* X.242) - referred to by Jacoby, Commentary on 1 F 295. It is not necessary to conceive of the 'Σκυθῶν ἀκτὴ' in such refined terms as does Marquart, but only that the Scythian tract included this region.

128. Her. III.102; IV.44.

reported identification of the city as Gandarian, it is clear that Herodotos is referring to the same. Herodotos, however, does not locate the city in Hekataios' 'Scythian tract': 'Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, northward of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike ...'<sup>129</sup> These Indians who live like Bactrians just to the north of the Hindu Kush were clearly Sacae and thus Hekataios was not wholly unjustified in calling the land the 'Scythian tract'. Nevertheless, Herodotos appears, while taking his whole geography and ethnography of India from Hekataios, to substitute his own terminology and omit all unwanted references to Scythians.<sup>130</sup>

Stephanus' only other reference to a Scythian people named by Hekataios is that to the 'Iamai': F.215 Ἰάμαι ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. Ἐκκαταῖος Ἀσίαι. No reference to this tribe is to be found in Herodotos, and the identity of the people must remain unclear.

One problem remains. Is it possible that all the above references to 'Scythians' are not Hekataios' but are Stephanos' own? Although possible, it is highly improbable. Stephanos does not apply the label at every possible point<sup>131</sup>. Nor does Stephanos seem to introduce any new terms in his extensive use of Hekataios on peoples other than Scythians. It is therefore highly improbable Stephanos has inserted 'Scythian' where it did not appear in Hekataios' text.

Hekataios' definition of 'Scythian' is clearly wider than

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129. Her. III.102; IV.44.

130. See Her. III.98-106. Jacoby, Commentary 1 F 295 p.365; 'aus ihr [die Periegesis] stammt im wesentlichen alles, was Her. III.98-105 (106) über Indien an geographischen und ethnographischen notizen gibt (...) er hat es in seinen stil umgesetzt und stark umgeordnet.'

131. e.g., F 216 Ἰεῦβάται whom he does not label Scythians.



Herodotos', and his conception of the tribal geography of the Royal Scythian Empire less exact. Indeed, Hekataios appears to have had no conception of a Royal Scythian Empire. The difference between the conceptions of the two writers may lie in the different perspectives their sources allowed them. Herodotos' was a Pontic perspective, Hekataios' a Persian. The former has been argued above<sup>132</sup>, the latter is evident from several circumstances. The consideration of the Caspian Sea as a 'Binnemeer' is more likely to have been arrived at from a Persian than a Pontic perspective, as would the conception of the Araxes as the 'Asian horizon' - particularly in a period shortly after Kyros' northern campaigns<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, Herodotos says the Persian practice is to name all the northern tribes 'Saka' (be they Euxine tribes or such eastern peoples as the Amyrgians).<sup>134</sup> It is highly probable that Hekataios was consciously corresponding with the Persian usage and simply substituting the Greek 'Scythian' for the Persian 'Saka'. As Junge astutely suggests, the very reference to the scope and significance of the Persian usage by Herodotos in VII.64, doubtless comes from Hekataios<sup>135</sup>. Indeed, in this section Herodotos himself slips into Hecataean usage in naming eastern Saka as Scythians. This may be regarded as the exception that proves the rule<sup>136</sup>.

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132. See (p.19), Endnote B and Junge, *Saka-Studien*, pp.41-42.

133. Junge, *ibid.*, p.32 and p.29f. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, p.13, without arguing the details, also believes Hekataios wrote with a Persian perspective, taking account of information gained during Dareios' eastern conquests.

134. Her. VI.64. 'The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore breeches, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and axes withal, which they call "sagaris". These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; for that is the Persian name for all Scythians.'

135. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p.30; 'Die Bemerkung, dass die Sakai Amyrgioi "Skythen" seinen, gehört zweifellos Hekataios, wie er ja auch der Entdecker der Tatsache ist, dass die Perser alle Skythen Saka nannten.'

136. The entire army catalogue in VII would indeed seem to be based upon pre-Herodotean literature, such as Hekataios' work. See the excellent work of O. Kimball Armayor, 'Herodotos' catalogue of the Persian Empire in the light of the monuments and the Greek Literary tradition.' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 108 (1978) pp.1-9. See in particular Hekataios T5; F284, 328. See discussion of this work in the chapter 'Hellanikos' (p.16).

The only question remaining is exactly where and from whom did Hekataios receive his information. As Junge points out, it is impossible to answer this question with any confidence: 'Er konnte sie von einem persischen Offizier oder Verwaltungsbeamten ebensogut in Kleinasien wie in der Reichshauptstadt erhalten.'<sup>137</sup> That which is certain is that as a prominent Milesian citizen of wide travels<sup>138</sup> and official dealings with Persians<sup>139</sup> Hekataios had ample opportunity to become familiar with the Persian conception of the northern tribes<sup>140</sup>. As Junge writes, from this Persian conception: 'stammt die Gewohnheit des Hekataios, alle Saka-Stämme als Skythen und als solche als eine Einheit zu betrachten; dieser Schluss war nicht schwierig, wenn er einmal die Pontos-Skythen in persischen Munde Saka nennen hörte, wodurch ihm sofort die ganze persische Vorstellung klar werden musste, die ja zudem sehr gut zu einer Auffassung von der Gleichheit der beiden Erdteile bezüglich ihrer Grösse passte.'<sup>141</sup>

Having thus examined the main characteristics of, and the relationship between, the Hecataean and Herodotean conception of the tribal geography of the Scythians, investigation of the transmission and transformation of these conceptions through subsequent generations may now be undertaken.

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137. *Ibid.*, p.24.

138. See Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.27. Agathemerus, *ge.inf.1.1* (=1 T 12a) calls Hekataios a 'ἄνθρωπος πολυπλανής' ('a much-travelled man') - even though, except for his visit to Egypt, his travels are not well documented in the extant fragments.

139. Diodoros X.25.4 (=1 T 7) refers to Hekataios' role as an Ionian ambassador to Artaphernes. See also Jacoby, 'Hekataios' *RE* 2669-2670.

140. The collection of information while personally travelling through Asia has also been seen as a possibility by Junge, *Saka-Studien* p.22 note 4 and Jacoby, 'Hekataios' *RE* 2688. Junge raises the further possibility that Hekataios may have obtained access to reports of Persian naval expeditions in the Euxine (as may be postulated of Skylax).

141. Junge, *ibid.*, p.31.

## CHAPTER 2

HELLANIKOS

Most of the discussion of Hellanikos' work on Scythians has, in modern times, centred upon attempts to identify the work or works in which Hellanikos dealt with these people. That Hellanikos wrote a work devoted to Scythian matters has never been disputed. Apart from the numerous fragments which appear to deal with Scythian matters, Stephanos twice refers to a *Σκυθικά* by Hellanikos<sup>1</sup>. Whether such a work was a separate monograph, or part of a greater ethnographic work (and whether this greater work was the *Barbarika Nomima*, *Peri Ethnon*, *Ktiseis* or *Ethnon onomasiāi*) and whether Hellanikos dealt with Scythians in his *Skythika* alone, or also at points in other works, are matters of some dispute. Before attempting to place Hellanikos' work in the context of the traditions of writing on Scythians, these matters may be discussed.

Citations in ancient sources of Hellanikos' ethnographic works include seventeen separate titles: *Αἰγυπτιακά*, *Περσικά*, *Σκυθικά*, *ἢ εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἀνάβασιν, περὶ Λυδίας, Κυπριακά*, *Φοινικικά*, *Αἰολικά*, *Λεσβικά*, *Ἀργολικά*, *περὶ Ἀριαδίας*, *Βοιωτικά*, *Θετταλικά*, *Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν*, *Περὶ ἐθνῶν*, *Ἐθνῶν ὀνομασίαι*, *Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα*. Kullmer (1901) was the first to attempt a classification of these works, postulating the existence of only two works, a *Ktiseis* and a *Barbarika Nomima* into which all the other works fell. Those dealing with Asia Minor, Greek cities and colonisation belonging to the first major work, and the *Persika*, *Aegyptiaka* and *Skythika* belonging to the second<sup>2</sup>. Jacoby (1913), unlike Kullmer, does not make any attempt to place the *Skythika*, but similarly to Kullmer,

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1. Stephanos '*Ἀμάδοχοι*' (4 F65) and '*Ἀμύργιον*' (4 F65).
  2. H. Kullmer, 'Die Historiāi des Hellanikos von Lesbos: ein Rekonstruktionsversuch', *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, Suppl. xxvii (1901) 651ff. Unavailable for direct consultation. Used through Jacoby, 'Hellanikos' *RE*. p.128 and Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.194.

attempts to reduce the number of separate Hellenic works. Jacoby's only postulate is that the titles *Peri ethnon*, *Ethnon onomasiai* and *Barbarika nomima* may all refer to the same work<sup>3</sup>.

The scholar who has taken the investigation of the above matters furthest is Lionel Pearson (1939)<sup>4</sup>. Noting that Stephanos twice cites Hellanikos' *Skythika* on Scythian tribes<sup>5</sup>, that Strabo lists Hellanikos as one of several authors whose writings on northern tribes are valueless<sup>6</sup>, that Clement of Alexandria makes mention of Hellanikos on Hyperboreans beyond the Rhipaeans<sup>7</sup>, that Photius-Suidas cites Hellanikos' *Barbarika Nomima* on Thrace<sup>8</sup>, and finally, that a Scholiast on Apollonios cites the *Peri Ethnon* of Hellanikos on the Sindoi and Maiotai Scythians<sup>8a</sup>, Pearson concludes that the *Peri Ethnon* and the *Barbarika Nomima* were probably the same work - and that this incorporated within itself a distinct *Skythika*<sup>9</sup>. Noting further that Stephanos used Hellanikos' κτίσεις Ἐθνῶν καὶ Πόλεων on certain east-coast Pontos tribes<sup>10</sup>, Pearson seeks to make the further identification of the *Ktiseis* with the *Peri Ethnon* and *Barbarika Nomima*. Pearson's attempted reconciliation of references is, however, as van Paassen pointed out in 1957<sup>11</sup>, based on the assumption that Hellanikos could only have dealt with Scythians in the one work. Van Paassen avoids this assumption.

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3. F. Jacoby, 'Hellanikos' *RE*. 1913 VIII col 128-129.
  4. Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, (1939) especially pp.194-198.
  5. F64 and F65.
  6. F185 Strabo XI.6.2.
  7. F187. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromat.* I.15.
  8. F73 Suidas 'Ζάλομοξις'. 8a. F69
  9. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.198.
  10. F70 'Χαριμάται'.
  11. Christian van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography* (Groningen, 1957), pp.224-228.

Van Paassen makes the suggestion ~~that~~ Hellanikos may have described Scythian tribes both in the framework of the geography of the non-Greek world (in the *Barbarika Nomima* or *Ethnon Onomasiai*) and in the framework of Greek history and geography (in the *Ktiseis* to be equated with the *Peri Ethnon*).<sup>12</sup> If Scythians are dealt with by Hellanikos in both a *Barbarika Nomima* and a *Ktiseis*, the question left to be resolved is in which work was the greater part of Hellanikos' description of the Scythians to be found and, in particular, the part entitled *Skythika*. Van Paassen suggests that as Stephanus mentions two works, a *Barbarika Nomima* and *Ktiseis*, the two were independent and the former was thus part of the *Barbarika Nomima* or *Ethnon Onomasiai*.<sup>13</sup> The references to the tribes from the north-east coast of the Black Sea (i.e. Sindoi and Maeotai), cited in Scholia on Apollonios<sup>14</sup> from Hellanikos' *Peri Ethnon* are, according to van Paassen unlikely to have come from a work entitled *Skythika*. Thus, the *Peri Ethnon* and *Ktiseis* are identical. There are, however, perhaps more compelling arguments than these for coming to the same conclusion.

Firstly, van Paassen believes that the Sindoi and Maiotai are non-Scythians, and thus could not come into a *Skythika*.<sup>15</sup> Herodotos however, though also considering them non-Scythians, is able to mention both these people in the Scythian section of Book IV<sup>16</sup>. The tribes which could not come into a *Skythika*

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12. *Ibid.*, p.228. Ch IV n.28 'We need not be surprised that the Ctiseis of Hellanicus, although largely a study on the Aeolian migration and the Greek colonisation of Asia Minor, also mentions those peoples with whom the Greeks came into contact. The Scythians were perhaps mentioned in both categories of works, very briefly in the one, and at greater length within the ethnographical and geographical framework.'

13. *Ibid.*, p.230.

14. F69 Schol.Apoll. iv.321.

15. Van Paassen, *Early Ionian Historians*, p.230.

16. Sindoi, Her. IV.28, 86; Maiotai Her. IV.123.

are more likely to be the Μόσχοι, Χαριματαί and Ἡνίοχοι, cited by Stephanos from the *Ktiseis*<sup>17</sup>.

Secondly, to approach the problem from a different angle, certain tribes are mentioned which could only have been mentioned in a *Skythika* and not in a work within the framework of Greek history and colonisation. Thus Stephanos cites the *Skythika* on two tribes, the Ἀμάδοκοι and the Ἀμύργιοι<sup>18</sup>. The identity of the former of these tribes will be discussed later<sup>19</sup>. The identity of the latter is however clear. The Amyrgioi were a Saka tribe who could not easily have found their way into the framework of a discussion on Greek colonisation, inhabiting, as they did, territory east of the Aral Sea<sup>20</sup>. Thus, if the *Barbarika Nomima* is to be regarded as separate to the *Ktiseis*, then Hellanikos' *Skythika* must have belonged to the former and not the latter.

The most detailed discussions of Scythian tribes which may safely be regarded as Hellenic fragments, Strabo XI.6.2 and XII.3.21, deal also with tribes which would have been too far from the Pontus shores to have been mentioned in the *Ktiseis*. These passages most probably belonged to the *Skythika* which was a division of the *Barbarika Nomima*. This is not, however, to challenge van Paassen's proposition that Hellanikos mentioned Scythians in two works, but only to take this suggestion further in attempting to allocate the various fragments between these works: those dealing with inland tribes belonging to the *Barbarika Nomima* and those dealing with the Sindoi, Maiotai, Moschoi, Charimatai, Heniochoi and Koraxoi belonging to a periplous entitled the *Ktiseis*. The assigning of Hellanikos' treatment of Hyperboreans to a part-

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17. F70 Steph. 'Χαριματαί'.

18. F64 and F65.

19. Ch. 'Hellanikos', pp. 53-56.

20. Ch. 'Hellanikos', pp.49-52.

icular work will be discussed later.<sup>21</sup>

The reconstruction of the organisation of Hellanikos' ethnographic works proves, therefore, to be of relevance to an understanding of the nature of Hellanikos' work on the Scythians. Of still greater relevance to this thesis is, however, the further question of the place of Hellanikos' work on the Scythians in the broader traditions, in particular the question of whether Hellanikos was writing in the Hecataean or Herodotean tradition. Or was he independent of both? Investigations of these questions have been undertaken by two scholars, Aly (1929)<sup>22</sup> and Harmatta (1951)<sup>23</sup> in articles of ingenious scholarship, but which still leave room for advancing further and, in some cases, different arguments and conclusions.

Aly argues in favour of identifying Hellanikos, and not Hekataios or Herodotos, as the source of numerous passages in later texts dealing with Scythians and other northern tribes. Aly further argues that Hellanikos may frequently be seen to be independent of Herodotos, with the suspicion of original authority falling upon Hekataios<sup>24</sup>. Aly does not however exploit all the available evidence nor employ all possible arguments which might lead to the above conclusions. This shall be attempted in the discussion which will follow shortly.

Harmatta, though believing that Hellanikos is generally dependent upon Herodotos when writing upon the Scythians, demonstrates Hellanikos' independence of Herodotos in two places. Harmatta believes, however, that these two places

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21. Ch. 'Hellanikos' pp.53-56.

22. W. Aly, 'Barbarika Nomima' *Philologus*, 1929 v.85 (n.s.V.39) pp.42-51.

23. J. Harmatta, 'Mythical northern people in Hellanicus' (Мифические северные племена у Гелланика), *Acta Antiqua* VI, 1951, pp.91-111.

24. Aly, 'Barbarika Nomima', pp.48-50.

represent the introduction of original information collected in his own day<sup>25</sup>. It will be argued below that, on the contrary, these 'original' subjects were in fact probably part of the early Aristean/Hecataean tradition.

The central question is, who was Hellanikos' source? It has often been assumed that Hellanikos' prime authority on the Scythians was Herodotos. This was suggested as early as the 3rd century A.D. when Porphyrios claimed Hellanikos composed his *Barbarika Nomima* from Herodotos' and Damastes' work: 'καὶ τί ὑμῖν λέγω ὡς τὰ Βαρβαρικὰ Νόμιμα Ἑλλανίου ἐκ τῶν Ἡροδότου καὶ Δαμάστου συνήκται.'<sup>26</sup> In modern times, Kullmer has suggested that Hellanikos based his work's format on Herodotos<sup>27</sup>, Jacoby has suggested that Hellanikos used both Hekataios and Herodotos<sup>28</sup>, and Harmatta that his *Skythika* 'was based on materials derived from Herodotos and probably other old sources'.<sup>29</sup> The role of Herodotos as an authority for Hellanikos may, however, be challenged at every point where such a relationship seems most apparent.

For a start, Porphyrios' statement need not carry too much weight. That Hellanikos used Damastes is not only far from certain, but improbable<sup>30</sup>. With regard to other ethnographical works of Hellanikos (e.g. the *Persika*) there are suspicions that Hellanikos' work was published prior to Herodotos'. Pearson argues that the *Persika* is characterised by unorthodox use of names and numbers and an independence of

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25. Harmatta, 'Mythical northern people ...' pp.96-98.

26. F72 (Porphyrios b. Euseb P E X 3 p.466B).

27. Reference to Kullmer's view in Jacoby, 'Hellanicus' *RE* 128; the aim was to produce 'Ein Herodot in der Westentasche'.

28. *Ibid.*, p.132.

29. Harmatta, 'Mythical northern tribes ...' English summary p.110 or Russian text p.96 and 105. Harmatta makes this suggestion although appreciating that Herodotos used Hekataios as his authority on certain tribes, p.109.

30. See ch. 'Damastes', pp. 62-66.



Herodotos<sup>31</sup>, and that since the author of the *De malignitate* knew of Hellanikos' *Persika* but did not seize upon the work for its criticisms of Herodotos, Hellanikos' work on Persia may have predated Herodotos'<sup>32</sup>. Pearson, however, rightly adds that it is not possible to be sure if this was also the case with other Hellenic works, such as that on Scythians.

None of the above demonstrates convincingly that Hellanikos' work on the Scythians predated that of Herodotos. That Porphyrios reversed the historical relationship between Hellanikos and Damastes does not mean that he also reversed the relationship between Hellanikos and Herodotos when he states Hellanikos used Herodotos. Nor does it necessarily follow that if Hellanikos' *Persika* was published prior to Herodotos' *Histories*, then so also was Hellenikos' *Skythika*. The reality may have been that Hellanikos was not dependent upon Herodotos, nor Herodotos upon Hellanikos, but rather that they were completely independent from each other. They may have simply been dependent upon a common source. This remaining possibility may now be discussed.

Aly is the first modern writer who suspected that Hellanikos may have been independent from Herodotos. Aly made the following observations. Strabo's description of Massagetai customs, though bearing a close superficial resemblance to Herodotos' account, deviates sharply from this account at two points<sup>33</sup>. Firstly, Herodotos writes that tribesmen who die of disease (probably in effect, old age) are not eaten as a pious sacrifice, but buried. Strabo writes that they were left out for wild beasts to eat. Secondly, Herodotos is definite concerning the total absence of iron from the land of the Massagetai, yet Strabo says there

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31. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, pp.206-7.

32. *Ibid.*, p.208. See for example *De malignitate* ch.36 p.869A=F183, wherein, in relation to Herodotos, Hellanikos is counted as 'among earlier writers'.

33. Strabo XI.8.6 and Her. I.215-216.

was a little. With the suspicion aroused that Strabo was here not directly using Herodotos, investigation may move on to two other passages, one in Strabo and the other in Diodoros<sup>34</sup>.

The resemblance between Strabo XI.6.2 and Diodoros II.43 is strong - particularly in the enumeration of eastern nomadic tribes. In XI.6.2 Strabo mentions the writers ἔτι πρότερον who distinguished between the northern tribes and: 'called those who lived above the Euxine and the Ister and the Adriatic "Hyperboreans", "Sauromatians" and "Arimaspians", and they called those who lived across the Caspian Sea in part "Saciens" and in part "Massagetans" ...' The catalogue of regions and tribal names in Diodoros II.43 bears a great resemblance to the above. After giving a history of 'Scythia', narrating the history of the subjection of such peoples as Thracians and Egyptians and the expansion of the Scythian empire to the eastern ocean, the Caspian Sea and Lake Maiotis, Diodoros mentions the Skythian Kings who gave their names to the Sakai, Massagetai, Arimaspoi and Sauromatai. That out of all the possible Scythian tribal names the same ones (with the sole exception of the Hyperboreans) should occur in both Strabo and Diodoros, and be located in regions defined in a similar manner (i.e. by reference to the Euxine and Caspian) suggests a common source. But who was this common source?

Jacoby considered this Strabo passage a fragment of Hellanikos' *Skythika*, but does not give his reasons<sup>35</sup>. The following reasons may, however, be supplied. The central

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34. Strabo XI.6.2.=Hell. F185 and Diodorus II.43.

35. Hell. F185. Jacoby says only (*RE* p.473): '(185) wirtschaftet mit eratosthenischem material. Der tadel geht vielleicht eher auf die Περσικά, wie 186 auf die Σκυθικά' - presumably on the grounds that the mention of Kyros' war with the Massagetai and subsequent mention of histories of Persians, Medes and Syrians might suggest that account was given of the northern tribes only within the context of a Persian history. This, however, need not follow, particularly as it is not simply the Massagetai who are referred to by Strabo but tribes as far west as the Istros. Though these tribes may be seen to have been of relevance to Persian History, they are more likely to have been found mentioned in a Σκυθικά, since such a work is known to exist.

problem may be defined as identifying the authors Strabo refers to in XI.6.2 as οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς and οἱ δ'ἔτι πρότερον. The former of these, 'the ancient Greek historians' may be identified above all as Ephoros. The identity of 'those of still earlier times' is not immediately evident. There are, nevertheless, three immediately possible candidates for this identification: those Strabo mentions in XI.6.3; ῥᾶον δ'ἂν τις Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πιστεύσειεν ἠρωολογοῦσι καὶ τοῖς τραγικοῖς ποιηταῖς ἢ Κτησίᾳ τε καὶ Ἡροδότῳ καὶ Ἑλλανίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις. Though Strabo is generalising in XI.6.2.3 it would seem possible to trace the details here actually attributed to the 'still earlier' writers back to a single source. Leaving aside 'ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις', the three main candidates are Ktesias, Herodotos and Hellanikos. These three possibilities may now be examined in turn.

Ktesias, though known to have written extensively on the Sakai, is not known to have mentioned Hyperboreans, Sauromatai or Arimaspai. Ktesias would seem rather to have spoken only of Sakai and Scythians<sup>36</sup>. It is therefore very unlikely that Ktesias was the source of a substantial part of the matter in Strabo XI.6.2.

Herodotos is a more probable authority as he is known to have used all the tribal names present in the passage. However, were Strabo to have selected the names of some northern people from Herodotos the selection would in all probability be different to that found in Strabo XI.6.2. Herodotos' references to the first three of the above people, the Hyperboreans, Sauromatians and Arimaspians come when relating Aristetas' enumeration of tribes in the poem *Arimaspaea*. As far as Herodotos was concerned, these tribes were not Scythian. Herodotos provides his own tribal geography of the lands he defines as Scythia elsewhere in his *Histories*<sup>37</sup>.

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36. See ch. 'Ktesias', especially pp.143-145.

37. See ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos'.

None of these tribal names appear in Strabo's list. Moreover, when Herodotos mentions the Hyperboreans and Arimaspians, he does so without attributing to them any great historicity<sup>38</sup>. It is doubtful that Strabo would have wanted to use Herodotos as an authority on these tribes. Granted that with regard to the Massagetai Strabo appears to have used a source other than Herodotos, it is probable that here too Herodotos is not Strabo's prime authority.

The third possibility is Hellanikos. Though there is here a great danger of identifying Hellanikos as Strabo's ultimate authority at this point because there is not enough of his work extant to demonstrate that he too should be eliminated as a possibility, several other circumstances point in his direction. In a later passage on northern tribes Strabo speaks of those who call 'the Scythians beyond the Borysthenes River "Alazones", and also "Kallipidai" and other names - names which Hellanikos and Herodotos and Eudoxos have foisted on us.'<sup>39</sup> Although none of these tribal names correspond to those in the Strabo XI.6.2 passage, it is possible they still come from the same work, but simply from a more detailed section. Here again then notice is found of Strabo's familiarity with Hellanikos' work on Scythians. The only other writer's name common to the two Strabo passages is Herodotos', and as has been discussed, his direct use in the first Strabo passage is unlikely. It is possible therefore to conclude that Hellanikos was the main source behind Strabo XI.6.2. Jacoby does not come to this conclusion. Norden had suggested Hekataios was 'the still older writer',<sup>40</sup> but Aly has pointed out 'Da aber Strabo diesen nicht nennt, so wird es wohl Hellanikos sein.'<sup>41</sup>

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38. On the Hyperboreans, IV.13, 32-36; on the Arimaspians, although Herodotos writes uncritically of them in IV.27, his scepticism is evident in III.116.

39. Strabo XII.3.21.

40. E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*, (Berlin, 1923), p.466.

41. Aly, p.48.

The real problem in identifying Hellanikos as Strabo's original source, is in the identification of the intermediary. This may have been Ephoros, but Ephoros was known to use Hekataios not Hellanikos. The problem is without a solution.

One other matter needs to be considered. If Hellanikos was the ultimate source behind Strabo XI.6.2, then might he not also have been the source behind the corresponding passage, Diodoros II.43? The full implications of this possibility will be discussed later.

A second area in which Hellanikos' place in the tradition may be examined is that centering upon the Argippaioi/ Arimaphaioi. Herodotos, when recounting the *Arimispaea*, describes a people he names the Ἀργιππαῖοι. In numerous later works, however, where the word Ἀργιππαῖοι may have been expected, the word found is Ὀργεμπαῖοι, 'Arimphaei', 'Aremphaeos' or 'Arimefi'<sup>42</sup>. Aly believes the choice of the source for such a rendition of the name, varying as it does from the Herodotean form, lies between Hekataios, Hellanikos, Damastes and Eudoxos. As shall be discussed later, Eudoxos' and Damastes' work may be seen to go back to Hekataios and possibly Hellanikos, the choice is effectively between Hekataios and Hellanikos. Further speculation upon the origin of these variant forms would seem impossible. Aly's identification of Hellanikos as the source, though a possibility, is highly tenuous.

The third subject Aly treats is that of the 'Kerketai', of whom Zenobios, a 2nd century writer of anecdotes, makes mention<sup>43</sup>. These people may easily be demonstrated to have been mentioned by Hellanikos. Stephanos, in his entry under Χαριμάται, lists the tribe as one of several tribes dwelling

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42. Zenobios V.25; Pliny VI.35; Mela 1.19; Ammianus XXII.8, respectively.

43. Aly, p.50; Zenobios V: Παρὰ τοῖς Κερκεταίοις οἱ ἐργάται τὰ φορτία βαστάζουσιν, ἄχρις οὗ τις αὐτὰ ἀνήσεται. 'Among the Kerketai the workmen carry heavy loads, until such time as someone buys them.'

along the east coast of the Pontos: 'Charimatai; A tribe on the Pontos.' Palaiphatos in the tenth book of his *Troika*, 'The Moschoi and Charimatai being next to the Kerketai, who rule the Parthian up to the Euxine Pontos'. And Hellanikos in his *The foundations of tribes and cities* 'The Moschoi and Charimatai dwell above the Kerketai, the Heniochoi below them, and the Koraxoi above.'<sup>44</sup> Aly suggests that Hellanikos may therefore be Zenobios' source on these people, and that if this be so, then Hellanikos may also have been the source of the form 'Οργεμπαῖοι in Zenobius<sup>45</sup>. Thus, with respect to the problem of the alternate tradition to the Herodotean 'Arimaspi' and 'Argippaei' discussed above, there is a further reason for considering Hellanikos as the tradition's source. Aly's thesis that Hellanikos was Zenobios' source is again highly tenuous. For the following reasons it may well have been Hekataios.

Zenobios and Stephanos are not the only writers to have mentioned the Kerketai. Skylax does so in circumstances which would clearly suggest Hekataios was the original, even immediate source: Κερκέται· Μετὰ δὲ Σινδικὸν λιμένα Κερκέται ἔθνος.<sup>46</sup> Strabo too mentions the tribe, citing as his authority Artemidoros: 'After Bata Artemidoros mentions the coast of the Cercetae, with its mooring places and villages, extending thence about eight hundred and fifty stadia.'<sup>47</sup> Like the Skylax passage, Artemidoros' ultimate source would seem to have been Hekataios. Artemidoros' authority was clearly not an historian of the Mithridatic war, for as Strabo himself points out, these historians had a different order of enumer-

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44. Own translation.

45. Aly, pp.49-50. Zenobios V: 'Οργεμπαῖοι οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ ἔμψυχόν τι σιτοῦται. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ σὺν γυναίξει φαλακροὶ διὰ φύσιν ὕδατος οὗ πίνουσι. 'Orgempaiοι do not have homes, nor do they eat anything living. They, even the women, are bald on account of the nature of the water they drink.'

46. Skylax 73. 'The Kerketai' After the Sindic harbour comes the Kerketai, a tribe.'

47. Strabo XI.2.14.

ation for the tribes<sup>48</sup>. These additional considerations in fact strengthen the case for a very close relationship between Hellanikos' and Hekataios' work. Hellanikos probably used Hekataios directly when writing on the tribes on the east Pontus coast, just as Ps.-Skylax and Artemidoros did.

A further link between Hellanikos and Hekataios may be found with respect to mention of Ἡνίοχοι and Κοραξοί. These tribal names are found both in the Hellanican catalogue as preserved by Stephanos in his entry under Χαριμῆται and in the Hecataean catalogue, as preserved in Ps.-Skylax's *Periplus*<sup>49</sup>. As Hellanikos is seen to have provided Stephanos with similar material to that which Hekataios provided Ps.-Skylax, Hellanikos' source may well have been Hekataios.

Yet another link may be forged between Hellanikos and Hekataios. Aly also omitted to discuss the implications of a Scholion to Apollonios Rhodios IV.321 which notes that: ... Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐθνῶν φησι · Βόσπορον διαπλεύσαντι Σίνδοι, ἄνω δὲ τούτων Μαιώται Σκύθαι.<sup>50</sup> Herodotos mentions both these tribes. For this reason Herodotos may seem the ready candidate for identification as Hellanikos' source at this point. A closer analysis of the matter places this identification in doubt. The Sindoi are referred to in Herodotos IV.28 where he relates that so extreme is the cold in Scythia that the Cimmerian Bosphorus freezes and armies and waggons can be driven across to the Sindoi (i.e. to the east side of the Crimean Bosphorus). Mention is again made of the Sindic region ('Σινδίκη') in

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48. Strabo XI.2.14: 'The more trustworthy historians of the Mithridatic wars name the Achaei first, then the Zygi, then the Heniochi, and then the Cercetae and Moschi and Colchi, and the Phtheirophagi who live above these three peoples and the Soanes, and other small tribes that live in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus.'

49. 76. Ἡνίοχοι. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς Ἡνίοχοι ἔθνος.  
77. Κοραξοί. Μετὰ δὲ Ἡνιόχους Κοραξοί ἔθνος.

50. Hellanikos in his *Peri Ethnon* says 'As one sails through the Bosphoros, there are the Sindoi, above these the Maiotian Scythians.' (Own translation.)

defining the greatest width of the Pontos<sup>51</sup>. The Sindoi are not mentioned in an enumeration of tribes. Herodotos' tribal catalogue includes only those between the Borythenes and Maiotis/Tanais<sup>52</sup>. The Maiotai are mentioned in a brief geographical excursus in the middle of the narration of Dareios' expedition - Dareios having passed through the tribes east of the Tanais, the Sauromatai, then the Boudinoi, as far as the desert. Herodotos here paused to add that: 'Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetæ; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeotians, and issue into the lake called the Maeotian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.'<sup>53</sup> This information is of no relevance to the narrative in which it finds itself (save perhaps that the Oaros is then mentioned as a river by which Dareios built eight forts<sup>54</sup>. Indeed the identity of the Maiotai is far from clear in the context of the Herodotean passage. They would seem to inhabit territory which Herodotos himself had just before allocated to the Sauromatai. Like the Sindoi, the Maiotians are not mentioned by Herodotos in any catalogue of tribes north of the Maiotis.

Though completely overlooked by modern scholars, the difference between the manner in which Hellanikos and Herodotos refer to these tribes is quite marked. Hellanikos lists them in a distinctly periplous style, the derivation of which from Herodotos' two incidental references is most unlikely. Hellanikos' source is much more likely to have been the same as Ps.-Skylax's source, when Ps.-Skylax lists the tribes around the Maiotis in the following order:

'70. Sauromatai. Asia begins at the Tanais river and its first tribe is the Sauromatai, bordering

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51. Her. IV.86.

52. Her. IV.17-21. See also ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos'.

53. Her. IV.123.

54. Her. IV.124.



on the Pontus. The tribe of the Sauromatai are ruled by women.

71. Maiotai. The Maiotai are next to the ones ruled by women.

72. Sindoi. After the Maiotai comes the Sindoi tribe. For these extend to the border of the lake. And there are Greek cities situated in their land; Phanagoras, Keroi, the Sindic port and Patous.<sup>55</sup>

Such an enumeration, where the Maiotians are clearly placed north of the Sindoi, is a much more probable source for the account Hekataios is said to have given. As Hekataios was probably Ps.-Skylax's source, once again it appears that Hekataios was Hekataios' source.

It must be added, moreover, that the Hellenic fragment in Scholia to Apollonios Rhodios refers not simply to Μαῖῶται but Μαῖῶται Σκυθῶται. This reference could not come from Herodotos. For Herodotos the Maiotai were strictly non-Scythian. As has been discussed in Ch. 1, the addition of the appellation 'Scythian' to the names of tribes Herodotos would have considered non-Scythian, is the most outstanding characteristic of Hekataios' work. Thus, Hekataios was using Hekataios.

A final instance where Hekataios' alignment with the Hekataean, not Herodotean, tradition may be demonstrated is that of his mention of the 'Amyrgion'. Under this name Stephanos gives the following entry: Ἀμύργιον πεδῖον Σακῶν· Ἑλλάνικος Σκυθικοῖς· τὸ ἔθνηκόν Ἀμύργιος, ὡς αὐτός φησιν. The tribe the Ἀμύργιος/Ἀμύργιοι is historically well attested in numerous Persian inscriptions<sup>56</sup>. Not only does

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55. Own translation.

56. See 'Ktesias' pp.7-8, n.27-33, and J.M. Balcer, 'The Date of Herodotus IV.1 Darius' Scythian expedition, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, V.76 (1972), pp.99-132. In Xerxes Persepolis foundation tablet, the Akkadian text lists 'the Amyrgian Kimmerians and the Kimmerians (wearing) pointed-caps' where in the Persian and Elamite texts of the same document 'Kimmerians' is replaced by 'Saka'. Sim-

Hellanikos mention the tribe, but also Herodotos. In giving a catalogue of Xerxes' European invasion army, Herodotos writes: 'The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore breeches, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and axes withal, which they call "sagaris". These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; for that is the Persian name for all Scythians.'<sup>57</sup> Although the information in the Hellenic fragment bears a close resemblance to that in the Herodotos passage, it differs in two respects.

Firstly, it would appear that Hellanikos' *Skythika* is the source, not only for the tribal name, but also the name of the plain Ἀμύργιον. No such plain is mentioned by Herodotos. Secondly, Hellanikos writes the tribal name as Ἀμύργιοι. Herodotos nowhere uses this form (possibly derived from an adjective). This second difference is, however, of lesser substance as the alteration may have simply been a task performed by Hellanikos himself, Stephanos or any intermediary.

There are still further problems associated with Herodotos' reference to the Amyrgoi. As Armayor notes in one of his stimulating reviews of Herodotos' value<sup>58</sup>, Herodotos

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56. (Contd.) ilar enumeration is found in Dareios' Naqs-i-Rustam inscription (a 15-30 'these are the counties which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them and they bore tribute to me ... Sind, Amyrgian (Haumavarka) Saka, Saka with caps (Saka tigrakhanda), Saka who are across the sea'. These texts are quoted in Balcer 'Darius' Scythian Expedition' pp.123-4 and R. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts and Lexicon* (New Haven, 1953) pp.137-8.

The historicity of the term is further established by the use of Amorges as the name of Saka kings - one in the time of Kyros (Ktesias, *Persika* 3) and another in the time of Dareios (Polyaianos VII.12). See How and Wells, V2, p.155.

57. Her. VII.64.

58. O.K. Armayor, 'Herodotos' Catalogues of the Persian Empire in the Light of the Monuments and the Greek Literary Tradition' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 108 (1978) p.3.

brigades the Bactrians with the Amyrgian Scythians in VII.64 but has these people in different satrapies when he lists these in III.92. The Bactrians are in the 12th satrapy and the Amyrgians with the Caspians in the 15th. Moreover, the Bactrians do not stand next to any of the three kinds of Scythians depicted on the Persian reliefs. Armayor goes on to note numerous other weaknesses in Herodotos' catalogue, concluding that Herodotos' source was not a collection of Persian documents but early Greek literary tradition. The description of weapons and dress found in the catalogue may have come from Homer, Hesiod and the lyric poets. The intermediary in the transference of these accounts may have been Hekataios, who catalogued all the nations under Dareios<sup>59</sup> and wrote of their national costumes and weaponry, or royal fortresses and naval arsenals<sup>60</sup>. If this be so, then it may be that Herodotos found the reference to the 'Ἀμύργιοι in Hekataios.

One other important circumstance indicates that Herodotos' source at this point was Hekataios. Herodotos does not refer to the tribe simply as the 'Ἀμύργιοι' but as 'Ἐκῦθας Ἀμυργίους'. This is contrary to Herodotos' own rules upon the definition of 'Scythian' tribes, as followed throughout his book IV Scythian *logos*. The addition of the term Ἐκῦθαι to the name of a northern tribe is characteristically Hecataean. It thus appears that outside his main Scythian *logos*, Herodotos has slipped in what had been consistent efforts to correct Hekataios' conception of 'Scythians' while disguising his use of Hekataios<sup>61</sup>.

If Hekataios did deal with the 'Amyrgioi Scythians' and if, as suggested above, Hellanikos did not take his information on this tribe from Herodotos, then it may be concluded that Hellanikos took his information from Hekataios. This

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59. Her. V.36.

60. Armayor, 'Herodotus' catalogues of the Persian Empire', p.8.

61. See ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos', p.28.

conclusion has already been tentatively reached by Junge<sup>62</sup>. The Hellenic fragment on the Amyrgioi indeed resembles a piece of Hecataean writing to such a degree that Herzfeld attributed it erroneously to Hekataios - substituting Hekataios' name for Hellanikos'.<sup>63</sup> The possibility that the correspondence is coincidental, and arises only out of both authors using first-hand information on the same tribe, is remote in the extreme<sup>64</sup>.

Hekataios may have mentioned not only Ἀμύργιοι, but also the plain Ἀμύργιον and possibly also the form Ἀμύργιος. There is even the possibility (albeit remote) that Hekataios was the source of the King's name Ἀμύργος as found in the works of Ktesias and Polyainos<sup>65</sup>.

Having therefore sought to demonstrate Hellanikos' independence of Herodotos and dependence upon Hekataios with respect to five subjects (Argippaeoi/Arimaphaioi; Kerketai; Heniochoi and Koraxoi; Sindoi and Maiotai; Amyrgioi), the discussion may turn to further instances noted by Harmatta where Hellanikos seems to be independent of Herodotos. Was Hellanikos here too dependent upon Hekataios? Harmatta says he was not. These instances number two.

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62. Junge pp.29-30, 'Die Vorlage für den Ausdruck des Hellanikos, die die "Sakai Amyrgioi" in eine Ebene setzte, ist vielleicht dieselbe Hekataios stelle.' Junge later adds (p.30 n.1) 'Obwohl es inhaltlich auf Hekataios zurückgeht, gehört das Fragment in der erhaltenen Form doch zweifellos Hellanikos.'
63. E. Herzfeld (ed.), *Archäologische Mitteilung aus Iran* (not consulted directly), referred to by Junge, p.30 n.1.
64. On the possibility of Hellanikos having original or first-hand information, Junge seems to anticipate the question which Harmatta was to raise in later years with the simple remark: 'eigene neue Nachrichten hat ja Hellanikos kaum gehabt ...' p.30.
65. Ktesias, *Persika* 3; Polyainos VII.12. See II. n.57.

Firstly, Stephanos' citation of Hellanikos with reference to the Amadokoi. Stephanos has the following entry: Ἀμαδόκοι, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Σκυθικοῖς · ἡ γῆ δὲ τούτων Ἀμαδόκιον. Harmatta claims that such a people were known to neither Hekataios nor Herodotos, and must therefore have dwelt, not in Europe, but to the north east in the same area as the 'new northern peoples first mentioned in Herodotus' - the Jyrcai, Thyssagetai and Argempaiai<sup>66</sup>. With the extension of the geographical horizon by Greek and Scythian traders to the central Urals and beyond at the end of the fifth century, so too came knowledge of new tribes. Thus Harmatta considers Hellanikos' reference to the Amadokoi to be the first in Greek literature and based upon information only recently brought to hand.

Secondly, Papyrus Oxyrhyncus 1241 contains the following Hellenic fragment: σιδηροῖα δὲ ὄπλα πρῶτος Ἑλλάνικος κατασκευάσθαι φησιν Σάνευνον Σκυθῶν ὄντα βασιλέα.<sup>67</sup>

The demonstration that 'Saneunos' may be an original 'Scythian' name from an Iranian form 'Sāna-vana' meaning 'conquering his enemies/victorious over the enemy', and that the association of a 'Scythian' King with the metal iron is highly conceivable in the context of a nomad legend, led Harmatta to conclude that Hellanikos was also the first to record this piece of original Eurasian folklore<sup>68</sup>.

The conclusions Harmatta draws from both these Hellenic fragments may be challenged. With respect to the Amadokoi there are several reasons for believing that Hellanikos was not the first to mention this tribe. Though Stephanos quotes Hellanikos as claiming the Amadokoi were a Scythian people

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66. Harmatta, 'Mythical northern people' pp.108-9; p.110 of English summary.

67. Hell. F 189. Own translation: 'Hellanikos says that Saneunos, king of Scythia, first constructed weapons of iron ...'

68. Harmatta, pp.96-98.

there is one indication that the name was also associated with the Hyperboreans. Pausanias varies Herodotos' story of the Hyperborean ambassadors to Delphi (wherein two virgins Arge and Opis and later Hyperoche and Laodike are named) in having one of the ambassadors named 'Amadokos' (the other name 'Hyperochos', though male like 'Amadokos', corresponds with 'Hyperoche'.<sup>69</sup> The name itself was clearly no fabrication<sup>70</sup>. Could Hellenikos have mentioned the Amadokoi in connection with the Hyperboreans?

Hellenikos appears not only to have mentioned the Hyperboreans, but to have believed in their historical existence. This is evident from three fragments. Firstly, Stephanos preserves the following Hellenican fragment in his entry under 'Υπερβόρειοι' 'Ελλάνικος δὲ 'Υπερβόρειοι γράφει διὰ διφθόγγου.<sup>71</sup>

As will be discussed in the following chapter, Damastes, Hellenikos' pupil, is known from the same Stephanos passage as that from which the Hellenican fragment is taken, to have written at length on the Hyperboreans<sup>72</sup>.

The occurrence of the brief note on how Hellenikos spelt Hyperboreans immediately after the longer quotation from Damastes' work may suggest that Hellenikos' account of the Hyperboreans was substantially the same as that offered by Damastes - the only difference being the spelling of the name. That Hellenikos wrote on the Hyperboreans is evident also from another two fragments. One comes from Clement of Alexandria: τοὺς δὲ 'Υπερβορέους 'Ελλάνικος ὑπὲρ τὰ 'Ριπαῖα

69. Pausanias 1.4.4; Her. IV.32-35.

70. Pliny makes mention of a *Imadochi* in a list of tribes found near the Caucasus (VI.19-20), and in a list of eastern 'Scythian' tribes he mentions a *Homodoti* (VI.50). Amadokos was also a dynastic name in the royal house of the Odrysians - there being three kings of this house known to bear the name. The basic form was clearly Iranian.

71. Hell. F 187 a).

72. See ch. 'Damastes'.

ὄρη οἰκεῖν ἱστορεῖ · διδάσκεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς δικαιοσύνην μὴ κρεοφαγοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀκροδρύοις χρωμένους · τοὺς ἕξακονταετείς οὗτοι ἔξω πυλῶν ἄγοντες ἀφανίζουσιν.<sup>73</sup>

The other comes from Theodoret who has clearly taken the reference from Clement: καὶ γὰρ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἔφη τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους - χρωμένους.<sup>74</sup>

It would therefore appear that Hellanikos not only mentioned Hyperboreans, but wrote on them in some detail. It is even possible that Hellanikos had written a 'Hyperborean ethnography' and that it is in this work that mention was made of the Amadokoi. Harmatta does not take his own research as far as this conclusion. The conclusion may however be substantiated upon consideration of evidence overlooked by Harmatta.

The existence of such an ethnography in the late fifth century (possibly as part of Hellanikos' *Skythika* - the question of whether Hekataios was in fact the original author of the material being dealt with later) is suggested upon reference to two further pieces of evidence. Firstly, Stephanos' entry under Ταρκυνία includes the following: ... εἰσὶ καὶ Ταρκυναῖοι ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων, παρ' οἷς οἱ γρύπες τὸν χρυσοῦν φυλάσσουσιν, ὡς Ἱεροκλῆς ἐν τοῖς φιλιστορίαις.<sup>75</sup> The tribal name 'Tarkynaioi' is extant in no other work. Nevertheless Aristotle in his *Metērologica* refers to a mountain range, the name of which bears a close resemblance to Tarkynaioi. This second passage is as follows: τῶν δ' ἄλλων ποταμῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τῶν Ἀρκυνίων · ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὕψει καὶ πλήθει μέγιστα περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτόν ἐστιν.<sup>76</sup> Aristotle then goes on to mention

73. F187b. (=Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* I.15, 72, 2 p.46,7). On this fragment, see also Harmatta p.105.

74. F187c. (=Theodoret. *Graec.cur.aff.* XII.44).

75. Own translation: 'The Arkynaioi are a tribe of Hyperboreans, among whom the griffons guard the gold, according to Hierokles in the Philistores.' Attention is first drawn to this passage by Bolton, p.24, in his efforts to demonstrate Hekataios' authorship of a *Hyperborea*.

76. Aristotle, *Metērologica* I.xiii. 'Most of the remaining European

the Rhipae mountains which, unlike the Arkynian mountains, are known of (indeed well known) from other sources. It appears, therefore, that Aristotle drew his information from a source which mentioned both these mountain ranges and which had given a geography in which it was calculated which European rivers flowed from which range<sup>77</sup>. It is possible, as Bolton suggests, that Hierocles, Stephanos' cited source on the Tarkynaioi, found this name in the same work in which Aristotle found the Arkynia mountains - that is, from a Hyperborean ethnography<sup>78</sup>. Bolton further suggests that such an ethnography was the work of Hekataios. As Aristotle's geographical conceptions are known in other respects to closely follow the Hecataean tradition<sup>79</sup>, it is conceivable that Aristotle drew his reference to the Arkynian mountains directly from a Hecataean Hyperborean ethnography.

It is thereby possible that Hellanikos drew his reference to the Amadokoi from Hekataios, Hekataios having listed the Amadokoi as a Hyperborean tribe and in the same section of his work having told the tale of the Hyperborean visitors to Delphi, one of whom was named Amadokos. Hellanikos was thus not the first to mention the Amadokoi.

The suspicions that Hellanikos' reference to Saneunos' invention of iron<sup>80</sup> goes back to the earlier writings of Hekataios are even stronger. Not only Harmatta, but also Rostovtzeff and E.D. Phillips believe that Hellanikos was

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76. (Contd.) rivers flow northward from the Arkynian mountains which are the largest both in height and extent in that region.

77. 'Beneath the Bear itself beyond the farthest part of Scythia is a range of mountains called the Rhipae: the stories told of their size are too fanciful for credence, but they say that from them the greatest number and, after the Istrus, the largest of other European rivers flow.'

78. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, p.24.

80. 'Iron', though simply a reconstruction [σιδηρ]ᾶ, is the most probable reconstruction.

79. See ch. 'Alexander', pp. 222-225, 240-242.



here recording a genuine Scythian tradition<sup>81</sup>. The Indo-European etymology of the name is immediately evident (*san + ones* = enemy + conqueror), giving the very suitable title of 'conqueror of enemies' to the King who is supposed to have invented iron weapons. In the examination of the fragment, however, there are no internal indications that Hellanikos was the first to record this legend. That Saneunos may be demonstrated to be a genuine 'Scythian' word, and that the association of a Scythian King with the invention of iron seems highly credible, says only that the original tradition upon which Hellanikos drew was familiar with the tribes, not that Hellanikos himself was, nor that Hellanikos was using a contemporary authority who was. As will be evident from the following discussion there are external circumstances which suggest that the tale may have belonged to a very early Greek tradition, although the philosophical interest in εὐρήματα was a later development.

Attention may be drawn firstly to the great interest in associating Scythians with iron-working evident in the plays of Aischylos<sup>82</sup>. Though the attribution of the production of the first iron weapons to the Scythian King Saneunos is not to be found in any extant section of Aischylos, it is probable that it was mentioned in Aischylos' source. As argued in Appendix II, the sources Aischylos used for his material concerned with the northern tribes were probably Hekataios and Aristeeas.

A further point of interest is the title given to Saneunos: Σκυθῶν ὄντα βασιλέα. If, as is probable, Saneunos was a

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81. Harmatta, pp.97-98; p.98. 'Имя Σάνευνοσ является не фантазией Гелланика, а настоящим скифским названием древнего происхождения'. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, pp.22-23; p.23 'auch der Name Σάνευνοσ von ihm nicht erfunden worden ist, sondern vielleicht dahinter einer wirklich historische Persönlichkeit steckt.' E.D. Phillips, 'Saneunos ...' p.385.
82. See Bolton, *Aristeeas*, p.48. *Prometheus Bound* 303, Skythia is the mother of iron; *Seven against Thebes* 728, iron is called Σκυθῶν ἄποινοσ and 818 is called 'Scythian'.

figure from a very early nomad legend, the legend probably dated back to shortly after the introduction of iron to the northern peoples in Transcaucasia - possibly as early as the tenth century B.C.<sup>83</sup> The legend would have easily predated the earliest Greek contacts with the Scythians. The earliest possible record of the legend would have been in Aristeas' *Arimaspaea*. Nevertheless it is improbable that Hellanikos took the story directly from Aristeas. It is unlikely that Aristeas would have designated someone as 'King of the Scythians'. Aristeas had a much too detailed and complex tribal vocabulary for his use of such terminology to be credible<sup>84</sup>. It is even questionable whether he ever used the term Σκυθαί. Therefore, either Hellanikos drew the story from the *Arimaspaea* and simplified it, or he took the story from Hekataios who is known to have used the word Σκυθαί in this general manner. Hekataios may have in turn taken the story from the *Arimaspaea*. The second possibility seems the more probable.

Finally, Harmatta's argument that Hellanikos must have introduced the results of contemporary geographical research into his work because Agathemeros mentions Hellanikos in a list of notable Greek geographers, is not compelling<sup>85</sup>. Agathemeros does not credit Hellanikos with original information or personal enquiries, but simply with being πολυίστωρ and adds that ἀπλάστως παρέδωκε τὴν ἱστορίαν. Nor can it be said that the three other writers named in the list, Damastes, Demokritos and Eudoxos, had performed original research in the field of history or geography<sup>86</sup>. Thus, far from placing

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83. The transference of the technology to the Scythians of the Transcaucasian region probably followed the collapse of the Hittite empire during the 12th century. See Phillips, *ibid.*, p.386. That this region was at this time the homeland of the Scythians see the researches summarized by T. Sulimirski 'Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia', *Artibus Asiae*, 17 (1954) pp.283, 286, 288-91, 293.

84. See Appendix II.

85. Harmatta, p.96. Hell.T13=Agathemeros. *ge.inf.*I.1=Hec.T.12a.

86. Agathemeros in this same passage indeed claims Damastes copies out most of Hekataios' *Periplous*. See chapter 'Damastes'.

Hellanikos outside a literary tradition, the Agathemeros passage clearly places Hellanikos within the Ionian geographical tradition, that is, the Hecataean tradition. That Damastes and Eudoxos did indeed belong to this same tradition will be argued in later chapters. Especially noteworthy is the absence of Herodotos' name from Agathemeros' list.

Of all the areas of writing on Scythians discussed above, one area is of exceptional significance: the possible identification of Hellanikos as the source for Strabo XI.6.2 and Diodoros II.43. The full implications of this possibility may now be examined. Of particular relevance to this matter is the question of Pliny's source at several points. It is to this question that the discussion may now turn.

In a detailed account of the 'Scythian' tribes beyond the Syr Darya (Iaxartes), Pliny writes that *Napaei interisse dicuntur a Palaeis* ('the Napaei are said to have been destroyed by the Palaei')<sup>87</sup>. There is only one other extant work in which reference to these two tribes is made. The work is Diodoros'. Diodoros' account of the conflict between the two tribes is of even greater detail. The Paloi and Napai are named as part of a lengthy account of a legend of Scythian origin wherein Zeus lay with a woman half-human, half-snake, conceiving Scythes: 'This son became more famous than any who had preceded him and called the folk Scythians after his own name. Now among the descendants of this king there were two brothers who were distinguished for their valour, the one names Palus and the other Napes. And since these two performed renowned deeds and divided the kingship between them, some of the people were called Pali after one of them and some Napae after the other.' There then follows an account of the expansion of these peoples' power as far as the Thracians, Egyptians and the Ocean in the east, an account of the genesis of several other tribal

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87. Pliny VI.xviii.49.

names (Sacaе, Massagetae, Arimaspi, and Sauromatae) concluding: 'After these events there came in Scythia a period of revolutions, in which the sovereigns were women endowed with exceptional valour ...'<sup>88</sup>

The sons Palos and Napes, and their respective descendant tribes, the Paloi and Napai, therefore play an integral part in both the Scythian legends of origin and tribal history. It is also noteworthy that these episodes form only part of the whole history. Scythes was not the first Scythian, nor the first Scythian King. His birth came after (ὕστερον) the Scythians had expanded from their territory on the Araxes to take possession of land as far as the Caucasus, Lake Maiotis and the Tanais river. Three phases of expansion may be defined: 1) Small territory bordering on India (on Araxes) - expansion to the Tanais. 2) Napai and Paloi - expansion to Thrace, Egypt and Ocean. 3) Anarchy. If Hellanikos was the source of Diodoros II.43, he may have been the source not only of the tribal names, as found in Strabo XI.6.2, but of the whole account of the Scythians' origin and progress. As Pliny too mentions the Napei and Paloi, the original source of his material may well have been Hellanikos - possibly indirectly through Ephoros and Poseidonios.<sup>89</sup>

The second of the above possibilities is rendered all the more probable in the light of two other circumstances. Firstly, Pliny is known to have known of Hellanikos.<sup>90</sup> Secondly, Pliny was possibly using Hellanikos when referring to the *Arimphaei* and *Imadochi*<sup>91</sup>. As these names occur in the Pliny passage under consideration, VI.19-22, it is conceivable that Hellanikos was a major source for this section. Pliny mentions in VI.50 the *Essedones*. The tribe is mentioned in

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88. Diodoros II.43-44.

89. See 'Ephoros'.

90. 4 T 27, 28.

91. See p.54, n.70.

a list of eastern Scythian tribes which also includes the Sacae, Massagetae, Arimaspi (these three tribes also being found in Strabo and Diodoros), the Napaei and Palaei. Though the Issedonians figure prominently in the *Histories* of Herodotos, there is only one other extant reference to this tribe, wherein the name is spelt 'Essedones' and that is Stephanos' reference to Alkman's spelling of the word.<sup>92</sup> It is unlikely that Pliny took his form of the name directly from Alkman. Through whom, therefore, might Alkman's spelling have been perpetuated? Not Herodotos. Hellanikos? Again Pliny's list of eastern tribes may be seen to have been derived from Hellanikos, who in his turn derived them from Hekataios.

Thus, despite Hellanikos' *Skythika's* occasional similarities to Herodotos' work, and occasional dissimilarities to any extant works, it may be argued that the entire monograph derived its contents and conceptions from Hekataios and not from Herodotos or from original researches.

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92. Ἰσσηδόνες, ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. Ἐκκαταῖος Ἀσία. Ἀλκιμῶν δὲ μόνος Ἐσσηδοῦς αὐτοὺς φησιν, εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα παρ' ἄλλοις διὰ τοῦ Ἔ. Λέγονται καὶ Ἰσσηδοί τρισυλλάβως, ἔστι καὶ Ἰσσηῶν πόλις. Jacoby notes that the anomalous use of 'Asia' here attributed to Hekataios was probably Stephanos' responsibility. It should be 'Europe'. (Commentary on 1 F 193). For other such possible errors see 1 F 113b, 204, 284, and (on another subject) 1 F 243.

## CHAPTER 3

DAMASTES

Little is known about the life and writings of Damastes<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, though he is known to have written on Scythians, even the most important scholars either fail to mention him, or do so but briefly<sup>2</sup>. He is, however, of relevance to this thesis for his purported authorship of a work variously entitled 'Εθνῶν κατάλογον καὶ πόλεων, περὶ 'Εθνῶν and περιπλους<sup>3</sup>. The fragment from this work of greatest relevance is to be found in Stephanos' entry under 'Υπερβόρειοι'... Δαμάστις δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ ἔθνῶν, ἄνω δ' Ἀριμασπῶν τὰ Ῥίπαια ὄρη, ἐξ ὧν τὸν βορέαν πνεῖν, χιόνα δὲ μήποτε αὐτὰ ἐκλείπειν · ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα Ὑπερβορέους καθήκειν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν Θάλασσαν<sup>4</sup>. Who was Damastes' source? There are two possible candidates: Aristeas and Hekataios. The relative strengths of these possibilities may now be considered.

Damastes' dependence upon Aristeas was first suggested by Junge, though without supporting arguments<sup>5</sup>. The positive argument in favour of this thesis may be the resemblance between this passage and the Aristean fragment in Herodotos IV.13. Junge resists the temptation to identify Damastes' source at this point as Hekataios upon two grounds. Firstly,

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1. See Schwartz, 'Damastes', *RE*; Jacoby *FGrHist* 5.
  2. Rostovtzeff (*Skythien*, p.4) mentions Damastes only as one of the early writers contributing to the ethnographical conception of the north Black Sea region. Van Paassen (*The Classical tradition of Geography*, p.138) simply writes: 'Damastes, a contemporary of Herodotos, is said to have frequently taken Hecataeus as an authority', and discusses the matter no further.
  3. T 1, F 1 and T 4 respectively.
  4. Own translation: 'Hyperboreoi, a tribe ... But according to Damastes, in his *Peri Ethnon*, above the Scythians dwell the Issedonians, above the Arimaspoi the Rhiplean mountains, from which the Boreas blows - snow never leaves them. Beyond these mountains Hyperboreans extend to the other sea.'
  5. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p.19 and 46. With reference to F 1 Junge writes 'auf Grund der Angabe des Damastes, die sicher auf die Arimaspeia zurückgeht ...' (p.19) and 'Damastes fragm. 1 (F.Gr. Hist.) von den Nordvölkern, das wohl direkt aus Aristeas schöpft.'

the description is too fable-like for Hekataios who 'so weit wir sehen können, ehrlich bemüht war, den Dingen auf den realen Grund zu kommen'.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, Junge believes the sea Damastes is said to mention (τὴν ἑτέραν Θάλασσαν) could not be the same as Hekataios' 'Ocean stream' to which Herodotos alludes<sup>7</sup>.

Neither of the above reasons seems substantial. On the first point, Junge is perhaps correct in referring to Hekataios' rationalism, but there is nothing 'fabulous' or irrational about Damastes' catalogue. Hyperboreans and an encircling ocean did find a place in rational geographies. Indeed the omission of the griffons from Damastes' catalogue, particularly in the light of his romantic reputation,<sup>8</sup> may suggest the presence of Hekataios' rationalising influence. Junge's second point is of little substance. Damastes' term τὴν ἑτέραν Θάλασσαν does correspond with Herodotos' Θάλασσα. It is possible nevertheless that, while generally using the term Ὠκεανός when following Aristeas, Hekataios too used the word Θάλασσα.

A closer examination of the correspondence between the Damastes and Herodotos passages proves fruitful. The enumeration of tribes is as follows:

<u>Herodotos</u>	<u>Damastes</u>
	Skythai
Issedones	Issedones
Arimaspai	Arimaspai
Griffons	Ripaia Boreas
Hyperboreoi	Hyperboreoi
Θάλασσα	ἡ ἑτέρα Θάλασσα

There are several differences between the two catalogues.

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6. *Ibid.*, p.46. n.1.

7. *Ibid.*, Her. IV.36.

8. Strabo, I.3.1.

Herodotos has griffons, which are absent from Damastes', while Damastes has Ripaia and the Boreas, which are absent from Herodotos. If Herodotos' passage is to be taken as an accurate record of the contents of the *Arimaspaea*, as it probably was, then why, if Damastes was simply borrowing from Aristaeas, should the catalogues vary? The answer must be that Damastes had either reworked the *Arimaspaea* or had taken the information from an intermediary source. As even a reworking would involve the use of other information and ideas (such as the references to the Rhipeans and Boreas) and as Damastes would not have seemed capable of sufficient scepticism to omit the griffons on his own initiative, an alternate/intermediary source must have been involved. This may have been Hekataios<sup>9</sup>. There are numerous positive indications that Damastes used Hekataios on the Scythians.

Firstly, Hekataios was capable of having written exactly the catalogue Damastes is said to have written - including the reference to Rhipeans, which Aristaeas did not mention<sup>10</sup>.

Secondly, according to Agathemerios Damastes simply rewrote most of Hekataios' *Periplous*: εἶτα Λαμάστις ὁ Σιγυειεύς τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν Ἑκαταίου μεταγράψας Περίπλου ἐγράψεν<sup>11</sup>.

Thirdly, Damastes appears to have copied Hekataios' map. Not only does Agathemerios explicitly say Damastes copied Hekataios, but he indirectly supplies indications that he also

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9. Bolton, *Aristaeas*, p.40. Although initially claiming 'That this is from the *Arimaspea* can hardly be doubted' he postulates that the omission of the griffons 'may be explicable by his use of a more sober intermediary - perhaps Hekataios (cf. Agathem.Geogr.i.I).'
10. See ch. 'Hekataios and Her.', p.13-14. As Schwartz concludes 'Wie Hekataios, so erläuterte auch D. die Karte durch eine Erd- und Völkerbeschreibung, die unter verschiedenen Titeln umlief (...). In dem Bruchstück über die Hyperboreer (Steph.Byz.) schimmert noch deutlich das altionische Kartenbild durch, gegen das Herodot, der ständige Gegner der Ionier polemisiert (...).' p.2051.
11. 5 F 4 (=Agathemerios I.1).



copied his map. In his list of famous geographers, Hellanikos alone is said not to have illustrated his *Periegesis* with a map<sup>12</sup>. This implies the others did. Anaximander and Hekataios are known to have<sup>13</sup>. Damastes must also have. From whom could Damastes have derived his map? Hellanikos had not produced a map. The source might therefore have been Hekataios.<sup>14</sup>

Fourthly, Damastes appears to have used a broad definition of the word 'Skythai'. The significance of the fact that Damastes' catalogue of tribes, as preserved in Stephanos, begins with the Scythians, followed by the Issedonians has never been considered by modern scholars. This is, however, of the utmost significance. Such an enumeration differs sharply from Herodotos. Between Herodotos' 'Scythians' and the Issedones dwelt the Sauromatai, Boudinoi, Thyssagetai, Iurkai, detached Scythians and Argippaioi<sup>15</sup>. Evidently Damastes had no such detailed conception of the tribal geography. He simply conceived of all the peoples as far as the Issedones to be Scythians. This point is of particular relevance to this thesis. The broad definition has been seen to be characteristic of the Hecataean tradition.

Having established the high probability that Damastes used Hekataios' work, a brief investigation of the relationship between Damastes and Hellanikos may be undertaken. The most immediate problem in such an investigation is deciding which of the two was the senior - or more specifically, who dealt first with the Scythians. In the third century A.D. Porphyrios had claimed Hellanikos composed his *Barbarika*

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12. 1 T 12a = Agathemerios I.1.

13. G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers, a critical History with a selection of texts*, (Cambridge, 1971) pp.103-104.

14. Schwartz comes to the same conclusion: 'D. hat die ionische Weltkarte des Anaximandros und Hekataios neu bearbeitet (Agath.I.1)' and thus Eratosthenes criticized Damastes while overlooking Hellanikos 'da dieser keine Karte gezeichnet hatte.'

15. Her. IV.21-25.

*Nomima* from the work of Herodotos and Damastes: καὶ τί ὑμῶν λέγω ὡς τὰ Βαρβαρικά Νόμιμα Ἑλλάνικος ἐκ τῶν Ἡροδότου καὶ Δαμάστου συνήκται.<sup>16</sup> As has been argued in the 'Hellanikos' chapter, Hellanikos' use of Herodotos is highly improbable. Similarly, Hellanikos' use of Damastes is improbable. Hellanikos would seem to have been the senior of the two. Dionysios of Halicarnassus has Hellanikos the elder<sup>17</sup>. Suidas even has Damastes a pupil of Hellanikos: 'Δαμάστης ... γέγονε δὲ Ἑλλανίκου μαθητής'.<sup>18</sup> A close relationship between the two, such as a teacher (Hellanikos) and pupil (Damastes) relationship may help explain the resemblance between some of their works<sup>19</sup>. The allegation that Hellanikos plagiarized Damastes is not necessarily inconsistent with Hellanikos being Damastes' senior and teacher. A teacher can plagiarize a student's work. Here, however, there is a greater probability that Porphyrios is inaccurate. The intrinsic problems with such allegations of plagiarism are numerous<sup>20</sup>.

With respect to the actual content of Damastes' writing on Scythians and the north, Hekataios must have been his source (thus accounting for the inclusion of a map). The use of Hekataios may have indeed been a lesson learnt from Hellanikos. Thus with respect to his conception of Scythian tribal geography, Damastes, like Hellanikos, may be considered as having written within the Hecataean tradition.

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16. 5 F 5 (=Porphyr. b. Euseb. PE X 3 p.466 B).

17. 4 T 11 = Dionysios of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides* 5, though this passage is riddled with difficulties. See translation and commentary of W. Kendrick Pritchett, Dionysios of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides*, (California, 1975) pp.50ff.

18. 4 T 9 = 5 T 1.

19. Schwartz, 'Damastes', pp.2050-1 has Hellanikos the elder. See van Paassen, p.231 on correspondences between their works - in scope if not in content. Thus, Damastes' *Peri Ethnon* corresponds to Hellanikos' *Barbarika Nomima*; Damastes' 'Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων' (5 T 1; F 3 (?)) corresponds with the first part of Hellanikos' *Troiika*.

20. K. Ziegler, 'Plagiat', *RE*, (1950), 1956-1977.

## CHAPTER 4

HIPPOKRATES

The place of the work on Scythians found in the monograph *Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* in the tradition of classical Greek writings on the organization of the European Scythian tribes may now be considered. Of particular relevance are the chapters 17 to 22. At first sight the work seems totally independent of any literary tradition, be it Hecataean or Herodotean, since there seems to be so much which is original and which could only have been gathered first hand. Nevertheless, even Rostovtzeff, who concludes that: 'Ohne Zweifel beruht dieser Traktat auf persönlichem Verkehr mit den Völkern, welche der Verfasser uns vorführt.'<sup>1</sup> makes the further critical observation that the author of the treatise also used material drawn from the earlier literary tradition<sup>2</sup>. However, as Rostovtzeff concluded to be the case in his own day, and is still by and large the case today: 'Leider ist die Schrift *περὶ ἀέρων* in dieser Hinsicht gar nicht untersucht worden, und die Arbeitsweise des Verfassers ist daher nicht klar gelegt.'<sup>3</sup> An examination of the treatise with special attention to the question of the conception of Scythian society and tribal geography found therein, and to the question of whether the source of this conception might be first-hand observation and where literary, may here be undertaken.

The question of the treatise's date and authorship has been greatly debated by modern scholars. The present author

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1. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.23.
  2. *Ibid.*, p.24: 'Ohne die persönlich Bekanntschaft des Verfassers mit den Skythen leugnen zu wollen, glaube ich doch, dass er, ebenso wie Herodot, auch literarische Quellen aus früher Zeit benutzt hat, aus welchen er einen beträchtlichen Teil seiner Kenntnisse geschöpft hat' and '...wenn er eine literarische Überlieferung benutzt hat, so ist es jedenfalls eine gewesen, die einen ganz anderen Charakter trug als jene, welche wir bei den ionischen Historikern und Geographen finden.'
  3. *Ibid.*

favours dating the work to the late fifth century<sup>4</sup>. This makes it highly probable that the work was in fact that of the historical Hippokrates. Nevertheless, as this remains uncertain, 'Hippokrates' shall henceforth only be used as a synonym for the actual author(s) of the work. Regardless of these uncertainties, it is hoped that the following discussion will demonstrate Hippokrates' independence of Herodotos. The discussion will center on the question of Hippokrates' conception of Scythia and Scythian tribal geography. A systematic analysis of the text of ch.17 to 22 will be attempted.

Hippokrates opens his Scythian section with the words: 'έν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔστιν ἔθνος Σκυθικόν, ὃ περὶ τὴν λίμνην οἰκεῖ τὴν Μαιῶτιν διαφέρον τῶν ἑθνέων τῶν ἄλλων. Σαυρομάται καλεῦνται.' This passage is immediately significant in two respects. Firstly, the Sauromatai are regarded as a European Scythian tribe. Such a reference is peculiar in that it concurs neither with Hekataios' nor Herodotos' model. Hekataios may have referred to the Sauromatai as Scythian, but would not have called them European. Herodotos might have considered them European, but definitely not Scythian<sup>5</sup>.

Hippokrates, by locating the Sauromatai in Europe, must

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4. On the question of date and authorship see *Oeuvres choisies d'Hippocrate*, intr. and tr. E. Littré (Amsterdam, 1973, rep. Paris, 1839) Vol.I.p.293, pp.332-3 and (1978 rep. 1840) Vol II. p.1f; L. Edelstein, 'Περὶ ἄερων' und die Sammlung der hippokratischen Schriften', *Problemata* 4, 1931; Max Pohlenz, *Hippokrates und die Begründung der wissenschaftlichen Medizin*, (Berlin, 1938) p.45; H. Diller, 'Stand und Aufgaben der Hippokrates-Forschung' *Jahrb. der Akademie der Wissenschaften unter der Literatur* (1959) in *Antike Medizin* ed. Hellmut Flashar (Darmstadt, 1971) pp.29-51, esp. p.43; I.M. Lonie, 'Cnidian Treatises of the Corpus Hippocraticum I' *Classical Quarterly*, 15 (1965) pp.1-6 tr. into German in 'Die Knidischen Schriften des Corpus Hippocraticum I' in *Antike Medizin (ibid.)* pp.83-93; Felix Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis. Herkunft und Bedeutung einer Antithese im griechischen Denken des fünften Jahrhunderts*, (Schweizerische Beiträge zue Altertumswissenschaft, Heft I, Basel, 1945); Robert Joly, *Le niveau de la science hippocratique; contribution a la psychologie de l'histoire des sciences* (Paris, 1966) p.180; Edwin Burton Levine, *Hippocrates* (New York, 1971) pp.129-130.
5. Ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos', pp. 20-25.

have conceived of their location as west of the Maiotis and Tanais, for in ch.13 it is the Maiotis which is named as dividing the continents: 'As to the dwellers on the right of the summer rising of the sun up to Lake Maeotis, which is the boundary between Europe and Asia, their condition is as follows ...' Both the reference to the summer rising of the sun, and the designation of the boundary as the Maiotis, are characteristics of Hecataean tradition, and alien to Herodotos. There was, however, no tradition of placing the Sauromatai west of the Tanais 'in Europe'. They were always east of it. This was doubtless even the case in Hekataios' *Periegesis*<sup>6</sup>.

Pohlenz, the only scholar to date who has here recognised a problem, defines the problem as an inconsistency between Hippokrates' conception of the tribe being in Europe, and Herodotos' conception of the tribe as in Asia<sup>7</sup>. This is not the inconsistency. Herodotos at no point says the Sauromatai are to be found in Asia, nor while dealing with the northern tribes does he attempt to divide any of them between Europe and Asia. In fact, as it appears Herodotos favoured the definition of the Phasis as the border between the continents, the Sauromatai may have been conceived by Herodotos to be in Europe<sup>8</sup>. The inconsistency is rather in the fact that Herodotos clearly locates the tribe east of the Tanais<sup>9</sup>, while Hippokrates, for the reason indicated above, must have conceived of them as being found west of the Tanais. There are two possible explanations for the inconsistency.

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6. Until they were transferred to the west in later tradition, possibly by Ephoros. See ch. 'Ephoros', pp.171-172.
  7. Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.19. Pohlenz later suggests (p.45) 'Das Verhältnis zu Herodot ist leider nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen. Bei der Schilderung der Sauromaten gehen beide auf die ältere ethnographische Literatur zurück.'
  8. Ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos'.
  9. The Sauromatai were not the same as the Sarmatai who crossed the Tanais in the late 4th century B.C.

First, Hippokrates is at this point writing loosely and did not mean to place them in Europe. Pohlenz suggests that Hippokrates was more concerned with other matters<sup>10</sup>. This suggestion is, however, unconvincing. The division of Hippokrates' medical subjects between Asia and Europe was of paramount importance to the treatise. This point leads the way to a second possibility.

Second, as Hippokrates wishes to designate the Sauromatai as Scythians, for the sake of preserving his medical theory he overlooked the fact that this group of Scythians actually lived east of the Tanais, and placed the people in Europe, west of the Tanais, along with the 'other Scythians'. This explanation is more probable.

The second point of significance in these lines is the qualification of the words ἔθνος Σκυθικόν with διαφέρον τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄλλων. This is a formula characteristic of Ionian geographical writings which goes to some lengths to stress the individuality of people by emphasizing both their characteristics peculiar to them, and by contrasting these with those of other people. Such was clearly the practice of both Herodotos and Hekataios<sup>11</sup>, though whom Hippokrates may have been following in this respect is unclear.

Several further questions are raised by the description of the Sauromatai. Why should it correspond so closely with the traditional description of the Amazons, as found for example in Herodotos<sup>12</sup>. Herodotos offers a lengthy account

10. Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.19.

11. Ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos'. Her. IV.104, 105, 106, 107, 117.

12. See Herodotos' description of the Amazon origin of the Sauromatai, IV.110-117. For example IV.117 'In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no virgin weds till she has slain a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfil the law', parallels Hippokrates XVII.7 'They do not lay aside their virginity until they have killed three of their enemies, and they do not marry before they have performed the traditional sacred rites.'

of how the Sauromatai originated in a union of Scythians and Amazons<sup>13</sup>, but Hippokrates mentions no such mixed origin. While Herodotos uses the name 'Amazon' to designate these warrior women but does not apply to the name the usual derivation of a-mazon ('breastless') Hippokrates does not call these women Amazon, but does record the fact that they have no right breast<sup>14</sup>. The answer to the above question may be that Hippokrates took his account of the Sauromatai not from Herodotos, as a superficial comparison of the respective texts may suggest, but from Hekataios. Hekataios, as the probable source for Herodotos' account of the Amazon origins of the Sauromatai and of much other work on the Amazons, may have attributed to the Sauromatai such traditional Amazon characteristics as matriarchy and breastlessness. Thus, both Herodotos and Hippokrates may have drawn their information from Hekataios, but from different sections of Hekataios' work.

The more general question of why Hippokrates, omitting any description of the Sauromatai men, the physique of either sex and of the climate and topography of the region, should include discussion of the Sauromatai in his treatise, is raised, but left unanswered, by Levine<sup>15</sup>. The answer is not difficult to find. As both Pohlenz and Heinemann suggest, the tribe is mentioned for the same reason as are the Macrocephaloi. Their peculiar abnormality, in the case of the Sauromatai, in the absence of the right breast, can be

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13. Her. IV.110-117.

14. Hippokrates, xvii.12 'They have no right breast; for while they are yet babies their mothers make red-hot a bronze instrument constructed for this very purpose and apply it to the right breast and cauterise it, so that its growth is arrested, and all its strength and bulk are diverted to the right shoulder and right arm.' Levine (*Hippocrates*, p.142) having raised the problem of the similarity between Hippokrates' Sauromatai and the Amazons, curiously goes on to write of Herodotos' Kallippidai. The relation the Herodotean description of this tribe can have to the above problem is far from self-evident, and is nowhere made clear.

15. Levine, *Hippocrates*, p.143.

explained by νόμος (custom)<sup>16</sup>. This offers a contrast to the description of the people of the Phasis whose physical appearance and constitution is determined primarily by environment<sup>17</sup>. For Hippokrates both environment and νόμος played important roles in the formation of the φύσις. Both these factors have been introduced in the discussion of the Phasis dwellers, the Makrokephaloi and Sauromatai, as both are postulated as responsible for the determination of the physical constitution of the Scythians, the description of whom follows immediately upon that of the Sauromatai and is in many ways the most significant and comprehensive case study made in the treatise.

Moreover, it is not as if the description of the Sauromatai is without medical value in its own right, or includes no original information or substantiation of medical theory. As has been pointed out above, the Hippocratean account would not seem to be derived from Herodotos. Even where it appears closest to Herodotos' description of the Amazons it differs in several respects. Herodotos says a warriorress needs to kill one enemy before being permitted to marry, Hippokrates says three and goes on to add information which is not to be found in Herodotos: 'A woman who takes to herself a husband no longer rides, unless she is compelled to do so by a general expedition.'<sup>18</sup> Whether this material was extracted from Hekataios or collected first-hand is not clear. The account

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16. Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.19: 'Er erwähnt den Stamm aus dem gleichen Grunde wie vorher die Makrokephalen, weil er ihre abnorme Eigenart rational erklären kann: Auch hier wirkt der Nomos ein.' Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis*, p.17, in his interpretation of the *AWP* in terms of the role of νόμος and φύσις comments on the text at this point with the remark 'Es soll ein Beispiel für den Einfluss des νόμος auf die πορρή geben.'

17. *AWP*, 15.

18. *Ibid.*, 17. Cobet suggested the correction of the text '(An Amazon woman) who takes (ἀρῆται) to herself a husband no longer rides' to '...who finds (εὕρηται) herself a husband ...' This demonstrates a senselessly moralistic approach. No correction is necessary. C.G. Cobet, 'Miscellanea, Philologica et Critica I. Ad Hippocratem', *Mnemosyne* IX, 1860, p.77.



of how and why the right breast is cauterised is not only original but also an application of contemporary medical theory, which assumed strength could be so transferred. As Joly suggests 'Ce phénomène de transfer n'a évidemment rien de scientifique, mais est bien dans la ligne de la médecine cnidienne'.<sup>19</sup>

Hippokrates then turns to treat the subject of 'the physique of the other Scythians' (Περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Σκυθῶν τῆς μορφῆς), beginning this account with a similar formula to that applied to the Sauromatai. The uniqueness of the people is stressed: 'that they are like one another and not at all like others, the same remark applied to them as to the Egyptians, only the latter are distressed by heat, the former by the cold.'<sup>20</sup> Hippokrates also mentions the hornless cattle<sup>21</sup>. This description bears a great resemblance to the work of Herodotos. In IV.28-30 Herodotos not only discusses the extreme cold in Scythia, speculating that such is the cause that oxen in Scythia have no horns, but in this connection quotes Homer on Libya 'Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads' concluding 'that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in very cold countries beasts grow horns hardly, or not at all.' The correspondences, however, must not disguise the differences in presentation and purpose.

The Hecataean observations fit in exactly with both the theme of the treatise and the medical theory therein enunciated. In what may be regarded as part one of the treatise (ch.1-11) hot and cold are key elements in the determination of the health of individuals. In the second part (12-24) they are elements of an environment whose determining influence upon the physical character of whole peoples is being examined.

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19. Joly, *Le niveau de la science hippocratique*, p.208.

20. *AWP*, 18. 2-5.

21. Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.23.

Pohlenz performs the useful task of perceiving the simplicity of the Hippocratic concept; on the Phasis - wet and warm; in Scythia - wet and cold; in the south (Egypt and Libya) - dry and hot<sup>22</sup>. Immediately after the Scythian section Hippokrates indeed goes on to explain how humidity and temperature affect the development of the foetus. In these respects Hippokrates' work at this point differs from Herodotos'.

Hippokrates' account continues: 'What is called the Scythian desert (ἐρημὴ) is level grassland, without trees, and fairly well-watered. For there are large rivers which drain the water from the plains.'<sup>23</sup> Here it is clear that Hippokrates is consciously asserting his independence from the tradition of regarding all the Scythian lands (from the Danube to the Don) as an ἐρημία, in the sense of a desert. Such a misconception was common among earlier (and even later) writers.<sup>24</sup> Herodotos himself uses the word of parts of Scythia<sup>25</sup>, however as Kothe, Stein and Bonnell have pointed out, Herodotos seems not to have meant by this that the land was completely uninhabited or barren (as other commentators on Herodotos have believed).<sup>26</sup> Herodotos provides evidence of an accurate understanding of the nature of the land.

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22. *AWP* XVII, 14-16. This textual correspondence is also noted by Pohlenz (*ibid.*, p.45). The historical accuracy of the observation may to some degree be substantiated. As Jacoby has noted in his article, 'Zu Hippokrates Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων' *Hermes* XLVI (1911) p.567, a type of hornless cattle 'Akeratosgruppe' was, according to Stegmann in his work *Russlands Rinderrassen* 1906, p.9ff, still widespread in the Russia of his own day. Jacoby's work was not referred to at first hand, but found in Pohlenz, *ibid.*, p.45 n.2.
23. *AWP* 18.5-7.
24. Aischylos, *Prometheus* 1/2; Ammianus XXXI.2.13 'Hoc transito in immensum extentas Scythiae solitudines Halani inhabitant ...' See H. Kothe, 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot', *Klio*, LI (1969), p.35.
25. Her. IV.123.
26. Kothe, 'Der Skythenbegriff' p.35. with references to Stein 4.53 and Bonnell 93. As Stein suggests, the word denotes 'keineswegs immer eine "Wüste", sondern ein Land ohne Anbau und ohne fest ansässige Bewohner'. For a bibliography of writers who have believed differently, see Kothe p.27 n.6 and p.35 n.5.

The Scythians are said to have developed an invincible mode of nomadism 'in a land which suits their purpose and has rivers which are their allies; for their country is level and grassy and well watered and rivers run through it ...'<sup>27</sup> The Hippocratic and Herodotean passages correspond closely at every point. The same elements occur in each: level ground, grassland, good water and dissecting rivers. But is this correspondence due to an interdependence? Not necessarily. Once again the correspondence is limited. In presentation and purpose the two works differ, as Heinimann and van Paassen are correct in pointing out<sup>28</sup>. Herodotos uses the description only to explain why the Scythians have a way of life which renders them unconquerable in war (that is, an historical purpose) while Hippokrates uses the information to demonstrate the influence of the climate upon the land, and the environment upon the Scythian *diaita* (a scientific purpose). For Herodotos the nomadic way of life is *sophie*, an invention taking advantage of the environment, while for Hippokrates there is a direct causal relation between the two. It is possible that Hippokrates drew his material from Herodotos, but it is also possible that both writers simply drew upon a common source - Hekataios.

The remainder of ch.18 is a description of the mode of life (*δίαίτα*) and customs (*νόμοι*) of the Scythians who are called *Νομάδες*. Much of this account may be seen to correspond closely to material found in Herodotos: the appellation 'Nomades' (Her. IV.19); the use of wagons (=Her. IV.46);

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27. Her. IV.56.

28. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis*, pp.173-4. Especially p.174: 'Aber während diese in *πάντ* zum Klima in Beziehung steht, ist sie nach Herodot eine weise menschliche Einrichtung um den Verkehr und den Krieg mit andern Völkern zu vermeiden. Die Landesnatur begünstigt zwar dieses Nomadentum, wird aber durchaus nicht als dessen Ursach aufgefasst'. C. van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, (Groningen, 1957) argues that this description of the Scythian lands and Scythians is 'quite different from that of Herodotos' on the grounds that 'While the latter regards the Scythians' nomadic way of life as *σοφία*, the *δίαίτα* - description of Hippocrates serves as a background to his medic-anthropological diagnosis' p.324.

oxen having no horns (=Her.IV.29); the eating of boiled meats (=Her.IV.60-61) and drinking of mare's milk (=Her. IV.2). Again, despite the correspondences there is much in Hippokrates' work which could not have come from Herodotos.

Firstly, the details of the build and use of the Scythian wagons: 'The smallest have four wheels, others six wheels. They are covered over with felt and are constructed, like houses, sometimes in two compartments and sometimes in three, which are proof against rain, snow and wind. The wagons are drawn by two or by three yoke of hornless oxen ...'<sup>29</sup> The accuracy of this description is immediately evident from archaeological evidence.<sup>30</sup> Though Hippokrates is apparently unaware of it, so accurate is his account that he is also recording the divisions within Scythian society, for, as is discussed in Appendix 1, the ownership of oxen, and the size and number of carts were measures of social status. Secondly, the details of the nomadic life: 'Now in these wagons live the women, while the men ride alone on horseback, followed by the sheep they have, their cattle and their horses. They remain in the same place just as long as there is sufficient fodder for their animals; when it gives out they migrate.'<sup>31</sup> Such a conceivably accurate description, traces of which can be found in neither Herodotos nor Hekataios, would seem to suggest first-hand familiarity.

Thirdly, the remark that: 'They have a sweetmeat called Hippake, which is a cheese from the milk of mares.'<sup>32</sup> Though the drinking of mares' milk is noted by Herodotos in IV.2., Herodotos nowhere mentions such a substance as *hippake*.

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29. AWP 18.11-18.

30. Ellis H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks, a Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge, 1913), pp.50-52.

31. AWP 18.18-25.

32. AWP 18.26-27.

Reference to such a cheese or yogurt are, however, found in later writings such as those of Theopompos<sup>33</sup> and Glaukos<sup>34</sup>. There is no evidence that the Hippokratic work was ever compulsory reading for later geographers, historians or ethnographers. As the ultimate source of these writings, suspicion must once again fall upon Hekataios, whose work was doubtlessly well mined by such writers of 'Skythika' as Glaukos, and by Theopompos. Hippokrates may have drawn his reference from this same source. Here then in the description of wagons, the nomad life and the consumption of Hippake) are further indications that Hippokrates' writing was largely independent of Herodotos'. The dependence was rather on personal experience, or the earlier Ionian writer, Hekataios.

The treatise *AWP* continues with an examination of the seasons and physique of the Scythians (περὶ δὲ τῶν ὠρέων καὶ τῆς μορφῆς). The first point of the description is that the Scythians are the least prolific of races: τὸ Σκυθικὸν γένος ἥκιστα πολύγονόν ἐστι ...<sup>35</sup> The explanation for such circumstances is later demonstrated by the author to be the prevailing impotency among the Scythians. As Pohlenz points out, there would seem to be a contradiction between this conception, and the more usual one of Scythian numerousness. However, though drawing attention to the 'problem', Pohlenz does not define the problem correctly, nor appreciate the problem's importance.<sup>36</sup>

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33. Theopompos F45. Own translation of Hesychios *S.V.* ἵππῶκη: 'a Scythian drink from mare's milk; some say sour mare's milk, which the Scythians use. It is drunk and, when congealed, eaten, as Theopompos writes in the third book of his work.'
34. Glaukos F1 (=P.Ox.XV.1802, 36-42) own translation; μελύγιον: 'a certain Scythian drink; Glaukos in Book One of his 'Description of places which are lying on the left hand part of the Pontos'. When the μελύγιον is brought together, he disbands the meeting and each one goes off on his own. They prepare the μελύγιον and this drink makes you more drunk than from wine. It is made by boiling the honey with water and certain herbs being thrown in. For their land bears the honey in great quantities. Moreover the yeast which they make comes from the millet.'
35. *AWP* 19.5.
36. Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.22; 'Während man im allgemeinen über die Zahl der Skythen sehr verschiedener Ansicht war (Herod. IV.81), ist

Firstly, contrary to the impression Pohlenz gives, it is not simply the passages in the treatise dealing with impotence which suggest Hippokrates must have conceived of a meagre Scythian population (and this need not necessarily follow). In the line quoted above, Hippokrates actually says it. Secondly, to Pohlenz's reference to Herodotos IV.81 on the numerousness of the Scythians, may be added Thucydides II.97 wherein the Scythians are described as 'beyond comparison bigger than any other European people.'<sup>37</sup> Thirdly, Herodotos IV.81 must not be taken, as Pohlenz has done, simply as evidence for Herodotos' and others' belief in the numerousness of the Scythians. The passage in question begins: 'How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some say that they are very many, and some that they are but few, so far as they are true Scythians.' Herodotos then goes on to record the only evidence he himself could find on the question of Scythian number. He had seen an enormous cauldron and been told it had been made from the donation of one arrow head from each Scythian tribesman, the suggestion being that the Scythians were in fact very numerous. Despite Herodotos' lengthy narration of this story, it must not be assumed, as it may never be assumed with Herodotos, that he believed it.

The key to understanding Herodotos' personal conception would lie in the consciousness of two definitions of the term 'Scythians' - a wide and a narrow. As has been discussed in chapter I Herodotos would seem to incorporate both into his writing. Hekataios used only the wider definition. Hippokrates would seem to define the Scythians in both what was Hekataios' wide sense and Herodotos' narrower sense. Thus, the reason behind the apparent deviation of Hippokrates' conception of the Scythians from that of other writers lies

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36. (Contd.) der Arzt von vornherein überzeugt, dass die Fruchtbarkeit des Volkes nur gering sein könne ...'

37. See ch. 'Thucydides', p.95.

not in reference to a different set of 'facts' but the application of a different definition to the subject.

Though Hippokrates tends to use the word Σκυθαί in the wide Hecataean sense of any northern people (the Sauromatai thus being classified as Scythian), when speaking of the 'other Scythians', that is, those in Europe, the narrower definition appears to be applied. Both Herodotos and Hippokrates therefore preserve two conceptions of Scythians. The wider appears to have been the legacy of the earlier (Hecataean) tradition, while the narrower is a demonstration of first-hand familiarity with the tribes.<sup>38</sup>

The treatise continues with the addition of the following brief remark: 'and Scythia breeds the smallest and fewest wild animals'. This remark relates back to the theme of climatic effects upon animals, already advanced with respect to the hornlessness of the cattle<sup>39</sup>. It may indicate first-hand observation or use of first-hand reports.

Hippokrates formulates his conception of the physical geography of Scythian in the following manner: 'For it (Scythia) lies right close to the north and the Rhipaeon mountains, from which blows the north wind' and 'from the north there are constantly blowing winds that are chilled by snow, ice, and many waters, which, never leaving the mountains, render them uninhabitable.'<sup>40</sup> It is, however, but a few lines later when an apparently contradictory description is added: 'For the plains are high and bare, and are not encircled with mountains, though they slope from the north.'<sup>41</sup> The difficulty is readily discernible. At

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38. The only qualification here necessary is that in IV.81 Herodotos indicates that his source for both the suggestion that the Scythians are numerous, and that they are few, is what others say (that is, not his own familiarity with the tribe.)

39. 19.6-7.

40. *AWP* 19.7-17.

41. *AWP* 19.20-22. The accuracy of the translation 'from the north' will be discussed shortly: μετέωρα γὰρ τὰ πεδία καὶ ψιλὰ οὐκ ἐστεφάνωται ὄρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀνάντεια ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων.

one point Hippokrates places the Rhiplean mountains to the north of Scythia, and at a later point writes that the Scythian plain is not surrounded by any mountains.

Before the resolution of this difficulty is attempted, the phrase ἀλλ' ἢ ἀνάντεα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων needs to be examined. At this point the manuscripts provide various readings. Though Jones in his English translation gives the reading of Manuscripts B and V, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων which may be translated as 'from the north', there are a greater number of manuscripts with ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων - the text chosen by Littré.<sup>42</sup> Besides the numerical one, there are two advantages the ὑπὸ texts have over the others. Firstly, the fact that they consistently precede the preposition with the words ἀλλ' ἀνάντη, whereas the ἀπὸ is preceded variously by ἀλλ' ἦν (B) and ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτὴ (V), neither of which provides the text with a satisfactory sense. Secondly, the difference in the sense provided by ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων and ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων though perhaps small is significant. As Desautel points out, the former recommends the reading 'they slope from the north' while the latter suggests ἄρκτων should be interpreted as the constellation of the Bear, and thus that the plains slope up under the Bear, as they rise to the foot of the Rhiplean mountains<sup>43</sup>. Hippokrates had earlier associated the Rhipleans with the Bear in his description of Scythians as ὑπ' αὐτῆσι τῆσι ἄρκτοις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ῥιπαίοισιν. Jones appears to miss the significance of ὑπὸ at this point also, translating the line as 'For it lies right close to the north and the Rhipaeian mountains ...' Desautel's choice of Littré's translation at this point would seem to be justified, as here the significance of ὑπὸ is preserved: '(La Scythie) se trouve sous l'Ourse même et sous les monts Riphées'.<sup>44</sup> Thus in the later reference to

42. See Jones' note on the text I p.120: 'B'=Barberinus 1.5 Fifteenth Century; 'V'=Vaticanus graecus 276, twelfth century.

43. J. Desautel, 'Les monts Riphées et les Hyperboréens dans le Traité hippocratique des airs, des eaux et des lieux' *Revue des études grecques*, (Paris) LXXXIV, 1971, p.291.

44. Desautel would not, despite his claim to be doing so (p.291), seem to be using the Littré text directly. Littré writes: 'La Scythie,



the plain sloping 'ὕπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων' Hippokrates is clearly referring back to the earlier line where there is no question of the manuscripts varying and offering a preposition other than ὑπὸ, and where the sense would seem to be 'under the Bear'.

To return now to the apparent contradiction. The difficulty pointed out earlier may be resolved by understanding Hippokrates' conception as an attempt to construct a model of the far north in scientific terms, while at the same time using (and attempting to rationalise) material supplied by the earlier Ionian tradition. This understanding is provided by Desautel who concludes, 'Il y a des [monts Rhipées] mais il n'y a pas de montagnes, de ces montagnes sont traditionnellement le seul rôle est de marquer la frontière avec le pays des bienheureux.'<sup>45</sup> Heidel (1937) in his excellent work on Greek astro-geographical conceptions has convincingly argued that even the earliest of Ionian geographers, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras and his pupil Archelaos, conceived of the earth as 'flat' but with a raised rim<sup>46</sup>. Given the possibility that Hippokrates' conception falls within the general limits of this model, it is easy to extract the sense of ch 19. The name 'Rhipean mountains' is simply being used by Hippokrates as a term for the northern rim of the world. Thus they are not mountains in the usual sense, and thus Hippokrates can go on to say that Scythia is not surrounded by any mountains. Scythia is described instead as a plain μετέωρα, that is high, not in the sense of raised from the ground (e.g. a hill or plateau - as would be the sense if Hippokrates had chosen

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44. (contd.) en effet, est placée sous l'Ourse même et sous les monts Rhipées'. The point is marginal as there is no difference in sense.

45. Desautel, 'Les monts Rhipées ...' p.295.

46. William Arthur Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps* (New York, 1937, rep. 1976) pp.75-78. See for example Hippolytos on Archelaos (disciple of Anaxagoras) 1.9.4 wherein the raised rim accounts both for how the River Oceanos is held out and, reported of Anaximenes, why night comes at different times for different places (1.7.6) - referred to by Heidel, *ibid.* The raised rim theory also served to account for the low inclination of both the north celestial pole and the constellation of the Bear.

ὕψηλᾶ) but rather in the sense of higher in the sky than another undefined point of reference (that is astronomically higher, and thus the reference to ὑπο ἄρκτων). The plain as a whole sloped up into the northern sky towards the Rhipaeans - that is, towards the rim of the earth.

The above model is perhaps more significant still for what it omits. Though beyond the earth's rim Hippokrates' model may, as did those before him, admit the possibility of an encircling ocean, it would definitely exclude the possibility of Hyperboreans. As has been discussed in earlier chapters and as Desautel makes clear, the Boreas or north wind, is consistently conceived as originating in the Rhipaeian mountains, and thus the Hyperboreans are a people defined as dwelling beyond the Rhipaeans<sup>47</sup>. As Hippokrates identifies the edge of the world with the Rhipaeans, it is clear that his model cannot accommodate Hyperboreans.

Thus, though the main influence behind Hippokrates' conception of the physical geography of the northern horizon may lie in the school of astro-geography, the terms in which Hippokrates chose to describe his model are those of Ionian geographical convention, e.g. 'Ριπαίοισιν, ὅθεν ὁ βορέης πνεῖ. Was Hippokrates using Hekataios or Herodotos?

As has been discussed, Aischylos, Hellanikos and Damastes (writers already demonstrated to have been writing in the Hecataean tradition) all conceived of a Rhipaeian mountain range from where the north wind blew, and beyond which invariably dwelt Hyperboreans<sup>48</sup>. Herodotos alone, though referring on numerous occasions to Hyperboreans<sup>49</sup>, makes no mention of the Rhipaeian mountains, nor refers to any such concept of an imposing northern mountain range from which

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47. Desautel, 'Les monts Rhipéées ...' p.296. See also ch. 1 pp. App.II, pp.4-5. Even in *AWP*, though there are no Hyperboreans, there is still the Boreas (19.8-9).

48. Aischylos in App.II, Hellanikos and Damastes in their respective chapters.

49. Her. IV.13, 32, 33, 35, 36.

the north wind blows<sup>50</sup>. Thus, just as Hippokrates drew upon Ionian geographical material for his account of Scythian and Sauromatai customs, though at the same time possessing first-hand information, so he appears to have drawn on the earlier Ionian tradition for the formulae to describe the physical geography. In both cases the non-Herodotean, Ionian authority would seem to be Hekataios<sup>51</sup>.

The treatise continues for the remainder of ch.19 with a dissertation on the relationship between the natural environment (particularly the element of water in many forms, but also wind, sun and soil) and the nature of the life form found there. This description of the climate of Scythia corresponds closely to that found in Herodotos<sup>52</sup>. Whether this correspondence between Hippokrates and Herodotos indicates an interdependence or a mutual dependence on a common source, Hekataios, is unclear.

Next follows a physical description of the Scythians: '... their physiques are gross, fleshy, showing no joints, moist and flabby, and the lower bowels are as moist as bowels can be. For this belly cannot possibly dry up in a land like this with such a nature and such a climate, but because of their fat and the smoothness of their flesh their physiques are similar, men's to men's and women's to women's.'<sup>53</sup> This description would seem to be that of Mongolian people, not Iranian. The passage had been used by many early authors, such as Géza Nagy, Minns and Treidler to revive the still earlier theory of Mongolian or Turanian origin<sup>54</sup>, a theory

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50. See ch.I.

51. Hecataean, as opposed to Herodotean, influence is also evident in the following passage from the text: 'The sun comes nearest to them only at the end of its course, when it reaches the summer solstice, and then it warms them but slightly and for a short time ...' 19.9-11.

52. *AWP* 19.12f., and Her. IV.28-31.

53. *AWP* 19.35-43.

54. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p.60. Among these early writers the name of Ebert may be added. M. Ebert, *Südrußland im Altertum*, (Leipzig, 1924) pp.87, 107. See also the recognition of this problem in Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, 21 n.5. As Rostovtzeff records, stress has

once almost disposed of by Schiefner, Zeuss, Gutschmid, Müllenhoff and Tomaschek<sup>55</sup>. The theory prevailing at present is that of the Scythians' Iranian origin. This theory is based not only on those considerations Rostovtzeff had believed relevant (historical, archaeological and religious considerations<sup>56</sup>) but also upon linguistic evidence (evidence which Rostovtzeff had believed to be indecisive but which has in more recent years been used to demonstrate beyond any doubt that the Scythians' language was Iranian, even if the people were not, or were of mixed origin<sup>57</sup>. But for the modern proponents of the Iranian theory, the Hippocratean passage still presents a problem. It need not. The explanation of the Hippocratean passage may be twofold.

Firstly, Pohlenz is without doubt pointing in the right direction when referring back to Rostovtzeff's resolution of the question in the conclusion that although the Scythians were predominantly an Iranian people there was 'a strong infusion of Mongolian and Turanian blood'.<sup>58</sup> The north east trade route may, moreover, not only have facilitated the passage of Scythians through lands as far as the Altai, as Herodotos (from Aristaeas) would seem to be recording, but possibly also the arrival of Central Asian peoples on the Pontic steppes<sup>59</sup>.

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54. (Contd.) also been laid upon the Mōngolian physiognomy of the Scythians as represented on Bosphoran monuments of the fourth and third centuries B.C.
55. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*
56. Rostovtzeff does not offer details of these considerations, but the evidence they have been found to provide in more recent years is overwhelming.
57. H. Kothe, 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot', *Klio* LI 1969 pp.15-88 and 'Pseudoskythen', *Klio* 48, 1967, pp.61-80. Pekkanen, T., 'On the oldest relationship between Hungarians and Sarmatians. From Spali to Asphali' *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* XLV 1973, pp.1-64. See App.I, pp.
58. Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.21 n.5; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p.60. On this trade route see App.II.
59. A parallel situation can be found to have existed at the other end of the 'trade-route', the Altai mountains. In burials of the Pazyryk period there have been found important graves in which the 'queen' is

The alternative explanation, that Hippokrates fabricated the description of the people to suit his theory, is also highly improbable. Throughout the treatise there is never an indication that the author was relating anything other than that which he had drawn either from literature or personal experience<sup>60</sup>. But how accurately does he present the information so drawn? It is very possible that Hippokrates is stressing in his account those features of the people he encountered which fit best into his medical theory. Such a practice is well within the realms of probability as it would seem to have been employed by the author in his description of the people of the Phasis. There the people are described as: '... of a gross habit of body, while neither joint nor vein is visible. Their complexion is yellowish, as though they suffered from jaundice. Of all men they have the deepest voice, because the air they breathe is not clear, but moist and turbid. They are by nature disinclined for physical fatigue<sup>61</sup>. This description differs

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59. (Contd.) clearly of Europoid nature, while the 'king' is of Mongoloid appearance, resembling a Tungus of the present day. Jettmar writes: 'it is assumed that he was an invader who rose to very high rank'. Karl Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, (1964, New York) pp.102-105. This is a highly probable explanation, yet at the same time it is evident that inter-tribal marriages through the practise of exogamy and diplomatic contracts was widespread throughout Eurasia, and independent from the phenomenon of invasion. Rudenko offers a detailed analysis of these practices, introducing the subject as follows: 'The pastoral tribes of eastern Europe and Asia, both in the last millennium B.C. and later, maintained close links with one another by the barter of goods as well as by blood relationships. Confirmation of this is furnished not only by the homogeneity of their material culture but by their customs. Exogamy contributed to maintain links, and treaties of union were cemented by marriages of chiefs of different tribes.' Sergei I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: the Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, tr. M.W. Thompson (London, 1970, first published in Russian, Moscow/Leningrad, 1953), p.223. Rudenko substantiates this claim with references to Chinese relations with the Hun and Wu-sun, Medians and Sacai, Massagetai and Persians (Tomyris and Cyrus, for example) pp.223-225.

60. On personal observation, Pohlenz, *Hippokrates*, p.21-22. 'Dass der Arzt diese Menschen mit eigenen Augen gesehen hat, werden wir nach dem, was wir bei der Schilderung der Phasis landschaft festgestellt haben, auch hier ohne weiteres annehmen.'

61. *AWP*, 15.20-27.

greatly from Herodotos' one of the same people<sup>62</sup>. The character attributed to these people corresponds closely to the character of the land in which they live as described in section 15.2-20. This is no coincidence. The description of the Phasis dwellers, as van Paassen would seem to correctly conclude, 'bears witness to a typically medical view, in which what corresponds with the author's medical theory is brought into prominence'.<sup>63</sup> The same technique (that of stressing selected characteristics) directed towards the same goal (that of demonstrating the correspondence between environment and physique) was doubtless employed in the description of the Scythians.

Thus, although not necessarily inaccurate, nor simply fabricated, the description is selective and appears to have selected above all characteristics which were Mongolian<sup>64</sup>. There were Mongolian elements among the Royal Scythians but they were probably not substantial. The Scythians are in fact treated simply as a medical case study.

Chapters 21-22 of the treatise *AWP* are devoted to the subject of infertility among Scythians - especially the reasons for male impotence. In this lengthy section of the *AWP*, one passage proves to be of exceptional interest. Hippocrates argues that the impotence is not a divine affliction as: 'This affliction affects the rich Scythians because of their riding, not the lower classes but the upper, who possess the most strength; the poor, who do not ride, suffer less. But, if we suppose this disease to be more divine than any other, it ought to have attacked, not the highest and richest classes only of the Scythians, but all

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62. Herodotos describes them as 'dark-skinned and woolly-haired ...' and similar to Egyptians (II.104), μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες.

63. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, p.323.

64. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis*, p.24: 'Während Völkerbeschreibung für Herodot weitgehend Selbstzweck ist, dient sie dem Hippokratiker nur als Beweismaterial für seine These vom Einfluss des Klimas auf die Menschen in ihrer körperlichen und geistigen Konstitution.'

classes equally - or rather the poor especially, if indeed the gods are pleased to receive from men respect and worship, and repay these with favours. For naturally the rich, having great wealth, make many sacrifices to the gods, and offer many votive offerings, and honour them, all of which things the poor, owing to their poverty, are less able to do...'<sup>65</sup>

In this most unlikely of sections, Hippokrates makes a remarkable and original observation upon Scythian society: he observes class division. The society is repeatedly divided into two classes, designated by the following terms:

οἱ πλούσιοι <sup>66</sup>	οἱ κάκιστοι
οἱ εὐγενέστατοι	οἱ πένητες
ἰσχυρὸν πλείστην κεκτημένοι	τοῖσιν ὀλίγα κεκτημένοισιν
οἱ γενναιοτάτοι	
οἱ πλουσιωτάτοι	

The upper class ride horses, while the lower, though still considered by Hippokrates to be Scythians, do not. The significance of this observation upon the nature of Scythian society has been overlooked by nearly every modern scholar of Hippokrates<sup>67</sup>.

The conception of a division within the Scythians themselves is found for the very first time in *AWP*. Though

65. *AWP*, 22.37-50.

66. Cobet, 'Miscellanea, Philologica et Critica I. Ad. Hippocratem' p.70, considers the words οἱ πλούσιοι a textual interpolation on the grounds that they are unnecessary in the phrase: τοῦτο δὲ πάσχοισι Σκυθῶν οἱ πλούσιοι οὐχ οἱ κάκιστοι ἀλλ' οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ ἰσχυρὸν πλείστην κεκτημένοι. Though this is perhaps one of Cobet's more convincing corrections of the text (see note 47) it is still unnecessary and based on the assumption that the Greek of the original composition was of an impeccably high standard.

67. The one exception is Levine, who in connection with this passage writes: 'That the Scyths were caste-ridden in some remarkable degree appears to be borne out by both ancient and modern commentators. Among the latter, the Scyths are associated with the Hindus, whose caste system is both ancient and notorious'. (Ch.6. n.14). For a more useful bibliography of work related to the subject of Scythian society than that given by Levine, see Appendix I.

Herodotos writes of the tribes whom the Basileioi Scythians considered their subjects, and of the slaves whose revolt they once had to quell, he never speaks in terms of two classes of Scythians. The true Scythians for Herodotos were the Basileioi Scythians, the nomadic overlords, all of whom would seem to have ridden horses<sup>68</sup>. Nevertheless, though the Hippocratean passage is the first occurrence of the alternative conception in classical literature, it is not the only occurrence. Lucian draws much the same distinction between classes of Scythians when recording the criterion to be not the ownership of a horse (the effective prerequisite to riding), but ownership of oxen and a wagon<sup>69</sup>. As is discussed in Appendix I, class distinction within Scythian society itself was an historical reality.

Though clearly independent, the Hippocratean conception is not necessarily irreconcilable with the Herodotean. The distinctions between the three groups involved: Hippokrates' poor Scythians, Herodotos' domestic slaves of the Scythians, and Herodotos' subject tribes, may not be rigid. Herodotos even uses the same word in the Greek, δοῦλοι, for both of his groups, and it is possible that the Scythians actually conceived of both groups in the same terms<sup>70</sup>. The one people may at the same time be subject neighbours, an assimilated sub-stratum within the overlords' society, and slaves in the domestic sense. Herodotos had taken note of the first and last of these three conditions. Hippokrates provided the first extant allusion to the second.

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68. See Ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos'.

69. Lucian, *The Scythian* 1: 'At home he was not a member of the royal family or the aristocracy; he belonged to the general run of the people called "eight feet" in Scythia, meaning the owner of two oxen and a cart'. See also *The Scythian* 3, 4 and 7 and *Toxaris* 2, 5 and 54. On the use of Lucian as a valuable source of information on Scythian society see Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, pp.96-99 and Dumézil, *Romans de Scythie et d'alentour*, pp.193-196.

70. On 'douloi' in application to the former group see Her. IV.1-3; to the latter, see Her. IV.20: 'οἱ ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους ἀπετέρους εἶναι. On this whole question of social organisation see Appendix I.



Discussion might now turn to the question of the source for the above information. As the conception of Scythian organization evident here, at the same time as being highly conceivable, is found in no extant earlier literary work, it is probable that the material is derived from first-hand observations. Consistent with the views expressed earlier, these were doubtless the observations of the author himself, the travelling practitioner and researcher, to whom an opportunity for the close observation of the tribes may have been afforded by the opening up of trade in the Maiotis region under the patronage of Athens<sup>71</sup>. Thus at this point in the treatise, just as has been postulated with respect to the description of the Scythian wagons and nomadic life, the author is demonstrating an independence of literary source material.

Nevertheless, though the source material may have been derived from the actual observations of the author, the framework within which this material is presented is still largely dependent upon a literary tradition. Throughout ch.22 Hippokrates is engaged in disputing the thesis that the 'women's disease' is sent from 'the divine'. In *AWP* 22.1-8 Hippokrates writes that such is the claim of the natives<sup>72</sup>. In 22.40-42 he returns to mention this thesis again and to challenge it. Although it is possible Hippokrates or his source observed this 'disease' at first hand, his dispute is not so much with the Scythians as with a literary tradition. Herodotos too had recorded a supposedly Scythian explanation of the condition, wherein the ultimate cause was the Scythian's pillage of the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite in Syria<sup>73</sup>. It is doubtful that the Scythians

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71. See ch.6, n.22.

72. Cf. also Her. IV.67 on these same Scythians, the epicene Enarees and their practice of divination, which they say Aphrodite gave them.

73. Her. I.105. The pillage of the temple may be dated to the year 626 B.C. The Scythians had invaded Media in 633 and from there, after a series of campaigns, continued into Syria. See A. Esser, 'Über ein skythisches Männerleiden', *Gymnasium* LXIV, 1957, 348. On the significance of the biblical passage, Jeremias 6.22-23 on dating the Scythian invasion see R.P. Vaggione, 'Over all Asia? The extent of

would actually have considered this the explanation. The caste of Enarees did exist among the Scythians (though they would not have formed the greater part of the community as Hippokrates suggests<sup>74</sup>). They may be identified as Shamans<sup>75</sup>. The Scythians themselves would not have considered these men to have been afflicted by a disease, but rather seized by a spirit, and possessing particular powers of divination. It is also doubtful that the Scythians themselves would have made reference to the destruction of the temple of Aphrodite. It is Herodotos who equates the Scythian deity 'Argimpasa' with Aphrodite<sup>76</sup>. He could not have taken the story from the natives as he claims. When criticising a similar native Scythian story, was Hippokrates then really criticising Herodotos? Despite the similarities in the stories they are discussing, the answer might be that he was not.

Significant differences are to be found between the Herodotean and Hippocratean versions of the native Scythians' accounts. Herodotos offers a very specific explanation: the wrath caused by the destruction of the temple of Aphrodite. Hippokrates writes only of a divine affliction. Herodotos may have, upon the basis of an earlier and briefer story concerned with the 'divine affliction', fabricated

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73. (Contd.) the Scythian domination in Herodotos' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XCII, 1973, pp.523-532.
74. AWP 22.1-2: '...εὐνουχίαι γίνονται οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν Σκύθησι καὶ γυναῖκεῖα ἐργάζονται καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες διαίτεῦνται'. Jones (p.127 n.2, Loeb) has suggested deleting οἱ and leaving simply 'πλεῖστοι ἐν Σκύθησι', 'very many among the Scythians'.
75. See the major work performed by Meuli on this identification, (though his thesis that Aristéas was a Greek Shaman who made his trip in spirit and not in body, may be disputed). Karl Meuli, *Scythica*, *Hermes* LXX (1935) pp.121-176. See also Esser 'Über ein skythisches Männerleiden' pp.347-53, and Bakay, who offers a detailed analysis of Scythian religion in terms of Shamanistic religion in the course of his investigation of the origin of Scythian rattles in the Carpathian Basin. Kornél Bakay, *Scythian rattles in the Carpathian Basin and their Eastern Connection* (1971) pp.108-121, ch. entitled 'The Function, Spiritual Background and Ritual Significance of the Scythian Rattles and Pole-Ends.' In modern scholarship the identification is now accepted without challenge.
76. Her. IV.59.

his more extensive explanation. Hippokrates may have worked directly from the earlier story. If Hippokrates had used Herodotos, it is hard to see how he could write at such length on the question without alluding to any of the Herodotean details. The original story may have been collected independently by Herodotos and Hippokrates from the Scythians themselves, or may have been found in Hekataios.

Throughout his work on the Scythians Hippokrates may, therefore, be considered independent of Herodotos. There is much in this work that indicates original research. There is much too which indicates use of literary sources. When the latter is the case, the major source may be identified as Hekataios.

## CHAPTER 5

THUCYDIDES

An opportunity to consider Thucydides' place in the tradition is afforded by his description in ii.96 of the relationship between the Scythians and the Getai. Here Thucydides makes several significant observations.

The first observation of significance is that the Getai and others were neighbours (ὄμοροι) of the Scythians.<sup>1</sup> Most Getai in this period seem to have been settled south of the Danube, for when Sitalkes was preparing for an expedition against Perdikkas in 429, he summoned among others: ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου κατῴκητο.<sup>2</sup> If the Scythians were to be neighbours of southern tribes then either Thucydides did not consider the Danube prohibited him from calling northern (Scythian) and southern (Getai) tribes 'neighbours'<sup>3</sup> or Scythians had actually settled south of the Danube. The possibility that Thucydides himself provides evidence for the latter of these explanations being correct may now be investigated.

In Thucydides II.97 the Odrysian empire is said to extend in this period as far north as the river Ister, and thus, unless they were subjects, this would seem to preclude the presence of Scythian tribes south of the Ister<sup>4</sup>. The closer examination of the composition of Sitalkes' realm afforded by the account of II.96 would, however, seem to give a different picture. Sitalkes summoned first of all 'the

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1. Thucydides ii.96.1: εἰσὶ δ'οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτη ὄμοροί τε τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκειοι ... πάντες ἵπποτοξόται.
  2. Thuc.ii.96.1.
  3. It is unlikely that the Scythians' frontier with these numerous southern tribes (as there are more than one) could be perfectly linear, i.e. the Danube river.
  4. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδηρῶν πόλεως ἕς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ.

Thracians under his sway (ὄσων ἦρχε) between the mountains Haimos and Rhodope and the sea - as far as the shores of the Euxine and Hellespont' and then called upon a second group 'beyond Haemus, the Getae, and all the other tribes that are settled south of the river Ister in the general direction of the seaboard of the Euxine sea.'<sup>5</sup> πρῶτον and ἔπειτα would seem to parallel the contrast between those tribes over which Sitalkes ruled and those - the Getai and others - over whom he did not rule. These latter tribes Thucydides describes as being settled between the Haemus mountain range and the Ister, and as near the Euxine coast that is to say, in the Dobrudja region.

A contradiction is apparent. In II.97.1 Thucydides defines the Odrysian Empire as extending right up to the Danube, but in II.96.1 it is evident that the Dobrudja region is conceived as lying outside the Empire. The problem may lie in part with Thucydides' terminology and ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν may be a looser term than ὄσων ἦρχε. The course of the Danube itself may, however, go still further in explaining the apparent contradiction. As the Haemos mountains and the Danube run parallel for the greater length of north Thrace they might equally be considered to define Sitalkes' northern boundary. Near the Euxine coast, however, the river and mountains part and between the two lies the Dobrudja. In the description of ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν Thucydides has apparently not concerned himself with this area and simply set the Danube as the frontier, whereas in his preceding and more detailed account he gives the Haemos as the frontier and acknowledges the presence of several independent tribes in the Dobrudja region<sup>6</sup>. A

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5. *Ibid.*

6. Gomme overlooks the difference in these accounts - omitting altogether discussion of the description in 91.1 of the Ister as the Odrysian boundary. A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 2V (Oxford, 1966) pp.241-243.

further and better explanation of the inconsistency will be suggested shortly.

The conclusion that several independent tribes, including the Getai, inhabited the Dobrudja region is all the more significant when Thucydides' account in II.96.1 continues: εἶσι δ'οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτη ὄμοροί τε τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκειοι, πάντες ἵπποτοξόται. The Scythians in the account are not just the neighbours of the Getai, but of numerous people. The similarity Thucydides notes between these people may have been the result of direct Scythian influence in the culture of these southern tribes.

It is unclear from an historical point of view whether <sup>came from</sup> the Scythian neighbours - who would plainly have been Basileioi - or from an earlier 'Scythian' people. The only indications from archaeological evidence that the Scythian influence in Getai culture and lifestyle included a recent and possibly Basileioi influence, are the artefacts found in Getai cemeteries of the fifth century in the north of the Dobrudja<sup>7</sup>. These artefacts include an iron cauldron<sup>8</sup>, a bronze sword emblem<sup>9</sup> and a stone funeral statue<sup>10</sup>, all bearing a great similarity to contemporary works in South Russia. This influence may be attributed to the settlement of some Basileioi south of the Danube following the southern incursions at the end of the sixth century. However, as the evidence is meagre no firm conclusions can be drawn.

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7. The Murighiol region. For a general discussion see Dimitriu, 'Événements du Pont Euxine de la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C. réflétés dans l'histoire d'Historia,' *Dacia*, VIII 1964, p.142 and Alexandrescu 'Les Scythes au Sud du Danube avant le roi Ateias', *VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès internationale d'archéologie classique*, pp.407.
  8. See D. Berciu's article in *Dacia* (1958) p.125f. (Not available for consultation but referred to by above articles.)
  9. Berciu, *Dacia* (1958) p.63. (Not available for direct consultation.)
  10. Alexandrescu 'Două statui traco-scitice din Dobrogea', *Studii si cerceari de istorie veche* IX, 2, (1958) p.291f; and 'În legătură cu statuile scitice' *Studii si cerceari de istorie veche*, XI, 2 (1960) pp.383-387 and fig.2.

The discussion may now turn to the place of this Thucydidean conception in the literary tradition. This question has been treated by three scholars: Gomme (1966), Westlake (1969) and Pearson (1939).

Gomme makes three observations. Firstly, that Thucydides drew his geographical information either from Thracians, or even more probably, from his own travels in Thrace<sup>11</sup>. Secondly, in a note on ii.97.6: Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιπρῆναι Gomme writes 'It has been suggested that Thucydides is here intentionally contradicting Herodotos, who said that the Thracians were the largest single people (after the Indians) and would be the strongest if they were united into one kingdom. (Her.V.3). Perhaps; but Thucydides too is emphasizing the great strength of a Thracian empire at this time, even though he adds that they would be inferior to a united Scythia.'<sup>12</sup> Thirdly, Gomme draws attention to the sentence: οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐνεσίην περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται<sup>13</sup> commenting 'this denial of general good sense (political sense, that is) to the Scythians has been thought to be in reference to Herodotos' praise of these, iv.46; but it is very guarded praise, and Herodotos would in general have agreed with Thucydides ... the conventional *Airs, Waters, Places* of the Hippocratic corpus, which may be of the fifth century, has a different account of the Scythians (cc.19-22), but one which is hardly based on observation.'<sup>14</sup> Thus, the outstanding

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11. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, pp.241 and 243. See Thuc. IV.105.1.
  12. Gomme, *ibid.* Gomme may here be alluding to the ideas of Macan I pp.154 note to V.3, How and Wells i.p.36 n.2 or Pearson 'Thucydides and the Geographical Tradition' p.51. A relationship between Herodotos' and Thucydides' work at this point is even noted by Scholiasts to Thucydides. See Karl Hude (ed.) *Scholia in Thucydidem* (Leipzig, 1927, rep. New York, 1973) p.160. Own translation of relevant scholia to Thuc.II.97: '...in the land of the Scythians. Herodotos too says this about the Scythians. 'Not that' instead of the phrase 'Not so;. They are not in fact similar to others, but on the contrary they excel them.'
  13. Thucydides ii.97.4.
  14. Gomme, p.246. On the question of whether the 'Hippocratean' treatise was based upon personal observations, see ch.4 'Hippokrates'.

characteristic of Gomme's position is the belief that Thucydides drew the above description from his own experiences, and, as a corollary, that he was no way involved in a disputation with a literary tradition, such as the Herodotean. Gomme's arguments are, however, insubstantial. Even if the fact that at two points Thucydides' statements are directly opposite to the Herodotean record can be dismissed as coincident, the more fundamental question still remains. Why, at this point in his narrative, did Thucydides decide to give a description of Thrace, and why did he bring into this description the Scythians? These questions will be returned to shortly.

Westlake, in his discussion of 'Irrelevant notes and minor excursuses in Thucydides', also treats the descriptions of Thrace and the Scythians<sup>15</sup>. On the former description Westlake writes 'This analysis, though bearing a superficial resemblance to many ethnographical passages in Herodotos, shows a more penetrating and scientific understanding of the economic factors upon which military power was based<sup>16</sup>. This he accounts for by stressing, as Gomme does, that Thucydides was personally acquainted with Thrace. On the latter description, that of the Scythians, he writes 'This is the most irrelevant section of a passage containing a remarkable amount of digression' and adding 'Gomme ii.245-6 is probably right in rejecting the view that Thucydides is here criticising Herodotos.'<sup>17</sup> The same objections may be raised against Westlake, as have been against Gomme. Westlake omits all consideration of the more fundamental questions of why these digressions are present in the first place, contenting himself with designating them, as he does in the very title of his article, as irrelevant.

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15. H.D. Westlake, 'Irrelevant notes and minor excursuses in Thucydides', in *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History* (1969) pp.1-38.

16. *Ibid.*, p.4.

17. *Ibid.*, p.15.



Lionel Pearson would seem to provide the key for understanding the significance of these Thucydidean passages<sup>18</sup>. As has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters, the tradition of writing geography was basically Ionian, and remained Ionian (even with Herodotos - witness the choice of dialect) till Ephoros assimilated the entire tradition and took it to new limits. There was a general ignorance in Athens before the mid-fourth century, of any aspect of the Ionian literary geographical tradition. Rare glimpses of familiarity with the movement are found in such works of Aischylos as the *Persai* and in the Prometheus plays<sup>19</sup>. Thucydides would seem to be another Athenian who was familiar with the Ionian literature and style. Pearson finds in Thucydides' excursus on Thrace and Scythians many characteristics of the *περήγησις* of the Hecataean tradition<sup>20</sup>. Examples are as follows: 'the Getae and the others in this territory are neighbours to the Scythians and equipped like them, all being mounted archers', a sentence which belongs to a general description of the Danube region rather than to a description of Sitalkes' force<sup>21</sup>. The description of the course of, and tribes along, the rivers Strymon and Oskios similarly has no function in the historical narrative, but would be in place in a geographical handbook<sup>22</sup>. Noteworthy is also the use of 'in the direction of the Paeonians', and 'in the direction of the Triballi', instead of 'to the east' or 'to the west'<sup>23</sup>. The length of the Odrysian kingdom's coastline is estimated as: ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ in Thucydides ii.97.1 in much the same way as Hekataios would seem to have described

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18. L. Pearson, 'Thucydides and the Geographical Tradition', *Classical Quarterly*, 33 (1939) pp.48-54. Westlake has but one reference to Pearson's work, p.8 note 9.
19. See Appendix II.
20. Pearson, 'Thucydides and the Geographical Tradition', pp.50-54.
21. *Ibid.*, p.51.
22. Cf. Hekataios F 102 a) Steph.Byz. 'Λόκιων', b) Strabo vii.5.8, c) Strabo VI.2.4.
23. Pearson, 'Thucydides ...', p.51.

coastlines<sup>24</sup>. The time a *periplous* of the country takes and the distances between places overland are given just as Herodotos would do<sup>25</sup>. Also after the manner of Herodotos, the tribute and presents from all the parts of the kingdom are estimated and there is a discussion of their custom of generosity<sup>26</sup>.

Pearson points to numerous other passages (outside those dealing with Thrace) where Thucydides appears to have looked up another's work for information:

I.24 - Epidamnus is described from the point of view of a sailor on a coastal voyage. The Taulantoi, a tribe featuring in Hekataios, are mentioned for no apparent reason<sup>27</sup>.

I.46 - a fuller description is given of the harbour of Cheimerion, than the narrative demands<sup>28</sup>.

III.88 - digression on the Lipari islands, including legend of the origins of the inhabitants and placement of the island as κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, just as Hekataios has Chios κατὰ Ἐρυθράς<sup>29</sup>.

II.76 - remarks on Chaironeΐα may have been taken from Hekataios or Hellanikos, who are cited among others as Stephanus Byzantius' authorities on the town<sup>30</sup>. Giving the old name of a city is characteristic of the Ionian tradition and Hekataios.

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24. Cf. Hekataios F 289 (Steph.Byz. 'Μύριοι') 'ἐν Μύρων ἐς Ἀράξην ποταμὸν'. See also the style of Ps. Skymos (after Hek.).
25. Her.II.34 on the distance in days' travel from Egypt to Sinope on the Black sea.  
Her.V.50 on the distance in days' travel from the Ionian coast to Susa (reported of Aristagoras).
26. Pearson, 'Thucydides ...' p.51. Thuc.ii.97.3; Thucydides mentions tribute payments to the Odrysians in the same manner as Herodotos does with respect to the Persian Empire (cf. Her.III.89-98).
27. Hek. F.99 and 101 (Steph.Byz. 'Σεσαρηθός' and 'Ἄβροι'). Cf. description of islands of Sicilian coast, Thuc.III.88.
28. Cf. Hek. F 217 (Strabo XIII.3.22) and 255 (Steph.Byz., 'Ἐάνθος'), on harbours.
29. Hek. F.141. Cf. also Thuc. IV.53.
30. Hek. F.116; Steph.Byz. 'Χαιρώνεια'.

IV.75 - the note that Chalcedon was a Megarian colony, and in IV.104 that Thasos was a Parian colony are not at all related to his historical narrative<sup>31</sup>. Similar indications that Thucydides was at times following the Ionian geographical tradition may be found in mythographical remarks to be found in Thucydides' work<sup>32</sup>. Other examples abound, though parallels with Hekataios are not always evident<sup>33</sup>.

It is easy, therefore, to understand how the Scythians came to feature in Thucydides' description of Thrace. Comparison between different groups of peoples was a standard feature of Ionian ethnography and geography<sup>34</sup>. The Scythians are drawn into the discussion of the Thracians in order to complete an ethnographical and geographical picture in the only way known - the Ionian way. As Pearson concludes 'Like Herodotus, he (Thucydides) affects to scorn his predecessors, but he does not fail to adopt some of the features that made their work popular and readable.'<sup>35</sup>

Another consideration may be added to Pearson's argument. Not all the 'geographical digressions' were straight from old *periploi*. It is necessary to identify a particular class of digressions, in which Thucydides' personal knowledge and inquiry played a part. It was upon these that Thucydides would seem to be drawing when describing the extent of the Odrysian kingdom. Thucydides' personal familiarity with the lands in question is well attested<sup>36</sup>. It is therefore all the more significant that when attempting to couch his know-

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31. Unlike such a note as that in III.102.2: Molykreion was 'a colony of the Corinthians, but subject to Athenian rule.'
32. Thuc.iii.96 - sacred precincts of Nemean Zeus; iv.24 - straits of Messina; ii.68 - on Amphiloichian Argos; ii.102 - Oeniadai; ii.102 - Acarnania; iv.42 - beach between Chersonesus and Pheitos. Pearson, p.53.
33. See H. Münch, *Studien zu den Exkursen des Thucydides* (Heidelberg, 1935). For example II.102, IV.3, IV.42.
34. See ch.1 p.21. Cf. Thuc.iii.94-95 on Aetolian and Locian tribes.
35. Pearson, p.54.
36. Thuc. iv.105.1.

ledge in a literary form, he could not help but do so in the style of the only available model - the Ionian geographical tradition. He followed this tradition in both the choice of what to mention, and how to mention it.

The discussion may now return briefly to the contradiction apparent in Thucydides II.96.1 and 97.1 wherein two different definitions of the northern extent of the Odrysian Empire are to be found, and thus two different conceptions of the tribal organisation on the lower Danube and in the Dobrudja. The above thesis may explain the contradiction. The contradiction may arise from the use of varied sources. The definition of the Haemos as the northern border, and the recognition of independent tribes such as the Getai and Scythians in the Dobrudja, belongs to a catalogue of Balkan tribes where reference to river courses and the giving of directions by reference to other tribes is characteristic of a *perigesis*, whether it was a direct copy of an Ionian-styled work, or, as is more probable, Thucydides was simply modelling himself on such a work. The definition of the Danube as the frontier belongs to a description of the Odrysian coast as measured by a merchant ship. This account is probably drawn from a *periplous* and not from Thucydides' own experience. The Odrysian Empire could not possibly figure in <sup>a</sup>very early Ionian *Periplous* (such as the Hecataean), however <sup>it</sup> may have featured in some later *perigesis*.

Several other points of significance may be mentioned. Thucydides' conception of the Scythians as a horse-riding people, who are more numerous than any other European people, and potentially more powerful than any nation in Europe or Asia, but who lack the intelligence to realise their power<sup>37</sup>, may be based upon information gathered in his own day (indeed, the description which seems to place the Scythians south of the Danube must be contemporary). Similarly, the conclusion

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37. Thuc.ii.96.1; ii.97.6

that the Scythians are potentially more powerful than the Thracians, but not more intelligent, being a contradiction of Herodotos, must be Thucydides' own conclusion<sup>38</sup>. Nevertheless, the way in which Thucydides' organized this information is clearly the result of deliberation over Ionian works. The exactness of Thucydides' counter-thesis on Scythian numbers and intellect was not coincidental. Was the Ionian source Herodotos? Possibly. Alternatively it may have been a work common to both Herodotos and Thucydides<sup>39</sup>.

Thus, Müller's judgement upon Thucydides, that the question of 'Volkscharaktere' does not interest him enough to establish the significance of their role in events must be qualified<sup>40</sup>. The significance of 'Volkscharaktere' was amply appreciated by the Ionian school, and when he digressed

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38. Thuc.ii.97.6: 'For of all the kingdoms in Europe between the Ionian Gulf and the Euxine Sea it was the greatest in revenue of money and in general prosperity; but as regards the strength and size of its army, it was distinctly inferior to the Scythian kingdom. With that not only are the nations of Europe unable to compete, but even in Asia, nation against nation, there is none which can make a stand against the Scythians if they all act in concert. However with reference to wise counsel and intelligence about the things that belong to the enrichment of life the Scythians are not to be compared with other nations.' Compare this passage with Her.V.3 where the Thracians are described as the biggest nation in the world next to the Indians (as they are united, however, they are weak) and Her.iv.46 where the Scythians are described as the cleverest people on the Pontic coast. Thucydides and Herodotos differ sharply.

39. Gomme is ever reluctant to acknowledge the direct influence of Herodotos in Thucydides' work. See commentary on I.20.3 (i.pp.137-8) and on I.22.4 (i.pp.148-9). Gomme correctly identifies an excessive tendency to see the use of Herodotos in the works of such subsequent writers as Thucydides. One of the reasons may be that 'Herodotos looms so large for us, as all the work of his predecessors and contemporaries is lost ...' As Gomme points out 'He (Thucydides) had not, as we have, Herodotos, and no one but Herodotos, ever at his elbow while he wrote.' Jacoby 'Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie und den Plan einer neuen sammlung der griechischen Historiker-fragmente' *Klio* ix, 1904, p.102 n.1., makes the same point, tracing this tendency back to Wilamowitz, who: 'die Stellung Herodots in der Entwicklung der Historiographie doch unterschätzt oder wenigstens ihn dem Leser zu sehr nur als liebenswürdigen Erzähler vorführt;...'

40. Müller, *Antiken Ethnographie* ...p.174.

upon the Thracians, Getai and Scythians it was this school which Thucydides followed. Even the primary act of inserting 'ethnogeographical' digressions into an historical narrative may be seen as the influence of the Ionian school, wherein the modern disciplines of 'history', 'geography' and 'ethnography' were never considered to be separate identities.

## CHAPTER 6

XENOPHON

Another Athenian writer whose observations upon the nature of the Scythian 'state' are of significance, is Xenophon. Xenophon twice makes important remarks about Scythia. Firstly in his relatively early work, the *Memorabilia* II.i.10, and secondly, in his later *Cyropaedia* I.i.4<sup>1</sup>. These references may now be discussed in turn. (The significance of the only other reference to Scythians (*Mem.* III.ix.2) will be discussed more briefly).

In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* II.i.10 Sokrates is credited with claiming that ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Σκύθαι μὲν ἄρχουσι, Μαιῶται δὲ ἄρχονται. As Gajdukevic notes, this would seem to be an allusion to the Royal Scythian Empire<sup>2</sup>. There are, however, several problems with the passage. The Maiotians are usually located in *periploi* as inhabiting the east coast of the Maiotis. Skylax and the anonymous Periplus (often attributed to Arrian) both locate the tribe next to the Sauromatai, the first tribe across the Tanais and in Asia<sup>3</sup>.

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1. On the dating of these works see Édouard Delebecque, *Essai sur la vie de Xénophon* (Paris, 1957): *Memorabilia* I-II.381 B.C. (pp.221-239), *Cyropaedia* I-V, 365-361 B.C., pp.404-5.
  2. V.F. Gajdukevič, *Das bosporanische Reich*, (Berlin, 1971), p.42.
  3. Skylax 70-71; (own translation):
    - '70. The Sauromatai. From the river Tanais begins Asia and the first of its tribes are the Sauromatai on the Pontus. The tribe of the Sauromatai are ruled by women.
    71. The Maiotai. Next to these ruled by women are the Maiotai.' Anon.Periplus.45: 'After the river Tanais, which is the border of Asia, dividing the continent in two, dwell first the Sarmatai, extending for 2000 stades, that being 250 miles. After the Sarmatai, the tribe of the Maiotai, who are called Iazamates, as Demetrios says (on account of these people the Maiotis Lake is so called). As Ephoros says, the people are called the Sauromatai. They say the Amazons united with these Sauromatai, when they came from around the Thermodon after their defeat. On account of this the Sauromatai have received the epithet those "ruled by women" '(drawn from Periplus of Pseudo-Scymni 875-884 in 'ad Nicomedem regem'.) For French translations of the above texts see A. Baschmakoff, *La Synthèse des Périples Pontiques* (Paris, 1948). For Greek text of Pseudo-Skymnos see Aubrey Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* 1952).

The anonymous *Periplous*, however, makes two further remarks. Firstly, that 'the tribe is called Iazamates, as Demetrios said, (it is because of them that the Maiotis Lake is so called).' Secondly, 'As Ephoros writes, the tribe are called Sauromatai ...' Thus the Maiotians were usually conceived of as dwelling to the east of the Maiotis (across the Tanais, as the *Periplous* records) and this in Asia. In the Xenophon passage, Sokrates is said to be speaking only of Europe. The apparent inconsistency may be resolved by one of several means.

As has been discussed above<sup>4</sup>, the line of division between Europe and Asia was the subject of some dispute in antiquity. The two main schools of thought were those in favour of a Maiotis-Tanais border (the Hecataean tradition) and those favouring the Phasis (possibly Herodotos' preference). A possible resolution of the inconsistency apparent above is, therefore, the suggestion that Sokrates, or his interpreter Xenophon, may have considered the Phasis as the boundary between Europe and Asia, and then would be consistent in the conception of the Maiotai, even if on the east Maiotis coast, as inhabiting Europe. A second possibility is that though Maiotis was a familiar tribal name to the geographers, and used by them in reference to an East Maeotian tribe, either Sokrates or Xenophon was using the term more loosely to refer to any people bordering on the Maiotis - even peoples on the west coast and in 'Europe'. As neither Sokrates nor Xenophon were geographers or writers of *periploi* no great expectations should be held for a high standard of consistency in such matters as tribal geography.

Before attempting to decide which of the above possible explanations is the more probable a related historical problem needs to be examined. Was it possible that the Basileioi Scythians could have been overlords to tribes east of the

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4. Ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos'. Her. IV.21, 28.



Maiotis during the period in which Sokrates made mention of Scythian lordship over the Maiotai. Gajdukevič argues that they were. He does so upon three grounds. Firstly, although Herodotos describes the Royal Scythian Empire as ending with the Bosphorus straits<sup>5</sup>, he adds that occasionally 'the sea freezes and all the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians dwelling this side of the fosse lead armies over the ice, and drive their wains across to the land of the Sindi.'<sup>6</sup> This may indicate the possibility of Scythian overlordship east of the Bosphorus - or at least provide a possible explanation for the mechanism behind a Scythian infiltration of the region. Secondly, a Scythian presence east of the Maiotis during the late fifth century would seem to be evident from the archaeological remains identified as the 'Kuban culture'.<sup>7</sup> Thirdly, upon the testimony of Xenophon in the very passage under question<sup>8</sup>. This point then is itself of no substance. Gajdukevič's case as a whole is not convincing. Xenophon's testimony in II.i.10 is open to various interpretations, as explored above, the Kuban culture predates the period under consideration and finally, the freezing of the Bosphorus could not have been such a regular event as to provide a sufficiently reliable means of maintaining communications between the Basileioi Empire and a subject people on the east side of the Bosphorus. Thus the answer to the historical question of whether the Basileioi could have ruled across the straits should probably be that they did not. Herodotos would seem to answer the question of whether the Basileioi ruled across the more

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5. Her.IV.21.

6. Her.IV.28. See also Luc., *Toxaris*, 55. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, p.41.

7. *Ibid.*, pp.41-42.

8. *Ibid.*, pp.42-43.

northern part of the Maiotis at the foot of the Tanais:  
 'Across the Tanais it is no longer Scythia; the first of  
 the divisions belongs to Sauromatai, whose country begins  
 at the inner end of the Maeotian lake and stretches fifteen  
 days' journey to the north ...'<sup>9</sup>

To return to the original question it may be suggested that the Maiotians referred to by Xenophon were the historical tribe east of the lake but were considered by Xenophon to have inhabited Europe. In all probability the reasons for this are to be found in Sokrates' ignorance of such geographical matters (and as shall be suggested later, for reason of producing a tidy theory), and not in any consideration of the Phasis as the continental boundary. Moreover, it seems unlikely that this tribe was ever ruled by the Basileioi Scythians. If the Maiotians were subject to an Iranian-speaking nomadic tribe then the overlords must have been some other group. The Maiotians, it has been noted, were sometimes described as neighbours of the Sauromatai and sometimes, it appears, as part of the same tribe ('Sauromatai' being an alternative name to 'Maeotians' according to Ephoros<sup>10</sup>). Such ambiguity in the sources may reflect an ambiguous relationship between the tribes of the Sauromatai and the Maiotai. The former may have periodically have been overlords to the latter. The source of the Sokrates/Xenophon passage may have confused the Sauromatai with the Scythians and produced an over-embracing concept of the 'Scythian' empire. The Sauromatai were at all times independent of the Scythians.

The second Xenophon passage which may be examined is  
*Cyropaedia* I.i.4: 'ὡσθ' ὁ μὲν Σκύθης, καίπερ παμπόλλων ὄντων

9. Her. IV.21.

10. Anon. *Periplus* 45./Ps. *Skymnos* 880. The literal translation of this text would suggest 'Sauromatai' was an alternative name for 'Maiotai' (just as Demetrios suggests Iazamates was an alternative name for 'Maiotai'), but it is possible that the author of the *Skymnos* *periplus* in fact meant to cite Ephoros' term as an alternative to 'Sarmatai', whom were mentioned earlier in the text.

Σκυθῶν, ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς δύναται ἂν ἔθνη ἐπάρξαι, ἀγαπῆ δ' ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἔθνη ἀρχῶν διαγένοιτο.<sup>11</sup> As Xenophon later writes in this same work that the tribes over which Hyros ruled included the Sakai, it is evident that he must have considered the Scythians as separate from the Sakai and is speaking in I.i.4 of a European tribe<sup>12</sup>. That is, Xenophon's conception here parallels that to be found in Herodotos (and not Hekataios). The European nomads are designated as Scythian, the Asian as Sakai. Xenophon's conception of the Scythians is, therefore, that of an homogenous European people subject to no other power and without subjects of their own. This conception would seem to be in direct contradiction to that evident in *Memorabilia* II.i.10 wherein the Scythians rule the Maiotai.

It is surprising how little consideration has been given to this inconsistency in modern scholarly writing. For the great majority of modern writings on Xenophon, these passages in his 'lesser works' mentioning the Scythians are perhaps of little relevance and thus rightly left unconsidered. However, even works dealing with Xenophon's political conceptions<sup>13</sup>, and Sokrates' influence on Xenophon<sup>14</sup>, and even works discussing in some detail Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and *Cyropaedia*<sup>15</sup>, have neglected all consideration of these passages. Of the only two 'Scythian' scholars to draw

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11. '... so that although there are very many Scythians, the Scythian would not be able to master any other people, but is satisfied if he rule his own tribe.'
  12. Xenophon goes on to write of other races 'ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ' which are similarly autonomous (including Thracians and Illyrians), and then contrasts these circumstances with circumstances in Asia (ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ) where Kyros rules many peoples (among the long list, Xenophon includes the name of the 'Sakai').
  13. For example, Jean Luccioni, *Les Idées politiques et sociales de Xénophon*, (Ophrys, 1949) and W.E. Higgins, *Xenophon the Athenian: the problem of the Individual and the Society of the Polis* (New York, 1977).
  14. Jean Luccioni, *Xénophon et le Socratisme*, (Paris, 1953).
  15. Thus, though Strauss, in his book *Xenophon's Socrates* (Cornell University Press, 1972), gives a commentary to both *Mem.*II.i and the other Scythian passage *Mem.*III.ix.2, Strauss omits all mention of Scythians.

particular attention to Xenophon's remark concerning the Scythians in *Mem.*II.i.10, Gajdukevič<sup>16</sup> and Rostovtzeff<sup>17</sup>, neither alludes to the second passage wherein Xenophon deals with the nature of the Scythian state (*Cyrop.*I.i.4), and neither indicate an appreciation of the existence of a contradiction. Similarly, of the textual commentaries to the *Memorabilia* and *Cyropaedia* all but one fail to make note of any inconsistency. The one exception is Olof Gigon. In his *Kommentar zum zweiten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien* Gigon draws a comparison between the reference to Scythians ruling Maiotians in *Mem.*II.i.10 and the conception of the Scythians in *Kyr.*I.i.4, concluding: 'Man möchte gerne wissen, ... auf wen die Nachricht, die Maioten seien die Untertanen der Skythen, zurückgeht. Soweit ich sehe sich gar nichts darüber aussagen.'<sup>18</sup>. Thus the only modern scholar to perceive the inconsistency considers it inexplicable.

To understand how such an inconsistency may come about it is necessary to attempt an identification of the sources 'responsible' for these two different conceptions. This is not an impossible task, though conclusions can only be tenuous.

Concerning Xenophon's (and Sokrates') source in *Mem.*II.i.10 Rostovtzeff is content to write that 'Ihre Quelle lässt sich auch nicht feststellen.'<sup>19</sup> Though whether Xenophon was at this point accurately reporting Sokrates is unclear, the scales weigh in favour of this being the case. The present author will, however, refrain from taking even the most tentative step into the complex field of Socratic studies<sup>20</sup>.

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16. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, p.42.

17. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien u. Bosporus*, p.12.

18. Olof Gigon, *Kommentar zum zweiten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien*, (Basel, 1956), p.31.

19. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien u. Bosporus*, p.106.

20. A full discussion of the possible nature of the relationship between Xenophon and Sokrates falls well outside the scope of this thesis - for a start see W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol.III (Cambridge, 1969), pp.345-8; G.M. Edwards (ed.), *Xenophon, The Memorabilia, Book II* (Cambridge, 1911) pp.xxiv-xxvi.

The key to the identification of the original source of the information (whether the immediate source was Sokrates or not) may lie in the fact that it is the Maiotians who are described as Scythian subjects, and not any of the western tribes of whom Hekataios or Herodotos makes mention, such as Kallipidai, Alazones, or neighbours such as Getai, Agathyr sai or Neuroi. The choice of Maiotians clearly points to a contemporary Athenian source and not an earlier Ionian literary source<sup>21</sup>. The main Athenian sphere of interest in the Euxine was located about the Cimmerian Bosphorus and southern shores of the Maiotis, while the main Ionian trading partners were in the west at Sitria and Olbia, this being reflected in the attention paid to the western 'Scythian' tribes in early Ionian literature. Given the diplomatic and commercial contacts between Athens and the cities of the Bosporan kingdom, information concerning tribes in the Maiotian region should have been readily available in Athens in Sokrates' and Xenophon's day<sup>22</sup>.

*Mem.* II. i. 10 would seem to have been an accurate reflection of Sokrates' conception of the Scythians late in the fifth century (though recorded early in the fourth). The passage may, however, indicate no more than commonplace knowledge (the Scythians use bows). It is a minor passage, providing no significant insight into Xenophon's conception of 'the Scythians'. That Sokrates was in receipt of such information is further suggested by the reference to Scythians in *Mem.* III. ix. 2. In the debate upon whether courage can be taught or comes by nature Xenophon has Sokrates supply the following evidence: 'Of course Scythians and Thracians would not dare to take bronze shield and spear and fight Lakedaimonians; and of course Lakedaimonians would not be willing

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21. As Gajdukevič notes, pp.42-43: 'In diesem Satz spiegelt sich wahrscheinlich die nach Athen gelangte Nachricht wider, dass ein Teil der Maioten in Abhängigkeit von jener Gruppe der Nomaden- Skythen geraten sei, die am Kuban geblieben war.'
22. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, chs. 3-5, especially pp.57, 60-63, 65, 69, 69-91, 97-105.

to face Thracians with leather shields and javelins, nor Scythians with bows for weapons.' The passage may suggest that Sokrates is drawing upon contemporary knowledge of the northern tribesmen. The source was familiar with their mode of warfare.

Xenophon's source in *Cyropaedia* I.i.4 is not so easily discerned, particularly as the conception there supplied is not an historically accurate one. It is tempting to suppose that Xenophon fabricated the statement for the purpose of his argument, but the reference to the Scythians as *παμπόλλων* would seem to indicate some familiarity with, even dependence upon, the idealised conception of the Scythians wherein their number, invincibility and independence are stressed. The *Cyropaedia* may be dated to the mid 360's, and as the work as a whole appears to be a reply to the writings of Plato and others on the problem of finding and educating statesmen and leaders, Xenophon's familiarity with other sections of Plato's works may be responsible for his 'new' conception of the Scythians. Plato records no conception of a tribal confederation, empire or system of overlordship. In his own work he stressed rather the place of women in the northern tribal communities<sup>23</sup>, and the relationship between the form of food production and climate<sup>24</sup> on the one hand, and the form of the society on the other<sup>25</sup>. As Trüdinger points out,

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23. *Laws* 804 E, 806. On Sarmatian women being trained in war as the men. *Laws* 806 A - on the Amazons. Strabo VII.3.7 reveals that Plato's work had also been drawn on in discussions of Scythian society (through Ephoros or Poseidonios?), claiming that the Scythians 'above all things have their wives and their children in common, in the Platonic way'. For Plato on *κοινωνία γυναικῶν* see *Rep.* 457 D, 458 C-D; 460 B-D, 540 and 543.

24. *Republic* 370-372.

25. Plato's polemic on the evils of living near the sea was also taken into the tradition of writing on Scythian society. To his idealised account of the Scythians Strabo adds (VII.3.8): 'Moreover, Plato in his *Republic* thinks that those who would have a well governed city should flee as far as possible from the sea, as being a thing that teaches wickedness, and should not live near it.' The actual reference should be to Plato's *Laws* (IV.704-705). Similar remarks are found in Aristotle, *Politics* VII.6.

in formulating the 'ideal city' Plato contributed to the idealising of tribal societies<sup>26</sup>. It may be that by the time Xenophon sat down to write the *Cyropaedia*, Plato's influence had already started to provide the means for a new direction manifested itself most plainly shortly after Xenophon's death, in the works of Ephoros and Theopompos. Ephoros, for example, as shall be seen later, was caught between what he knew from the geographical works at his disposal to be the 'true' nature of the Royal Scythian Empire, and the idealised conception of the Empire. Ephoros was able to reconcile the two conceptions by concluding that the Scythians did have subjects, but that they treated them justly<sup>27</sup>. Xenophon was saved from having to rationalise the situation by his ignorance of the earlier and historically more accurate tradition. He seems content to adopt an idealised picture of their society ruled by none and rulers over none.

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26. K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen-römischen Ethnographie* (Basel, 1918) p.137. With respect to the Platonic, Cynic, Stoic, Epicurean and Isocratean philosophical schools of the Fourth Century Trüdinger further observes: 'In dieser Zeit ist der Grund gelegt worden für alle die verschiedenen Formen der Idealisierung, die uns in der Folgezeit begegnen.' (p.137). Plato also refers to Scythians in a debate on the significance of climate (*Rep.* 435e): 'It would be absurd to suppose that the vigour and energy for which northern people like the Thracian and Scythians have a reputation are not due to their individual citizens'. (see also Trüdinger p.57 - Trüdinger's reference to *Rep.* 435c needs correcting. The question of the 'conflict' between φύσις and νόμος was treated by Plato in his *Protagoras* 320D-322D; 337C-D. A further allusion to Scythians comes in *Euthydemus* 299e; '...and the Scythians reckon those who have gold in their own skulls to be the happiest (εὐδαίμονεστάτους - most prosperous?) and bravest of men ... and what is still more extraordinary, they drink out of their own skulls gilt, and see the inside of them, and hold their own head in their hands.' tr. Benjamin Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato* (London, 1970) . Vol 2. A Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens*, p.17, argues that in the Dialogues of Plato there is no trace of idealisation of the northern peoples and prefers to interpret the above passage from *Euthydemus* as referring to 'nicht die glücklichsten, sondern die reichsten der Skythen...' This interpretation is unconvincing. The word 'εὐδαίμονεστάτους' has the sense of 'happy', and Plato is here clearly demonstrating a capacity to 'idealise' the northern tribes - as Trüdinger suggests he does.
27. See chapter on 'Ephoros'. An additional influence in the writings of Ephoros and Theopompos may have been the moralising tendencies and rhetorical methods of Isokrates (see in particular 'Ephoros', pp.163-166).

Apart from the influence Plato may be seen to have had in the formulation of the conception of the Scythian state found in the *Cyropaedia*, the continuing influence of his early teacher, Sokrates, cannot be underestimated. Having forgotten the details of the conversation he had recorded twenty odd years earlier (purporting to be a conversation between Sokrates and a certain Aristippus), in his *Cyropaedia* Xenophon went on to detail what he then believed to be a Socratic conception<sup>28</sup>, not himself aware of the contradiction. According to the Socratic principles Xenophon believed he was applying in the writing of the *Cyropaedia*, the Scythians had to be without subjects. Subjects were ruled only by those who deserved to rule them<sup>29</sup>. That the Scythians ruled no one highlighted the fact that in Asia all the peoples were subject to just one man, Kyros. Thus, Kyros must have been of outstanding virtue. The point of *Cyropaedia* i.1.4 is the superiority of Kyros' new monarchy over the older hereditary ones of Europe. In the reference to the Scythians Xenophon makes his point. The Scythians were simply used for the purpose of the argument.

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28. On the Socratic influence in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* see Luccioni, *Les idées politiques et sociales de Xénophon*, ch.VII 'Xénophon et l'idée monarchique' particularly 209-211, 229-233. and Luccioni, *Xénophon et le Socratisme*. This latter work deals with the question of Socratic influence in even greater detail. To Xenophon Kyros was perhaps both Sokrates' idea of an ideal monarch and Sokrates himself. Xenophon demonstrates his belief that Sokrates had sympathies with monarchy, when he writes in his *Memorabilia*: 'Kingship and despotism, in his judgment, were both forms of government, but he held that they differed. For government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the state was kingship; while government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, was despotism.' (IV.6-12). Kyros appears himself as a 'Sokrates', for whom wisdom 'αρεσσύνη' was the most important of virtues, as without it all other virtues were useless (*Kyrop*, III. 1.16). As Luccioni writes: 'On voit combien Xénophon théoricien de la monarchie est redevable à Socrate. C'est l'esprit de Socrate qui inspire Cyrus dans l'organisation de son empire ...' *Xénophon et le Socratisme*, p.161.)
29. See *Kyrop* VIII.1.37; Luccioni, *Xénophon et Socratisme*, p.155: 'En dernière analyse, c'est sur la supériorité du souverain sur ses sujets que se fonde la monarchie de Xénophon.'



Thus, the difference between the conception of 'Scythia' to be found in the two passages from Xenophon's works, the *Memorabilia* and the *Cyropaedia*, may be explained by reference to the different origins of the passages. The former, dating to about 381 B.C., giving an account of Sokrates' conception (late fifth century) which was doubtless derived from contemporary and common knowledge of the region at Athens, through this city's commercial ties with the Bosporos region. The latter passage, dating to the 360's, was Xenophon's own work. It demonstrates an independence from Ionian geographical tradition with respect to the nature of the Scythian Empire, and use of Herodotean terminology in the designation of the European tribes as 'Skythai' and the Asian as 'Sakai'.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, here the similarity with Herodotos' work ends. Xenophon was clearly not using Herodotos. He has no conception of a 'Royal Scythian Empire' - implicit in Herodotos' writings. With respect to Scythian tribal organisation, in the *Cyropaedia* Xenophon demonstrates a dependence upon contemporary philosophical conceptions - or as the case is here, misconceptions.

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31. *Kyrop* V.ii.25; V.iii.11, 22f, 38f; VII.v.51. The 'Sakai' are simply one of many tribal groups bordering on the Assyrian and subsequently Persian Empires.

## CHAPTER 7

KTESIAS

Though the place of such classical writers as 'Hippokrates', Thucydides, Xenophon and even, most significant of all, of Hellanikos, in the tradition on Scythians may have been almost completely overlooked by modern scholars, Ktesias' work has the dubious distinction of not only having been largely unexplored, but actually despised<sup>1</sup>. Ktesias has been omitted from even the most extensive discussions of Scythians in classical literature<sup>2</sup>. When Ktesias is mentioned in other connections the lowest of reputations is attributed to him. This low reputation is to be found in both classical<sup>3</sup> and modern-day<sup>4</sup> scholarly literature. The suggestion that there may be some value in Ktesias' writings (even on the Scythians) has been made on only two occasions. Firstly by Junge (1939) 'Obwohl er schon seiner Persönlichkeit nach keineswegs auf eine Stufe gestellt werden kann mit den wissenschaftlichen Vertretern der

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1. As Bigwood writes with no little justification: 'Few historians enjoyed in antiquity a lower reputation than the physician of Artaxerxes II, Ctesias of Cnidus. On the whole in modern times his twenty-three book history of Persia meets with only scorn.' J.M. Bigwood, 'Ctesias' account of the revolt of Inarus', *Phoenix* XXX 1976, p.1.
  2. M. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosporus, I. Kritische Übersicht der literarischen und archäologischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1931); St. Borzsak, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpathenbecken*, (Diss.Pannon. Budapest, 1936); Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (1939); M. Ninck, *Die Entdeckung von Europa durch die Griechen* (Basel, 1945); Christiaan van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography* (Groningen, 1957); K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiker Ethnologie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen* (Wiesbaden, 1972).
  3. See the catalogue of classical writers in *FGrHist* III C 688 T11 and 13; Strab.I.2.35; XI.6.3; Antigon. *Hist.mir.*15; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 1.4; 6.9; Aristotle *H.A.* 8.28 p.606a 8; Arrian, *Anabasis* 5.4.2; Aelian, *N.A.* 4.21; Lucian *Verae narr.* 1.3; 2.31; *Philops* 2; *Phot.Bibl.* 72 p.45 a 5.
  4. As samples of his low reputation in modern times see Truesdell S. Brown, *The Greek Historians* (Canada, 1973) p.80 and R. Drews, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Washington D.C., 1973) 'Ctesias' pp.103-116- e.g. p.114 'Ctesias' story of Darius' unsuccessful Scythian expedition is a dubious variant of Herodotus' account.'

ιστορίη, vielmehr von ihnen nur die äussere Form ihrer Werke entlehnt hat, so ist er doch als laienhafter Vermittler iranischer "Überlieferung" durchaus nicht der Prototyp des Lügnerzählers, als den man ihn oft hinstellt ... So liegt gewiss auch gerade in der Saka-Vorstellung.<sup>5</sup> More recently Bigwood (1978) has subjected Ktesias' work to a close analysis, for the purpose not of arguing the historical accuracy of Ktesias' work, but of simply establishing its historiographical significance; that is, questions of sources, methods, and tradition, and why Ktesias seems so frequently to be historically inaccurate or at variance with other classical writers<sup>6</sup>. These are important questions in themselves. As this chapter is concerned with literary conceptions (be they misconceptions or historically accurate conceptions) Ktesias' low reputation with respect to historical accuracy need not deter further investigation.

There are in fact at least three areas of Ktesias' work which are of relevance to the classical conception of the Royal Scythian Empire. These are the accounts of Ariaramnes' Scythian expedition, of Dareios' Scythian expedition, and of the Scythian legends of their origin. In each of the three areas a great divergence from the Herodotean account is evident, yet at the same time, the Ktesias accounts seem to be historically conceivable, if not also accurate. These areas may now be examined in turn. A concluding section will then review the subject of Ktesias' conception of the 'Scythian Empire'.

## I

An epitome of Ktesias' account of Ariaramnes' 'Scythian' expedition is given by Photios, ch.16: ὅτι ἐπὶ τᾶσσευ

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5. Julius Junge, *Saka-Studien: Der ferne Nordosten im Weltbild der Antike Klio*, Beiheft XLI (1939) p.42, n.5.
  6. Bigwood, 'Ctesias' Account of the Revolt of Inarus' *Phoenix* 30, 1976, pp.1-25; 'Ctesias as Historian of the Persian Wars' *Phoenix* 32, 1978, pp.19-41; 'Diodorus and Ctesias' *Phoenix* 34, 3, 1980, pp.195-207.

Δαρεῖος Ἀριαράμνη τῷ σατράπῃ Καππαδοκίας, ἐπὶ Σκύθας διαβῆναι, καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας αἰχμαλωτίσαι· ὁ δὲ διαβὰς πεντηκοντόροις λ', ἤχμαλωτίσε. συνελαβε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν Μαρσαγέτην, ἐπὶ κακῶσει εὐρῶν παρὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀδελφοῦ δεδεμένον.<sup>7</sup>

What conception of Scythia does the above passage offer? Before this question can be answered a series of historical questions needs to be treated. Did such an expedition take place? If so, what was the true historical character of the expedition Ktesias describes? Against which Scythians was it directed? Was it against the Basileioi empire? The possibility that there was more than one Persian expedition against the European Scythians arises out of consideration of the date of Dareios' expedition. The most probable date for this expedition is 514/513<sup>8</sup>.

A serious challenge to a date of about 514/3 comes from Balcer who argues that the campaign against the Saka recorded in several Persian and Egyptian inscriptions - a campaign which must be dated to about 519 B.C. - was orientated towards the Crimean region. Although Balcer's reasoning of this thesis is grossly defective, his conclusion would seem to be correct<sup>9</sup>. The campaign of which Ktesias-Photios gives an account, in which Ariaramnes crossed the sea and captured

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7. 'Dareios ordered Ariaramnes, satrap of Kappodocia, to invade Scythia and to capture men and women. He crossed with 30 Pentecosters and took prisoners. He even captured the brother of the Scythian King, Marsagetes, finding that he had been enchained to his detriment at the orders of his own brother.' Own translation. For French translation see R. Henry (ed. and transl.) Photius, *Bibliothèque* I (Paris, 1959). For German translation see Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos* (Graz, 1972).

8. See End Note D.

9. See Appendix III.

Scythians, must have been the same as one recorded on the Persian inscriptions wherein the sea is crossed and Skunkha, of the Saka who wear the pointed hat, was captured. Balcer, however, further argues that this campaign was the same as that which Herodotos relates that Dareios was undertaking. This time both Balcer's reasoning and conclusion are unsound.

Balcer treats Ktesias with the utmost brevity. According to Balcer: 'Ktesias' outline basically corresponds to Bisitun and Herodotus'.<sup>10</sup> Cameron, whose article is in the main simply a restatement of Balcer's ideas, does not even see the need to mention Ktesias: 'nothing stands in the way of identifying the campaign as told by Herodotus, Book 4, with that related by Darius at Bisitun'.<sup>11</sup> Nothing could be further from the truth.

Balcer translates *Phetios'* subsequent words as follows: 'And Skytharbes, the King of the Scythians was very angry, and wrote an insulting letter to Darius; he received a reply in kind. Thus Darius assembling an army of eight hundred thousand men, bridged the Bosporos and the Ister, invaded Scythia, and travelled the road for fifteen days.'<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that at the crucial point where the account of Darius' expedition begins, Balcer inserts a 'Thus', suggesting that all that follows is simply a summary retelling of that which he has already related, how the Scythian prince was captured. No such conjunction appears in the Greek:  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  could not have such a meaning. Ktesias' narrative at that point simply continues. Were the account of Dareios' exploits meant to be a summary of the 'Skunkha' expedition, then it is strange that the summary is longer

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10. Balcer, p.116.

11. George G. Cameron, 'Darius the Great and his Scythian (Saka) Campaign, Bisitun and Herodotus', *Acta Iranica* (1975) p.81.

12. Balcer, *op.cit.*, p.120.

than the tale, and makes no mention of the expedition's main prize, 'Skunkha'. Olmstead's interpretation of the passage is far more reasonable, recognising as he does, that there were two expeditions: '...Ariaramnes, satrap of Cappadocia, had crossed the Black Sea and had made a reconnaissance of the northern shore in preparation for an attack on the European Scyths. Darius accordingly decided to attempt to invade their lands and lead an army in person'.<sup>13</sup>

It may therefore be concluded that there was a successful expedition against the European Scythians in 519, possibly being conducted by the satrap Ariaramnes (Dareios only taking the credit) in the region of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and Lake Maiotis, and that Scythians in the region were for a time paying Dareios tribute. Ariaramnes' expedition might even have set up the forts on the Oaros (Volga) which Herodotus attributes to Dareios<sup>14</sup>. There is even the possibility that this expedition was responsible for exploration of the Euxine coast, as consideration of one final Balcer argument may demonstrate.

Dareios' reference in the Behistun Inscription to his crossing in person with all his army presents no great problems. Dareios had possibly been campaigning against Saka in the Caspian region, who fled from him. Later, and not in hot pursuit of these same tribes, Dareios ordered the Cappadocian satrap (Ariaramnes) to take a sea-borne force to the land of the Saka beyond the Sea (the Euxine). Having skirmished with tribes in the Maiotis region, having captured a prince 'Skunkha' and having set up another King on Dareios' behalf, Ariaramnes possibly returned with tribute.

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13. A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1970), p.147.

14. Her. IV.123.

The Behistun account of Skunkha's capture does, as Balcer himself points out, correspond closely to Ktesias' account of the capture of a Scythian prince called Skyles. However, the expedition in which Scythes was captured was clearly different to the one Dareios led across the Bosporos and Danube. This expedition was led by a satrap and not Dareios, crossed over to Scythia in ships and not by bridges or land marches, and evidently preceded Dareios' expedition across the Danube, for only after Ariaramnes' expedition and an exchange of insulting letters did Dareios, according to Ktesias, assemble his army, and only after Ariaramnes' expedition and the letters does Ktesias relate the campaign which corresponds to the one Herodotos relates.

One argument Balcer offers for his thesis that Dareios, having crossed the Bosporos proceeded westward to the Cimmerian Bosporos, is that the *Periplous* of Skylax of Karyanda (c.500 B.C.) and official geographer of the Persian King<sup>15</sup>, lists 'five Scythian cities in the eastern Crimean promontory: Theodosia, Kytaiia, Nymphaia, Pantikapaion, and Myrmekeian.'<sup>16</sup> Though Balcer refers to Baschmakoff's text of the *Periplous*, it would appear that he was not familiar with Baschmakoff's analysis of it. Baschmakoff argues in favour of an early date for the *Periplous* (contrary to the preceding modern tradition) of the very late sixth century, possibly about the year 500 B.C.<sup>17</sup> Though Baschmakoff is

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15. Her. IV.44.

16. Balcer, *op.cit.*, with reference to Baschmakoff, *La Synthèse des Periples pontiques*, p.64- the Skylax text. Balcer makes the unfortunate choice of calling the cities listed 'Scythian cities'. This suggests that they were founded, inhabited or controlled by Scythians. Skylax, however, does not even refer to these cities as located in 'Skythia'.

17. This is argued by Baschmakoff, *ibid.*, upon four grounds. First, the manner in which the coastal tribes are divided 'd'un point de vue exclusivement tribal, c'est-à-dire qu'il ignore absolument la formation de l'État, notion beaucoup plus récente que la mentalité fondamentale de ce Périple' (pp.25-26). Second, that there are 17 names of apparent antiquity found nowhere else (p.27). Third, other names are distinguished by reference to the prehistoric names of certain rivers - ignored in other *Periploi*, pp.27-28. Fourth, by comparison with Xenophon's description of certain tribes in his *Anabasis*, pp.28-29.

inclined to attribute the *Periplous* to the historical Skylax, he does not argue, that which Balcer seems to assume, that Skylax carried out his survey at the time of Dareios' Scythian expedition. Even had Dareios marched right around the entire Euxine, the *Periplous* could not be dated to that expedition. If there is one point of certainty in Herodotos' account of Dareios' expedition it is that the fleet did not accompany the King's army any further than the Danube, and as the document is clearly a *Periplous*, it could not have been composed under such circumstances as these.

Under what circumstances then, might Skylax's *Periplous* have been composed? There are two possibilities. Firstly, the Ariaramnes expedition. Ktesias' description of this expedition as having been undertaken by the satrap of Cappadocia with 30 penteconters and with orders to take Scythian prisoners, may well be the description of an expedition in part designed for exploration<sup>18</sup>. Had Skylax been accompanying Ariaramnes he may well have been able to compose the *Periplous* which is extant today. A date of 519 for the *Periplous* is conceivable. Secondly, the *Periplous* may have been conducted at a later date, near the year 500, but in the same spirit as the voyage undertaken by Ariaramnes - that is, exploration of the Euxine. Which of the two above possibilities is the more probable is not clear.

The historicity of the Ariaramnes campaign which Ktesias records is suggested by one further set of circumstances. Those sections of Herodotos' narrative which offer least by way of tangible references and historically conceivable events are those concerning the Persian army's pursuit of the Scythians across the south Russian steppes as far as

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18. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p.147, has been the only scholar to date to note this possibility.



the Sauromatai and then back as far as the Agathyrsoi<sup>19</sup>. They are both very brief sections. Though these marches are by far the longest in the narrative, Herodotos gives them but the briefest attention, their narration being completely devoid of place names, dialogue, record of conflict or diplomatic contact and any other elements which may give them historical credibility. The discrediting of these two sections should not, however, be used to discredit the entire account of the campaign<sup>20</sup>, for it is possible that they were only intended to link those passages recording events for which Herodotos had some information: the initial contact between Scythians and Persians some three days from the Danube, the actions of the Persians in the lands of the Boudinoi<sup>21</sup> and their neighbours, and Dareios' final confrontation with Scythians just south of the Agathyrsoi. If the two link passages are severed it is possible to reconstruct two separate campaigns - one waged by Dareios in the west not far from the Danube, and the other in the region to the north east of the Maiotis.

The suggestion that much of the weakness in Herodotos' narrative may be explained by postulating two or more Persian expeditions against Scythians has been made only once in modern scholarly writing - by G.F. Hudson (1924)<sup>22</sup>. Hudson,

19. Her. IV.122, 125.

20. See p. 20 n. 76.

21. On the Boudinoi see G.F. Hudson, 'The land of the Budini, a problem in ancient Geography', *Classical Review*, XXXVIII (1924) pp.158-162.

22. *Ibid.*, pp.161-162. Apart from Dareios' expedition across the Danube Hudson claims: 'We know of two expeditions to the north in the reign of Darius of which Herodotus seems to have been entirely ignorant: (1) The raid made by the satrap of Scythia [*sic!* 'Cappadocia'] at the order of Darius just before the expedition of Darius himself through Thrace. (Ctesias, *Persika* 47). (2) The reconquest of the 'Saka

however, suggests that the sea crossed in the non-Darius expedition was the Caspian. The sea crossed may in fact have been the Black Sea. Ariaramenes' expedition may not have been immediately prior to Dareios' crossing into Europe, but some five or six years earlier in 519. Hudson's explanation of the inconsistencies in Herodotos' narrative nevertheless remains sound. Herodotos has joined together two different episodes.

There are several possible explanations for how the link between the two campaigns may have come about. Firstly, the linkage may have been encouraged by a confusion of names. Bury suggests that the eight forts mentioned in IV.124 were actually set up by Dareios in West Scythia to guard his communications up the valley of the Ἄραρος, possibly modern Buzeo, but that confusing this river with the Ὀάρος, Herodotos transported the whole campaign across Scythia<sup>23</sup>. Though such a confusion is possible, a more probable explanation may rest with the nature of Herodotos' sources. As Hudson suggests: 'if Herodotos heard from a trader at Olbia about the attack on the Budini, and from Ionian sources about the proceedings of Darius on the Danube, his ignorance of the situation of the Budini relative to the Asiatic frontiers of Persia may well have led him to connect together the two groups of events.'<sup>24</sup> There were doubtlessly many Greek traders travelling between Olbia and the Maiotis. Though this second explanation is perhaps the most probable, there is yet a third possibility. The link between the two

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22. (Contd.) across the sea' who had revolted from Darius in the period of the civil wars; this was carried out by the King himself and recorded in a mutilated appendix to the Behistun inscription.' The expeditions Hudson numbers as (1) and (2) may have been the same one.

23. J.B. Bury, 'The European Expedition of Darius', *Classical Review* XI (1897) p.280. On the Ἄραρος see Her.IV.48.2. On the forts see Her.IV.124. τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σάα ἦν suggests that Herodotos had not seen the forts in person, but someone had reported seeing them to him.

24. Hudson, 'The land of the Budini ...' p.162.

campaigns may already have been made by the Scythians themselves in their own oral tradition. Upon the strongest suspicions Soviet scholars are coming to believe in the existence of an oral epic tradition among the Scythians<sup>25</sup>, but as the mechanism by which Herodotos could have assimilated part of such a tradition is by no means clear, this remains but a slender possibility.

All of the above discussion would, therefore, seem to demonstrate not only Ktesias' independence of Herodotos on one point concerning Scythian matters - the recording of an earlier Persian sea-borne expedition against the Scythians under Ariaramenes but his credibility on this point. Similar independence and value is found in Ktesias' account of the expedition against the European Scythians in 514/3, with respect to both the extent and the outcome of Dareios' expedition. It is to this second major area of Ktesias' work on Scythians that the discussion may now turn.

## II

Photius summarises Ktesias' account of the beginnings of the expedition as follows: 'But Skytharbes, the Scythian King, having been angered, wrote an insulting letter to Dareios, and he was answered in a similar manner. Dareios, having assembled an army of 800,000 men and having bridged both the Bosporos and the Istros, went against the Scythians, advancing for 15 days'.<sup>26</sup> This would immediately suggest both a more modest and more conceivable advance than that described by Herodotos. Should Ktesias' fifteen-day march have been up the Pruth valley, Dareios would have been approaching the Dniester and be in the 'desert of the Getai', Strabo's site for the furthest point Dareios reached.<sup>27</sup>

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25. See End Note C.

26. Photius ch.17. Own translation.

27. Strab.vii.3.14, ἡ τῶν Γεταίων ἐρημία.

Nevertheless, modern scholars, even those observing the correlation between Ktesias' and Strabo's account, have omitted investigation of these ancient writers' sources<sup>28</sup>.

It is probable that Strabo's original (possibly not first-hand) source for the definition of the extent of Dareios' march was Ktesias. The reference to the 'Desert of the Getai' must come from a source later than Ktesias, for it was only in later times that the Getai were to be found so far north of the Danube<sup>29</sup>. How much later is not clear. As Strabo later mentions the Desert of Getai in a catalogue of regions from the Ister, past the Borysthenes, which includes the country of 'the Iazygian Sarmatians and that people called the Basileians and that of the Urgi' the information must date to after the establishment of Sarmatian power in South Russia (that is, at least late 3rd Century B.C.)<sup>30</sup>. The identity of the intermediary is not clear.

Photios' epitome of Ktesias' account continues: 'καὶ ἀντίπεμπον ἀλλήλοις τόξα · ἐπικρατέστερα τὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν.'<sup>31</sup> Ktesias' dependence upon, or independence of Herodotos at this point is difficult to determine. Ktesias' passage may correspond with the two central features of Herodotos' account<sup>32</sup>. Firstly, that of diplomatic contact (exchange of messages and receipt of gifts) - where Ktesias has the Scythian King give a bow. Herodotos has the Scythians give a bird, mouse, frog

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28. For example, How and Wells, pp.432-3: 'Whether this was a guess on the part of Strabo or represents the tradition of some lost historian we cannot say ...' See also Macan, p.47.

29. As Macan observes, p.47. On the situation in Alexander's day see Arrian I.3.6; II.2.1. ff, 4.1-5.

30. Strab.vii.17. on the identification of the peoples here listed see the ingenious article of T. Pekkanen, 'On the oldest relationship between Hungarians and Sarmatians. From Spali to Asphali' *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* XLV 1973 pp.1-64. On the dating of the establishment of Sarmatian power in south Russia see Appendix II.

31. Photius ch.17. 'They (i.e. the two kings) sent bows to one another, that of the Scythians being stronger.' (Own translation).

32. Her. IV.126-134.

and arrows<sup>33</sup>. Secondly, that of Scythian success in their first skirmish - for where Herodotos relates the Scythians as having the upper hand in the first encounter and having teased the Persians in a later confrontation (probably as much by bow fire as by chasing a hare)<sup>34</sup>, Ktesias says the '(τόξα) ἐπικρατέστερα δ' ἦν τῶν Σκυθῶν'. A problem arises at this point in the relationship between Ktesias' and Strabo's work. Strabo not only claims Dareios marched into a desert, but also that it was for lack of water that he returned. Strabo makes no mention of a skirmish<sup>35</sup>. Such a reference need not indicate the success of the tactic attributed to the Scythians by Herodotos of destroying the horses' grazing-ground and choking the wells<sup>36</sup>, nor need it indicate Strabo's reading of Herodotos on this point, nor indeed need it render the Ktesian account unhistorical. Strabo's account may rather be explained by a geographical misconception<sup>37</sup>.

The final section of Photios' Scythian passage may now be examined: 'Thus Dareios taking flight crossed the bridges and hurrying, broke them before the whole army had crossed. And those 80,000 abandoned in Europe were massacred by Skytharbes'.<sup>38</sup> It is improbable that Ktesias found the figure of 80,000 in an official Persian document, as Macan had suggested<sup>39</sup>. There would seem to be two better possibilities. Ktesias may have taken the figure from Herodotos, as it corresponds exactly with the number of men Herodotos records as being left with Megabazos in Thrace<sup>40</sup>. Though Megabazos' army was never massacred to a man, Ktesias possibly took the figure from Herodotos. Alternatively,

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33. Her. IV.128-9.

34. Her. IV.134.

35. Strab.vii.3.14.

36. Her.IV.120.

37. H.L. Jones, Strabo (Loeb ed.) note on vii.3.17. See ch. on 'Hippocrates' p.11f. As soon as Dareios crossed the Danube, he was bound to find himself in a desert.

38. Photius, Ctesias ch.17. Own translation.

39. Macan, p.41.

40. Her. IV.143.

Ktesias may have simply taken his stock army figure of 800,000 and divided it by 10, to arrive at what he considered a credible figure for the number massacred<sup>41</sup>.

Ktesias would, nevertheless, seem to be suggesting that Scythians under the command of their king were in immediate pursuit of the Persians and followed them as far as the Bosporos, inflicting severe losses on the army<sup>42</sup>. Though Photios' epitome of Ktesias' account of the destruction of these bridges is confused, the notion of a Scythian pursuit would seem to have been present in Ktesias' original account. This notion could not have originated from Herodotos' fourth book. Nevertheless, in the light of two other source references such a pursuit as that which Ktesias appears to describe does not seem to be totally improbable.

Strabo records that Dareios set fire to several towns along the Propontis ' because he had learned after his return from his attack upon the Scythians that the nomads were making preparations to cross the strait and attack him to avenge their sufferings, and was afraid that the cities would provide means for the passage of their army',<sup>43</sup> while Herodotos, in a passage outside his Scythian logos, describes how Miltiades was forced to flee from the Chersonese 'to escape from the Scythian nomads who, incensed by the attack of Darius, joined forces and marched as far as the Chersonese'.<sup>44</sup> The two passages would seem to have been formulated

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41. On Ktesias' use of the figure 800,000 and on Ktesias' numerical inaccuracies, see Bigwood, 'Ktesias' Account of the Revolt of Inarus', pp.10-12. Also see Jacoby, 'Ktesias' p.2060.
42. Macan, p.41. appears to err in suggesting that the 80,000 men were meant to have been lost beyond the Danube. Ktesias seems to be referring to those men lost not only north of the Danube, but also (and perhaps even exclusively) to those stranded on the European side of the Bosporos. Thus the losses are of οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ and occur after the destruction of both bridges. τὰς γεφυρώσεις equals the earlier mentioned ζεύξας τὸν Βοσπορον καὶ τὸν Ἴστρον.
43. Strabo xiii.1.22.
44. Her. VI.40.

independently. Herodotos makes no mention of the episodes to which Strabo refers but does indicate clearly enough that at the time of the Persian withdrawal some Greek cities on the Propontis were in revolt, for after relating Otanes' attack on Byzantion, Chalcedon, Antandros, Lamponion, Lemnos and Imbros, and the death of the Persian rulers of Lemnos, Herodotos concludes: 'he strove to enslave and subdue all the people, accusing some of shunning service against the Scythians and others of plundering Darius' army on its way back from Scythia.'<sup>45</sup> Though it is not clear here whether 'all these people' refers to just the Lemnians and Imbrians, or the people of Byzantion, Chalcedon, and Antandros<sup>46</sup> as well, it is evident that the Greeks had deserted during service and/or had harassed Dareios' army - that is, they were in revolt.

As Herodotos had mentioned earlier how Megabazos had visited Byzantion and Chalcedon and 'Ἐλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο' it is probable that the people of Byzantion, Chalcedon and Antandros had in fact, along with Lemnians and Imbrians, been members of the expedition, and had deserted and harassed Dareios' withdrawing army.

The question of the historical accuracy of the account Ktesias gives of a Scythian incursion as far south as the Propontus is complicated by Herodotos' reference to Miltiades' expulsion from the Chersonese<sup>47</sup>. This passage is riddled with ambiguities and difficulties, yet to be successfully resolved in modern commentaries upon the passage. It is nevertheless possible to understand this passage as

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45. Her. V.27.

46. As Godley's and De Selincourt's translations demonstrate it is not clear whether these accusations were pronounced by Otanes (v.26.1) or Lykaretos (v.27) and thus de Selincourt has Otanes subjugate the cities, while Godley has Lykaretos. The ambiguity is caused by a lacuna in the text. *Herodotus*, tr. A.D. Godley 4V (Loeb, London, 1963); *Herodotus, The Histories*, tr. Aubrey de Selincourt, revised A.R. Burn (London, 1972).

47. Her. VI.40.

a record of a Scythian raid in 496 into the Chersonese, resulting in Miltiades' expulsion<sup>48</sup>.

The various accounts of the Scythian incursion (those of Strabo, Ktesias, Herodotos) may be reconciled by supposing that the incursion took the form of raids which followed different paths. The Scythians whom Strabo and Ktesias describe as pursuing Dareios may have reached the Bosporos end of the Propontis, for Strabo says Dareios burnt the towns on the Propontis for fear of the Scythians crossing<sup>49</sup>, while Ktesias says they pursued the Persians who crossed the Bosporos bridge. A second group, those whom Herodotos describes as expelling Miltiades, may have penetrated the Chersonese. If however, as is more probable, all three incidents were part of the same episode, it is possible that the variation in the accounts is the result of variant sources. Strabo, as his account can be reconciled with that of Ktesias as preserved in Photios' epitome, may in fact have drawn the account from Ktesias' original work. Ktesias in turn had drawn upon a source independent of Herodotos. But did Strabo use Ktesias directly? Strabo cites no authority for his passage on the Scythian incursion. The nearest citation is that of Theopompos as an authority on Sestos. After a description of the cities in the region (especially Sestos and Abydos) where Xerxes bridges the Heptastadion, and Dareios burnt towns for fear of the Scythians crossing, Strabo concludes that: 'Theopompos says that Sestos is small but well fortified, and that it is connected with its harbour by a double wall ...'<sup>50</sup> Whether, however, Theopompos was in fact Strabo's authority on the history of foreign presences in the region of Sestos is not clear. Theopompos was certainly capable of such digressions, but as there seem to be no other clues identifying Theopompos, the

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48. See End Note D.

49. Strab. XIII.1.22. The Pontus cities so destroyed are not named.

50. *Ibid.*



possibility that Theopompos was the intermediary between Ktesias and Strabo must remain unsubstantiated<sup>51</sup>.

Nevertheless it would appear that the raid in which Miltiades was expelled from the Chersonese (as described by Herodotos) is to be identified with that which Ktesias and Strabo claim followed immediately upon Dareios' withdrawal. The historical accuracy of Ktesias' account of Dareios' Scythian expedition, though differing from Herodotos' account, once again seems to be substantiated.

### III

When considering Ktesias' conception of the 'Royal Scythian Empire' and the place of this conception in the classical literary tradition, it is necessary to discuss not only Ktesias' treatment of tribes that Herodotos would have called 'Royal Scythians', but also Ktesias' treatment of the other 'Scythian/Saka' groups. Accounts of the very early tribal history of the 'Scythians' are offered by numerous classical writers. Most notable are the accounts in Diodoros, Justin and Jordanes. The correspondence between these accounts, their common divergence from the Herodotean accounts, and in some cases, their treatment of subjects upon which Herodotos was silent, arouses the suspicion that behind all these later accounts may lie a single original work dealing with the early history of the Scythians. Several questions arise. Did such an 'Early History of the Scythians' exist (though this title is used purely for convenience, it shall be retained throughout the following discussion as *EHS*<sup>52</sup>)? If it did, what was the

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51. On Theopompos as a possible source for Strabo with regard to Ateas, the fourth century Scythian King, see 'Theopompos', pp.200-204.
52. *EHS* may be defined as the original source of the fullest accounts of the early history of the Scythians. It was most probably a section within another work. '*EHS*' shall stand for material on the subject found in subsequent works.

nature of this work? Who was its author/source? Did Ktesias fill one of these roles? These questions may now be treated in turn. The treatment may commence with an examination of the relevant sections of Diodoros, Justin and Jordanes.

Justin in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius' work offers a very detailed history of the Scythian invasion of Asia, their confrontation with Sesosis of Egypt, their return and war with their slaves, their relationship to the Amazons and their war with Dareios. A close analysis of Justin II.i-v provides grounds for the identification not only of sections which appear to correspond with sections of Herodotos' *Histories*, but of material which appears to have been drawn from a non-Herodotean history of the Scythians.

In II.i. Justin introduces an element which assumes significant dimensions in stories which are to follow later, that of the roles of men and women in Scythian history (particularly with respect to the foundation of the Amazon, Parthian and Bactrian powers). There then follows a lengthy record of a debate between the Egyptians and Scythians on the issue of which people were the older. The issue of the antiquity of the Egyptians and Scythians had been dealt with by Herodotos<sup>53</sup>. Herodotos, however, dealt with the antiquity of these respective peoples quite separately and at no point draws the two people into a debate. In Herodotos the debate, which is at one stage recorded, is between the Phrygians and Egyptians<sup>54</sup>. Nor does Herodotos employ the same arguments as those invoked in Justin's account, where the concern is rather with questions of natural philosophy and the manner of generation of life<sup>55</sup>.

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53. Egypt - Her. II.2, 5. Scythia - Her. IV.5-12.

54. Her. II.2.

55. The supposition underlying Justin's account being that men might spring directly from the earth. Such was a common supposition. See Lucretius v.803; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* i.80; Diodorus Siculus i.10.

In II.ii. Justin offers a geographical and ethnographical overview of 'Scythia'. The extent of Scythia is given as follows: 'Scythia autem in orientem porrecta includitur ab uno latere Ponto, ab altero montibus Rhiphaeis, a tergo Asia et Phasi flumine. Multum in longitudinem et latitudinem patet'.<sup>56</sup> The sense of the passage is not easily extracted. Three Scythian borders are defined: the Euxine Pontos; the Rhipean Mountains; and the Phasis (apparently separating Scythia from Asia Minor). The relationship between these boundaries is far from clear. Were the Rhipians conceived of as being simply another border, or as 'opposite' the Pontos? If the latter, does this place then in the north or east? Was the Pontos conceived to be the southern or western border, the Phasis to be the eastern or southern? These questions are unanswerable. The difficult question of source is thereby rendered even more difficult. The mention of the Rhipian mountains excludes Herodotos as source<sup>57</sup>. The reference to the Phasis would seem to exclude Hekataios as the direct source, as for him the most important 'Scythian' river is the Tanais. If the immediate source was neither Herodotos nor Hekataios, then who was it? Ktesias? There are no other references which might indicate that Ktesias made mention of the Rhipians and Phasis or that he attempted a geographical definition of Scythia. Even if Ktesias was the source (pure conjecture) the problem of Ktesias' source would remain.

In II.iii. Justin gives a short history of the Scythians' 'international deeds'. It is this section which is of greatest significance. This history first lists a number of outstanding Scythian successes: 'Darius, king of the

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56. Justin II.ii.1-2. Throughout this thesis the Latin text of Justin is quoted from *M. Iviani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, ed. Otto Seel (Stuttgart, 1972), and the English translation is quoted from *Justin, Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius*, tr. with notes by Rev. John Selby Watson (London, 1875).

57. Ch.1, pp.13-14.

Persians, they forced to quit Scythia in disgraceful flight. They slew Kyros with his whole army. They cut off in a like manner Zopyrion, a general of Alexander the Great, with all his forces.' Following upon this mention is made of Romans, the Scythian foundation of the Parthian and Bactrian powers and of Scythian qualities. Justin then seems to backtrack in offering a more detailed account of one particular episode of Scythian history, the Scythians' war against Sesostris, king of Egypt. An account corresponding very closely to that of Justin is, as Iliescu has noted, Jordanes' account of the war between the Goths and Vesosis of Egypt<sup>58</sup>.

There is no problem in concluding that Jordanes' account goes back to Trogus, just as does Justin's. Trogus' work is known to have been included in Jordanes' *Getica* at several other places<sup>59</sup>, and indeed, immediately following upon recounting the tale of the Scythians' war with 'Vesosis' Jordanes writes: 'From their (the Goths/Scythians) name or race Pompeius Trogus says the stock of the Parthians had its origin<sup>60</sup>. This parallels Justin II.iii. Similarly there is no problem in Jordanes' substitution of 'Goths' for Scythians<sup>61</sup>. As Jordanes' account is in part even more detailed than Justin's, it may further be concluded that Jordanes has preserved some parts of Trogus' account which had been omitted through epitomisation from Justin's work. The exact course by which this material passed from Trogus to Jordanes is not clear<sup>62</sup>.

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58. Vladimir Iliescu, 'Bemerkungen zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung in den *Getica* des Jordanes' *Actes de la XII<sup>e</sup> Conference Internationale d'études classiques, Eirene* 1972 Bucharest (Amsterdam, 1975) p.414. Jordanes VI.47.

59. See Appendix IV n.6.

60. Jordanes 48.

61. Jordanes applied the term to both Scythians and Getai. See ch.10 'Theopompos'.

62. The only authority Jordanes cites is Orosius: 'Concerning these female warriors Orosius speaks in convincing language' (Jordanes 44). This citation occurs in the context of an attempt by Jordanes to prove conclusively that Vesosis waged a war against the Goths. It seems clear that Orosius had included in his own history the whole Trogean history of Scythian expansion - from the Amazon period

With respect to this section too of the Trogean history of the Scythians (the section dealing with the Scythians in Asia), Herodotos was clearly not Trogus' source. To start with, contrary to the essence of the Trogus' tale, Herodotos has the Scythians being subdued by Sesostris, who conquered every nation that he attacked. Sesostris 'marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to which he came.'<sup>63</sup> and 'Thus doing he marched over the country till he had passed over from Asia to Europe and subdued the Scythians and Thracians ...'<sup>64</sup> A similar tradition is preserved in Diodoros and Dikaiarchos<sup>65</sup>. On the question of the duration of Scythian supremacy in Asia, the Trogus version again differs sharply from the Herodotean. Justin writes that the Scythians 'imperium Asiae ter quaesivere'.<sup>67</sup> Herodotos only ever mentions one Scythian expedition into Asia. Justin also writes that while returning from Egypt the Scythians subdued and imposed tribute upon 'Asia', that is, Asia Minor, till 'after spending fifteen years in the reduction of Asia, they were called home by the importunity of their wives ...'<sup>68</sup> The figure of fifteen years is nowhere to be found in Herodotos' account as the number of years it took to subdue Asia. Again, in Justin's version of the Trogean account Asia remained a tributary to the

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62. (Contd.) through the period of the wars in Asia, to Dareios expedition. The history may, however, have passed through several other hands besides those of Orosius in its transmission from Trogus to Jordanes. The prime candidates are Dio Chrysostom and Cassiodorus (both periodically cited), see ch.10 'Theopompos' n.61 and 62; Appendix III, and Alfred Gutschmid, 'Die beiden ersten Bücher des Pompeius Trogus' *Kleine Schriften* vol.5 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1894), pp.76ff.

63. Her. II.102.

64. Her. II.103.

65. Kees, 'Sesostris' *RE* (1923) 1861-1876, provides an overview of all the historical and historiographical problems.

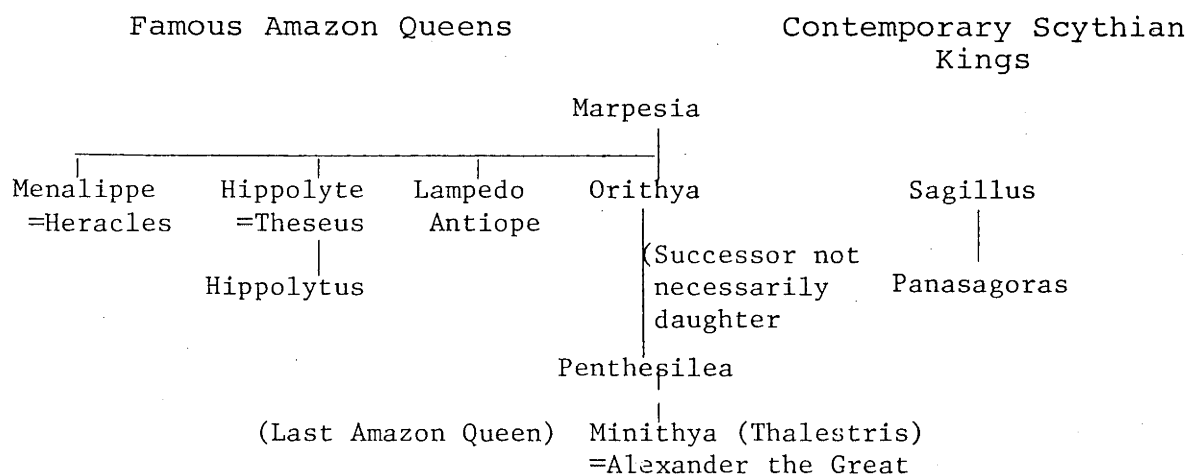
66. Iliescu, 'Zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung des Jordanes', p.415 n.39.

67. Justin II.iii.1.

68. Justin II.iii.16.

Scythians for 1500 years, apparently even after the Scythian army had returned to their homeland<sup>69</sup>. No such state of affairs is referred to by Herodotos. Historically such circumstances are incredible. Herodotos is probably accurate in his claim that the Scythians ruled Asia for twenty-eight years<sup>70</sup>. The accounts differ too in their descriptions of the nature of Scythian rule and tribute extraction<sup>71</sup>.

In II.iv. the main subject of Justin's account changes from the Scythians to the Amazons, a people descended from a group of exiled Scythians. Herodotos offers a very different account of the origin of the Amazon power, wherein the Amazons as a group of warrior women existed before their first meeting with Scythians<sup>72</sup>. Trogus' history of the Amazons is detailed in the extreme, offering fourteen personal names of Scythians or Amazons. The original Amazons were the wives of the exiled band of Scythians led by Ylinos and Scolopitas. From the historical account which then follows the following Amazon and Scythian stemmata may be drawn.



69. Justin II.iii.17-18.

70. Her. I.106.

71. According to Justin the Scythians imposed: 'only a moderate tribute, rather as a token of their power over it, than as a recompense for their victory.' While Herodotos (I.106) writes that: 'all the land was wasted by reason of their violence and their pride, for, besides that they extracted from each the tribute which was laid upon him, they rode about the land carrying off all men's possession'. On these same two variant conceptions, see ch.9 'Ephoros', pp.163-169.

72. Her. IV.110, 117.

None of these names are to be found in Herodotos<sup>73</sup>.

In II.v. Justin treats two subjects: the marriage of the Scythian women with their slaves, and the war which followed upon the return of the Scythian men from Asia; and Dareios' Scythian campaign. The first of these stories corresponds closely to that in Herodotos IV.3, as well as to the story told by Polyainos (VII.44)<sup>74</sup>. The second story, that of Dareios' campaign, also corresponds to Herodotos at one point. The number of Dareios' army is given at 700,000<sup>75</sup>. According to Photios, Ktesias put the number at 800,000.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Justin names the Scythian king against whom Dareios marched, King Ianthyros<sup>77</sup>. Herodotos calls the king, Idanthyrsos; though Ianthyros resembles Idanthyrsos<sup>78</sup>, it differs from the name Photios

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73. For other accounts of Amazonian history see Diodorus Siculus ii.45 (this account is discussed in detail in the pages that follow); Orosius i.15; Ammianus Marcellinus book xxii; Eustathius on Dionysius; Strabo XI.v.1-4. The Amazons figure prominently in Strabo's work, but only because they figured in the work of so many of Strabo's predecessors. Strabo himself declares that he believes none of the stories related to Amazons: 'But as regards the Amazons, the same stories are told now as in early times, though they are marvellous and beyond belief.' (XI.5.3.) Several of these Amazon names come from a very early tradition (such as Penthesilea in Hesiod's *The Aethiopsis* 1). For a full discussion of the Amazon legends see the most comprehensive work of Gutschmid, 'Die beiden ersten Bücher ...' pp.109-157.
74. As there exists no <sup>recent</sup> English translation of Polyainos, a translation of VII.44 is given below: 'The Scythians overran Asia. The Scythian women marrying the servants were having children by them. The slaves did not accept their masters when they came back. There was a war. The servants equipped themselves and attacked in a phalanx. A man Scythes, fearing the battle with them would be out of their desperation, suggested they throw away their weapons and bows, and holding up whips set upon the servants. They attacked holding up the whips, and the others, not able to bear the consciousness of being slaves, fleeing at once were gone.'
75. Justin II.v.9-10. 'Huic Darius, rex Persarum ... bellum intulit et armatis septingentis milibus hominum Scythiam ingressus ...' Equals Her.IV.87.
76. Photius 17.
77. Justin II.v.8. 'Post haec pax apud Scythas fuit usque tempora Ianthyri regis.' For reasons not apparent from the ap.crit. of the Teubner text, Selby Watson translates this name as 'Jancyrus'.
78. See ch.1. 'Hekataios and Herodotos', pp.25-26.

records Ktesias as using, Skytharbes. The reason for this will be explored later<sup>79</sup>. Moreover, Justin records Dareios' loss of 80,000 men in his flight from Scythia<sup>80</sup>. As has been discussed at length above in section II of this chapter, while Herodotos does not record such a loss of men, Ktesias does.

Most of the material used by Trogus in his writings on the early history of the Scythians, as preserved in Justin II.i-v and Jordanes 47-48, would seem, therefore, to have been derived not from Herodotos' *Histories* but another work dealing with the early history of the Scythians. The date of this *EHS* is unclear. References in Justin's text to historical episodes dating to the third century B.C. or even later are all to be found in either the introduction to the *EHS* section in Justin (with the reference to the Scythians as founders of the Parthians and Bactrians)<sup>81</sup> or in the brief catalogue of Scythian successes where mention is made of Zopyrion, Alexander, the Romans and the powers of Parthia and Bactria<sup>82</sup>. The source for these references was, as Rostovtzeff so well demonstrates, in all probability a Mithridatic Historian<sup>83</sup>. Setting these references aside,

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79. pp.143f.

80. Justin II.v.10. '...non facientibus hostibus pugnae potestatem metuens, ne interrupto ponte Histri reditus sibi intercluderetur, amissis LXXX milibus hominum trepidus refugit'.

81. Justin II.i.3.

82. Justin II.iii.3-6.

83. Rostovtzeff, *Skythen und der Bosporus* p.107. Not only could all these subjects fall within the scope of such an historian's interests, but the reference to Zopyrian is even actually to be found repeated in Justin's Mithridatic section (XXXVI.iii) and the Scythians' role in the foundation of Parthia and Bactria is in fact discussed in some detail by Trogus/Justin Bks XLI and XLII. The reason why the equation between Scythians and Parthians is not also to be found in Jordanes' *Getica* may be, as Iliescu suggests ('Zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung des Jordanes' p.416 n.40), that Jordanes' belief that 'Parthian' could be interchanged with 'Persian', rendered an equation between 'Scythians' and 'Parthians' impossible. It was inconceivable that the Persians, the Scythians' greatest enemy, could also be the same people as the Scythians. The reference to the Scythians' knowledge of Rome (seemingly irrelevant in an account of early Scythian history) was probably prompted by consideration of Mithridates' relationship with Rome, which Trogus discusses at length (Justin Bk.XXXVII)



the remainder of Trogus' work may have been drawn from still earlier writings - perhaps fourth century. This is pure conjecture. Gutschmid indeed postulates a fourth century Athenian source<sup>84</sup>.

Diodoros would seem to have drawn upon the same *EHS* as Trogus is postulated above to have used. The first of these passages which might be considered is II.45-46, a history of the Amazons. Diodoros' history does not include the great cast of leading Amazons and Scythians who are named in Trogus', but does include reference to episodes in Amazon history that are not to be found in Trogus - Justin. Nevertheless, the points of correspondence between the two accounts are so numerous, that the use of a common source may be postulated without difficulty<sup>85</sup>. The correspondence is almost certainly due to the use of a common source, the *EHS* postulated above.

Who then was the author of this *EHS* and who was his main

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83. (Contd.) drawing upon a Mithridatic historian. See Rostovtzeff's comments on Justin XXXVII.1, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, p.107.
84. Gutschmid, 'Die beiden ersten Bücher ...' pp.161ff.
85. Justin II.iv. The points of correspondence include references to such matters as the following: 1) the Amazon homeland is on the Thermodon river; 2) a warlike queen emerges who is responsible for initial tribal expansion; 3) the burning off of the right breast was to remove an obstruction - and has given rise to the tribal name; 4) the city Themiscyra/plain Themiscyrian are named; 5) though the Amazon queens in Diodoros remain anonymous, the first great Queen Diodoros refers to (queen A) would seem to correspond with Justin's Marpesia, while her daughter (queen B) who 'emulated the excellence of her mother, and even surpassed her in some particular deeds' (Diod.II.46) may correspond to Justin's Orithya: 'Orithya, the daughter of Marpesia, succeeded to the government in her room, and has attracted extraordinary admiration...' (Diod.IV.17) 6) under Orithya/Queen B the expansion of the kingdom; 7) Herakles makes an expedition against the Amazons (featuring Queen Hippolyte); 8) Penthesilea is named as the last great Amazon queen (at the time of the Trojan war); 9) the race soon afterwards dwindled out of existence. The correspondence between the two accounts is therefore not only very close with respect to content, but also order. The order in which the various episodes are enumerated is exactly the same.

source? Suspicion may fall upon Dinon and Ktesias respectively. Several scholars have discussed the relationship between these two writers.

Jacoby had long ago suggested Dinon played a role in transmitting and transforming Ktesias' Assyrian, Median and old Persian history; 'Dinon schient in hellenistischer Zeit allerdings das Hauptbuch gewesen zu sein (...), was wohl darauf beruht, dass er die letzte, bis auf das Ende des Reiches herabgeführte Darstellung gegeben hat. Sie fusste in ihren älteren Teilen offensichtlich ganz auf K. natürlich mit der Massgabe, dass Dinon ihn in der Richtung effektvoll - rhetorischer Ausgestaltung zu übertreffen sucht, ihn variierte und durch solche Mittel die stoffliche Abhängigkeit verdeckte, ganz wie es K. selbst mit Herodot gemacht hat.'<sup>86</sup> Jacoby successfully supports this conclusion with numerous examples. It remains now only to recognise the role Dinon played in transference of the *EHS* as being identical to the role Jacoby outlines with respect to other areas of history writing.

Schwartz, apparently on the grounds that Dinon was the father of Kleitarchos, was the first to suggest Dinon may be 'das Mittelglied zwischen K. und der romanhaften Alexanderhistorie'.<sup>87</sup> Jacoby expressed agreement with such a definition, but added one qualification. Although Dinon appears to have been read widely in antiquity, so was Ktesias, and with regard to Ktesias 'dürfte die Wirkung nicht nur eine indirekte gewesen sein.'<sup>88</sup> Thus with respect to the possibility of a more direct link between Ktesias and Trogus, Jacoby makes several suggestions. Ktesias was used directly by Ephoros who in turn was the source for Trogus/Justin I.1-3

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86. Jacoby, 'Ktesias' *RE* 2069.

87. Schwartz, 'Dinon' *RE* 654.

88. Jacoby, 'Ktesias' 2069: 'Poseidonios hat ihn noch gelesen (Cic.de divin.I.46); Plutarch benutzt ihn im Artaxerxes zur Correctur und Ergänzung des Ktesias; für den zweiten Teil von c22 an, wo Ktesias versagte, liegt er wohl zu Grund (vgl frg.29=Plut.Artax.30.)

(early Asian history). A reworking of Ktesias was the source of Trogus' Assyrian history<sup>89</sup>. A combination of Herodot, Ktesias and a third writer appears to be responsible for Trogus' Median-Persian history. However, unless Jacoby conceives of Justin II.1-5 on the *EHS* as falling within Trogus' 'medisch-persische Geschichte (I.4ff.)', (which does not seem to be the case), Jacoby nowhere recommends Ktesias as the original source for the information supplied in Justin II.1-5.

The particular question of the source(s) of Justin II.1-5 is first treated by Gutschmid who claims that Dinon is responsible not only for the stories, here termed *EHS*, but also for the pro-Scythian sympathies and the anti-Herodotos polemics. Gutschmid believed, moreover, that Dinon was drawing upon a Persian authority<sup>90</sup>. Gutschmid

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89. 'Sicher ist nur, dass auch die assyrische Geschichte des Trogus eine Bearbeitung des K. ist, die seine Motive weiterentwickelt und rhetorisch pointiert; ferner dass diese Vorlage sowenig wie für Ephorus Dinon war.'
90. Gutschmid 'Die beiden ersten Bücher ...' pp.87ff., investigates the source of Trogus' information in great depth before concluding (p.102): 'Als Quelle des ersten Buches ist Deinons Persische Geschichte nachgewiesen worden. Es erübrigt nur noch, zu zeigen, dass alle für den Urheber der skythischen Nachrichten des Trogus ermittelten Kriterien auf diesen passen.' This Gutschmid does, 102-104: 'Das Alles passt auf den Deinon...' (p.103) - namely 1) the correspondence of Trogus with Arrian and Polyainos (the latter of whom is known to have used Dinon; 2) the idealisation in Curtius and Jordanes; 3) the contrasting of Egypt and Scythia (cf. Dinon F 23b); 4) use of folktales on Sesostris and the Scythians (cf. Dinon F 7). Rostovtzeff was not, however, the first to appreciate the existence of certain problems with the identification of Dinon as the source (*Skythien und der Bosphorus*, p.109). Gutschmid himself writes: 'Das einzige Bedenken, welches man gegen eine Ableitung des Abschnittes des Trogus über die Skythen aus Deinon haben könnte, dass dieser in seiner Persischen Geschichte keinen Anlass gehabt habe, die vollständige Geographie und Geschichte Skythiens zu behandeln, erledigt sich bei näherem Zusehen von selbst:...' Gutschmid does not believe the problems insurmountable. All the tales to do with Scythia bear some relevance to Persian history. (pp.104-5) 'Die Nachrichten des Trogus enthalten also Nichts, was nicht in einer persischen Geschichte wie die des Deinon vorkommen musste;' Gutschmid's argument is, however, weakest when he claims 'die Quelle der Nachrichten des Trogus über Skythien den persischen Standpunkt einnimmt...' Although the stories are relevant to Persian history, they are not always sympathetic to the Persians.

had already successfully demonstrated Trogus' use of Dinon in Book I of his *Historiae Philippicae*. Rostovtzeff correctly points out that it is highly improbable that stories wherein the Persians are twice defeated by Scythians would be of Persian origin. Rostovtzeff, however, then goes on to suggest that the idealisation of the Scythians found in Trogus' early history of the Scythians did not come from Ktesias or Dinon, but from a later source who took elements from the non-Herodotean tradition of Ktesias and Dinon<sup>91</sup>. This further conclusion does not necessarily follow. Two separate issues must be discerned: Dinon's use of a Persian source and his introduction of 'idealisation'. On the first issue, Rostovtzeff is doubtlessly correct in being unwilling to recognise an original Persian source. On the second issue, however, so frequent is such idealisation found in early literary tradition, it is by no means improbable that Dinon should also have engaged in it. This is particularly so, given the above suggestion that Dinon was not just a writer of history, but a writer of romantic history<sup>92</sup>.

In 1964 the above issues were broached again. Iliescu, though prepared to concede Trogus' use of Dinon's *Persika* for section I of his *Historiae Philippicae* is not convinced that Gutschmid has proved this to be the case with Trogus' second book<sup>93</sup>. Like Rostovtzeff, Iliescu also raises the question of the origin of the idealisation in Justin's text, but leaves the question unanswered<sup>94</sup>. Further discussion of this question shall be postponed till section IV of this chapter. Two questions still remain. If, with respect to the *EHS*, Trogus' source was not Dinon, then who was it? If

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91. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*

92. Schwartz 'Dinon' *RE* (1903) 654.

93. Iliescu, 'Bemerkung zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung...' p.415 n.38.

94. *Ibid.* 'Und auch in diesem Fall wissen wir nicht, ob die "Verschönerung" der Anfänge der skythischen Geschichte bereits in der Vorlagegleichwohl welche es gewesen sein mag - zu finden war, oder sie dem Skythenliebhaber Trogus zu verdanken ist, um so mehr als es sich um weit zurückliegende und längst vergessene Dinge handelte.'

it was Dinon, and if Dinon had a non-Persian source, then who was Dinon's source? None of the above scholars consider these questions. It is however possible to argue the thesis that Troguſ used Dinon (by reference to Gutschmid's argument) and that Dinon used Ktesias. The argument may run as follows.

For numerous, large and significant sections of his second book (sections dealing with Persia, Egypt, Ethiopia and India) Diodoros cites Ktesias as his authority<sup>95</sup>. The Ktesian fragment of greatest relevance to the present study is Diodoros II.34.3-5, the tale of the Saka queen Zarina<sup>96</sup>. This story bears a great resemblance to the Amazon stories of Diodoros II.45-46. It is therefore possible Ktesias was responsible for Diodoros II.45-46. Diodoros II.45-46 has been shown to correspond very closely with Justin II.iv. Justin II.iv would seem to be but part of an original *EHS* (preserved in ch.i-v of Justin's second book). It is therefore possible that Ktesias lay behind all of the *EHS* chapters of Troguſ/Justin, and indeed, behind the *EHS*. Thus, whether Dinon is considered the authority used directly by Troguſ or not, Ktesias may be seen to be a still earlier source for all the stories.

There is one weak step in the above argument. The similarity between Diodoros' stories of Zarina (II.34.3-5) and the Amazons (II.45-46) does not necessarily indicate a common source (Ktesias). On the contrary, it may indicate different sources. Ktesias may have related the same story

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95. See the comprehensive work of J.M. Bigwood, 'Diodorus and Ctesias' *Phoenix* 34, 1980, pp.195-207.

96. Ktesias is not cited within this section as the authority, but these paragraphs, like those preceding them are all in the accusative-infinitive construction, indicating they are all simply a continuation of the report of Ctesias' account which begun in II.32.4. Jacoby 688 F 5. For a full catalogue of the extant versions of this story see Jacoby *FGrHist* 688 F 7, 8a, 8b and the scattered fragments to be found in König, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos*. For a discussion of the versions see König pp.45-46 (though completely uncritical). The relevant passages are Diod.II.34; Anonym, *de myl.* 2; Demetrius, *de eloc.* 213; P.Ox 2330; and Nicolaos Damascus 1.335f.

in two different contexts or, as is more probable, one account came out of the other at a later date. Zarina can be seen in more than one Amazon queen in both Marpesia and Orithya (Justin II.iv. and Jordanes 49-50) and in the anonymous Amazon queen of Diodoros II.45<sup>97</sup>. Ktesias' Zaranaia story appears to have been adapted for the composition of two Amazon queen stories. In his most thorough and extensive examination of the Amazons in literary tradition, Gutschmid overlooks the above possibility.

A first tentative step may be made towards unravelling the entangled traditions by conjecturing at least three early stages in the 'History's' development. Firstly, the writing of stories dealing with the exploits of such early Saka queens as Zarina<sup>98</sup>. This stage was the responsibility of Ktesias. Secondly, the rewriting of the above stories with the 'Saka' becoming 'Amazons' (one Saka queen even becoming two Amazon queens). This stage was probably the responsibility of Dinon. Thirdly, the combination of both old Scythian/Saka histories with the new Amazon history to form the *EHS*. This stage was possibly also the responsibility of Dinon. It was from this synthesized *EHS* which Trogus then drew. This explains the co-existence in both Justin and Jordanes' histories of a history of Scythians in Asia and a history of Amazons - also in part set in Asia. It is from this same work which Diodoros drew for his history of the Amazons, though he had plainly used Ktesias (whom he cites) directly for his Zarina story.

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97. The elements common to the Justin/Jordanes (Trogus) and Diodoros accounts are many: the stages in the expansion of Amazon power; the queen's renown and personal valour; the naming of the queen(s) as the Daughter of Ares/daughters of Mars; the foundation of cities; heroic end in battle. Many of these same elements can be found in the story of Zarina, who is also said to have subdued neighbours and founded 'not a few cities' (Diod.II.34.4).

98. Another such Saka queen is Sparethre (contemporary of Kyros). See Aelius Theon of Alexandria, *Progymasmata* 9.

## IV

A review may now be undertaken of Ktesias' conception of the tribal organisation of the European Scythian tribes (with particular reference to the question of whether or not he had any conception of such an entity as the 'Royal Scythian Empire'). The Ktesian material which has been identified in the above sections, has been so reworked that it is hardly possible to distinguish Ktesias' own use of such terms as Σάκαι and Σκύθαι under the numerous 'Gothi', 'Geti' (Jordanes), 'Amazones' (Justin, Diodoros) and 'Scythae' (Justin) of the subsequent tradition. Nevertheless, some reconstruction of Ktesias usage is possible - primarily upon the evidence of the Greek sources.

It appears that the main distinction Ktesias made between the northern Iranian-speaking tribes is that between those he designates as Σκύθαι and those as Σάκαι. The former term appears to have been applied to European tribes. Thus Σκύθαι is used throughout Photios 16 and 17 with respect to the two Persian Scythian expeditions. Those passages of Strabo which, as has been discussed in section II, appear to correspond with Photios 17 (Strabo VII.3.14, XIII.1.22) and may also go back to Ktesias, also use Σκύθαι. The latter term, Σάκαι appears to have been applied by Ktesias to more eastern tribes not only from the story of the Saka queen, Zarinaia (as related by numerous classical writers, the most notable of whom is perhaps Diodoros) but also in the accounts of the wars between the Sakai and the Medes (as related by Diodoros<sup>99</sup> and Polyainos<sup>100</sup>).

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99. Diod.II.34.1-2. Artynes ruled over the Medes for twenty-two years, and Astibaras for forty. During the reign of the latter the Parthians revolted from the Medes and entrusted both their country and their city to the hands of the Sacae (τοῖς Σάκαις). This led to a war between the Sacae and the Medes, which lasted many years, and after no small number of battles and the loss of many lives on both sides, they finally agreed to peace on the following terms, that the Parthians should be subject to the Medes, but that both peoples should retain their former possessions and be friends and allies for ever.'

100. Diod.VII.12 'Sirakes', cf. Ktesias, Photios 3 on common use of Amorges.

Photios appears to be giving an account of events which Ktesias narrates within this same period, in ch.3 and 7. These events center about the exploits of 'Amorges, the King of the Sakai' ('Αμόργην τῶν Σακῶν μὲν βασιλέα).<sup>101</sup> These Photios fragments of Ktesias' references to 'Sakai' are of still greater value by virtue of the fact that Photios also uses the word 'Skythai' in his epitome with respect to the European tribes. Photios would therefore seem to use both terms in the same way that Ktesias used both terms. Photios and Diodoros, writing in Greek and purporting as they do to simply be giving a summary of Ktesias (and having no motive for doing otherwise), as well as Polyainos, may be assumed to preserve Ktesias' original usages.

Such a conception as the one outlined above, does not correspond with that of the Hecataean or Hellenic tradition, wherein all the people mentioned above are designated as Ἕκταται regardless of geographical location. It is a conception much more in line with the Herodotean system of classification (west of the Tanais, Scythians; east of Tanais, Sakai). Nevertheless, on his further division of the tribes and perception of tribal identities and confederations, Ktesias would seem to be far behind all the above writers (Hekataios, Hellenikos and Herodotos). There are no references in the extant fragments of Ktesias to any subdivisions

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101. Photios 3; 'And (he writes) that Kyros made war against the Sakai and that he captured Amorges, the King of the Sakai, husband of Sparethre. She, after the capture of her husband, gathered an army together and made war against Kyros, leading forward 300,000 men and 200,000 women. She conquered Kyros and captured alive, along with many others, Parmises, the brother of Amytis and three of his sons. For these Amorges was later released, when those ones too (P. and sons) were released.' (own translation.)

Photios 7: 'Amorges, having heard about Kyros, arrived on the spot hastily with 20,000 Sakai cavalry (ἔχων Σακῶν δισμυρίους ἰππέας). And with war breaking out between the Persians and Derbikai, the Persians and Saka army won overwhelmingly. And the King of the Derbikai, Amoraos was also killed; he himself and his two sons. 30,000 of the Derbikai died and of the Persians 9,000. And the land went over to Kyros.' (own translation.)



of the peoples designated as Σκύθαι or Σάκαι.

The naivety of the Ctesian conception of tribal organisation is nowhere more clearly seen than with respect to his conception of the organisation of the European tribes. Ktesias gives the name Skytharbes to the king against whom Ariaramnes sailed, whose brother (Massagetes) was captured, against whom Dareios marched and who ended up pursuing Dareios across the Danube. It is doubtful whether the king in the first two of the above roles could have been the same as those in the last two. The Scythians with whom Ariaramnes had contact were, if they be located on the Maiotis or Crimea, probably not the Royal Scythians, but an allied tribe. Ktesias mentions neither any of the tribes whom Herodotos considered were Scythian neighbours or subjects, nor any division of command or army, which Herodotos records were both being divided into three.

On the actual physical extent of the Scythian lands, Ktesias is also unclear. The extraordinary geographical description of the extent of Scythia in Justin II.ii would possibly assist in this regard if the source of the description could be identified with any certainty<sup>102</sup>. As has been discussed, this proves to be impossible. The mention of the Rhiplean mountains excludes Herodotos as a source while the reference to the Phasis river would seem to preclude direct use of Hekataios<sup>103</sup>. The possibility that Ktesias was the source cannot be substantiated.

The discussion may briefly return to the question raised earlier concerning the idealisation to be found in Trogus' history<sup>104</sup>. It has been suggested already that it is conceivable that much of this 'idealisation' predated

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102. 'Ctesias' pp.130f.

103. See ch.1, pp.14-19.

104. Ch. 'Ctesias' pp.139f.

Trogus and was possibly Dinon's responsibility. A further possibility, equally difficult to substantiate, is that Ktesias was in part responsible. That Ktesias was capable of 'idealising' northern peoples has been suggested by A. Riese (1875) who refers to the Ctesian fragment in Steph. Byz.'s entry under 'Δυρβαῖοι': 'A tribe extending to the Bactrians and India'. Ktesias in the 10th book of his *Persika* 'A land lies next to it, the Dyrbaioi, stretching to Bactria and India. These men are happy, rich and very just, neither wronging nor killing any man. If someone finds on the road either gold or clothing or silver or anything else, they do not touch it. These people neither make bread nor eat it, nor are they accustomed to [...] unless for the sake of sacred rites. They make barley finer than the Greeks, and they eat cakes of grass.'<sup>105</sup> This passage is particularly significant for two reasons. Firstly, the location of the tribe as next to Bactria and India suggests that the people may have been a Saka tribe. Secondly, the reference is to the tenth Book of Ktesias' *Persika*. In this book Ktesias is known to have dealt with Saka tribes under King Amorges<sup>106</sup>. It is therefore clear that not only might these idealised Dyrbaioi be located within Saka lands, but that events involving Saka tribes were narrated in the same

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105. Steph. Byz. 'Δυρβαῖοι' - own translation. A. Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Programm des Städtischen Gymnasiums zu Frankfurt a.M. (Frankfurt a.M., 1875) p. 17.

106. Photius 6-7, own translation. 'But Kyros marched against the Derbikai, over whom Amoraios was king; and the Derbikai put elephants in ambush and they routed Kyros' cavalry. Kyros himself fell from his horse and an Indian man (for the Indians were allies of the Derbikai, from whom they obtained the elephants) struck Kyros, he having fallen, with a spear below the hip into the thigh - from which he died. At the time, however, his kinsmen picked him up still alive and hurried to their camp. In the battle many Persians and the same number of Derbikai died; for they numbered 10,000. Amorges, having heard about Kyros, arrived on the spot hastily with 20,000 Sakai cavalry. And with war breaking out between the Persians and Derbikai, the Persian and Sakai army won overwhelmingly. And the king of the Derbikai, Amoraios was also killed; he himself and his two sons. 30,000 of the Derbikai died and of the Persians 9,000. And the land went over to Kyros.'

book as this Utopian description. Did Book 10 actually include passages idealising Saka tribes? It is unclear. Ktesias was clearly capable of it. This capacity is further illustrated in Ktesias' account of the romance between the Saka princess Zarinaia and a Median king.

Ktesias, though at times clearly using and polemicising against Herodotos, was largely independent of Herodotos in giving an account of Scythian and Saka matters. Historically conceivable matters which Ktesias records are even sometimes completely omitted by Herodotos (such as Ariaramnes, Dareios' retreat through the Chersonnese and the early Scythian and Saka history). Ktesias' independence is evident not only in matter, but also conception. Ktesias had no conception of a 'Royal Scythian Empire', nor even of the separate identity of numerous tribes. The only terms he used were Skythai and Sakai. Even these do not exactly correspond with the Herodotean usage. Ktesias further demonstrated his independence of Herodotos by indulging in 'idealisation' of Saka tribes. Ktesias was not, as others had been doing, and were to continue to do, following Hekataios. Gathering outside the existing literary tradition many Persian and Scythian stories, Ktesias is perhaps the only writer to be dealt with in this paper who may be considered to have written to any significant degree outside both the Hecataean and Herodotean traditions.

## CHAPTER 3

EUDOXOS

Eudoxos of Knidos was not only a famous mathematician and astronomer, but also a geographer. As a geographer he is not so famous. In his capacity as a geographer, Eudoxos' role in the literary tradition concerned with the European Scythians was not insignificant. Nevertheless his role in this tradition has been overlooked by most writers<sup>1</sup>. When he is mentioned in this regard, his significance is often underestimated or reckoned as minimal. Thus, Borzsak wrote that Eudoxos 'scheint nichts von den nördlich des Istros liegenden Gebieten gewusst zu haben'<sup>2</sup>, though, as will be discussed shortly, it is evident that he did in fact deal at length with this very region in the fourth book of his *Ges Periodos*. The qualification Borzsak should have made is that Eudoxos had no personal knowledge of the tribes in this region. Like Damastes and Hekataios before him, Eudoxos simply wrote within the well-established literary tradition of Ionian geography, and only used material offered by this tradition.

It has only been in very recent years that Eudoxos' significance and place in a tradition of geographical writing has been perceived. In 1972 Müller observed that the title Γῆς περίοδος was also that used by Hekataios and Damastes as the title of their geographies. Nevertheless Müller does not recommend either Hekataios or Damastes as Eudoxos' main source, but rather a whole range of sources: Homer, Hesiod, Hekataios, Herodotos, Xanthos and Ktesias<sup>3</sup>. Müller also wrote of Eudoxos' conformity to the Ionian model in his

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1. For example, Rostovtzeff, *Skythien u. Bosphorus*, Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen-römischen Ethnographie*, van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*. For one exception, see n.7.
  2. St. Borzsak, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpathenbecken*, (Budapest, 1936), p.14.
  3. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung...* p.145.

attention to people, borders, mountains, climate, fauna, flora and languages, however, in doing so he was simply restating Gisinger's perceptions of 50 years prior, and still following Gisinger, concluded that Eudoxos was basically dependent upon Herodotos<sup>4</sup>. As evidence for this conclusion, Müller presents Gisinger's observations upon Eudoxos' definition of the Tanais as the boundary between Europe and Asia<sup>5</sup>, and upon Eudoxos' division of the oikoumene into three continents - Europe, Asia and Libya. In the second of the above respects, that is, in the definition of the three continents, Eudoxos may well have been following Herodotos. However, with respect to the definition of the Tanais as the continental boundary, as has been discussed on several occasions above, Hekataios was more probably Eudoxos' authority. Müller's complete dependence on Gisinger, and apparent ignorance of Lasserre's work, leads him not only into the assumption that Herodotos was the main source, but into neglecting to examine the possibility that Hekataios, whom he earlier listed among possible sources and whose correspondence with Eudoxos' work he noted with respect to titles, was Eudoxos' chief authority.

In 1976 Pédech included Eudoxos in his overview of Greek geography, commenting that he was a contemporary of Aristotle, of the Pythagorean and Platonic school, and had, like Hekataios, written a *Description of the Earth* in seven books<sup>6</sup>. Curiously, however, although having perceived the

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4. Müller, *Antiken Ethnographie*, p.146 'Mit Herodot gliederte er die bekannte Ökumene...' and p.147 'ob Eudoxus hier jedoch mehr als Herodot bot, darf, nach dem Erhaltenen zu schliessen, wohl bezweifelt werden.' Fr. Gisinger, *Erdbeschreibung des Eudoxos von Knidos*, (Leipzig, 1921). Gisinger's thesis will be dealt with in the following pages.
  5. Müller, p.146; Gisinger p.18, 35f. This is evident from the distribution of extant fragments. Books I-III are devoted to Asia, books IV-VI to Europe. As the Massagetai and Sauromatai (said to dwell by the Tanais - that is, to the east of it) are subjects of book I and the European Scythians subjects of book IV, it is evident that the Tanais is considered to be the boundary. (Cf. 'Eudoxos', p.153)
  6. Paul Pédech, *La Géographie des Grecs*, (Paris, 1976), pp.67-68.

similarity of form between Eudoxos' and Hekataios' works, Pédech goes on to recommend Herodotos and Ktesias as Eudoxos' sources and thus, in much the same way as Müller had done, overlooked Hekataios as a possible source. It is to the questions of sources and the actual content and form of Eudoxos' work that the discussion will now turn.

In 1907 Hultsch, in his 'Eudoxos' article in *RE*, recognises that Eudoxos wrote on the Scythians in his *Ges Periodos*, however he attempted no investigation of Eudoxos' sources and arrived at a most improbable reconstruction of the work, with respect to the placement of the 'Scythian *logos*'<sup>7</sup>. According to Hultsch's reconstruction: in Book I Eudoxos deals with Armenia and 'ist denn nach Nordost zu den Massageten und nach Nord zu den Chabarenern und andern Umwohnern des Schwarzen Meeres, weiter auch zu den Sarmaten fortgeschritten.' In Book 2 'erscheinen die Skythen und eine sonst unbekannte Insel Asdynis des Asowschen Meeres'. In Book 3 'aus welchem kein Fragment zitiert wird, ist den Völkern des Nordens gewidmet gewesen'. In Book 4 'von Norden her dem eigentlichen Griechenland sich nähernd, Thrakien, Makedonien und die Chalkidike (...) behandelt'. Such a reconstruction is untenable. Although, as shall be discussed, Gisinger and Lasserre may differ in their respective identifications of Eudoxos' main source, they agree that the Scythians must have been discussed in the fourth book. The fourth book was the first book of the *periegesis* of Europe. This reconstruction has the advantage of exhibiting a clear plan, wherein a *periegesis* was undertaken first of Asia, and then of Europe. A Scythian *logos* in Book 2 would be out of place in such a scheme. Moreover, by placing the Scythians in Book 2, Hultsch fails to find a place for the fragments of the work dealing with Egypt. Hultsch's proposed scheme could only be based upon the hypothesis that Stephanos' citation of Eudoxos in his entry under Asdynis has admitted a gross textual error and that the island Asdynis lay not in

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7. Hultsch, 'Eudoxos' *RE* (1907) 947-948.

the Μοίρις (Μοίριδος) Sea, as the manuscript of Stephanos reads, but in the Μαιώτιδος. The former sea is in Egypt, the latter in south Russia. That Hultsch was confident of the latter reading is suggested by his reference to 'eine sonst unbekante Insel Asdynis des Asowschen Meeres' with respect to Book 2<sup>8</sup>. Though Hultsch does not say so, he may have also been led to place the Scythian *logos* in the second book by the belief that the ἐν δ' in Clement Stromateis V.64.5 should be read as 'ἐν δευτέρῳ', instead of δ' as in the numeral 4. Here the original text is indeed ambiguous.

The central question which may be directed at Eudoxos, is whether in his Scythian related work he is following Hecataean or Herodotean tradition. Among modern scholars there has been one major advocate for each case. Gisinger (1921) had argued strongly in favour of placement within the Herodotean tradition, while Lasserre (1966) has more recently favoured the Hecataean<sup>9</sup>. The fragments upon which the argument turns, and indeed upon which a reconstruction of the scope and content of the work on Scythians must be based, may now be considered.

The first fragment which may be considered deals not with the Scythians themselves but with Massagetai, Diogenes Laertius writing: καὶ Μασσαγέται μὲν, ὡς φησι καὶ Εὐδοξος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Περιόδου, κοινὰς ἔχουσι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἕλληνες δ' οὐ.<sup>10</sup> Gisinger points out the similarity between this passage and Herodotos I.216: 'each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her,

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8. *Ibid.*, 947.

9. Gisinger, *op.cit.*; F. Lasserre, *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos*, (Berlin de Gruyter, 1966).

10. Diogenes Laertius, IX.II.83.

none hindering.'

Lasserre however suggests there is the possibility that though Eudoxos' statement may bear a strong resemblance to Her.I.216, this may rather be due to use of a common source, Hekataios<sup>11</sup>. Strabo also preserved this piece of information on the Massagetai: 'Each man marries only one wife, but they use also the wives of one another; not in secret, however, for the man who is to have intercourse with the wife of another hangs up his quiver on the wagon and has intercourse with her openly'.<sup>12</sup> Strabo's authority at this point is not named, but Gisinger believes it may have been Herodotos or Eudoxos<sup>13</sup>. As the passage corresponds so closely to the Herodotos passage, Herodotos may indeed be supposed to be the authority. This does not however substantiate Gisinger's further conclusion that Eudoxos also followed Herodotos on this point. As Gisinger himself appreciated, the κοινωνία γυναικῶν is noted of numerous people in antiquity<sup>14</sup>.

A second fragment which might be considered in Stephanos' entry under Συρμάται · Συρμάται, οἱ Σαυρομάται, ὡς Εὐδοξος πρῶτη "ποταμὸν τοῦ Ταναΐδος Συρμάτας κατοικεῖν". Gisinger correctly points out that Eudoxos thereby places the tribe in the same region as does Herodotos in IV.21, 57, 116<sup>15</sup>. However, as Gisinger himself realised, Herodotos was not the only writer to place the Sauromatai in the region of the Tanais. Such a location was also favoured by Ps.-Skylax,

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11. Lasserre, p.242.

12. Strabo, XI.8.6.

13. Gisinger p.26.

14. Among the Persians (*Procopius, bel.Pers.* I.5), Tyrrhenians (Athen. XII.14p.517e), Nasamones (Her. IV.172), Agathyrsoi (Her. IV.104) and European Scythians (Strabo VII.3.9). On the political and philosophical significance of 'κοινωνία γυναικῶν' see H.L. Baldry, 'Zeno's ideal state', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79, 1959, p.9. Lasserre p.242. Gisinger p.26 n.4.

15. Gisinger p.27.



Ephoros in Ps.-Skymnos, Timosthenes, Artemidoros and Strabo<sup>16</sup>. Although all of the above are later than Herodotos, it need not be assumed that the information of all of them goes back to Herodotos. It may, particularly in the case of Ps.-Skylax and Ephoros in Ps.-Skymnos, go back to a source common to Herodotos and themselves. This may have been Hekataios. Though no arguments can be formulated to support such a possibility, it remains a possibility. Eudoxos, therefore, need not have been dependent upon Herodotos at this point.

A further observation may be made. Both the above fragments, that concerning the Massagetai and that concerning the Sauromatai, are cited from Eudoxos' first book. As Lasserre notes, this would seem to suggest that Eudoxos considered the two people as tribes from the same area<sup>17</sup>. As the Sauromatai were located on the Tanais, so might Eudoxos have considered the Massagetai to have been located on this river - perhaps on its upper reaches. Such a geographical misconception may have arisen from a confusion of the European Tanais with the Central Asian Araxes, by which the Massagetai actually dwelt. The belief that the Tanais, which flowed into the Maiotis, was part of the same river as that which rose in the Hindu Kush, was typically Hecataean. This would seem to be the only way in which the discussion of both the Sauromatai and Massagetai in the same book could be explained.

A third Eudoxos fragment is to be found in Clement of Alexandria: 'δοκοῦσι μοι πολλοὶ μάλιστα τὸ ξίφος μόνον πῆξαντες ἐπιθύειν ὡς "Ἄρει" ἐστι δὲ Σκυθῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον,

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16. Ps.-Skylax 68; Ps.-Skymnos 860-880; Agatharchides 1.7; Pliny, *NH* II.246; and Strabo II.5.7 respectively. H.L. Jones' translation of Strabo (Loeb ed.) errs gravely at this point in translating 'Σαυρομαται' as 'Sarmatians' and not 'Sauromatai'.

17. Lasserre p.242.

καθάπερ Εὐδοξος ἐν <δ> Γῆς περιόδου λέγει...'<sup>18</sup> The similarity between this passage and Her IV.62 has been observed by Gisinger who considers this further proof that Herodotos was Eudoxos' prime source<sup>19</sup>. Not only does the Eudoxan passage correspond with the Herodotean in the description of the religious custom, but also with respect to the attribution of this custom to the European Scythian tribes<sup>20</sup>. Gisinger argues that those writers were dependent upon either Eudoxos or Herodotos<sup>21</sup>. This may well be so, but once again it cannot be assumed that Eudoxos was himself also dependent upon Herodotos. As Lasserre has pointed out, Eudoxos' account (as preserved in Clement) of the Ares worship differs from Herodotos' in a most significant respect<sup>22</sup>. Eudoxos stresses that the sword alone was used for the ceremony. Herodotos, on the other hand, gives a detailed account of the structure atop of which the sword is positioned: 'Every district (νόμοι) in each of the governments (ἀρχαί) has in it a structure sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of faggots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year a hundred and fifty wagon-loads of stocks are heaped upon this for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this sacred pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares.'<sup>23</sup> The nature of

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18. Clement of Alexandria, *Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας* V.64.5: 'Many seem to me to sacrifice, sticking in only a sword, as if to Ares. It is the way of the Scythians, as Eudoxos says in the fourth book of his *Ges Periodos*.'
19. Gisinger p.73. 'Auf Grund dieser inhaltlichen Übereinstimmung... ist es wohl erwiesen, dass Herodot wie für die übrigen den Norden Europas und Asiens betreffenden Nachrichten auch für das Periodos fragment 16 von Eudoxos als Quelle benützt wurde ...'
20. Similar descriptions can also be found in passages of Mela II.15, Lucian, *Tox* 38, *Jov. trag* 42 and Scholia, *Anach* 34, Clem.Alex. *protrept.* IV. 46.2, Arnob. *adv.nat.* VI.11.
21. Gisinger, p.73.
22. Lasserre, p.257.
23. Her. IV.64.

the difference between the Eudoxos and Herodotos accounts is significant in itself. It would be possible to argue that Eudoxos has simply attempted to abridge the Herodotean account, were it not for the fact that the custom of worshipping the sword alone is well attested with respect to Eurasian nomadic tribes. In the stories Ammianus<sup>24</sup> and Jordanes<sup>25</sup> tell with reference to the Quadi, Halani and Huns there is no mention of a mountain of sticks being involved in the worship. That the custom described in Clement's Eudoxan fragment should parallel that of such originally central Asian tribes as the Halani and 'Huns', may suggest that Eudoxos had drawn his information from a source recording the custom accurately. This source may have been Hekataios.

How is it that two different traditions with respect to the custom of Ares worship could exist simultaneously? Was Herodotos referring to European Scythian tribes, and Eudoxos' source (Hekataios?) to central Asian tribes? This would not seem to be the case. As Gisinger points out, the citation of Eudoxos in Strabo XII.3.21 p.550 indicates Eudoxos did deal in detail with European Scythian tribes; 'Some change the text and make it read "Alaxones", others "Amaxones" and for the words "from Alybe" they read "from Alope" or "from Alobe", calling the Scythians beyond the Borysthenes River "Alazones" and also "Callipidae" and other

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24. Ammianus XVII.12.21, of the Quadi: 'Then, drawing their swords which they venerated as gods, they swore that they would remain loyal'; XXXI.2.23, of the Halani: 'No temple or sacred place is to be seen in their country, not even a hut thatched with straw can be discerned anywhere, but after the manner of barbarians a naked sword is fixed in the ground and they reverently worship it as their god.'
25. Jordanes XXXV.183 on how Attila's self-assurance was increased 'by finding the sword of Mars, always esteemed sacred among the kings of Scythians. The historian Priscus says it was discovered under the following circumstances: "When a certain shepherd beheld one heifer of his flock limping and could find no cause for this wound, he anxiously followed the trail of blood and at length came to a sword it had unwittingly trampled while nibbling the grass. He dug it up and took it straight to Attila. He rejoiced at this gift and being ambitious, thought he had been appointed ruler of the whole world, and that through the sword of Mars supremacy in all wars was assured to him."'

names - names which Hellanikos and Herodotos and Eudoxos have foisted on us (κατεφλύαρησαν ἡμῶν)<sup>26</sup>. Thus, when describing the custom, both Herodotos and Eudoxos were speaking of European Scythians. The reason the descriptions of the custom differ may be that Hekataios had been the first to record the custom and did so upon reliable information, in the same manner as Eudoxos did many years later. Herodotos seized the opportunity of hearing different reports, also no doubt true, concerning the wooden structures to write a description which would contradict Hekataios. The two descriptions are not, however, irreconcilable. Herodotos says one such wooden structure is to be found in every νόμος. Ares worship was not necessarily confined to ceremonies at this location.

It may be added that in the Strabo passage quoted above Gisinger finds yet another reason for placing Eudoxos in the Herodotean tradition<sup>27</sup>. Hellanikos' name, however, also appears in this list of writers. The passage no more demonstrates Eudoxos' dependence on Herodotos than it does a dependence upon Hellanikos. The names are simply listed in chronological order. The reason the tribal names used by these three writers appears from this Strabo passage to be similar, may in fact be that both Herodotos and Eudoxos used the original account of Hekataios. Although Herodotos is believed to have travelled about the Euxine coast and may have been using these tribal names simply because they were the names of the tribes which he encountered, just as they were the names of the tribes Hekataios encountered, it is more probable that Herodotos was familiar with the Hecataean names to start with, and later applied these preconceptions to that which he had learnt through his investigations.

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26. Gisinger p.74: '...ist die Angabe über skythische Schwertverehrung bei Eudoxos vielleicht nicht bloss auf die beim Tanais, sondern auch die bis zum Borysthenes und Hypanis hin wohnenden skythischen Stämme zu beziehen, die Eudoxos n.fr.76 bei Strabo XII.3.21 p.550 erwähnte.'

27. *Ibid.*

A fourth Eudoxan fragment, Strabo XI.7.5 p.510, a description of Hyrcania, may be examined. Although this passage does not deal with the geography of the European Scythian tribes, it is nevertheless of great relevance to the question of Eudoxos' sources. The passage reads as follows: 'This too, among the marvellous things recorded of Hyrcania, is related by Eudoxus and others: that there are some cliffs facing the sea with caverns underneath, and between these and the sea, below the cliffs is a low-lying shore; and that rivers flowing from the precipices above rush forward with so great force that when they reach the cliffs they hurl their waters out into the sea without wetting the shore, so that even armies can pass underneath sheltered by the stream above; and the natives often come down to the place for the sake of feasting and sacrifice, and sometimes they recline in the caverns down below and sometimes they enjoy themselves basking in the sunlight beneath the stream itself, different people enjoying themselves in different ways, having in sight at the same time on either side both the sea and the shore, which latter, because of the moisture, is grassy and abloom with flowers.'

Gisinger is unable to recommend an identification of Eudoxos' source at this point beyond suggesting a contemporary authority familiar with the Greek trading route along the south coast of the Caspian<sup>28</sup>. Such a suggestion involves two problems. Firstly, that of demonstrating that such a trade route was used by the Greeks during this period; secondly, that of reconciling Eudoxos' description of the coast of the Hyrcanian Sea with the actual present day condition of the south coast of the Caspian Sea. That which Eudoxos described as cliffs and waterfalls is today a plain.

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28. *Ibid.*, p.24. 'Diese Küstenstriche waren den handeltreibenden Griechen des 5 und 4. Jahrh., die zur Vermeidung der Gefahren auf hoher See meist der Südküste jenes Meeres entlang fuhren, wohl durch Vermittlung griechischer Kaufleute bei seinem Aufenthalte im nördlichen Kleinasien ... über jene entlegen südlichen Küstengebiete genauer unterrichtet war.'

With respect to the first problem, Gisinger does not attempt to demonstrate the existence of a trade route. With respect to the second problem, Gisinger resolves the difficulty, which he concedes exists, by assuming that the coast in antiquity was as Eudoxos described it, with the sea in antiquity extending south as far as the northern Persian mountain range, and that the sea has since receded.<sup>29</sup>

The belief in both the existence of the trade route and the change in sea level may, however, be challenged. With respect to the latter belief Lasserre points out that the extension of the sea as far south as the north Persian mountain range lasted only till the end of the Würm-Eiszeit, about 10,000 B.C.<sup>30</sup> With respect to the former assumption, belief in the existence of a trade route may be challenged by reference to Tarn's work on the theory of an Oxus river trade route<sup>31</sup>. The obvious source for Eudoxos' conception and description is, as Lasserre points out, Hekataios, from whose 'Ασίας περιήγησις Athenaios quotes the following lines: Περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίην θαλασσαν καλεομένην οὖρα ὑψηλὰ καὶ δασέα ὄλησιν.<sup>32</sup> A similar conception is found in the anonymous Paradoxographus *cod.Par.gr.1630 saec XIV*.<sup>33</sup> This description,

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29. *Ibid.* With references to the numerous geological reports, and in particular to G. Melgunoff's work '*Die stldl. Ufer des Kasp. Meeres*' (Petersburg, 1863). 'Für diese Auffassung, dass des heutige flache Küstengestade einst nicht vorhanden, sondern Meersboden war, spricht die Auffindung von dem Altertum entstrammenden Schiffsgewürten, insonderheit eines Ankers ...'
30. Lasserre, p.256. This does not, however, answer the questions raised by the archaeological 'evidence' Gisinger points to.
31. See End Note G.
32. Lasserre pp.256-257. Athen. II.70b = I F 291.
33. 'That in what is known as the Hyrcanian and Caspian sea, cliffs rise up from the coast, being extremely high and full of caves. The cliffs are separated by a little distance of sometimes half or a third of a stade from the sea, for someone making his way to the coast. From above these cliffs rivers coming down, higher mountains bringing down such a flow that in the process of flowing into the sea, they cast their water from the top of the cliffs into this sea, the land in the middle lying below, that is the beach, being left completely dry, such as to be passable and negotiable for those passing through there; even a whole army may, actually being covered by the flow of the river and dry in passing, and being protected from overhead.' Own translation from Greek text in J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regis* (Hildesheim, Olms, 1962), I.96.

along with the Strabo description, may go back to Hekataios, a summary of whose account appears in Athenaios.

Strabo's conception of the region is complicated by his description elsewhere of Hyrcania as πολλή καὶ το πλέον πεδίας<sup>34</sup>. The apparent inconsistency can be resolved with the suggestion that Hekataios' original description included references to coastal areas of both plain and mountains. Such a description would then also accommodate the following passage from Arrian: '...on the one hand it (Hyrcania) is bounded by high and wooded mountains, but the plain land in it stretches to the Great Sea which lies this way.'<sup>35</sup> Though Eudoxos' use of Hekataios in the description of the waterfalls, caves and native customs on the southern coast of the Hyrcanian Sea<sup>36</sup> is, therefore, not able to be demonstrated conclusively, that Hekataios is known to have discussed the Hyrcanian coast and to have considered it, at least in part, to back onto mountains, provides the suspicion that Hekataios was in fact Eudoxos' authority. This suspicion is encouraged by one other circumstance. Herodotos is known not to have dealt with the region at all.

Thus, it may be concluded that though in some respects, such as the division of the *oikoumene* into three continents, Eudoxos appears to have followed Herodotos, in most respects Eudoxos' model and material concerned with the northern region came from Hekataios<sup>37</sup> (the title of his work, the conception of the course of the Tanais, wherein the central Asian Massagetai are associated with the Euxine Sauromatai, and the conception of the Tanais as the boundary between Europe and Asia). The source of Eudoxos' information on, and conception of, the European Scythians in particular, is a little harder to identify (such as the passages concerned with the custom of sword worship). In these cases, however, the source cannot be assumed to be, as cursory examinations suggest, Herodotos. It may be Hekataios.

34. Strabo XI.7.2.

35. Arrian, *Anabasis* III.23.1.

36. Strabo XI.7.5.

37. Such is essentially Lasserre's thesis.

## CHAPTER 9

EPHOROS

Ephoros' conception of the tribal geography of the Royal Scythian Empire is able to be reconstructed upon firmer ground than any trodden so far in the course of this thesis. The conception was Hecataean. As has been argued to be the case with most of the writers in the century after Herodotos, Ephoros wrote on Scythians in the Hecataean and not Herodotean tradition. Unlike most of the other writers, Ephoros appears to have acknowledged the existence of the alternative (Herodotean) tradition, if not with respect to tribal geography itself, then with respect to the 'moral' evaluation of the Scythian Empire.

As has been evident throughout this thesis, many modern scholars have persistently favoured Herodotos as the source of the major literary tradition associated with Scythians. Ephoros proves no exception. Rostovtzeff, for example, believes Ephoros spoke 'in der Hauptsache auf Grund des Herodot, von der Geographie Skythiens und von der Verteilung der Stämme.'<sup>1</sup> This was far from the case. Hekataios would seem to have been the main influence, both in his geographical work as a whole and in the Scythian sections.

Van Paassen has shown that the general format of Ephoros' work corresponds more closely to that of Hekataios than Herodotos. Thus, Ephoros, having given a complete 'topography of the continents', is reckoned by Strabo among the ranks of such geographers as Hekataios<sup>2</sup> while Herodotos is not. Ephoros was the first since Hekataios to give a 'geography' of the whole world<sup>3</sup>. Herodotos never attempted such a task. Ps.-Skymnos says that he gives a rough topo-

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1. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, p.85.
  2. Strabo I.1, 1. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, pp.246-247.
  3. Van Paassen, *ibid.*



graphy of Greece, by peoples, in imitation of Ephoros. This approach differs from the national-historical and logographical approach of Herodotos<sup>4</sup>. Ephoros' writings are orientated towards the Greek world and even when abroad attention is directed primarily to the Greek colonies. This contrasts sharply with Herodotos' writing, in which 'the periphery of the known world lies at the center of his geographical interest.'<sup>5</sup> Even the digressions are not a sign of Herodotean heritage, for digressions on regional history within a cartographical framework were indeed part of Hekataios' approach<sup>6</sup>.

Ephoros' assimilation of a Hecataean conception of the Scythians is immediately evident from Strabo I.2.28 (Eph. F30a): 'Ephoros, too, discloses the ancient belief in regard to Ethiopia, for in his treatise *On Europe* he says that if we divide the regions of the heavens and of the earth into four parts, the Indians will occupy that part from which Apeliotes blows, the Ethiopians the part from which Notos blows, the Celts the part on the west, and the Scythians the part from which the north wind blows. And he adds that Ethiopia and Scythia are the larger regions; for it is thought, he says, that the nation of the Ethiopians stretches from the winter sunrise to sunset, and Scythia lies directly opposite in the north.' The same passage survives in Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography*<sup>7</sup>. Here the author claims to be quoting directly from Book IV of Ephoros' *History*. Cosmas goes on to provide additional information concerning a sketch of the world Ephoros produced. This is

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4. Skymnos 470-478 (=Eph. F 144); Van Paassen ch.IV, note 6.
  5. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition*, pp.252-255.
  6. See the testimony of Polybius IX.1.4 (=Eph. F 186). Upon a fragment count, Van Paassen writes, 'We get the impression that Ephorus, in imitation of Hecataeus, works mainly topographically, and that the digressions on the Greeks are more detailed than those on foreign peoples (once again a striking difference with respect to Herodotus!)', p.255. Such a fragment count is of course of limited value.
  7. II.79.

reproduced by Cosmas as shown below<sup>8</sup>:

	Νότος	
Χειμερινή ἀνατολή	Αἰθίοπες Νότος Γῆ βορρᾶς Σκύθαι	Χειμερινή δύσις
ἀπ' ἡλιῶτης		Ζέφνρος
Θερινή ἀνατολή	Βορρᾶς	Θερινή δύσις

Upon the above evidence, modern historians have been unanimous in their reconstruction of Ephoros' conception of the *oikoumene* and, of more particular relevance, of Scythia. 'Scythia' was believed to lie opposite Aithiopia and to incorporate the whole of the north. This conception was clearly within the Hecataean tradition. Ephoros' conception and his place in the literary tradition may now be examined in greater detail through consideration of his relationship with various other writers. These writers include Homer, Herodotos (through Mela?), Hippokrates, Ps.-Skymnos, Eratosthenes and Poseidonios.

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8. II.80 (F 30(b)). This section may be translated into English as follows:

"Digression

This Ephoros is an ancient writer, philosopher and historiographer

	South	
Winter Rising	I N D E A N S	Winter Setting
East Wind	ETHIOPIANS South EARTH North SCYTHIANS	West Wind
Summer Rising		Summer Setting
	North	

Jacoby classifies Skymnos 167-182 as a parallel fragment (Eph. F.30c) - this fragment will be discussed later.

## I

The Homeric terminology and idealised conceptions which, as has been discussed in Appendix II, played so great a part in the course of the early tradition of writing on the northern tribes, are resurrected in the work of Ephoros. The relevant section of Ephoros would seem to survive in the texts of Strabo and Nikolaos of Damaskos (entry under 'Galaktophagoi'). Their respective accounts correspond at nearly every point. Thus, according to Strabo, Ephoros says he will tell 'only about those who follow "most just" habits, for there are some of the Scythian Nomads who feed only on mare's milk (Nik. line 1) and excel all men in justice (Nik.3); and they are mentioned by the poets: by Homer, when he says that Zeus espies the land "of the Galactophagi and Abii, men most just" (Nik. 5) and by Hesiod ... (the quotation does not survive in Nikolaus).' Then Ephoros reasons the causes as follows: 'since they are frugal in their ways of living and not money-getting, they not only are orderly towards one another, because they have all things in common, their wives, children, the whole of their kin and everything (Nik. 3) but also remain invincible and unconquered by outsiders, because they have nothing to be enslaved for (Nik. 2&5). And he cites Choerilus also ... (quotation does not survive in Nik.). And when he calls Ana-charsis "wise", Ephoros says that he belongs to this race, and that he was considered also one of Seven Wise Men because of his perfect self-control and good sense (Nik. 4).'<sup>9</sup>

So marked did Ephoros' 'idealisation' of the tribes seem, in 1922 Rostovtzeff had even considered Ephoros 'the first to idealize the Scythian social system, as an example of communism on a democratic basis',<sup>10</sup> attributing to this historian the desire 'to substitute for the real Scythians,

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9. Strabo VII.3.9 (Eph. F 42); Nikolaos of Damaskos F 104.

10. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (New York, 1969, rep. of 1922 ed.) p.108.

Scythians idealized according to Stoic theory.'<sup>11</sup> As has been discussed in Appendix II, Ephoros was not the first to idealise the Scythians. Borzsak<sup>12</sup>, Kuklina<sup>13</sup> and Bolton<sup>14</sup> are correct in observing that the literary tradition of idealisation goes back as far as Homer approximately 350 years earlier. Nor can 'Stoic' be the right word to describe the influence upon Ephoros (this being a later development). Rostovtzeff, nevertheless, performs the useful task of pointing to the role of philosophical theory in Ephoros' 'idealisation'.<sup>15</sup> But is 'idealisation' the right word?

The definition of the nature of Ephoros' 'idealisation' has always been a problem for modern scholars. Can indeed Ephoros be said to be 'idealising' the Scythians in the same sense as the early Ionians may have? Was there no qualitative difference? Riese answers the question in the affirmative. In the question Riese himself formulates, he assumes Ephoros is idealising the Scythians: '...wie, frage ich, kann gerade Ephoros dazu für jene romantische Idealisierung der nomadischen Skythen einzutreten?' He answers this question by reference to the literary sources upon which Ephoros was dependent (i.e. the works of the poets) and the influence of Isocrates<sup>16</sup>. Where Rostovtzeff had described Ephoros' writing as Stoic idealisation, Trüdinger had defined it as more Cynic (as opposed to Platonic) idealisation<sup>17</sup>. Van Paassen alone would answer the above question negatively.

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11. *Ibid.*, p.106.

12. Borzsak, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpatenbecken*, pp.4-5.

13. Kuklina, 'Ἀἰσθησιμότης in the Ancient Literary Tradition', pp.120-130.

14. Bolton, *Aristeas*, p.71.

15. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, p.81.

16. Riese, pp.18-21.

17. Trüdinger, p.140: 'Auf welchem Wege aber auch immer Ephoros diese Idealisierung der Skythen zugeflossen sein mag: kynisch ist sie weit wahrscheinlicher als Platonisch.'

He writes: 'Ephoros practises his geography as a good pupil of Isocrates, that is, as a rhetorician and teacher, with a moral aim'.<sup>18</sup> Rhetoric directed towards a moral aim need not involve idealisation.

The references to Isocrates' influence by Riese and van Paassen should be qualified. Neither scholar takes account of what Isocrates is actually known to have said about the Scythians. Neither relevant passage in the *Panegyrikos* nor that in the *Panathenaikos* would seem to provide materials for 'idealising' the Scythians<sup>19</sup>. If Isocrates was influential in the development of such a tradition it could not have been through any sympathetic disposition of his own towards the Scythians or, indeed, any other barbarians. In his condemnation of the Scythians he does work with a very broad definition of the tribe (and even associates them with the Amazons) and while this may have proved influential in the development of the Ephorean conception, a still more important influence may, however, have been his rhetorical style and readiness to moralise (even if not in the favour of the Scythians).

Idealisation involves the falsification of a reality, moralising rhetoric need only involve the selection of evidence, or the consideration of selected aspects of a reality. A close inspection of Strabo VII.3.9 (Eph. F 42)

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18. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition*, p.256. As van Paassen also observes, this corresponds entirely with the character of his historiography. G.L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus*, (Cambridge, 1935), p.159 - Ephoros was 'the first to attempt the fusion of rhetoric and history.' R. Laqueur, 'Ephoros' *Hermes*, 1911, p.342, speaks of the 'moralische Tendenz des Ephoros' and his 'streng pädagogischer Zug' and says that 'durch die historische Darstellung soll der Leser moralisch beeinflusst werden, wie Isokrates eine politische Wirkung durch seine historische Exkurse bezweckte'.
19. *Panegyrikos* 67 where the Scythians are counted with the Thracians and Persians among those races 'which have the strongest instinct for domination and the greatest power of aggression', all having been at war with Athens. Later in the *Panathenaikos* 193 the story of the Scythians' war with Athens is given in terms of the Amazon legend.

reveals that it is the latter and not the former, which Ephoros does. Thus although Strabo reports Ephoros as saying '...there are some of the Scythian Nomads who feed only on mare's milk, and excel all men in justice; and they are mentioned by the poets', and that some 'abstain from eating any living creature whatever' it is clear that he is referring only to *some* of the Scythians. Ephoros is prepared to describe some other Scythians as 'so cruel that they even eat human beings'. His position Strabo explains as follows: 'Now the other writers, he (Ephoros) says, tell only about their savagery because they know that the terrible and marvellous are startling, but one should tell the opposite facts too and make them patterns of conduct ...'<sup>20</sup> Here then the two-fold nature of Ephoros' conception is evident; on the one hand, a familiarity with Herodotos and what the present author might consider the 'real' nature of the Scythians, on the other, his moralistic purpose, for which Homer and other early Ionians provided the equipment.

No sooner had the two traditions met in Ephoros' work, than they parted again. The 'realistic' conception was perpetuated in the work of Eratosthenes and Apollodoros while the 'idealised', as will be discussed shortly, seems to have been perpetuated in the work of Poseidonios and Strabo. There is, however, one anomalous work in which elements of Ephoros' two-fold conception would seem to survive. It is the work of Klearchos (c.340-250 B.C.).

Athenaios' extensive quotation of Klearchos<sup>21</sup> begins:  
 'The Scythian nation alone adopted at first impartial laws;

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20. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition*, p.259. In many ways, although at one point Trüdinger refers to Ephoros' style as 'Cynic idealisation', he anticipated van Paassen in qualifying his own terms; 'Darum werden wir den Ephoros noch nicht zum Kyniker machen.' (p.140) Reise refers back to Rohde's observation (*Rhein.Mus.*47 p.114ff. see Reise p.141): 'die Quelle, der beide ihren moralischen Horizont entnehmen (wenn man einmal eine solch annehmen will), is "das volle Reservoir wässeriger isokrateischer Moralweisheit"'.  
 21. Athenaios, XII.524 c-f.

afterwards, however, they became the most wretched of mortals through their insolence.' Later Klearchos refers to the loss of 'the felicity their lives once knew'.<sup>22</sup> The insolence mentioned above is said to take the form of luxurious dress and way of life, and outraging other peoples. Of particular interest is Klearchos' description of the nature of the Scythian overlordship: 'With such arrogance did the Scythians lord it over everybody that no service rendered them by their slaves was free from tears, but rather caused the meaning of 'the phrase derived from Scythians'<sup>23</sup> to be known only too well among posterity! The Scythian women are said to have outraged the Thracian women with tattoos.

Herodotos was evidently the source of some of the elements of 'barbarism' present in Klearchos' description of the Scythians, confused as these elements may be<sup>24</sup>. The elements of 'idealisation' are clearly the same as those present in the Early Ionian and Ephorean writings. Klearchos however differs from Ephoros with respect to the nature of the two-fold conception. Ephoros believed the 'ideal' and 'gruesome' Scythians to be different groups living side by side. Klearchos appears to have transformed this idea into the conception of successive conditions, first the ideal, then the gruesome.

Klearchos' divergence from Ephoros can also be seen in one other respect. Whereas Klearchos stressed the gruesome side of Scythian rule, Ephoros stressed the ideal side. Nowhere is a cited fragment of Ephoros' evaluation of the Scythian empire to be found. Ephoros would seem, however, to be indirectly responsible for Strabo's generous interpretation of the Scythian mode of overlordship: 'they turn over

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22. τὸν τε τῶν βίων ὄλβον ...' *ibid.*, 524f.

23. A better translation of words τὴν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν would be 'the Scythian line'. *Ibid.*, 524e.

24. See Charles Burton Gulick's notes to the passage in the Loeb translation of Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, Vol 5, note a, p.366f. Klearchos alludes to the Scythian customs related to mourning (=Her. IV.71) and scalping (=Her.IV.64).

their land to any people who wish to till it, and are satisfied if they receive in return for the land the tribute they have assessed, which is a moderate one, assessed with a view, not to an abundance, but only to daily necessities of life; but if the tenants do not pay, the Nomads go to war with them.<sup>25</sup> Although Strabo then offers the example of how Asander, tyrant of the Bosporos from 47/46B.C.,<sup>26</sup> refused such payment, the source for the account of the actual system of tribute collection would appear to be derived from Ephoros. The preceding line, where Strabo writes οὕτω δὲ καὶ δικαίους ἄμα καὶ ἀβίους ὁ ποιητὴς εἰρηκε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἄνδρας, refers back to the earlier discussion of justice, for which Ephoros is the cited source, and the following line mentions the Galaktophagoi<sup>27</sup>, a people prominent in the Ephoros-Poseidonios tradition. Ephoros appears to have been responsible for the above description of the 'just nomadic rule', but from where he drew the material on the system of overlordship, is unclear<sup>28</sup>. Herodotos gives no account of the system of assessing and collecting tribute.

That, of the two traditions, the 'idealised' one, in which Ephoros chiefly wrote, was the major, need not simply be deduced from the fact that Herodotos' conception of Scythia is (except for the remnants in Ephoros and Klearchos) nowhere repeated in extant literature. Strabo says as much when he justifies his lengthy discussion of Ephoros and the earlier writings as follows: '...I wish to make my point clear that there actually was a common report (κοινὴ τιτυ φήμη), which was believed by the men of both early and of later times, that a part of the Nomads, I mean those who had settled the farthest away from the rest of mankind, were

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25. Strabo VII.4.6.

26. Gajdukevic, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, 55, 192, 198f., 251, 324ff., 336f., 573, and 'Herrscherliste' - 'Asander' 47-17.

27. Strabo, VII.4.6.

28. As Ephoros is not cited in Strabo VII.4.6, the passage is not to be found.



"galaktophagoi", "Abioi", and "most just", and that they were not an invention of Homer.'<sup>29</sup> Herodotos may even have been in a minority of two (he and Aristeas).

## II

Materials for the further examination of Ephoros' non-Herodotean inheritance are provided in the relationship between Ephoros and Mela. In his *De Chorographia* (dating approximately to the 40's A.D.) Mela gives an extensive catalogue of the northern tribes. Mela's chief authority, though uncited, would seem to have been Ephoros. Mela's words: 'primi Maeotides Gynaecocratumenos regna Amazonum' correspond closely to Ephoros' expression, as entangled in Skymnos<sup>30</sup>. Mela's catalogue as a whole bears many resemblances to Herodotos'. It has thus been suggested that Mela took the catalogue from Ephoros who derived it from Herodotos<sup>31</sup>. Closer investigation suggests this was not the case.

There are several points at which Mela appears to part from Herodotos. Firstly, several peoples are named as Scythians when Herodotos clearly considered them non-Scythian. Although in the list at II.1.2. the first people are said to be Scythians, and others such as the Essedones, Agathyrsoi and Sauromatae are mentioned separately, an echo of the Hecataean usage of 'Scythian' is evident when the Arimaspai are called Scythian: 'Scytharumque quis singuli oculi esse dicuntur Arimaspaë'.<sup>32</sup> Mela even counted the Hyperboreans as Scythians (III.36,37). Even if Ephoros never made such

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29. Strabo VII.3.9.

30. Mela I.116 and Skymnos 880-885.

31. Particularly Mela I.115-117; II.1-15. See Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.8( though qualified on p.44).

32. II.1.2.

an identification, Mela must have (consciously or unconsciously) considered this a logical implication of Ephoros' Hecataean model.

Secondly, and more importantly, Harmatta has produced a thesis demonstrating the strong probability that, with respect to the enumeration of tribes from the Sauromatai to the 'Ocean', Mela was following Ephoros who was following Hekataios, not Herodotos. Mela's catalogue closely resembles Damastes. Herodotos' is totally different<sup>33</sup>.

<u>Mela</u> II.1.2	<u>Damastes</u> F1
Sauromatae	Sauromatai
Issedonians	Issedones
Arimaspi	Arimaspoi
Griffons	
Rhipeans	Rhipeans
Hyperboreans - II.36)	Hyperboroi
Ocean	Ocean

Mela's catalogue does not, therefore, correspond with the Herodotean, but does correspond closely with that of Damastes, who, as has been discussed above, appears to have written in the Hecataean tradition. Mela's catalogue may have essentially been 'Hecataean'. If Ephoros was Mela's source, as seems probable, then Ephoros must have been responsible for the Hecataean version in Mela. This supposition is encouraged upon other considerations.

Firstly, as van Paassen relates, 'Harmatta was able to prove convincingly - the Thyssagetae and Iyrcae must have been missing in Hecataeus' work.'<sup>34</sup> That is to say, the Melan catalogue must be Hecataean.

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33. Stephanos 'Hyperboroi' = Damastes F 1. The catalogue in Her. IV. 21-27 is: Sauromatai, Budinoi, Thyssagetai, Iyrkai, Detached Scythians, Argippaii, Issedones. See also ch. 'Damastes'.

34. The work to which van Paassen referred was Johannes Harmatta, *Quellenstudien zu den Skythika des Herodot*, (Budapest, 1951) - not available for direct consultation.

Secondly, Harmatta notes that although Mela's catalogue corresponds closely to that of Damastes, it differs in one important respect - orientation<sup>35</sup>. Damastes' catalogue of tribes is located east of the Tanais (i.e. in Asia), while Mela's seems to be west of the river (i.e. in Europe). The change may be accounted for by postulating an intermediary between the original catalogue (as preserved by Damastes) and Mela's catalogue. The obvious candidate would be Ephoros. After the Sauromatai had migrated from the east bank to the west bank of the Tanais, Ephoros located west of the Tanais not only the Sauromatai, but the whole series of people, as listed in Hekataios' original work. As van Paassen writes, following the reasoning of Harmatta: 'The space which thus arose (east of the Tanais) was filled up by Mela with the peoples which Herodotus added to the knowledge of these regions, namely Thyssagetae and the Hyrcans, for these peoples had not been located and fixed within the series Sauromatae-Ocean.'<sup>36</sup> That is to say, the Hecataean list of Asian tribes was transplanted into Europe by Ephoros. Mela adopted the Ephorean model, but adds the outstanding Herodotean tribes in Asia.

For two reasons, however, complete confidence cannot be placed in Harmatta's thesis. Firstly, it is unclear whether Hekataios did in fact locate the tribes mentioned above in Asia, as the thesis demands. Secondly, Mela's *De Chorographia* is so lacking in precision that it is unclear whether his (Ephoros') Sauromatai were in fact west of the Tanais, as the thesis demands. They appear to have been on both sides<sup>37</sup>.

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35. Harmatta's thesis is repeated in van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition*, ch.III, note 78.

36. Van Paassen, ch.III, note 78.

37. I.116; II.2.

## III

The Ephorean model of the world bears a special relationship to that of Hippokrates. Thus when Hippokrates said that Asia Minor lay midway between the sunrises<sup>38</sup>, it is clear that Asia Minor was believed to lie along the equatorial axis of the map. Such an axis is evident in Ephoros' map<sup>39</sup>. As has been discussed in chapter 4, 'Hippokrates', Hippokrates may have derived his 'equatorial' axis from Hekataios. Ephoros may have taken his model from Hippokrates, but once again it is more probable that it came directly from Hekataios<sup>40</sup>.

It is possible, as Rostovtzeff speculates, that Ephoros could have also shared Hippokrates' theories concerning the relationship between the character of the northern tribesmen and the climate. This is suggested upon reference to Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* II.1 n.2. This same description is found in Cleomedes' work<sup>41</sup>. Although neither Ptolemy nor Cleomedes are excerpted in Latyshev<sup>42</sup>, Rostovtzeff notes that their description of the Amazons corresponds with that Stephanos attributed to Ephoros<sup>43</sup>. It is therefore possible that their concepts of the climate-character relationship were derived, even if indirectly, from Ephoros, who inherited it from Hippokrates.

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38. AWP 12 ὅτι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀνατολέων κεῖται.

39. Heidel, *Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, p.19.

40. *Ibid.*: On Hipp. AWP 12 'There is no doubt that all this comes from the map and the geographical treatise of Hecataeus of Miletus.'

41. Kleomedes (probably c. A.D. 150-200), 'Κυκλικὴ Θεωρία μετεώρων' (*De Motu Circulari Corporum Caelestium*). The work was largely based on Poseidonios (OCD 'Cleomedes' and Heidel, *ibid.*, pp.108, 114, 117)

42. B. Latyshev (ed.) *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis collegit et cum versione Russica*, vol. I, 2v *Scriptores Graeci*, (Petropolis, 1893) - not consulted at first hand.

43. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.85.

## IV

Ps.-Skymnos provides one of the firmest notices on Ephoros' work on northern tribes<sup>44</sup>. Ephoros is cited in Skymnos' *Periplous* on several occasions. With respect to the tribal geography of the south Pontus coast J. Höfer successfully argues a relationship between the accounts of Xenophon, Ephoros, Skymnos, Diodoros, Mela, Nikolaos of Damaskos and Apollonios Rhodios<sup>45</sup>. With respect to the north coast it is also possible to see a relationship between Ephoros and Skymnos. Of particular relevance is Skymnos' tribal catalogue in vv. 841-885<sup>46</sup>. Within this catalogue Ephoros is cited four times<sup>47</sup>. Before investigating the question of Ephoros' source as evident from Skymnos' text, the question of the scope of Ephoros' presence in Skymnos may be treated. Although Ephoros is cited four times in the relevant section, Rostovtzeff points out that a later writer is also cited: Demetrios of Kallatis<sup>48</sup>.

What proportion of the relevant Skymnos section came from Ephoros and what from Demetrios? Dopp had stressed the use of Ephoros, but neglected Demetrios<sup>49</sup>. Gisinger similarly overlooks Demetrios<sup>50</sup>. Jacoby doubts that Ephoros was used directly by Skymnos and postulates an intermediary, though one younger than Demetrios<sup>51</sup>. Rostovtzeff alone has

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44. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.8, 27-29, 84; Paul Pédech, *La géographie des Grecs*, (1976, Paris), p.56f.
45. U. Höfer, 'Pontosvölker, Ephoros und Apollonios von Rhodos' *Rheinisches museum fthr Philologie*, Ser. 3, vol. 59, 1904, pp.546-558 in particular. Xenophon, *Anabasis* V.4ff; Skymnos 915f; Diodoros XIV.30.6.7; Mela I.106; Nikolaus F 90 and Apollonios, *Argonautica* II.377 and 1018ff. See also Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.84 - referring to Höfer, p.84 n.3.
46. See End Note F.
47. Skymnos 843, 860, 871 and 880.
48. *FGrHist* 85.
49. E. Dopp, *Die geographischen Studien des Ephorus* I, 1900, II 1908, III 1909, Programme von Rostock. Section in part III. Known to present author only through Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.28.
50. Gisinger 'Skymnos' *RE*.
51. Jacoby II.C pp.34f.

investigated Demetrios' contribution<sup>52</sup>. The description of the Ister's mouth (773f) corresponds almost word for word with Eratosthenes in the Scholia on Apollonios IV.310, where the cited source is Demetrios<sup>53</sup>. Demetrios may have supplied the information related to such Pontos towns as Dionysopolis (751-757). The references to the Thracians and Bastarnai go back to Demetrios<sup>54</sup>. The descriptions of the Crimea (823-835), Pantikapaion (835-837) and the 'barbaric' nomad Tauroi (822-826) must have been derived from a source other than Ephoros<sup>55</sup>. The sections definitely Ephorean are the descriptions of the rivers Tyras, Hypanis and Borysthenes (799-820), the description of the Scythians (841-865) and the characterising of the Sauromatai as 'gynaikokratoumenoi' (880-885). Rostovtzeff concludes that Ephoros, like Herodotos, was interested more in the enumeration of the northern tribes, than he was with the Pontos cities, and that 'alles, was bei Pseudo-Skymnos zweifelsohne aus einem Periplus geschöpft ist und nicht aus einer Periegesis, überhaupt nicht in den geographischen Büchern des Ephorus figuriert hat.'<sup>56</sup> Rostovtzeff likens Ephoros' *periegesis* style to Herodotos' style. As has been discussed above, this style belongs perhaps more correctly to Hekataios.

Skymnos has frequently been believed to provide evidence of Ephoros' use of Herodotos<sup>57</sup>. In lines 843-852 where Skymnos is plainly using Ephoros, it appears Ephoros had used Herodotos. So close is the resemblance between this section and Herodotos IV.17-19, Ephoros even appears to repeat Herodotos' error in referring to the unidentifiable river, the Panticapes<sup>58</sup>.

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52. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.28f.

53. Demetrios F 2. (*Anon. Periplus*. P.E. 64-65 = Ps.-Skymn. pp.792ff.)

54. Skymnos 797.

55. For example, from Damaskos F 119 it would seem Ephoros idealised the Tauroi, whereas Skymnos says 'they pursue a mountain and nomadic life, in their savagery barbarous and murderous; appeasing their gods with their impious arts.'

56. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.30.

57. For example, Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, Vol 1, p.185.

58. *Ibid.*

That this was Herodotos, and not a common source (such as Hekataios), is placed in doubt by several circumstances. Skymnos' Ephorean passages vary significantly from Herodotos' work at several points.

Firstly, Herodotos locates the Agathyrsoi north of the Danube (in the Carpathian Basin), neighbouring the Neuroi<sup>59</sup>.

59. The location and identity of the Agathyrsoi has been greatly disputed in modern scholarship. An exposition of the Soviet views is found in M. Dusek, 'Die thrako-skythische Periode in der Slowakei', *Slovenska Archeologia* ix.1-2 (1961) pp.155-174 and D. Popescu, 'Autor de la question des Scythes en Transylvanie' *Dacia* VI (1962) pp.443-455. Dusek also lists the following scholars 'Die Arbeiten von M.I. Artamonov, I. Terenzkin, A.I. Meljukova, A.I. Iljinskaja, G.I. Smirnov, B.N. Grakov, I.I. Ljapuskin und anderen sowjetsichen Forschern...' pp.156-7. A survey of the debate is also provided in Kornel Bakay, *Scythian Rattles in the Carpathian Basin and their Eastern connections*, (1971) pp.120-121. Herodotos himself seems to present a problem. His claim that 'ἐν δὲ Ἀγαθύρων Μάρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμπύσεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ...' (IV.49) indicates that the source of the river lay in the territory of the Agathyrsoi. The Maris may be identified without difficulty as the river Muresul which flows from the east Carpathian mountains through Transylvania and westward into the Danube. Though Popescu (pp.450-2) rightly points out the inconsistencies in Herodotos' geography of north Balkan rivers, he concedes that this passage places the Agathyrsoi in Transylvania. The problem is in reconciling this account with two others wherein the Agathyrsoi appear to be neighbours of the Neuroi, a tribe on the upper Hypanis (Her.IV.17-18, 100 and 125). In order to make the two tribes neighbours Popescu finds it necessary to place the Agathyrsoi in Moldavia to the east of the Carpathians. This overlooks numerous other possible explanations. The Agathyrsoi may have lived on both sides of the Carpathians and thus have been at the one time settled in Transylvania and be neighbours of the Neuroi in Moldavia. Kothe, 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot' p.46 would place the Agathyrsoi in Moldavia, but would not seem to reject this possibility. Alternatively, as Herodotos does not in fact call the two tribes neighbours, it may be that they were in fact separated by the Carpathians. This would not necessarily prevent Herodotos mentioning them in sequence. Moreover, Popescu seems to overlook the fact that in IV.100 the tribes are enumerated in order from the Ister, and as the Agathyrsoi are the first of these tribes, they could not have lived too far north-east of the river. That the Agathyrsoi did in fact live in Transylvania is also suggested by Herodotos' account of how the Neuroi fled before the Persians to the Agathyrsoi (IV.125). Neither the Neuroi nor the Persians were able to break into the Agathyrsoi's land. It may have been the forests and mountains of the Carpathians that offered natural defences.

His list of tribes between the Hypanis and the Borysthenes, extending northwards, is given as Kallippidai, Alazones and Neuroi<sup>60</sup>. Ephoros omits the Agathyrsoi from his list of tribes north of the Danube, and this tribe, when mentioned in 864 appears to be located beyond the Sauromatai in the far north-east. Borzsak, having observed this 'divergence' believes the process of idealisation of the Agathyrsoi - evidently underway even at the time of Herodotos' writing - had reached the point where the tribe was transferred to the 'mythical north'.<sup>61</sup> As Borzsak further concludes: 'Von nun an finden wir sie öfter erwähnt, bald hier, bald dort, aber immer zwischen den mythischen oder halbmythischen skythischen Völkern'.<sup>62</sup> Though Borzsak is correct to identify a strong tendency to idealise this particular tribe and to associate this phenomenon with the development of a tradition locating the tribe in imaginary tribal and geographical contexts, he may err at one point. The reason Ephoros omitted the tribe from the list of those north of the Danube and placed them in the north east, may not have been idealisation. He may not have been following Herodotos at all. The reason may lie in Ephoros' use of Hekataios. Had Hekataios in fact located a tribe by this name in this region? It is possible. The name simply means 'The powerful wolfmen', as does 'Thyssagetai' (the same name with the elements reversed).<sup>63</sup> A tribe called the Thyssagetai were located by Herodotos in the north west<sup>64</sup>.

Secondly, though Rostovtzeff sees Ephoros' descriptions of the Sauromatai and Tauroi as evidence that he generally

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60. Her IV.17.

61. Borzsak, p.42. 'Zu dieser Zeit scheint sich ihre Umwandlung in ein fabelhaftes Volk vollzogen zu haben, im hohen Norden gedacht.'

62. *Ibid.*, pp.44-45. Mela II.1.10; Pliny IV.88; Dionysios Periegetes 318f; Juvenal XV.124f; Ptolemy III.5.22; Ammanius XXII.8.31, XXXI.2.14; Vibius Sequester (Geogr.Lat.Min 157.17); Avienus 441ff; Priscianus, *Periegesis* 302.

63. See Appendix I.

64. Her. IV.22, 123.



used Herodotos for his Scythian ethnography<sup>65</sup>, this need not be the case. The digression on the relationship between the Sauromatai and the Amazons, though also found in Herodotos (in a lengthier version), may easily have been derived from a common source<sup>66</sup>. Hekataios mentioned both these people. Van Paassen has indeed concluded: '...here we find the well-known cartographical diagram of the Scythian peoples, which originated with Hekataios (fr.158; the diagram in Herodotos IV.17 et seq. is not exactly the same, but is in the same spirit).'<sup>67</sup>

## V

The discussion may now turn to the relationship between Ephoros and Eratosthenes and Poseidonios with respect to their conceptions of the Scythians. As has been discussed above, while writing chiefly in the tradition of 'idealisation' (which for his purposes may better be described as 'moralisation'), Ephoros acknowledged the existence of another tradition, which may be referred to as the 'realistic'. The former was the inheritance of early Ionian poetic and prose writings, the latter the inheritance of Herodotos. The former tradition would seem to have been perpetuated by Eratosthenes and Apollodoros. Though the following discussion of Eratosthenes and Poseidonios may seem to fall outside the terms of this thesis, it is necessary at this point for the light it throws on Ephoros' work.

That Eratosthenes used Ephoros' work is difficult to prove. It is, nevertheless, highly probable that he was familiar with Ephoros' equating of the Scythians with the Homeric tribes. It is Eratosthenes who cites Hesiod's words

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65. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.85.

66. Ephoros F 160=Anon.Per.P.Eux.45=Skymnos 874ff. cf. Her. IV.110. Van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition*, p.255.

67. Van Paassen, *ibid.*

'The Ethiopians, the Ligurians, and also the Scythians, Hippemolgi'<sup>68</sup> - words cited also by Ephoros. It is against Eratosthenes' claim 'that although Homer and other early authors knew the Greek places, they were decidedly unacquainted with those that were far away',<sup>69</sup> that Strabo is arguing throughout VII.3-10. The above claim of Eratosthenes is said to have been approved by Apollodoros in the preface to the Second Book of his work, *On Ships* when Apollodoros himself comes to discuss the Homeric passage<sup>70</sup>. Ephoros had made much use of the Homeric passage and it is possibly from Ephoros' work that Eratosthenes had taken his material for an opposing stance. Apollodoros then drew upon Eratosthenes. Eratosthenes had given a catalogue of examples wherein he believed the vagueness of Homer's knowledge of distant lands is evident, and 'To these criticisms Apollodoros adds some pretty ones of like sort and then stops, but he borrowed most of them from Eratosthenes'.<sup>71</sup> The crux of Eratosthenes' and Apollodoros' thesis is given by Strabo as the following: 'they say that the poet through ignorance fails to mention the Scythians, or their savage dealings with strangers, in that they sacrifice them, eat their flesh, and use their skulls as drinking cups, although it was on account of the Scythians that the Pontus was called "Axine", but that he invents certain "proud Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, men most just" - people that exist nowhere on earth.'<sup>72</sup> Most of the material for this 'realistic' conception clearly comes from Herodotos.

The allocation of Poseidonios' work to one of the two post-Ephorean traditions poses more of a problem. Trüdinger was the first to see a problem in this connection, but favours

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68. Strabo VII.3.7.

69. Strabo VII.3.6.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*

72. Strabo VII.3.7.

placing Poseidonios outside the 'idealised' tradition<sup>73</sup>. Rostovtzeff also perceived a problem, but comes to the opposite conclusion to that reached by Trüdinger<sup>74</sup>. Trüdinger had reasoned as follows: 1) Strabo, who did accept the idealised conception, nowhere cites Poseidonios as a source of this conception; 2) Poseidonios had not accepted the identification of the Scythians with the Homeric tribes, as did Strabo<sup>75</sup>; 3) Poseidonios had aired Eratosthenes' objections to the identification of these tribes as Homeric<sup>76</sup>; 4) Strabo had referred to Poseidonios' identification of the Abioi as Thracian<sup>77</sup>. Trüdinger then concludes: 'als Forscher, der nach Erkenntnis verlangt, nicht als moralisierender Philosoph tritt Poseidonios der Völkerwelt gegenüber'.<sup>78</sup>

The above four points do not prove to be conclusive. 3) and 4) are based upon misreadings. With respect to 3), in VII.3.6. it is Apollodoros, not Poseidonios, who cites Eratosthenes and airs his views. With respect to 4) in VII.3.2, Poseidonios is said to identify as Thracians the Myrsoi, not the Abioi<sup>79</sup>. Trüdinger's points 1) and 2) are valid, but are worthy of further investigation.

With respect to 2), Strabo declares his intention to 'συγκρίνει τὰ τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ Ποσειδωνίου λεχθέντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τούτων (Eratosthenes and Apollodoros)'.<sup>80</sup> As

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73. Trüdinger, p.143. 'Ist für den Stoiker Poseidonius Ähnliches nachzuweisen? Wir haben nicht den geringsten Anhalt, dass er das Leben eines primitiven Naturvolkes protreptisch beschrieben hat.'
74. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.91 note 1.
75. Strabo VII.3.7.
76. Strabo VII.3.6.
77. Strabo VII.3.2.
78. Trüdinger, p.144.
79. As Rostovtzeff argues 'Ob Poseidonius zu den Hippemolgoi, Galaktophagoi und Abioi auch die Skythen gerechnet hat oder nur die Thraker, ist schwer zu entscheiden'. There are no grounds preventing Poseidonios' identification of the tribes as Scythian (not even in VII.3.4), though the matter is not clear.
80. Strabo VII.3.7.

Trüdinger correctly observes, this indicated Poseidonios may not have been in complete agreement with Strabo, but it does not necessarily mean he should be aligned with Eratosthenes. The comparison may be three-way. Rostovtzeff even interprets the text to be a two-way comparison, but one between Strabo and Poseidonios on the one hand, and Eratosthenes and Apollodoros on the other<sup>81</sup>. The Greek is decidedly unclear. The passage cannot be used to support Trüdinger's thesis.

With respect to 1), Strabo nowhere cites Poseidonios as the source of an idealised conception. Trüdinger is correct. It is, nevertheless, possible to argue that Strabo made use of Poseidonios without citing him. In the discussion following in VII.3.7 Strabo makes numerous criticisms of Eratosthenes' and Apollodoros' views but does not again name Poseidonios. It is probable, however, that much of the materials for these criticisms was found in Poseidonios' work. Of particular interest in this section is Strabo's claim (VII.3.7) that: 'In fact even now there are Wagon-dwellers and Nomads, so-called, who live off their herds, and on milk and cheese, and particularly on cheese made from mare's milk, and know nothing about storing up food or about peddling merchandise either, except the exchange of wares for wares'. These words resemble those quoted from Ephoros in VII.3.9 concerning the 'Scythian Nomads who feed only on mare's milk...' and 'are frugal in their ways of living and not money-getters...', and it therefore seems that Strabo's passage in VII.3.7 is dependent upon Ephoros' work. There is, however, no cited authority for VII.3.7. As Strabo has been seen to often use Ephoros through Poseidonios, and as Ephoros seems to lie behind the passage, Strabo's immediate source of the materials for the criticism of Eratosthenes and Apollodoros must have come from Poseidonios. Rostovtzeff

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81. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.91: 'Die Polemik gegen Eratosthenes und Apollodor führt Strabo in seinem eigenen und des Posidonius Namen.'

would seem to have come to a similar conclusion, though he does not attempt to argue the case. While acknowledging the fact that Poseidonios is not cited other than the once in VII.3.7, Rostovtzeff does believe Poseidonios was used extensively by Strabo on the Scythians and the question of idealisation. The only problem remaining is that of determining where Poseidonios stops and Strabo begins<sup>82</sup>.

Trüdinger's concluding point may also be challenged. It cannot be assumed that Poseidonios was incapable of the moralising or idealising in which Ephoros and Strabo indulged. As Rostovtzeff points out, Poseidonios was clearly responsible for the 'idealisation' of Thracian and Getae tribes<sup>83</sup>.

The Ephorean inheritance in Poseidonios' work can be most accurately perceived in connection with the conception of the entire north being Scythian, and more particularly with the conception of Κελτοσκύθαι. This conception is referred to by Strabo on two occasions. Firstly, in XI.6.2 Strabo writes: 'Now all the peoples towards the north were by the ancient Greek historians given the general name "Scythians" or "Celto-Scythians"; but the writers of still earlier times, making distinctions between them, called those who lived above the Euxine and the Ister and the Adriatic "Hyperboreans", "Sauromatians" and "Arimaspians", and they called those who lived across the Caspian Sea in part "Saciens" and in part "Massagetans"...' The distinction between οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς and οἱ δ' ἔτι πρότερον has already been discussed in chapter 2 'Hellanikos'<sup>84</sup>. There it was argued that Hellanikos should be counted among οἱ δ' ἔτι

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82. Rostovtzeff notes: 'dass es sehr schwierig ist, in dem Exkurs Strabos über die Skythen des Posidonische von dem Strabonischen zu trennen' and 'Wo Posidonius aufhört und Strabo beginnt, werden wir nie genau wissen.' *Skythien*, p.91.

83. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.* See Strabo VII.3.4. Poseidonios is cited at the end of this section and should be counted among 'the philosophers' and 'the others' cited in the section.

84. Ch.2 'Hellanikos' pp.42-45.

πρότερον. Herodotos and Hekataios must also belong to this early group. Who then were οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς?

Norden points out that Poseidonios must be counted among those later historians who used the word 'Keltoskythai'.<sup>85</sup> This suspicion can be substantiated by reference to Plutarch, *Marius*, XI.4f, wherein northern European tribes are spoken of as either Celts or Scythians, and one tribal group, believed to be a mixture, is named 'Keltoskythai'. As it is probable that the reference to Celtoscythians goes back to Plutarch's source (possibly the time of Marius), the term was probably already in use before Poseidonios' day<sup>86</sup>.

As van Paassen concludes, the impression gained from the passages in Strabo and Diodoros is 'that Posidonius was

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85. Eduard Norden, *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Berlin, 1923; rep. Darmstadt, 1971), pp.466-7.
86. Poseidonios' conception of the north as being inhabited by only Celts and Scythians led him into many errors. The two main errors may have been the following:
- 1) The Germans were classed as Celts. This error persists for centuries. In Diodoros' Celtic ethnography V.23-32 (based upon Poseidonios) no mention is made of Germanic peoples and at one point 'Galatia' and 'Scythia' are described as neighbours (V.23.1). Strabo uses the term 'Germanoi' but explains how they were actually of Celtic stock (VII.1.2). In Florus' *Epitome of Roman History* such tribes as Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini are all classed as Gauls (I.38).
  - 2) The Cimbri, believed to be Celtic, were confused with the Cimmerians. Strabo gives an account of Poseidonios' conjecture (which he himself calls 'οὐ κατὰ') that 'The Cimbri, being a piratical and wandering folk, made an expedition even as far as the region of Lake Maeotis, and that also the "Cimmerian" Bosphorus was named after them, being equivalent to "Cimbrian", the Greeks naming the Cimbri "Cimmerii"...' (VII.2.2). This confusion was possibly facilitated by the conception of Scythians as neighbouring the Gallic lands in both the east and north - that is, extending right across to Denmark. See in particular Diodoros (V.23.1), reflecting Poseidonian concepts, when he records part of Scythia as lying above Galatia and on the ocean's coast. As this is the very region from where the Cimbri are said to come in another passage derived from Poseidonios (Florus 38.1) it seems that Poseidonios conceived of the Cimbri as being a Celtic people originally on the border of or possibly even within Scythian lands. Poseidonios would have been able to associate them without difficulty with the Cimmerians whom Herodotos records as being the first inhabitants of Scythia and who were subsequently driven out by eastern Scythian tribes. See also Marie Laffranque, *Poseidonios d'Apamee (Essai de mise au point)*, (Paris, 1964) pp.131-2, 140-1, 185, 224.

giving a type-description of what he himself called the Celto-Scythian zone!'<sup>87</sup>

Poseidonios may not, however, have been the first to hold a conception of Celtoscyths. In answering the question, who were οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς, Norden, following the thesis of S. Fordere, recommended Ephoros<sup>88</sup>. That is, Ephoros used the phrase before Poseidonios. If Herodotos and Hekataios are to be counted among the early writers (he omits to consider Hellanikos): 'Dann aber bleibt für die "Alten" wohl nur Ephorus übrig'. Norden argues this upon the following grounds. Ephoros was known to have dealt with Celts and Scythians in his *Europe* and indeed, as has been discussed above, considered them neighbours. Polybios counted Ephoros among the 'ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς'.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, references to other mixed groups predated Poseidonios. Timaios had used the term 'Κελτολίγυες'<sup>90</sup> and the term 'Κελτίβηρες' may have been coined as early as 218B.C.<sup>91</sup>

There is one further indication Norden omits. Strabo I.2.27 claims that: 'in accordance with the opinion of the ancient Greeks - just as they embraced the inhabitants of the known countries of the north under the single designation "Scythians" (or "Nomads", to use Homer's term) and just as later, when the inhabitants of the west also were discovered, they were called "Celts" and "Iberians", or by the compound words "Celtiberians" and "Celtiscythians", the several peoples being classed under one name through ignorance of the facts..'

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87. Van Paassen, p.355.

88. Norden, p.467. S. Fordere, *Ephoros und Strabon* (Diss Tübingen, 1913), p.13.

89. Polybios VI.45.1.

90. Strabo IV.6.3; Ps.-Aristotle, *On wonderful things heard* 85. Norden, *Die Germanische Urgeschichte*, p.468.

91. Livy XXI.57.5 on events in the year 218 B.C. The term was clearly current in Livy's source, though whether this was the annals of that year, as Norden believes, is doubtful. Polybios III.5.1 - possibly from Silenos.

Here again Strabo suggests two stages in the development of the terminology: 1) the general designation of the tribes as 'Scythians'; 2) their general designation as 'Celtoscythians' (or 'Celtiberians'). No authority is cited for this information. It may, however, be significant that in passages either side of the above one (I.2.26 - 28) Ephoros is cited as a source. As I.2.26-28 are all part of a continuous argument that Homer was not in fact ignorant of distant lands, it is possible Ephoros was the source of the information in I.2.27, just as he was in I.2.26 and 28.

As has been pointed out above, Strabo used Ephoros frequently, and perhaps exclusively through Poseidonios. In passages such as I.2.27 it must, therefore, remain unclear where Ephoros stops and Poseidonios starts.

An investigation not only of the content of Ephorean fragments, but also of the nature of the relationship between Ephoros and Homer, Herodotos, Hippokrates, Ps.-Skymnos, Eratosthenes, and Poseidonios, suggests that Ephoros' work on the Scythians might be placed in the Hecataean tradition, although in Ephoros for the first time a writer is found who also recognised the existence of the alternative conception of the Scythian Empire.



## CHAPTER 10

THEOPOMPOS

No episode of such great significance to the history of the Royal Scythian Empire is so entangled in diverse ancient writings as that of the career of King Ateas. The sources dealing with these events include such names as Trogus Pompeius/Justin, Satyrus/Athenaios, Polyainos, Clement of Alexandria, Plutarch, Strabo, Frontinus, Lucian of Samosata and even Jordanes as late as the sixth century A.D. From where did these writers get their information? The events described may be dated within narrow limits (the decade preceding his death in 339 B.C.) No contemporary, or near contemporary work dealing with any of the events related to Ateas' career is extant, nor is any author, contemporary or near contemporary, cited by later writers as the authority on these events. Such circumstances have left modern scholars unable to answer the question, who was the original source for these later writings?

Rostovtzeff deals, in his customarily ingenious and thorough manner, with three major genres of literature touching upon Scythian affairs in the fourth century (the *Periploi/Periegeses*, ethnographies and histories)<sup>1</sup>. Still Rostovtzeff finds himself unable to identify the authority behind the later writings on this period of Scythian history<sup>2</sup>. In a lengthy investigation of Trogus Pompeius' sources (Trogus having dealt both with early Scythian history and that of the late fourth century) Rostovtzeff believes he can identify three traditions<sup>3</sup>: that of Alexander's day wherein the Scythians are idealised; that of the later Alexander historians, who were anti-Macedonian; and lastly, that of the

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1. M. Rostowzev, *Skythien und der Bosporus I Kritisch Übersicht der literarischen und archtologischen Quellen*, (Berlin, 1931): ch.2 'Die Periplusen und Periegesen des IV-I Jahrhunderts vor Chr.' ch.4 'Die ethnographische Literatur'; ch.5 'Die historische Literatur über Skythien und das bosporanische Reich.'
  2. *Ibid.*, p.107-110.
  3. *Ibid.*, p.108.

Mithridatic historians who glorified Mithridates as conqueror of the Scythians. Rostovtzeff seeks, therefore, a source with sympathies for Scythians, Mithridates and the Parthians too, considering these attitudes to be part of the one phenomenon. The only name suggested as a candidate for this main source is Timagenes. However, as Rostovtzeff himself points out, the content of Timagenes' works is not well known and the source must therefore remain uncertain<sup>4</sup>. The possibility that Polyainos and Trogus used the same source for the early history of Scythia is noted, the tradition in both historians' works on this early period being independent of Herodotean tradition, and perhaps following Ktesias and Dinon<sup>5</sup>. The possibility therefore that Polyainos and Trogus used the same source for their accounts of Ateas' adventures is also noted by Rostovtzeff. Upon only one point, however, does Rostovtzeff suggest a source for Polyainos' account of Ateas (and thus also for the account to be found in Frontinus' work) and that is Theopompos, through the hands of Duris<sup>6</sup>.

Arnold Schaefer had, as early as 1885, suggested Theopompos as the source of the later writings dealing with Philip's Scythian war, however, he confessed to having no evidence for this conclusion: 'Wir dürfen sie gewiss aus Theopomp als ihrer ursprünglichen Quellen herleiten: aber in den Fragmenten dieses Schriftstellers ist von dem Skythenkreige kaum eine Spur erhalten.'<sup>7</sup>

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4. *Ibid.*, p.109. 'Damit wird jedoch die Frage nicht entschieden, woher Pompeius Trogus oder seine Quelle die Tatsachen aus der Ältesten Geschichte Skythiens und aus den Episoden der skythischen Geschichte zur Zeit Philipps und Alexanders geschöpft hat.'
  5. See the chapters on 'Ktesias'.
  6. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, p.109-110; with respect to the accounts of Ateas' conflict with the Triballi (Polyainos VII.44.1 and Frontinus II.4) 'Man könnte annehmen, dass Polyän an dieser Stelle sowohl wie in der oben angeführten über Atheas den Theopomp durch das Mittelglied des Duris benutzt hat.'
  7. Arnold Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, 3 Vols, (Leipzig, 1886) II. p.518. Schaefer goes on to offer one piece of possible evidence - Theopompos' mention of a city called Καρὸς Κήποι. This fragment is dealt with in pp.188ff.

Trüdinger was next to mention Theopompos' work on the Scythians, pointing to the fragment to be found in Hesychios' entry under ἰππᾶκη 'Scythians drink from mare's milk. The sour milk of horses, which the Scythians use. It is drunk, or is eaten frozen, as Theopompos writes in the third book of his work.'<sup>8</sup> Trüdinger, however, only refers to the passage as an example of ethnographical digressions in the *Philippika* and does not consider further the presence of passages dealing with Scythian history in Theopompos' work.

Jacoby nowhere presents passages dealing with Ateas or events on the lower Danube in the late fourth century as fragments of Theopompos. He gives but one fragment wherein Scythia is mentioned<sup>9</sup>, that which Trüdinger had referred to, and to which he added two additional comments. First, that 'einen zusammenstoss Philipps mit Skythen kennen wir erst im j.339.', and second, that ''ἰππᾶκη' schon bei den ältesten ethnographen: Aischyl. F 198 N<sup>2</sup> vgl. pferdmilch Herod. IV.2; Antiphan II.75, 159 K.' In the first of these points Jacoby would seem to be suggesting some connection between the Ateas events and Theopompos' piece of ethnographical information - yet he still falls well short of even suggesting Theopompos was the source for the mass of later writings on Scythian history of this period.

Van Paassen (1957) noted that Theopompos appears to have embodied in his historical work the *Philippika* numerous 'ethnographical' or 'geographical' digressions including one on Scythians, but makes no mention of the possible nature or extent of this work on the Scythians<sup>10</sup>.

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8. K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen-römischen Ethnographie*, (Basel, 1918), p.63. Jacoby *FGrHist*; Theopompos 45: 'Σκυθικὸν βρῶμα ἐξ ἰππ[ει]ου γάλακτος' οἱ δὲ ὀξύγαλα ἰππεῖον, ὡς χρῶνται Σκύθαι · πίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐσθίεται πηγνύμενον, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν ᾧ αὐτοῦ λόγου.'

9. *FGrHist* Theop. F45..

10. C. van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, (Groningen, 1957), p.259.

Müller (1972) similarly mentions the presence of ethnographical passages on various people, among whom Scythians may be counted, in Theopompos' *Philippika*, without making any suggestions as to the details of these passages<sup>11</sup>.

Thus, while several modern day scholars have suggested Theopompos may have written on Scythians, it may be argued further that the entire literary tradition concerned with the progress of the Scythian king Ateas in the middle to late fourth century finds its source in Theopompos, whose account was itself based on the reliable testimony of a first-hand observer of events.

The essence of the arguments in favour of considering Theopompos the major source behind all writings on Ateas' Scythians may here be given briefly.

## I

Frontinus and Polyainos both give accounts of the conflict between Ateas' Scythians and the Triballi<sup>12</sup>. The great resemblance between these passages is noted by Rostovtzeff who makes the most plausible suggestion that both

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11. K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, Teil I (Wiesbaden, 1972), p.223.
  12. Frontinus, *Stratagems* II.iv.20: 'When Atheas, king of the Scythians, was contending against the more numerous tribe of the Triballi, he commanded that herds of asses and cattle be brought up in the rear of the enemy's forces by women, children, and all the non-combatant population, and that spears, held aloft, should be carried in front of these. Then he spread abroad the rumour that reinforcements were coming to him from the more distant Scythian tribes. By this declaration he forced the enemy to withdraw.'  
Polyainos VII.44. Own translation - 'The Scythians, being on the point of meeting the Triballi in battle, ordered the peasants and horse-keepers (grooms), as soon as they noticed they were engaging the enemy, to appear in the distance driving the herd of horses. They appeared, and the Triballi, seeing in the distance the great throng of men and horses raising a cloud of dust, and the war-cry being raised, fled in fright, thinking that the northern Scythians had come to their (the enemy's) aid.'

passages go back to Theopompos<sup>13</sup>. This is argued upon the ground that Polyainos VII.42 on the Celts (separated in Polyainos' work from the passage on Scythians by only one item on Thracians) provides the same information as that offered by Athenaios X 60 p.443 B.C., where the cited source is Theopompos. There is a further argument which may be added to Rostovtzeff's in demonstration of Polyainos' use, though possibly indirectly, of Theopompos. In his attempt to substantiate the suggestion that Theopompos was responsible for later writings on Philip's Scythian campaign, Schaefer appears to despair at finding only one piece of 'evidence' - writing that from Theopompos 'Nur ein Ortsname kann auf Philipps nördlichen Marsch bezogen werden', that of Καρὸς Κῆποι.<sup>14</sup> This one fragment is, however, perhaps of greater significance than Schaefer imagines. The fragment in question is to be found in Stephanos of Byzantium: 'Καρὸς Κῆποι, χερσὶν Θράκης, Θεόπομπος ὃ τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καροκηπίτης ὡς ὁ αὐτός.' This city is in all probability the same as that city mentioned by Arrian in his *Periplus of the Pontos* (35), between Kallatis and Testrisias<sup>15</sup>.

There is the possibility that another city by the name of 'Gardens' (κῆποι) existed in the Crimea, if the κῆποι to which Prytanis fled in his attempt to escape his brother Eumelus in 310 B.C. be identified with modern Taman on the isthmus where he had shortly before taken the field against Eumelus<sup>16</sup>, but reference to a Thracian town is more likely in Theopompos' work than reference to a Crimean. Thus, it may be concluded that Theopompos' Καρὸς Κῆποι was a town on the west Euxine coast between Kallatis and Testrisias. Droysen has suggested that this city is the same one as that

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13. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien* p.109-110.

14. Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, pp.518-519.

16. Diodorus of Sicily, tr. Russel M. Geer 12v (Loeb, London, 1962) vol.X, Book XX.24, and see also editor's notes 3 and 4.

15. Cited in Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, p.519.

which Polyainos speaks of in book IV.2.20 of his own work<sup>17</sup>, and to which, according to Polyainos, Philip had laid siege<sup>18</sup>.

This identification had however already been doubted by Böhnecke, and Schaefer himself concurs in this, arguing that this city could not be the east coast Thracian city as Philip conducted no sieges in the region, and that such an account could not fit into the fiftieth Book of Theopompos' work<sup>19</sup>. As, however, there is every probability that Philip became involved in a siege on his expedition north of the Haemos range, as there need be no difficulty in finding mention of Philip's 'Scythian expedition' in book 50 of the *Philippika*<sup>20</sup>, and finally, as neither Böhnecke, nor Schaefer can suggest an alternate identification of Polyainos' 'Karai' it may be concluded that Polyainos had taken his account of Philip's siege of Karai from Theopompos, the latter being known through Stephanos to have made mention of this town. This then may strengthen the case for Polyainos' dependence upon Theopompos. But was this a direct or indirect dependence?

The slight difference between Athenaios' and Polyainos' account of the Celtic ruse may be accounted for in the suggestion that one or both of these writers was in fact using Theopompos only at second hand. It may have been Polyainos. The intermediary source between Theopompos and Polyainos on the story concerning the Celts, as with the story of the Scythian conflict with the Triballoi, may have

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17. Own translation - 'Philip laying siege for a long time to a strong place Κάραι and being unable to take it, wishing therefore to depart safely and to save the engines of the siege, ordered the engineers to dismantle the engines, having waited for a dark night, and to imitate the noise such as would be made putting them together. Those in Karai hearing the noise from within, kept the gates closed more safely, and made ready counter-engine engines. Philip, they being busy with these things, was unseen in the night with his engines.'
18. Schaefer, 519; Böhnecke cited by Schaefer.
19. pp.58-59.
20. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.110, and G. Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit*, (Leipzig, 1914), p.79 and 89.

been Duris<sup>21</sup>. Suspicion falls upon Duris for the following reason. Polyainos and Frontinus parallel each other not only in regard to Ateas' conflict with the Triballi, but also in their accounts of Perdikkas' ruse. Accounts of similar pieces of trickery are found in Diodoros where they are narrated in relation to the history of Agathocles<sup>22</sup>. It is evident that the entire section on Agathocles in Diodoros (xix-xxi) comes from Duris' 'History of Agathokles'<sup>23</sup>. It is thereby evident that Duris had an interest in recording such stratagems. Duris was, therefore, probably the source of Polyainos and Frontinus on the ruses employed both by Perdikkas and Ateas. Although it is most unlikely that Duris included Theopompos' account of Philip's Scythian campaign in his *History of Agathocles*, Duris is known to have also written Histories ('Ἱστορίαι or as Athenaios calls it, a Μακεδονικά)<sup>24</sup>. Though few fragments of this work are extant, if Duris included readings of Theopompos in his *History of Agathocles*, he is almost certainly likely to have included them in his history of Macedonia, upon which Theopompos (thirty years prior to Duris) had just produced the greatest work to date.

## II

Jordanes' seventh-century A.D. account of Philip's Scythian adventure can also be linked with Theopompos. The first step to this end is the consideration of the various accounts of Philip's marriage to a Getic princess. In his *Gothic History* Jordanes writes: 'Philippus quoque, pater Alexandri Magni, cum Gothis amicitias copulans Medopam Gudilae

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21. Diodoros XX.11.2. and XX.17.3.

22. See *FGrHist* Duris F16-21.

23. *FGrHist* Duris T5.

24. Jordanes, 'Romana et Getica' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores antiquissimi* Vol 5:1 1882 (rep.1961) ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1961) x.65. For an English translation see *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, tr., intro. and comm. by Charles Christopher Mierow, (Cambridge, New York, 1966, reprint of 1915 ed.)

regis filiam accepit uxorem, ut tali affinitate roboratus Macedonum regna firmaret...' Athenaios, quoting Satyros, preserves a similar story<sup>25</sup>. The timing of the marriage in both accounts clearly suggests an arrangement of mutual and political convenience. The correspondence between the accounts suggests a common source<sup>26</sup>. Who might the original source have been? This question may be answered by consideration of another correspondence between these two writers.

Jordanes' account of the confrontation between Philip and the Goths outside the city of Odessos centers upon the seemingly incredible actions of some Gothic priests. As Philip approached Odessos 'those priests of the Goths that are called Holy Men suddenly opened the gates of Odessos and came forth to meet them. They bore harps and were clad in snowy robes, and chanted in suppliant strains to the gods of their fathers that they might be piteous and repel the Macedonians. When the Macedonians saw them coming with such confidence to meet them, they were astonished and, so to speak, the armed were terrified by the unarmed.'<sup>27</sup> An account of this episode is found in no other extant source and thus Jordanes' possible sources and his treatment of them demand some investigation. Jordanes' declared source at this point is Dio<sup>28</sup>, though he was possibly only used indirectly through

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25. Athenaios, xiii.557.94. 'Again, when he subjugated Thrace, there came over to his side Cothelas the Thracian king, who brought with him his daughter Meda and a large dowry.'
26. A note of explanation on the tribal and personal names given (1) Goths=Getae. Jordanes considered them the same people and used the terms alternatively throughout his work. (2) 'Medopa' is recognisable as either a variant upon Satyros' very much earlier 'Μήδα' or an independent tradition's rendition of the same princess' name. As neither Satyros nor Athenaios are cited in Jordanes' work, the evolution of the form 'Medopa' remains unclear. Satyros' 'Meda' was probably the princesses' actual name - being similar to Μηδεία, the Colchian princess of Argonaut fame. The personal name, along with the place name of Media, were probably all Iranian. (3) Jordanes' Getic King, Gudila, may be identified as Satyros' Κοθίλας, there being but slight phonetic difference.
27. Jordanes X.65.
28. Dio is cited as an authority and/or praised a total of five times in the *Getica* (ii.14; xxix.151; x.65; ix.58; v.40). However, Jordanes probably believed, as Cassiodorus and *Suidas* believed before



Jordanes' prime source, Cassiodorus<sup>29</sup>. Justin's epitome of Trogus, however, contains not a single allusion to the events concerning the harp-bearing priests and the behaviour of the Macedonians outside Odessos.

The key to interpreting the account may be found in a passage of Athenaios, wherein Theopompos is the cited authority: 'Theopompos in the fortieth book of his history says "The Getae sent ambassadors of peace bearing harps and playing music upon them."<sup>30</sup> The correspondence of this passage with Jordanes' description of the Gothic 'priests' is immediately evident, and it would seem reasonable to conclude that the contemporary historian Theopompos was the original source for Jordanes' account, at least at this point.

Yet once again there is not complete correspondence between the account found in Jordanes and that in Athenaios. If Athenaios' quotation is to be assumed the more accurate use of Theopompos (as seems only reasonable and as appears to be the case with respect to these writers' attribution of motives to Philip for the marriage with Meda ), then how is Jordanes' divergence to be explained?

Iliescu has made the suggestion that the reason Jordanes has 'priests' where Athenaios simply has 'ambassadors' is that Jordanes has transferred customs which he had heard associated with the Dacians and Thracians to the 'Goths'. Jordanes had earlier (ch.39-41) written on the relationship between the

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28. (Contd.) him, that the Dio who wrote the *Getica* was Dio Cassius (Mierow p.29 n.98). This early Getic history which Jordanes quotes was in fact probably the work of Dio Chrysostom, who according to Philostratos did in fact write a 'Γετικά' (*Vit.soph.*I.7 p.487). See also Jacoby, *Deinon* 690 II (*Suida* s.v. Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος); Schwartz *RE* 1684 'Cassius Dio Cocceianus'.
29. For a full discussion of Cassiodorus as a source see Mierow pp.23-29.
30. Momigliano, 'Dalla spedizione scitica di Filippo...' p.342. Athenaeus, xiv.24 p.627 DE. 'Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔκτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν. Γέται φησι - κιθάρας ἔχοντες καὶ κιθαρίζοντες τὰς ἐπισημοὺς ποιοῦνται.'

Goths, Scythia, Dacia, Thrace and Moesia; and between Zalmoxes (in reality of Thrace) and Getic/Gothic worship of Mars, 'Und so konnte bei Jordanes die Verbindung zwischen den Priestern und den Gesandten der Geten zustandekommen.'<sup>31</sup> Thus, in Theopompos there was probably no mention of priests, only ambassadors, as Athenaios records. At which point in the transmission of the account from Theopompos to Jordanes the terminology changed from ambassadors to priests is not clear. Nor is it clear whether Theopompos was used directly by Dio Chrysostom, he by Cassiodoros and then he by Jordanes, or whether Theopompos was used by Dio who was then directly used by Jordanes. The only point which seems certain is that there exists an element of Theopompos' contemporary account in Jordanes' history nine hundred years later<sup>32</sup>.

### III

Justin's lengthy account of the diplomatic relations and armed conflict between Ateas and Philip may also be traced back to Theopompos. The reasons are several. Firstly, Justin provides an internally consistent as well as a conceivable account of Ateas-Philip relations. This suggests a contemporary authority. Secondly, the title of Trogus' work *Historiarum Philippicarum*, would seem to be borrowed directly from Theopompos' *Philippika*. . Thirdly, the moralising tendencies are evident throughout Justin's account of the Ateas-Philip affair. Schelow believed these tendencies to be the responsibility of Trogus personally, moralising upon the base and greedy nature of the Macedonian power<sup>33</sup>. Such a moralistic rendering of Philip's motives could, however, equally well

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31. Iliescu, 'Bemerkung zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung...' p.421 n.87.

32. See Appendix IV.

33. Schelow, p.44 (with reference to two articles on the historical concepts of Pompeius Trogus by the Soviet scholar K.I. Zel'in). 'Diese naive Erklärung resultiert aus der allgemeinen moralisierenden Tendenz des Pompeius Trogus und seiner negativen Einstellung zu Philipp als dem habgierigen, hinterlistigen und prinzipienlosen Begründer des makedonischen Reiches.'

have found a place in Theopompos' *Philippika*, and it is from Theopompos that Trogus doubtless took his lead when it came to anti-Macedonian sympathies.

Rostovtzeff, like Schelow, also omits all consideration of Theopompos and his reconstruction of the various influences in Trogus' work consequently appears wanting. Of these influences Rostovtzeff defines three<sup>34</sup>. When consideration is given to Theopompos' role it is evident that the 'idealisation' of the Scythians in their relations with Macedonians predates Alexander's day and the anti-Macedonian sympathies present in Trogus pre-date the later Alexander historians. That is to say, Theopompos was the major 'inspiration' for both the pro-Scythian and anti-Macedonian sentiments in Trogus<sup>35</sup>. Trogus' account of Philip's motive in terms of recovering losses from the innocent barbarians is, therefore, fiction derived from Theopompos.

#### IV

One further question may here be raised. In which book(s) of the *Philippika* did Theopompos deal with Ateas' Scythians? There are but a few points upon which the chronology of the later part of Theopompos' narrative in the *Philippika* can hang. Of these we find:

Book 43 deals with the capture of the city of the Kassopeiai, 343/42<sup>36</sup>

Book 44 deals with the reorganisation of Thessaly, 344<sup>37</sup>

Book 47 deals with Philip's war with Athens, 340<sup>38</sup>

Book 53 deals with the battle of Chaeronea, 338<sup>39</sup>.

It may further be conjectured, as Jacoby does, that Theopompos'

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34. See ch. 'Theopompos' pp.185f.

35. Ch. 'Theopompos' pp.205f.

36. F 207.

37. F 208-209.

38. F 217-223.

39. F 236.

description of events in Thrace begins in Book 45<sup>40</sup>. As the written history of Ateas' presence south of the Danube spans a period beginning a year or two before Philip's siege of Perinthos (342/1) and concludes the year after the siege, with Ateas' death and Philip's return from beyond the Haimos (339) the account may constitute most, if not all, of Book 46 (to which book Athenaios attributes the passage on the Getai as Harp bearers) and have possibly extended throughout Books 47-50. These proposals may be examined more closely.

The only other Theopompean fragment from Book 46 is Athenaios IV. (31) 149 D 'As Theopompos, in the forty-sixth book of his History of Philip, says that "the Arcadians entertain at their celebrations masters and slaves, setting one table before them all; they freely serve food for all to share, and mix the same bowl for all" - it is unclear whether this passage formed part of a major narration of events in Arcadia at the time (c.340) or simply part of a comparative study of drinking habits, which may at this point have been relevant, if not to Theopompos' historical purpose, to his moral one. That Theopompos was interested in entertainment and drinking customs is evident for example from the Athenaios fragments of Theopompos on the manners of Philip's court<sup>41</sup> and on the drinking habits of the Scythians<sup>42</sup>.

Knowledge of the historical scope and content of the later books 47-50 is very scant. The fragments of book 47 mention either Philip's war with Athens or places in Thrace<sup>43</sup>;

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40. Jacoby, *FGrHist* Pt.280 p.386 'hier beginnt die darstellung der der thrakischen ereignisse die vorgeschichte des neuen krieges zwischen Philipp und Athen. (214) F 44; Eph.70 F 88.

41. Athen. IV (62) 166F-167C; VI (77) 260 -261A.

42. See Hesychios fragment *ἰτυκόν*. On the drinking customs of other peoples see:

Athen.442e Theop bk 22 - people of Chalcidice in Thrace.

Athen.442f Theop bk 50 - people of Methymna in Thrace.

Athen.443a Theop bk 2 - Illyrians.

43. F 217, 218, 219, 220.

48 mentioning the two Aristomeides<sup>44</sup>. 49 again mentions places in Thrace and a polemic on Macedonian morality under Philip<sup>45</sup>. The mention of places in Thrace in both book 47 and 49 may suggest that an account of Philip's activities on the east coast of Thrace and even beyond the Haemos may find a place in these books. The consistent attribution of the fragments of Theopompos' polemic against Philippic morality to book 49 may also prove significant. It may be that this polemic was located within the narrative of Philip's 'Scythian expedition', so as to achieve a rhetorical juxtaposition of the two models of morality, two models which Theopompos had so clearly defined in his own mind. When consideration turns to Theopompos' 50th Book, the only fragment, apart from Stephanos Byzantios s.v. Καρὸς Κῆποι is a fragment dealing with drinking and pleasure customs on the people of Methymna (presumably the Lesbian city).<sup>46</sup> As this is yet another reference to drinking and morality the question of the historical content of the 50th Book remains open for speculation. As speculated above it is conceivable that Theopompos was still narrating events beyond the Haemos. Not only the extant Theopompean reference to Καρὸς Κῆποι but also the account (preserved in Polyainos) of Philip's siege of this town, may have occurred in this book.

It may therefore be that the story of Ateas' progress south of the Danube, and of Philip's diplomatic exchanges and subsequent military campaign north of the Haemus and return through the Triballi, did not form a single brief account in Theopompos' work, but, spreading over three years, the account was spread over five books, 46-50. The continuing saga of Ateas and Philip shared these books with accounts of Philip's Thracian campaign, siege of Byzantium and Perinthos and

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44. F 222.

45. F 223, 224 (Athen p.166F-167C), 225 a) Polyb VIII.ii.5-13; b) Athen VI.77 p.260D; c) Demetr. *De eloc.*27.

46. Athen X.442f-443a.

relations with Athens, with polemics on Macedonian morality, and with comparative studies in customs of drinking and debauchery.

V

The discussion may now turn to a subject central to the theme of this paper: Theopompos' conception of the Royal Scythian Empire. There is, however, an additional problem which arises when attempting to assess Theopompos' conception: what should the historical conception of the Royal Scythian Empire in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. be? Was the Scythian King most prominent in events in the region south of the Danube in this period (i.e. Ateas) King of tribes in that region alone, or King of the whole Basileioi Empire as it had existed in the preceding century?

In west European and Roumanian scholarship it is generally believed that Ateas was the leader of a single or small group of tribes which had broken into the Dobrudja, and that until 'auf den Kopf geschlagen' by Philip he was causing trouble with Euxine cities and other tribes<sup>47</sup>. Such a conclusion is suggested by the accounts of Ateas' difficulty with the Histriani, request for Macedonian aid and quick defeat by Philip<sup>48</sup>. Most Soviet scholars, however, believe that Ateas was the King of all the Scythians from the Maiotis to the Dobrudja and the founder of the first Scythian 'state'.<sup>49</sup> Though the second of these proposals is difficult to substantiate (particularly when the positions of earlier Scythian Kings, Idanthyrsos, Ariapeithes, Skyles and Oktamasades are

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47. Nicorescu, 'La campagne de Philippe...' p.23; Pickard-Cambridge, 'Macedonian Supremacy in Greece' p.256; Momigliano, 'Dalla spedizione scitica...' p.346; Andre Aymard, *Le Monde grec au temps de Philippe II de Macédoine et Alexandre le Grand*, (Paris, 1952) p.170; Alexandrescu, 'Ataias' p.90; G. Glotz, *Histoire grecque, III: La Grèce au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: la lutte pour l'hégémonie, 404-336*, (Paris, 1931) p.344-5.

48. As Alexandrescu argues, 'Ataias' p.90.

49. Schelow, 'Der Skythen-Makedonier-Konflikt...' p.34.

taken into consideration), the first proposal finds much to substantiate it in the classical literature.

Strabo provides the most compelling support for the proposal by concluding a lengthy account of the climate and geography of the region between the Borysthenes and the Maiotis with the statement: Ἀτέας δὲ δοκεῖ τῶν πλείστων ἄρξαι τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων ὁ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀμύντου<sup>50</sup>. Most of Strabo's geography of this region would seem to be derived from his own time. The reference to Ateas as King over this region is, however, a reference to a much earlier time, not his own, and it is highly probable that it was a late fourth-century writer who had provided the above definition of Ateas' kingdom. Plutarch would seem to recommend a similar definition of Ateas' realm, for not only does he refer to Ateas as ὁ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀτέας<sup>52</sup> and as claiming ἐγὼ δὲ Σκυθῶν<sup>53</sup> but in his *Apophthegmata* Plutarch includes Ateas' choice sayings between those of Idanthyrso and Skiluros<sup>54</sup>. Both these Kings appear to have ruled the entire empire<sup>55</sup>. In Justin-Trogus' account of Ateas' conflict with Philip, not only is Ateas said to be *rex Scytharum* but Philip seems to recognise him as King of the whole Empire in all his diplomatic correspondence<sup>56</sup>. Similarly, Ateas is referred to as 'King of the

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50. Strabo vii.3.18. The discussion vii.3.1-18 falls within a greater discussion of the eastern European lands.

52. Plut. *Moralia*. 334.B.

53. Plut. *Moralia*. 174 F.

54. *Ibid.*, 174E-F.

55. Idanthyrso - see ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos' p.26. Skiluros - see Regling 'Skiluros' *RE* (1927) 526-527. Skiluros' empire was, however, only a portion of the old. None of the saying in the *Apophthegmata* are attributed to subordinate or provincial rulers.

56. Justin IX.2.

Scythians' by Frontinus<sup>57</sup>, Lucian<sup>58</sup> and Clement of Alexandria<sup>59</sup>.

However, as all of the above authors appear to follow Theopompos' account, what appears to be the testimony of half a dozen or more ancient scholars may be reduced to the testimony of one. As this one authority was a contemporary of events, must it be assumed that not only his narration of events is accurate, but also his wider conception of the Scythian state? The answer must be negative. Though a substantial argument may be constructed upon numerous ancient sources, references for considering Ateas king of the Royal Scythian empire, it is in fact probable that he was not.

Before examining the question of Theopompos' credibility on the conception of Ateas' kingship, the relevant passage in Strabo might be examined. No modern scholar has ever recommended an identification of Strabo's source at this point - let alone mentioned Theopompos in this connection. The suspicion that Strabo himself was not confident that the description of Ateas' realm which he was offering was historically accurate has been highlighted by Kallistov<sup>60</sup>. The central issue is Strabo's use of the word *δοκεῖ* in the passage in question. *δοκεῖ* or *δοκεῖ μοι* appears 18 times in Strabo (plus once in a quotation from Ephoros).<sup>61</sup> Of these

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57. Frontinus, *Stratagemis* II.iv.20 (rex Scytharum).
58. Lucian of Samosata, *Makrobioi* LXII.10. Own translation: 'Ateas, King of the Scythians (Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς) fell at an age of over 90 while fighting against Philip on the Istros river.'
59. Clement of Alexandria mentions a letter from Ateas in the context of a discussion between Aristocrites and Herakleodoros. The former quotes the letter: 'Ateas, the King of the Scythians (βασιλεὺς Σκυθῶν) to the people of Byzantium. Do not hinder/diminish my revenues, lest my horses drink at your water'. Thus, according to Aristocritos 'the barbarian had disclosed with the help of a figurative expression that he was about to make war on them.' Own translation from Greek text in Dindorf (ed.) *Clementis Alexandrini Opera* V.p.31. For a French translation see Iliescu, 'Le problème des rapports...' p.173.
60. D.P. Kallistov, 'Der Gebrauch von *δοκεῖ* bei Strabon. Zum Bericht über den Skythenkönig Ateas, Geogr.vii.3.18.' *Philologus* CXVI 1972 pp.285-292.
61. *Ibid.*, p.289. Strabo I.2.28.



occasions, 12 are concerned with mythology or very early (legendary) history (e.g. the significance of Homeric or Hesiodic verses)<sup>62</sup> and 7 with 'geographical' subjects<sup>63</sup>. Only once does he use *δοκεῖ* with regard to an historical matter - in the Ateas passage. With regard to such matters as kingship Strabo usually uses a more persuasive tone<sup>64</sup>. The possibility that Strabo may have been uncertain at this point is confirmed by two other passages wherein Strabo stresses his ignorance of the region<sup>65</sup>. Kallistov therefore concludes that Strabo must have been dependent upon literary sources<sup>66</sup>. This same conclusion had been reached many years earlier, though without supporting arguments, by Rostovtzeff<sup>67</sup>. This conclusion is in any case self-evident. Ateas' day predated Strabo's own by more than three hundred years. Strabo could only give an account of the tribal geography of Ateas' day by reference to literary sources. Who then was Strabo's source and why the uncertainty in Strabo's own account? Kallistov considers it impossible to identify the source.

The source may be considered to have been Ephoros, Strabo's main source for much of his work on the Scythian lands<sup>68</sup>, were it not for a complication presented by chronology. As Ateas' military confrontation with Philip may be dated to 339 B.C., it must fall outside the scope of the narrative section of Ephoros' *Ἱστορίαι* which appears to

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62. V.2.5; V.4.4; VI.1.1; VI.3.8; VII.3.2; VII.3.6; VII.7.2; VIII.3.5; VIII.3.20; VIII.3.32; VIII.4.9; VIII.6.9.

63. VIII.4.8; VIII.6.19; VIII.3.30; VII.5.9; VI.1.12.

64. See Kallistov p.290 note 12 for the extensive list of references.

65. In VII.2.4 he writes '... for I know neither the Bastarnae, nor the Sauromatae, nor, in a word, any of the peoples who dwell above the Pontus, nor...' and in VII.3.1, on the Getae lands (north to the Tyregetae) he writes '...but I cannot tell the precise boundaries. It is because of men's ignorance of these regions that any heed has been given to those who created the mythical "Rhiplean Mountains" and "Hyperboreans"...'.

66. *Ibid.*, p.291.

67. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, p.10.

68. See ch.8, 'Ephoros'.

have concluded with Philip's siege of Perinthos in 340 B.C. If, as it appears, Ateas had made his presence felt south of the Danube from as early as the early 340's (even the 350's) and if the stories of his exceptional age are indeed to be believed, he may have been a Scythian leader even earlier still, then it is possible that he found a mention in Ephoros' history outside the context of his confrontation with Philip. Such a mention may have been made in the fourth book of the *Histories*, the Εὐρώπῃ, in which the geography of Skythia is known to have been discussed. However, would an allusion to an historical character of the fourth century, and the extent of his kingdom, have fitted well into a 'geography' based primarily upon early Ionian works, and would Ateas' identity have in any case been recognised before his memorable confrontation with Philip? There can be no certain answer to the first of these questions. The second can only be answered with difficulty. That Ephoros would have known of Philip's war with Ateas is beyond doubt. As elusive as Ephoros' dates are, no scholar disputes that Ephoros was still writing after Philip's death even if he did not live to finish writing the last chapters of Philip's life<sup>69</sup>. It is even possible that he had already made notes concerning the Macedonian 'Scythian expedition'. However, whether Ephoros would have been able to include information on Ateas' realm in Book IV depends not just upon the date to which this information may be dated, but the date at which Book IV was written. Barber convincingly argues that Ephoros began writing his history 'early' in his life and did not leave it all till after Philip's death, as some have suggested<sup>70</sup>. The latter would have been an extremely difficult task. There are even indications that the work as a whole was undertaken roughly in a chronological order. If this is so, and if, as Barber suggests, the allusion to Philippi in Book IV was due to Philip's recent capture of the town, it is possible

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69. Godfrey Louis Barber, *The Historian Ephorus*, (Cambridge, 1935) p.11; Jacoby *FGrHist* II.c pp.24-25.

70. References to such works may be found in Barber, *ibid.*, p.11.

that this book appeared about 356 B.C. This would be too early for Ephoros to have been able to include in the book any knowledge of Ateas' realm. Thus, as tempting as it is to regard Ephoros as the source for Strabo VII.3.18, several circumstances prevent the drawing of this conclusion.

The other major candidate must be Theopompos, Ephoros' younger contemporary. In Kallistov's otherwise thorough article on Strabo VII.3.18, not only does he make no attempt to identify a source for the passage (examining only the tradition behind it) but omits mention of Theopompos altogether. Theopompos as the source for Justin-Trogus and Plutarch, as demonstrated above, must have been responsible for the conception of Ateas as *rex Scytharum*, 'ὁ τῶν Ἐκυσθῶν βασιλεὺς 'Ατέας' and 'ἐγὼ δὲ Ἐκυσθῶν' found in these writers' works, and responsible for the conception of Ateas as King over all Scythians in the diplomatic correspondence that Justin-Trogus records. It would be a short step to making the further conclusion that Theopompos was also the source of the conception found in Strabo. However, as the step is not readily demonstrable, it is only conceivable if Strabo's use of Theopompos elsewhere could be established. This task may have been accomplished by Von der Mühl who seeks to identify Theopompos, and not Ephoros, as the source of Strabo's interpretation of Homer's attitude to Cimmerians<sup>71</sup>. The identification of Theopompos as the source is encouraged also by consideration of the nature of the conception of Scythia found in Strabo and of the question of why Strabo seems to doubt this conception.

The explanation for the manner in which Strabo described the extent of Ateas' realm, is that he was writing in a tradition which idealised the Scythians, and which demanded the

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71. Von der Mühl observes that both Strabo and Theopompos seem to date the Cimmerian invasion of Asia Minor before Homer, and not vice-versa. Strabo I.2.9; I.2.10; III.2.12; Theopompos *FGrHist* III F 205. P. Von der Mühl, 'Die Kimmerier der Odyssee und Theopompos', *Museum Helveticum*, XVI, 1959, 145-151.

description of a strong and unified Scythian state. The reason Strabo doubts the conception is that it was historically inaccurate. The Scythian Empire of the fifth century was not that of the fourth. The Sarmatian tribes had begun to displace the Royal Scythians from the steppes of south Russia, thus precipitating the migration of large groups of Basileioi south of the Danube<sup>72</sup>. Ateas was a Scythian King, but only over those of the Scythians who were migrating into the Dobrudja region and not over the old empire, from the Danube to the Don. The debate on the idealisation of Scythian tribes features prominently in Strabo's Geography<sup>73</sup>, with Ephoros and Poseidonios on the side tending to 'idealise', Eratosthenes and Apollodoros on the other, attempting to rationalise the conception. A moralistic vein runs through Strabo's own writings and his Stoic position (with the characteristic faith in Homer) leads him to sympathise rather with those of the idealising tendency. The relationship between mode of life and 'national' power is an essential part of such a philosophy, and is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in Strabo's observations upon the Parthians' success in attaining a great empire: 'The cause of this is their mode of life, and also their customs, which contain much that is barbarian and Scythian in character, though more that is conducive to hegemony and success in war.'<sup>74</sup> Strabo,

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72. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp.117-122; Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, pp.7-25, and Tuomo Pekkanen, 'On the Oldest Relationship between Hungarians and Sarmatians ...' pp.1-64.
73. Strabo VII.3-10.
74. Strabo XI.9.2. In passing, Kallistov may be corrected, for he translates μέντοι as 'und', not in the sense supplied in the Jones translation 'though'. This later sense is required by the passage to stress that the final characteristics mentioned 'that necessary for hegemony and success in war' (τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθωσιν) are still Scythian characteristics.

however, was not the first to write on Scythians under the influence of such philosophical dictates. The early stages in this same tradition have been dealt with in the preceding chapters. That Theopompos was capable of idealisation of the sort which may generate the image of Ateas apparent in Strabo (as well as other later sources) is easily demonstrable.

Though Connor argues convincingly for interpreting Theopompos' treatment of Philip as 'History without Heroes', he does not overlook the fact that the same moralistic tendency which found nothing of worth in Macedonian behaviour, was capable of finding ideal morality elsewhere - in particular, in the fantasy state of Meropis<sup>75</sup>. In Theopompos' description of this fictitious state Rohde and Wilamowitz detected the influence of Plato, Hirzel the influence of the Cynic philosophy and Momigliano the influence of Antisthenes in particular<sup>76</sup>. An additional, and in part alternative, influence might be found in the still earlier tradition of idealised Scythians and Hyperboreans. Thus the description of a Utopian city, Εὐτεβής, beyond the river Ocean on a continent in which men led peaceful and prosperous lives harvesting crops from soil that has never been touched by ploughs nor trodden by oxen, corresponds closely with the conception of Scythia to be found in Aischylos' work<sup>77</sup>. It is, therefore, conceivable that Theopompos might even have included elements of idealisation in his history when the subject of this history became on the one hand Scythians and on the other Macedonians.

Thus, though offering an extremely detailed and comprehensive account of the contacts and conflict between Ateas and

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75. W.R. Connor, 'History without heroes. Theopompos' treatment of Philip of Macedon', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, VIII, 1967, 133-154. *FGrHist* F74-75.

76. R. Laqueur, 'Theopompos' *RE* (1934) 2213. On Antisthenes see F 295.

77. Connor, 'History without heroes' p.153. See Appendix II. It is possible that Hekataios of Abdera's work idealising the Scythians was not only inspired by the early tradition dealing with Scythians, but was also inspired indirectly through Theopompos.

Philip, Theopompos offered an unreal conception of Ateas' kingship and Ateas' Scythia. The Scythians were the anti-thesis of the Macedonians. If Philip's Macedonians were to be greedy and morally degenerate, Ateas' Scythians had to be simple in possessions, yet rewarded in their virtue by possession of an expansive and unified empire. Theopompos would, therefore, seem to have clung to the concept of a great 'Scythian Empire' in a period when such an entity no longer existed.

## CHAPTER 11

## ALEXANDER

In each of the above chapters discussion has centered upon a single classical writer. A central question has been asked of each of these writers: 'Is this writer's conception of Scythia in the Herodotean or Hecataean tradition? In the discussion which follows, investigation will be directed at reconstructing the conception of Scythia held by a man who was neither a geographer, historian, physician or philosopher, indeed was the author of no scholarly writings at all. This man's conception of Scythians is, however, of the utmost significance. It is more than simply another example of a conception of Scythia falling within a well-established tradition. It is the first demonstrable example of the influence the accumulating literary tradition could have on the conception of a man, whose interests were very distant from literature, and the first demonstrable case of this literary tradition being a factor in the course of historical action (the conduct of a military campaign). The man is Alexander.

This section differs from the above in several further respects. Firstly, whereas the conception of the scholars treated in the above chapters may be reconstructed upon analysis of extant works or fragments, Alexander's conception can be found in no such writings of his own, but must be inferred from writings of his near-contemporaries (writings which themselves only survive as ill-defined fragments within later histories<sup>1</sup>), and, unique to this study, from the record of action or, more correctly, the record of intention.

Secondly, whereas in the above chapters there has been little difficulty finding the relevance of works and fragments

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1. Primarily the writings of Polykleitos, Kleitarchos, Aristoboulos and Ptolemy in the works of Quintus Curtius, Arrian and Strabo.

, Anstich,

to the traditions of literary conceptions of the European Scythians (that is, Basileioi), the prime concern of the Alexander Historians is with tribes in Central Asia (that is, the tribes north of the Jaxartes with whom Alexander was in contact in the year 329). It is the geographical misconception under which Alexander laboured, and by which these tribes were erroneously conceived of as European, which makes the matter of relevance to this thesis.

Finally, whereas the preceding chapters have, to a great extent, been written in a void of modern relevant scholarship, this is not true of the present chapter. Falling as it does within the realm of Alexander studies, the matter presently in hand has been treated in numerous articles and books. The major contributions to the various debates have come from Tarn, Pearson and Hamilton<sup>2</sup>. Several of the standard works on Scythians in classical literature also refer to the subject<sup>3</sup>. Even writers of general works on Alexander have paused to reflect upon the matter<sup>4</sup>. Such general discussions can, however, be improved upon substantially. The attention of most modern writers is directed towards the three major misconceptions/conceptions related to physical geography: the linking of the Aral, Caspian and Sea of Azov; the equating of the Syr-Darya with the upper course of the Don; the

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2. W.W. Tarn, 'Patrokles and the Oxo-Caspian trade route' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI, 1901 pp.10-29; *Alexander the Great II, Sources and Studies*, (Cambridge, 1948) i.B,C and ii.Appendix 19; Lionel Pearson, 'Notes on two Passages of Strabo' *Classical Quarterly* n.s.1951 Vol 1 pp.80-85; *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, (The American Philological Association, 1960); J.R. Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral', *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. Vol 21 1971, pp.106-111.
  3. K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen-römischen Ethnographie*, (Basel, 1918); M. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, (Berlin, 1931) p.93; Christiaan van Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, (Groningen, 1957), pp.265f; W.A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, (New York, 1937, rep. 1976) pp.33-34.
  4. Wilken does so at length, Milns more briefly. Ulrich Wilken, *Alexander the Great*, (New York, 1967) pp.152-3; R.D. Milns, *Alexander the Great*, (London, 1968) p.177.



equating of the Hindu-Kush with an eastern extension of the Caucasus. A fourth misconception, one related to tribal geography, is seldom treated. It is this fourth misconception which will be isolated for particular examination.

The problem of Alexander's conception of the tribal geography of the European Scythian Empire may be approached through consideration of three questions. Firstly, what were the conceptions of Scythian tribal organisation found in Quintus Curtius and Arrian? Secondly, what was the source of this conception and to what degree might Alexander himself have shared or been responsible for this conception? Thirdly, what were the reasons for this conception? This last question involves consideration of the three 'conceptions' of Eurasian physical geography. The questions may now be treated in turn.

Quintus Curtius mentions 'Scythae' a total of 36 times in his *History of Alexander*, and the land 'Scythia' 3 times. The 'Sacae' are mentioned 6 times. Surprisingly, it is possible to detect in Curtius' use of these three terms deliberate and consistent rules. 'Scythae' is used in the following circumstances: 1) For the northern tribal peoples (neighbours of the Bactrians) who served in the armies of Darius and Alexander<sup>5</sup>; 2) In the expression, or context of, 'Scythians beyond the Tanais' ('*ultra Tanain amnem colentes Scythae*') - particularly in the context of tribes preparing to send aid to Bessus, or threatening Alexander<sup>6</sup>; 3) Use as in 2), but with the additional qualification of 'European'.<sup>7</sup> This usage is most refined in the philosophical digression accompanying Curtius' account of the visit and speech of the Scythian envoys in VII. 8.8f. Their speech includes a remarkable definition of the Scythian Empire<sup>8</sup>. 4) Two sorts of

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5. Curtius IV.6.3; 9.2; 13.5; 14.3; 15.12; 15.13; 15.18.

6. VI.6.13; VII.4.6; 4.32; 6.11; 6.12.

7. VII.7.1-16 (including Alexander's speech) and VII.9.5, 17, 18 - in reference to those Alexander met across the Tanais.

8. VII.8.30.

Scythians are distinguished; (i) those the other side of the Tanais in Europe = 3), and (ii) those 'above the Bosphoros' and in Asia. Thus in VI.ii.13 Curtius writes: '(the Scythians) have homes both in Europe and in Asia; those who dwell above the Bosphorus ('*super Bosphorum*')<sup>9</sup> are assigned to Asia, but those who are in Europe extend from the left side of Thrace to the Borysthenes and from there in a direct course to the Tanais. There is no doubt that the Scythians, from whom the Parthians are descended, made their way, not from the Bosphorus, but from the region of Europe.' This most curious of definitions is repeated in VIII.i.7, when Alexander is said to receive envoys from the Scythians east of the Bosphoros.<sup>10</sup>

With the exception of perhaps only the last reference, the above forms of defining the Scythians are mutually consistent. Consistent with them too would seem to be the usage of '*Scythia*' a land to the north of the Parthians and Bactrians<sup>11</sup>. The territory the Scythians of Curtius inhabit can, therefore, be seen to be territory well beyond the Herodotean limits of Scythia. The usage is clearly Hecataean. If Curtius is allocating to the Scythians territory Herodotos would give to the Sacae, it is of interest that Curtius also uses the term 'Sacae'. Curtius' usage of this term falls into two categories: 1) When Dareios himself is being reported - this may possibly be an accurate reflection of the Persian usage of Saka for any peoples the Greeks called 'Sakai' or Skythai'<sup>12</sup>; 2) With reference to a small identifiable separate group of Iranian speaking nomads. This group is consistently considered independent of the 'Scythians'. A clear distinction is made between the Sacae and the 'Scythians beyond

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9. That is, east of the Bosphorus. Cf. Pliny *NH* v.110.

10. 'There Dervas, whom he had sent to the Scythians dwelling east of the Bosphorus, met him with envoys of that people.' It is curious that Rolfe here translates '*super Bosphorum*' as 'east of...' when in VI.2.13 he translated it 'beyond...' It was the same group.

11. IV.12.11; VII.3.9; VIII.2.14.

12. V.9.5.

the Tanais' in VII.4.6. The same distinction is alluded to elsewhere<sup>13</sup>. The distinction seems to be between the horde of 'Scythians' who dwell north of the Jaxartes and extend westwards into Europe, and a smaller Sacae tribe dwelling east of the Jaxartes' upper reaches, or, as Rolfe suggests, 'Apparently dwelling in the eastern part of Hissar, or east of Hissar.'<sup>14</sup> Such a location is apparent from internal evidence - the context of Alexander's campaigns. 'Sacae' is therefore used to refer to a particular group, as readily identifiable as other Iranian nomad groups such as the Dahae<sup>15</sup> and Massagetae<sup>16</sup>. The only exception to the above classifications would seem to be VII.ix.17-18, where the term is a loose equivalent of *Scythae* referring to European Scythian envoys.

Arrian's use of the terms *Σκύθαι* and *Σάκαι* may now be examined. In his *Anabasis* Skythai are mentioned on more than 20 occasions. As with Curtius, the usage would seem to fall into four categories: 1) Where the origin and continental identity of the people is not mentioned, e.g. Cyrus made war on Scythians<sup>17</sup> and Scythians are said to be in Darieos' army;<sup>18</sup> 2) Where 'Skythai' is used for a people north of Jaxartes: *Νομάδες Σκύθαι* north of Sogdia became allies of Spitamenes (IV.5.3f); *Νομάδες Σκύθαι* north of Caspian (VII.16.4); Alexander's speech reflecting upon past campaigns (V.25.5). The Scythians mentioned in IV.3.4; 4.1f, 5.3f, 6.1. are also clearly from beyond the Jaxartes; 3) Use as in 2) but with the additional qualification of being European: Scythians on the Danube (I.3.2); King of the European Scythians (IV.15.1) and envoys received from the

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13. VI.3.9; VIII.4.20.

14. Rolfe, Quintus Curtius Vol 2 (Loeb) p.268 - note to VIII.iv.20. See also map at back of Curtius (Loeb ed.) Vol. 2.

15. IV.12.6; VI.3.9; VII.4.6; 7.32; VIII.1.6; 1.8; 3.1; 3.16; 14.5; IX.2.24.

16. IV.12.7; 15.2; VI.3.9; VIII.1.3; 1.6; 1.8.

17. Arrian, *Anabasis* III.27.4; IV.11.9; V.4.5.

18. III.11.6; 13.3; 17.3.

European Scythians (VII.15.4). Most significant of all are the references to the European Scythians upon whom Alexander is said to have had designs for future conquest. Thus in IV.1.1-3 when Alexander received envoys from 'the European Scythians, the largest nation dwelling in Europe' he 'sent some of the Companions with them, pretending it was an embassy to conclude a friendly agreement; but the idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythian's land, their numbers, their customs and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions. He was himself planning to found a city on the Tanais, and to give it his own name. For in his view the site was suitable for the city to rise to greatness, and it would be well placed for any eventual invasion of Scythia and as a defence bastion of the country against the raids of the barbarians dwelling on the other side of the river.' This invasion of 'Scythia' was obviously conceived of as more than simply a river crossing directed at the 'barbarians' on the opposite side. Designs on the Scythians by way of the Euxine Sea are mentioned in VII.1.3. The 'Scythia' which was to be invaded clearly stretched all the way to the Euxine. That these Scythians were considered European is further illustrated when the Scythians who faced Alexander across the Jaxartes boast that Alexander 'would not dare to touch Scythians or he would learn the difference between Scythians and the barbarians of Asia'.<sup>19</sup> 4) There are, however, references to a group of not only European Scythians but also Asian: the Abian Scythians 'who live in Asia' (IV.1.1) and Asian Scythians living north of the Jaxartes: 'Meanwhile an army of Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais;...' (IV.3.6) It is this last reference which poses the greatest hindrance to the construction of a cogent model of the word's use. Were it not for this reference it would be possible to suggest that, although sometimes living south of the Jaxartes, all those above the Jaxartes were conceived of as European. The

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19. IV.4.1f.

confusion caused here by this reference to Asia is noted by Brunt in the following note on the passage: "'Asia"; there is a muddle here. On any view Alexander was in Asia, but if the "Tanais" was the frontier between Europe and Asia, Scythians across the river were in Europe!'<sup>20</sup> The solution to the difficulty may be found in the source analysis which will follow shortly.

The word 'Sakai' is used much less frequently - in fact, only three times. The first two times in reference to those accompanying Dareios at Gaugamela (III.8.3; 11.4) and the third time in a speech attributed to Alexander, wherein he claims he has conquered the Sakai (VII.10.5). The first two uses may correspond with the actual Persian usage, for the Persians called all northern Iranian-speaking nomads 'Saka'. The third reference may possibly correspond with Curtius' usage - a small tribe south east of the upper Jaxartes.

Some correspondence can be detected between Arrian and Curtius' usage, their four categories of the usage of 'Scythian' corresponding roughly under the following titles: 1) people's origin is unspecified (e.g. mercenaries in armies). 2) people dwelling north of the Jaxartes. 3) As in 2) and identified as European. 4) Two sorts of Scythians - European and Asian. A still greater correspondence can be observed in the enumeration and accounts of the various embassies exchanged between the 'Scythians' and Alexander.

<u>Arrian</u>	<u>Curtius</u>
IV.1.1. from Abioi Scythians of Asia	= VII.vi.11 from Abii Scythians, ready to submit.
IV.1.1. from Eur. Scythians.	
1.2 to Eur. Scythians	= VII.vi.12 to Eur. Scythians and those above the Bosporos (sent Derdas)
	VII.viii.8-30 from Eur.Scythians

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20. *Arrian*, with translation and notes by P.A. Brunt, 2 Vol (London, 1976) I p.345 in a note on IV.3.6. See also Brunt's Appendix XII.4.

- IV.5.1 from Scythian King - promise of submission = VII.9.17-18 from 'Sacae' - promise of submission
- IV.15.1f from King of Eur. Scythians offer of princess = VIII.i.7 from Scythians east of Bosphorus - offer of princess
- IV.5.4 from Pharasmanes, King of Chorasmians - friendship offer = VIII.i.8 from Phrataphernes, satrap of Chorasmians - friendship offer)
- VII.15.4 from Eur. Scythians to Alexander in Babylon - friendship offer.

Granted this great correspondence, who were the sources of Curtius and Arrian with respect to these embassies? There are no sources cited by either historian. Even an overview of the most complex issue of the Alexander historians is totally beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, several observations may be made upon particular points of the passages relevant to these embassies.

Arrian's source is perhaps the most readily discernible. Although never citing his source on the record of the embassies it is surely either Ptolemy or Aristobolus (or a combination of both). Of the embassies mentioned by Arrian, the first three<sup>21</sup> all fall within the section of Arrian's narrative dealing with Alexander's campaign in the region of the Jaxartes (his capture of seven towns just south of the river, their revolt, the involvement of Spitamenes, the arrival of Scythians from the north, Alexander's crossing of the river and routing a band of Scythians, embassy from compliant Scythian King, Scythians join with Spitamenes). IV.1.1-6.7 is, therefore, a united narrative. IV.7.1 begins with Alexander's return to Zariaspa for the winter. It is there that Alexander is said to receive yet another embassy from the European Scythians. The only sources cited within IV.1-6 are Aristobolus and Ptolemy. Thus in IV.3.5 'Ptolemy says that they [the people of the seventh city] surrendered, Aristobolus, that Alexander captured this city too by force, and killed all he found within; Ptolemy also says that he

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21. IV.1.1; IV.1.1; IV.5.1.

distributed the men among his army...' There then follows the account of the 'Scythian campaign' proper, with Alexander's routing of Scythians north of the Tanais, but the subsequent massacre of Macedonians at the hand of the Scythians on the river Polytimetos<sup>22</sup>. Though no source is here cited, Arrian goes on to add 'Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force was destroyed by ambush...'<sup>23</sup> The fact that Aristoboulos is cited here as the author of an alternative version to the concluding episode, indicates he was not the author of the first version. This must have been Ptolemy.<sup>24</sup> That Ptolemy was the source, would also account for the great detail with which the military events are narrated<sup>25</sup>. The fact that Ptolemy was not himself present at the massacre has evidently, as Pearson observes, not prevented him writing an account of the events. Though Ptolemy nearly always related events to which he could have been a witness, there are several episodes of which he gave detailed accounts without having been present<sup>26</sup>. As IV.5.3-9 falls within what appears to be a continuous narrative (IV.3.6-5.9), Ptolemy may have been the main source for the whole section.

Curtius' source, for at least a part of his account of the encounters with Scythians, may be Kleitarchos. No attempt shall be made to offer an overview of the arguments for considering Kleitarchos Curtius' major source<sup>27</sup>. Although

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22. IV.3.6-IV.6.7.

23. IV.6.1.

24. As Pearson rightly concludes: '... since Arrian mentions the version of Aristobulus specially, giving his explanation of the disaster (bad feeling and lack of co-operation between the interpreter Pharnuches and the Macedonian commanders), his other version which comes first must be based on Ptolemy.' *The Lost Histories*, pp.208-209, see also pp.167-168. Brunt cautions against too readily assuming Ptolemy, and not Aristoboulos was Arrian's source. Here, however, this conclusion seems justified. (Intro. xxxff.)

25. Arrian favoured Ptolemy for accounts of military matters. See Pearson, *The Lost Histories*, p.162.

26. See Pearson, *ibid.*, pp.208-210.

27. *Ibid.*, pp.212-242; Tarn, *Alexander II*, pp.5-55.

Diodoros' Bactrian section is lost, and Curtius himself nowhere cites Kleitarchos as the source for his 'Tanais' section, it is tempting, as Pearson suggests, to see Kleitarchos behind Curtius' story of the Scythian embassy to Alexander, while he was encamped on the Tanais' southern bank. The Scythian's speech (VII.8.12-23) 'might well be adopted from a speech in Cleitarchus, though there is nothing to prove it.'<sup>28</sup> Pearson makes a valuable attempt, however, in observing the correspondence between certain aphorisms attributed to Kleitarchos and maxims found in the Scythian's speech<sup>29</sup>. If Kleitarchos was responsible for the Scythian speech, he was responsible for one of the most complete records of an ancient conception of the 'Scythian Empire'. Contained within the speech are not only numerous elements common in earlier literary tradition<sup>30</sup>, but also the following definition of Scythia: 'Moreover in us you will have guardians of both Asia and Europe; we touch upon Bactra, except that the river Tanais is between us. Beyond the Tanais we inhabit lands extending to Thrace, and report says that the Macedonians border upon Thrace. Consider whether you wish enemies or friends to be neighbours to your empire.'<sup>31</sup> This conception was, however, probably not Kleitarchos' invention. As has been seen above, it is in effect the conception evident throughout Curtius and Arrian. Such a reliable writer as Ptolemy is responsible for a large section of Arrian wherein a similar conception is evident.

Aristobulos may have been the exception. His conception of the Scythians may not have corresponded with the one predominant in Arrian's narrative. Aristobulos, knowing

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28. Pearson, *ibid.*, p.222.

29. Curtius VII.8.12=Kleitarchos F40 and 43; VII.8.15=F48.

30. For example, VII.8.17 - received yoke, plow, arrow, spear and bowl= Her. IV.5; VII.8.23 'Scytharum solitudines'=Σκυθῶν ἐρημία, of Herodotos, Aischylos and of Aristophanes *Acharnians* 704 and scholium.

31. VII.viii.30.



that there were fir trees in Asia<sup>32</sup>, could not have accepted the theory that the Scythians across the Jaxartes were European because their arrows were made of fir tree wood<sup>33</sup>. It is, moreover, evident that Aristoboulos did not accept the view that the Jaxartes was the same as the 'Tanais' which flowed into the Euxine, and was thus the boundary between Europe and Asia<sup>34</sup>.

Granted Aristoboulos' divergence from the more popular conception (perhaps held by Polykleitos, Kleitarchos and Ptolemy) an explanation may be able to be found for the anomalous reference to the arrival of the Asian Scythians on the banks of the Tanais<sup>35</sup>. This reference may represent the intrusion of an Aristobulian concept into what is otherwise a Ptolemaic narrative. For all the intrinsic difficulties in attempting to fathom Alexander's personal beliefs, one question may be

32. Strabo XI.7.2: 'According to Aristobulus, Hyrcania, which is a wooded country, has the oak, but does not produce the torch-pine or fir, or stone-pine, though India abounds in these trees'.
33. Strabo XI.7.4: '...they [unspecified] gave as proof that it was the Tanais mentioned by Polycleitus that the country on the far side of this river produces the fir-tree and that the Scythians in that region use arrows made of fir-wood; and they say that this is also evidence that the country on the far side belongs to Europe and not to Asia, for, they add, Upper and Eastern Asia does not produce the fir-tree.'
34. Arrian III.30.7: 'Thence he [Alexander] advanced to the river Tanais. The springs of this Tanais too, which Aristobulus says is called by the natives a different name, Jaxartes, rise in Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea. The Tanais, which the historian Herodotus describes as the eighth of the Scythian rivers, rising and flowing out of a great lake, and running into a greater lake, called Maeotis, will be a different Tanais. Some make this Tanais the boundary between Asia and Europe; in their view from the corner of the Euxine Sea Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais, which flows into it, separate Asia and Europe...' Pearson, *Lost Histories*, p.163 n.74, adds the following comment: 'Arrian (like Strabo) naturally thinks of the Jaxartes as flowing into the Caspian, and would certainly note any deviation on the part of Aristobulus.' Tarn thinks Arrian has misrepresented Aristoboulos and that when Aristoboulos said 'Caspian' he meant the Aral Sea. See the discussion of Tarn's theory in this chapter, pp 222f.
35. Arrian IV.3.6 'Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήδων στρατιὰ ἀρκενεῖται πρὸς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ταναΐδος, ἀκούσαντες...'

asked: did Alexander himself share the conception of Scythia advanced by Polykleitos, Kleitarchos and Ptolemy?

The investigation of the source of, and reason behind this conception of a single European Scythian state stretching from Thrace to the Jaxartes may now be taken one step further. Strabo identified the source of the conception as the writings of the earliest Alexander Historians, and identified the reason as flattery: 'Many false notions were also added to the account of this sea[the Hyrcanian] because of Alexander's love of glory; for, since it was agreed by all that the Tanais separated Asia from Europe, and that the region between the sea and the Tanais, being a considerable part of Asia, had not fallen under the power of the Macedonians, it was resolved to manipulate the account of Alexander's expedition so that in fame at least he might be credited with having conquered those parts of Asia too<sup>36</sup>.' The manner by which Strabo believes the historians (particularly, or originally, Polykleitos)<sup>37</sup> attempted this is inextricably entangled in the conception of the lake, waterway and mountain systems in the region. There were four essential elements in the argument: 1) linking the Aral/Caspian with the Maiotis; 2) identifying the Hindu Kush with the Caucasus; 3) identifying the Jaxartes with the Tanais (Don); 4) adducing evidence that '...τὴν χώραν τὴν πέραν τῆς Εὐρώπης εἶναι, μὴ τῆς Ἀσίας.'<sup>38</sup> This fourth step amounts to an identification of the tribes north of the Jaxartes with the 'European Scythians' - that is, the same people who dwelt near the Euxine.

Strabo has correctly perceived the nature of the geographical misconceptions and how these relate to the misconception of tribal geography, yet he may err in his identification of the reason for these 'manipulations' as flattery. It is debatable just how flattering such manipulations may

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36. Strabo XI.7.4.

37. *Ibid.*, see n.39.

38. *Ibid.*

have been<sup>39</sup>. A contradiction would seem to arise too easily. On the one hand Alexander's march to the Caucasus is meant to represent a journey to the end of the world, while on the other hand, having Alexander march to the Tanais (Jaxartes) is meant to represent passage back into Europe and the conquering of land he had missed on his way out.

It is more probable that the 'misconceptions' of the early writers were genuine and, indeed, shared by Alexander himself. In an attempt to substantiate this thesis, the four misconceptions listed above - those concerned with the lake, mountain and river systems and lastly with continental division - may be treated in turn.

It had been disputed in antiquity, even before Alexander's day, whether the 'Caspian Sea' was a gulf of the Ocean or a lake<sup>40</sup>. The Alexander Historians, according to Strabo, favoured the latter identification, for they: 'united Lake Maeotis, which receives the Tanais, with the Caspian Sea, calling this too a lake and asserting that both were connected with one another by an underground passage and that each was a part of the other. Polykleitos goes on to adduce proofs in connection with his belief that the sea is a lake (for instance, he says that it produces serpents, and that its water is sweetish)...'<sup>41</sup> Polykleitos, who probably accompanied Alexander on his expedition and

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39. Strabo's suggestion that the reason for the 'conception' was attempts of early historians to flatter Alexander is acceptable to at least one modern scholar. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps* p.33 writes: 'The emphasis laid by them, the historians, on the fact that Alexander crossed this chain [the Caucasus] is clearly due to a desire to represent him as conqueror of the entire oikumene, whose northern limits he here reached, just as in India he reached the eastern limits and, by conquering Egypt and penetrating the borders of Ethiopia, he reached the limits of the south. He had only to follow the same lines westward to complete the conquest of the entire world known to the Greeks.' Brunt on the other hand, though without reference to any supporting reasons, believes 'this explanation makes little sense' (Notes to Arrian i.p.525). It is certainly unclear just how familiar Strabo was with all the Alexander historians, and whether his criticism was original.

40. See Arrian VII.16.3; Her. I.202.

41. Strabo, XI.7.4.

wrote about 295-285, appears therefore to be the chief proponent of the above conception<sup>42</sup>. Polykleitos' proofs are then adopted by the 'Vulgate tradition'.<sup>43</sup>

Patrokles' explorations c.284/3 were to convince Eratosthenes and Strabo that the Caspian was a gulf of the ocean<sup>44</sup>. Patrokles thus believed it was even possible to sail by way of the encircling ocean from India to Hyrcania and he wrote a description of the tribes which would be encountered on such a voyage. Eratosthenes, following Patrokles' imaginative writings, would seem to be the source of Strabo XI.6.2 (having been used immediately before in XI.6.1): 'On the right, as one sails into the Caspian Sea, are those Scythians, or Sarmatians, who live in the country contiguous to Europe, between the Tanais River and this sea; the greater part of them are nomads, of whom I have already spoken. On the left are the eastern Scythians, also nomads, who extend as far as the Eastern Sea and India.' The conception is repeated in XI.7.1. How Patrokles' explorations could produce such an inaccurate model is unclear. Tarn's investigation of the issue has produced the most plausible explanation. Patrokles sailed far enough up the Balken bay to hear of a great body of water to the north east (possibly the Aral) but not far enough to find out that it was not linked to the 'Hyrcanian' Sea (and that the other water - the Aral - was a lake, and not an Ocean).<sup>45</sup> Arrian follows the Patroclean conception, just as does Strabo<sup>46</sup>.

Thus, Polykleitos provided the materials for later writers to argue in favour of considering the Caspian a lake not very distant from the Maiotis, while Patrokles provided the material for the belief that the Caspian was a Gulf of

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42. Tarn, *Alexander* ii, p.8.

43. Diodoros XVII.75.3; Curtius VI.4.18.

44. Strabo II.5.18 (cf. Arrian V.3.4); XI.7.1; 7.3; 11.5; 11.6.

45. Tarn, 'Patrokles and the Oxo-Caspian trade route' esp. p.18.

46. Arrian III.29.2 'The Oxus flows <sup>however</sup> into the Great Sea <sup>which</sup> is in Hyrcania.'  
(ἐξίησι δὲ δ' Ὀξος εἰς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἵρκανίαν).

the Ocean. The question is, which conception would Alexander himself have favoured?

In a speech Arrian attributes to Alexander, he has Alexander refer to the eastern sea as follows: 'This sea, I assure you, you will find that the Hyrcanian Sea joins; for the great sea of ocean circles round the entire earth. Yes, and I shall moreover make clear to Macedonians and allies alike that the Indian gulf forms but one stretch of water with the Persian gulf and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian gulf.'<sup>47</sup> Though this conception is attributed to certain anonymous naturalists many years before Alexander its correspondence with Patrokles' conception is particularly striking.<sup>48</sup> Patrokles did not conduct his explorations till late in the 280's, and though his erroneous conclusions must have been encouraged by already existing preconceptions of the gulf nature of the Caspian, it is improbable that it is a pure coincidence that Arrian's 'Alexander speech' so closely parallels Patrokles' report and that Arrian himself had accepted Patrokles' conception. The report of Alexander's speech may have been modelled upon Patrokles' report.

The above proposition is encouraged by reference to Plutarch's *Alexander* XLIV.1. Here Plutarch suggests that when Alexander was in Hyrkania he was not completely confident that the body of water upon which he was looking was, as Plutarch believed to be the case, a gulf of the open sea. Thus, though Plutarch believed this had been conclusively demonstrated to be the case many years before, Alexander 'could get no clear information about it, but conjectured that in all probability it was a stagnant overflow from the Palus Maeotis.'<sup>49</sup> Arrian indeed records how, after his return from India, Alexander set about attempting to gain some clear information about it by sending off Herakleides

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47. Arrian V.26.1.

48. Plutarch, *Alexander* 44.2.

49. Plutarch, *Alexander* 44.1-2: '...σαφές μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχε πυνθέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ εἴκασε τῆς Μαυῶτιδος λίμνης ἀνακιστὴν εἶναι...'

to explore the sea<sup>50</sup>.

It would seem from the above passage that Alexander had initially believed the Caspian a lake, but that the discovery of the Persian Gulf (τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν δὲ καλουμένην Θάλασσαν, κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης)<sup>51</sup> had put doubts into his head. From where did he get the original conception of a lake? Aristotle.

The Arrian passage has generally been regarded as an Aristobulean fragment, however, as Tarn astutely points out, mixed into this passage is material derived from Aristotle's *Meteorologica*<sup>52</sup>. The passage of the *Meteorologica* in question is II.i.10; 'Besides, there are many seas that have no connection with each other at any point; for instance the Red Sea communicates with the ocean outside the straits by only a narrow channel, and the Hyrcanian and Caspian have no connection with the outer ocean and are inhabited all round, and so their sources would have been observed if they had any anywhere.'<sup>53</sup> It may have been these geographical conceptions which Alexander initially adopted.

One difficulty with the relationship between Alexander

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50. Arrian VII.16.1: 'After this Alexander sent Heracleides the son of Argaeus to Hyrcania with shipwrights, bidding him cut wood from the Hyrcanian forests and build warships, some decked, some open, in the Greek fashion. For he had conceived a desire to explore this Caspian Sea (also called Hyrcanian) as well, to see with what other sea it unites; whether with the Euxine Sea, or whether on the east side, towards India, the great sea circling round pours into the Hyrcanian Gulf, just as he discovered the Persian Gulf, called by some the Red Sea, to be only a gulf of the ocean. For no one had yet discovered the springs of the Caspian Sea, though many tribes dwell round it and navigable rivers flow into it ...'

51. *Ibid.*

52. Tarn, *Alexander* ii.p.10. Arrian VII.16.1=Aristoboulos F54. Tarn might, however, more accurately say that the Arrian passage 'parallels' the *Meteorologica* passage - the conceptions therein being transmitted to Arrian through the Alexander historians.

53. '...ἢ δ' Ἑρκιανία καὶ Κασπία κειχωρισμένα τε ταύτης καὶ περιουκούμενα κύκλῳ ...'

and Aristotle's geographical conceptions is the question of the date of the *Meteorologica*. The work has sometimes been supposed to antedate Alexander's expedition, but a more probable date is the period 335-322 B.C., thus after Alexander had left for Asia<sup>54</sup>. That Aristotle had not written down his geography before Alexander left does not, however, mean he could not have already formulated and imparted his conceptions. Alexander had, according to Plutarch, always been interested in Asia, and may have been keen to hear Aristotle speak on the nature of the continent<sup>55</sup>. This may not have been the only concept Alexander adopted from Aristotle<sup>56</sup>. Nevertheless, one problem remains. Which way did the influence run? From Aristotle to Alexander, or the reverse?<sup>57</sup> There can be no certain answer. The former order, as suggested above, can only be a possibility.

A further indication that Alexander was following Aristotle in considering the Caspian and Hyrcanian seas' inland lakes (be they parts of the one or separate) and not gulf, and that Strabo is wrong to accuse Polykleitos of flattery, is the record of the 'Gazetteer'. This list of satrapies is believed by Tarn upon strong grounds to have been compiled about 324/3, while Alexander was still alive, and preserved accurately in Diodoros XVIII.5.4 (either through the reliable Hieronymos of Kardia, or through direct copying from the original document).<sup>58</sup> In this list the

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54. See Tarn, *Alex* ii.p.6, and W. Capelle 'Meteorologie' *RE* Supp.Bd. VI. 1935, 339. On the problem of dating the work, see H.D.F. Lee's translation (Loeb ed.) XXV-XXVII.
55. Plutarch, *Alexander* 5.
56. Tarn argues that Aristotle was also responsible for many of Alexander's views on politics and ethics, particularly the concept of 'a god among men' (*Alexander* ii.pp.368-369)
57. Even the question of the conception of kingship cannot be answered with certainty. As confident as Tarn (*ibid.*) may have been, there are numerous reasons for uncertainty - even suspicions of the reverse order of influence. See R.G. Mulgan, 'Aristotle and Absolute Rule' *Antichthon*, Vol.8, 1974, pp.21-28.
58. Tarn, *ibid.*, p.7, and on the date of the document see App.17 'The Date of the Gazetteer of Alexander's Empire' pp.309-318.

Hyrceanian Sea is said to be inland - that is, not joined to the Ocean. It is not, however, certain that the document also implies knowledge of the separate existence of two seas - the Ὑρκανία (Caspian) and Κασπία (Aral). This would seem to be a misinterpretation on Tarn's part of the line'... and next to these are Aria, Parthia, and Hyrcania, by which the Hyrcanian Sea, a detached body of water, is surrounded<sup>59</sup>. Nowhere in the document is there mention of the Κασπία.

If, as Tarn most plausibly argues, on setting out across Asia, Alexander had Aristotle's geography in his head, it must next be asked, what exactly was Aristotle's conception of the lake system? Aristotle's conception of the Caspian has itself been the centre of debate. He is known to have considered the Caspian a lake, but did he know of the separate identity of the Caspian and Aral seas? The use of the plural participles after the mention of 'ἡ δὲ Ὑρκανία καὶ Κασπία' in the above mentioned passage of the *Meteorologica* has led Tarn to believe Aristotle considered these two seas as separate, where Ὑρκανία refers to the Caspian and Κασπία to the Aral<sup>60</sup>. This proposition Tarn believes, resolves many difficulties. Firstly, it explains the numerous references to the Oxus and Tanais flowing into the 'Caspian'.<sup>61</sup> By the 'Caspian' the Aral was meant and the description was accurate.<sup>62</sup> Secondly, it explains Polykleitos' description of the Κασπία

59. '...καὶ τούτων ἔχομένη Ἀρία καὶ Παρθυαία καὶ Ὑρκανία, δι' ἧς συμβαίνει περιέχεσθαι τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλατταν, οὐσαν καθ' αὐτήν.'

60. Tarn, *Alexander* ii. pp.5-15. See also Lee's note on pp.126-7 of the Loeb ed. of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*.

61. Strabo XI.7.4 and Diodoros XVIII.5.3.

62. Tarn, *Alexander* ii.p.7. The suggestion had earlier been made that the reason for the belief that the Oxos in particular flowed into the Caspian - when nowadays it flows into the Aral, is that in antiquity it did in fact send off a branch into the Caspian. See in particular Albert Herrmann's *Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebiets* (Berlin, 1914) and 'Gibt es noch ein Oxusproblem?' *Petermanns Mittheilung*, 1930 pp.286-287. Tarn had raised numerous doubt concerning such a thesis as early as 1901 in his article, 'Patrokles and the Oxo-Caspian trade route' pp.10-12. Tarn treats the problem again in his *Bactria and India* App.15 'The Oxus question today'. The problem would seem to be one of (predominantly literary) geographical preconceptions and misconceptions, rather than one of actual changes in geography.



as infested with snakes<sup>63</sup>. Polykleitos got the information from Pharasmanes, king of Chorasmia, and the description was actually of the Aral, to which the kingdom of Chorasmia is adjacent<sup>64</sup>. Pharasmanes also provided the information that the 'Tanais' flowed into the Κασπία (Aral). The Κασπία is said to be 'nearly sweet' (ὀπόγλυκυ) <sup>65</sup> and this could only apply to the Aral, in particular, to that part nearest the outflow of the Jaxartes and Oxus<sup>66</sup>.

That Pharasmanes, who knew well the separate identities of the two lakes, may have been the source for the above information present in the works of Polykleitos, and even those who spoke with the Chorasmians, appreciated the separate identity of the two lakes is highly improbable. As Hamilton points out, although Tarn is right in suggesting Aristotle was thinking of two seas he errs in arguing that this proves Aristotle knew of the existence of two separate lakes<sup>67</sup>. As Pearson points out, it is not true that the original name of the Caspian was 'Hyrkania'. Both Hekataios and Herodotos refer to the Caspian - but while Hekataios calls it 'Hyrkania', Herodotos calls it 'Kaspia'<sup>68</sup>. In this Hamilton agrees; 'The conclusion that "Hyrceanian" and "Caspian" are alternative names for the Caspian is inescapable. It is, therefore, perfectly possible that Aristotle was misinterpreting earlier writers who had written "Hyrceanian" and "Caspian" indiscriminately'.<sup>69</sup>

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63. Curtius VI.4.18; Diodoros XVII.75.3.

64. Arrian IV.15.4.

65. This term is defined in Athenaios XVI, 625A 'τὸ μὴ γλυκὺ μὲν ἐγγύς δὲ τούτου λέγομεν ὀπογλυκυ.'

66. Tarn, *Alexander* ii.p.8.

67. Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral' pp.110-111.

68. Pearson, *Lost Histories* p.82 n.1. Hec F291=Athenaeus II 70A; Her. I.202-3.

69. Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral' p.111. See also E.H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, (London, 1879) p.401 n.2. and J. Oliver Thompson, *History of Ancient Geography*, (New York, 1965, first pub. 1948) p.86.

Tarn's theory that Alexander himself believed there to be two lakes does not break down completely, as Pearson would have it, 'if his theory about Aristotle's knowledge of the Caspian is wrong'.<sup>70</sup> It is simple enough to modify Alexander's possible concept. Aristotle believed there were two seas, and even though this was not what earlier scholars such as Hekataios and Herodotos may have believed, it is what Alexander would have been taught. But the two seas were not conceived of as being separate lakes - simply parts of the same lake! It is this point which is the key to the problem. Alexander would not have been surprised to learn from Pharasmanes that the Oxus and Jaxartes flowed into a lake in the north. This lake would have been interpreted as a northern extension of the Hyrcanian. Alexander and those about him are known to have misunderstood Pharasmanes with respect to one matter at least<sup>71</sup>. Moreover, although Alexander would have had plenty of Persian information at his disposal related to the south coast of the Hyrcanian Sea, he would have had none to guide him with respect to the Aral region, as this was never within the Persian Empire<sup>72</sup>.

Therefore, though Pharasmanes may have known of the existence of two separate seas, Alexander and his contemporaries conceived of only one with two sections. Alexander underestimated the distance from Bactria to the Euxine. For him it was not only the Aral and Caspian seas which were linked. The Caspian was in turn linked with the Maiotis. Thus, Alexander is said to have desired to discover whether the Caspian sea joined with the Euxine (or with the Ocean).<sup>73</sup> Such would seem to have been Polykleitos'

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70. Pearson, *Lost Histories*, p.83.

71. See pp.235-237.

72. Tarn, *Alexander* ii.p.10. See also Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 3 Vols (Oxford, 1941, rep. 1972) p.1034. That the Persians never ruled Chorasmia see Tarn, *Bactria and India* Appendix XI 'Chorasmia'.

73. Arrian, VII.16.1.

conception. Polykleitos is counted by Strabo among those who 'united Lake Maeotis, which receives the Tanais, with the Caspian Sea, calling this too a lake and asserting that both were connected with one another by an underground passage and each was a part of the other.'<sup>74</sup> The notion of this passage may be an echo of the much older Hecataean notion of a 'Phasis' strait<sup>75</sup>.

Several factors may have predisposed both Alexander and Polykleitos to link the Caspian with the Maiotis. Firstly, all ancient writers, even pre-Alexander, thought the Maiotis to be much larger than it was. As Hamilton notes<sup>76</sup>, Herodotus calls the Maiotis 'not much smaller than the Black Sea'.<sup>77</sup> Pseudo-Skylax in his 'Periplus' makes it half as large<sup>78</sup>, Polybius and Strabo rather more than a third<sup>79</sup>. In fact, it is only about one twelfth the size of the Black Sea. Evidently, in the time of Alexander the Greeks had only a vague conception of the geography of the Maiotian region. Secondly, Polybios writes that the Maiotis was fresher than the Euxine<sup>80</sup>. This would have been an accurate observation. The Greeks may have believed the freshness a result of the inflow of the Caspian<sup>81</sup>. Alexander, therefore, underestimated the distances across Eurasia sufficiently to entertain the notion that the Aral, Caspian and Maiotis were all linked together.

A second element in Alexander's and the Alexander historian's conception of the geography of 'Scythia', after

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74. Strabo XI.7.4.

75. Ch. 'Hekataios and Herodotos' pp.11-16.

76. Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral' p.110.

77. Her. IV.86.

78. Skylax 68 'Ἡ δὲ Μαϊώτις λιμνὴ λέγεται ἡμῶν ἕναι τοῦ Πόντου'.

79. Polybios IV.39 and Strabo II.125; VII.310.

80. Polybios IV.42.

81. Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral' p.110.

the nature of the lake systems, is the nature of the Caucasus. The conception of the lake system has been seen to involve an underestimation of the distance between Bactria and the Euxine. This same underestimation is involved in two respects with the conception of the Caucasus. Firstly, the piece of land between the Euxine and Caspian (the Caucasus proper) is considered very narrow while secondly, the Hindu Kush mountains are believed to simply be an extension of the not very distant Euxine-Caspian range.

With respect to the first conception, Strabo writes: 'But those writers who have reduced the width of the isthmus [i.e. between the Euxine and Caspian] as much as Kleitarchos has, who says that it is subject to inundation from either sea, should not be considered even worthy of mention'<sup>82</sup>. The chief liar, as far as Strabo is concerned, is Kleitarchos. The passage makes it clear that he was not the only one. Curtius preserves a similar conception. In VI.4.17 tribes which are known to border onto the Euxine are referred to as being on the left of the Caspian<sup>83</sup>. In VII.4.27 Bactria is described as being swept by winds off the Pontus<sup>84</sup>. Curtius may here, as elsewhere, have adopted Kleitarchos' geographical conception. The fact that Kleitarchos conceived of only a short distance between the Euxine and Caspian led Tarn to claim '...this colossal ignorance of the geography is definite proof that he was not with Alexander in Hyrcania, for the humblest soldier in the army knew at least one thing,

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82. Strabo XI.1.5.

83. With respect to the Caspian: 'The Cercetae and Mossyni, and the Chalbes are on the left...'

84. In a description of Bactria, '...when the winds blow from the Pontic sea, they sweep together whatever sand lies on the plains...' Tarn also refers to Curtius VII.iii.3. The reference should actually be to VII.iii.4. In VII.iii.4 the Arachosii (a people bordering on India) are described as extending to the Pontus (*Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet*). Here Curtius could not possibly have been meaning the Black Sea. As Rolfe suggests, following Warmington (Loeb Curtius ii.p.145 note) 'Ponticum' may here be an error arising from Πόντος = *mare* or perhaps Ὠκεανός. The reference was intended to be to the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean.

that since leaving Asia Minor his feet had marched a very long way indeed.'<sup>85</sup> Kleitarchos may never have been in Hyrcania, but this is not proof of it. It cannot be assumed, as Tarn assumes, that those marching with Alexander had an accurate conception of which part of the world they were in at any one time. Knowing that you have marched a long way is not the same as knowing where you are. It is more probable that Kleitarchos' conception was not simply literary (for the purpose of flattery) but arose from the prevailing conception of those marching with Alexander and Alexander himself. Plutarch clearly has Alexander express ideas which Kleitarchos is known to have entertained. Where Kleitarchos wrote that the 'isthmus' is periodically flooded from either sea, Alexander is said to have conjectured that the Caspian was a stagnant overflow from the Maiotis<sup>86</sup>.

It is significant that even Seleukos, who paid much attention to his north-eastern provinces, underestimated the width of the Caucasus isthmus. He had planned to dig a canal joining the Euxine with the Caspian. It was probably the report of Patrokles, whom he had sent to explore the Caspian with regard to a possible Oxos-Caspian-(Euxine?) trade route, which ended this plan<sup>87</sup>.

The identification of the Hindu Kush as the 'Caucasus' is common to all Alexander historians. Thus, Arrian indicates that such was Aristobulos' customary usage<sup>88</sup>. That not only Aristobulos but also the Vulgate tradition (i.e. Kleitarchos) confused these mountain ranges is evident from Diodoros VII.83 and Curtius VII.iii.19f. The accusation that the early Alexander historians had fabricated this

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85. Tarn, *Alexander* ii.p.15. Tarn goes on to demonstrate this with further and more convincing proofs.

86. Plutarch, *Alexander* 41.1-2. 'μάλιστα δὲ εἴκασε τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἀνακοπήν εἶναι.'

87. Tarn, 'Patrokles' p.19.

88. Arrian III.28.4f and 30.7.

geography to flatter Alexander came only with Eratosthenes. Strabo's lengthy discussion of the issue concludes: 'the glory of the mountain, and its name, and the belief that Jason and his followers had accomplished the longest of all expeditions, reaching as far as the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, the tradition that Prometheus was bound at the ends of the earth on the Caucasus, led writers to suppose that they would be doing the King a favour if they transferred the name Caucasus to India.'<sup>89</sup> That it was Eratosthenes who criticised this conception of the Alexander historians is evident from several passages in Arrian where a more accurate, yet still highly simplified conception is advanced: a continuous mountain range from the modern-day Caucasus to the Himalayas<sup>90</sup>. This range he called the Taurus<sup>91</sup>.

Nevertheless, as the conception was found in all the Alexander historians and as the motive of flattery has been doubted in the above discussion, it may be concluded that with respect to the equation of the Hindu Kush with Caucasus, the early historians were doing nothing more than recording the genuine beliefs of those marching with Alexander - and of Alexander himself.

The third, and perhaps most important, element in Alexander's conception of the north is the river 'Tanais'. As noted in the overview of Curtius' and Arrian's usage of the term 'Scythians', the river which Alexander crossed in 329

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89. Strabo XI.5.5.

90. Arrian V.3.2f; 5.3f; *Ind.* 2.2f; 5.10. See also Brunt, App. XII.3 p.524 of Loeb Arrian. Arrian (V.3.2f) introduces and concludes his account of the conception of the mountains as the Caucasus with reference to Eratosthenes' criticisms: 'For I do not wholly agree with Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean, who states that what the Macedonians say of divine influence was much exaggerated to please Alexander. He says for instance that the Macedonians caught sight of a cave among the Parapamisadae, and hearing some local legend about it, or having agreed together, spread the rumour that this was Prometheus' cave,...Similar stories about Dionysius' journeyings are rejected by Eratosthenes.'

91. Cf. Strabo XI.8.1.

was not only called the Tanais by both Curtius and Arrian, but actually believed to be identical with the Don-Tanais by nearly all early writers. The only exception was Aristobulos, and following him, Eratosthenes. Though not equating the Don with the Jaxartes, Herodotos had but the haziest conception of the 'Araxes', as he called it<sup>92</sup>. It is Aristotle's identification of the Don-Tanais with the Jaxartes-Tanais which is perhaps of greatest significance. Aristotle offers the following description of the rivers which flow from the Hindu Kush (or Παρνασσός as he calls it): 'There flow from this mountain among other rivers the Bactrus, the Choaspes, and the Araxes, from the last of which the Tanais branches off and flows into Lake Maiotis.'<sup>93</sup> Similarly, Ephoros wrote that the Tanais had two mouths<sup>94</sup> and it is thus probable, as Hamilton suggests, Polykleitos too may have thought that the 'Tanais' divided, one branch entering 'that part of the lake known as the Caspian and the other that known as the Maiotis'.<sup>95</sup>

The model of a divided river does indeed satisfy all the elements of the conception possessed by such Alexander Historians and Polykleitos: 1) The Jaxartes could justifiably be called the Tanais. 2) The Tanais could flow out into both the Caspian (Aral) and Maiotis. 3) As the Tanais was well known as the continental boundary, the tribes living to the north of it must be European. This model could also have served as Alexander's personal conception. The 'Gazetteer', a list of 'satrapies' compiled in the last years of Alexander's life (324/3), mentioned above with respect the Caspian problem, calls the Syr-Darya the 'Tanais'. Diodoros' record of the document begins as follows: 'The satrapies likewise are divided, some sloping towards the north, the

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92. Her. I.202 (the river had forty mouths), IV.40.

93. *Meteorologica* I.xiii.15.

94. Ps.-Skym. 867-874.

95. Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral', p.109 n.2.

others towards the south. The first of those that face the north lie along the Tanais River: Sogdiane and Bactriane ...'<sup>96</sup>

Moreover, although Brunt argues that the naming of the Jaxartes the 'Tanaïs': 'was not founded on a local name resembling Tanais, and IV.v.6 shows how the Macedonians could impose their own names on rivers',<sup>97</sup> he is almost certainly wrong. The existence of a local name resembling 'Tanaïs' is highly probable. Griffith has suggested that 'Tanaïs' was to the Scythians what 'Avon' was for the Celts - that is, it simply meant 'water'.<sup>98</sup> This is strongly supported by linguistic evidence<sup>99</sup>. Were the King of Chorasmia to have referred to the Jaxartes by this name, Alexander would have found this confirming his preconceptions. Without the preconceptions, acceptance of the appellation may have been impossible. The preconception, as discussed above, was the inheritance of Aristotle's teachings.

Once again Alexander's underestimation of the distance from the Euxine to Bactria is apparent. The central Asian river which he crossed in 329, Alexander believed to be not only the same as that which flowed into the Aral/Caspian, but also as that which flowed into the Maiotis. Alexander's conception of the lake, mountain and river systems led him to believe that while in Sogdiana and Bactria he was in fact not far from the Euxine lands. The misconception of the 'Tanaïs' in particular led him to believe that those tribes whom he faced across the 'Tanaïs' in 329 were the same as

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96. Diodoros XVIII.5.4.

97. Brunt, Loeb Arrian, App.XII.4, ii.p.524.

98. Herrmann, 'Tanaïs' *RE* 2 Reihe iv.2, 2162 and Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral', p.110 n.5.

99. The modern river names 'Danube' and 'Don' preserve the T/D-n stem. A.H. McDonald, 'The treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.)' *Journal of Roman Studies* 57 (1967) pp.1-8, esp. 3-4 even argues that in Livy XXXVIII. 38.4 the reading of the best MS should be retained 'cis Taurum montem usque ad Tanaim amnem' - that is, the name 'Tanaïs' is given to the upper reaches of the Calycadnus river. See also Hamilton, 'Alexander and the Aral', p.110.



those Herodotos recorded as dwelling up to the Tanais - that is, European Scythians.

The fourth step in Alexander's reasoning - the consequences of Alexander's conception of the physical geography of the northern regions upon his conception of the tribal geography of the region - may be examined in greater detail through consideration of two episodes: the visit of the Amazon queen and the discussion with Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasmians.

Plutarch, *Alexander* XLVI begins: 'Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him, as most writers say, among whom are Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister; but Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is fiction.' As Plutarch, *Alexander* XLV ends with an account of Alexander's victory over, and pursuit of, the Scythians on the north side of the Tanais, many scholars have interpreted Plutarch as locating the legendary meeting between Alexander and the Amazon queen on the Tanais river. One such scholar is Pearson<sup>100</sup>. Pearson is then quick to point out that what Plutarch says is inconsistent with the accounts of Strabo, where Kleitarchos is actually cited<sup>101</sup>, as well as with those of Curtius and Justin<sup>102</sup>. These other three writers

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100. Pearson repeatedly uses such an interpretation of the Plutarch passage in his work *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*. For example p.77: 'Plutarch also tells us that he [Polykleitos] made the Amazon meet Alexander on the Jaxartes (which Alexander thought was the Tanais), a proper meeting place if this river marked the boundary between Asia and mysterious northern Europe, where strange creatures and strange customs were to be looked for.' p.93: 'The story of the meeting with the Amazon on the Jaxartes is certainly part of the apology for Alexander's turning back at this river.' p.164: 'Aristobulus, like Chares and Ptolemy, rejected the story of Alexander meeting the queen of the Amazons on the Jaxartes'.

101. Strabo, XI.5.4.

102. Diodoros XVII.77; Curtius VI.v.24-32 and Justin XII.3.5-7.

(all apparently dependent upon Kleitarchos) place the meeting in Hyrcania. As Pearson plausibly suggests, Strabo's reference to those who have the Amazon 'starting from the Caspian Gates and Thermodon' must be a direct quotation from Kleitarchos, and Strabo objected to it because he thought it was nonsense geographically<sup>103</sup>. Strabo knew that Kleitarchos had reduced the distance from the Euxine to the Caspian and conceived of the land between them as a narrow isthmus<sup>104</sup>. Kleitarchos' geographical error was so gross that, if Strabo is quoting Kleitarchos accurately (and he would have no reason for doing otherwise), he even places the Caspian Gates and Thermodon in a reverse order.

Kleitarchos was clearly the source for the story as found in Plutarch, Curtius, Diodoros and, no doubt indirectly, in Justin. Kleitarchos' source was probably either Onesikritos or Polykleitos<sup>105</sup>. Kleitarchos placed the meeting in Hyrcania.

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103. Strabo XI.5.4. Pearson, *Lost Histories*, p.215. Jacoby IIBD p.491 (in his commentary on Kleitarchos F15 (Plut. *Alex.* 46) and F16 (Strabo XI.5.4) suggests that the Caspian gates were actually the end point in the Amazon queen's journey (Justin said she marched for 35 days to meet him) but somehow Strabo has misinterpreted Kleitarchos' text: 'Dass er 'Κασπίαι πύλαι' und Thermodon zusammenlegte oder jene mit den Albanischen πύλαι (wo nach spätern die Amazonen sassen: Strab. XI.5.1; Justin XLII.3.7) verwechselte, ist nicht glaublich. Eher is möglich, dass er, im unklaren über die Lage der Kaspischen toren, in ihnen die grenze Hyrkaniens gegen das Amazonenland sah; denn bei Diod. *loc. cit.* lässt Thalestris die masse ihres heeres ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Ὑρκανίας zurück. Aber da sie bei Justin einen marsch von 35 tagen zu machen hat, so hat der kritiker bei Strabon wohl den ausgangspunkt des zuges (Thermodon) mit der letzten station an den Kaspischen toren verwechselt.' Jacoby is almost certainly wrong. As Tarn argues, (ii.p.328-9 App.19) Kleitarchos' ignorance may more readily be the explanation.

104. Strabo XI.1.5.

105. Both are mentioned by Plutarch as writers who have given credence to the story. Plutarch even relates the following story: 'that many years afterwards Onesicritus was reading aloud to Lysimachus, who was now king, the fourth book of his history, in which was the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysimachus smiled gently and said: "And where was I at the time?" Although Pearson suggests there is no obligation to accept this anecdote, as he himself points out, it is possible that Onesikritos attached himself to the court of Lysimachus and lived long enough to see him assume the title of king (Pearson, *Lost Histories* p.85). Berve, *Alexanderreich* II.p.324 believes Onesikritos invented the story. Tarn, *Alexander* ii.p.328

The error lies not with Plutarch, as Pearson suggests, for supposedly misinterpreting Kleitarchos and placing the meeting on the Jaxartes, but with scholars such as Pearson, Jacoby and Tarn, who misinterpret Plutarch<sup>106</sup>. As C. Bradford Welles notes, it appears from the context that Plutarch conceived of the meeting as taking place somewhere near Hyrcania<sup>107</sup>.

Even if Plutarch was fully aware that Kleitarchos placed the Amazon episode in Hyrcania or Parthia, and did not himself mean to give the impression that it took place beyond the Jaxartes (as Tarn believes Plutarch meant),<sup>108</sup> Tarn's major thesis remains unimpaired. The story Kleitarchos relates was a fabrication using material from the historic Scythian embassy to Alexander (in his winter camp at Zariaspa)<sup>109</sup>: envoys sent from the King of the European Scythians to Alexander at Zariaspa offered Alexander the King's daughter in marriage. Alexander declined, but this episode was the origin of the Queen of the Amazon story. The Saka princess may even have been in the company of the envoys.

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105. (Contd.) believes Polykleitos may have formulated the essential tale which was then adopted by Onesikritos and Kleitarchos. The Curtius, Diodoros and Justin accounts are derived from Kleitarchos.
106. Pearson, see note 104 above; Jacoby, commentary on Kleitarchos F 20, 491 footnote. Tarn ii.326f.
107. C. Bradford Welles, notes to Loeb Diodorus XVII.77 pp.338-9. In ch.44 Alexander was in Hyrcania, in ch.45 he advanced into Parthia and experimented with Median dress, in ch.46 the Amazon Queen arrived, in ch.47 Alexander was again 'medizing' and in ch.48 a conspiracy at Prophthasia is exposed. Plutarch is following Alexander's actual route. The word ἐνταῦθα with which ch.46 begins must mean 'in Parthia'. The reference to the raid into Scythia in ch.45 is simply an aside to illustrate Alexander's indifference to physical discomfort. Ziegler, 'Plutarch' *RE* 21, 1705 also holds that the ἐνταῦθα does not refer to the Jaxartes, and suggests that it refers back to the εἰς Ἰρρακίαν at the beginning of ch.44.
108. It is perhaps even possible that Plutarch was deliberately vague as to the location because he was aware that it was disputed or variously reported.
109. Arrian IV.15.1f; Curtius VIII.i.6-10. See Tarn ii. App.19 'The Queen of the Amazons'.

The above thesis was first proposed by E. Mederer (1936)<sup>110</sup> but Tarn was the first to provide the evidence - four 'proofs'.<sup>111</sup> The first two proofs are of little weight and the fourth - that the meeting place in the original story was north of the Jaxartes - is no proof at all (even if correct). It is the third proof which is Tarn's most significant contribution to the subject. Tarn perceives a link between the story of the Amazon queen and the visits from Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasmians, and of the Saka envoys<sup>112</sup>.

Tarn's extraordinary scenario of events can, however, easily be improved upon. It is inconceivable that, as Tarn suggests, Pharasmanes would (even 'with the usual Oriental desire to please') be willing to offer aid in a war against his neighbours for no reason whatsoever.

With the Saka and Chorasmian ambassadorial parties both in his court at the same time Alexander would have sought to understand the geographical relationship between the peoples. The Chorasmian King may have enlightened Alexander by calling the others in the camp his neighbours. If, as is suggested by the order of arrivals in the texts<sup>113</sup>, the Saka envoys arrived first but Alexander declined the offer of a marriage alliance, the astute Chorasmian King may have seen an opportunity to win both Alexander's favour and additional security for his own kingdom against the harassment of the nomads by proposing an expedition against these same people. He had correctly deduced that the nomads were still out of favour with Alexander. Alexander knew exactly who the Chorasmian king was speaking of when he proposed a war against his neighbours - he was of course

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110. E. Mederer, *Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern*, 1936 p.87 (unavailable for consultation).

111. Tarn, ii.p.327f.

112. See Arrian IV.15.4. Tarn *ibid.*

113. And this may reflect the order of the embassies arrivals, as documented in the official records. See Tarn ii.p.327 note 1.

referring to the people represented by the other group of envoys. With this other group may have indeed been the Saca princess whose hand was offered. The Greeks having dubbed her the Amazon from the moment she arrived in the camp, went on to call the Chorasmian neighbours 'Amazons'. Pharasmanes or the interpreters may have chosen to adopt this popular Greek usage - and thus arose the attribution of the declaration to the King himself.

The geographical misconceptions outlined above allowed, perhaps even Alexander himself, to believe that the lake Pharasmanes claimed to dwell by (in fact the Aral) was part of the Caspian, which joined the Maiotis-Euxine. Pharasmanes' neighbours may without difficulty be conceived of as dwelling near the Euxine. The dubbing of the Saka princess 'the Amazon woman' need not have been a joke. She was, after all, one of Pharasmanes' neighbours and the Amazons were believed to dwell near the Euxine.

Having attempted to demonstrate the great extent to which the conceptions of both the physical and tribal geography of 'Scythia' found in the Alexander historians were in fact shared by Alexander, the discussion may return to the subject with which this chapter began - the conception of the 'Scythian Empire' in Curtius and Arrian. In the belief that this conception was not too distant from Alexander's own, it is worthwhile attempting a more detailed reconstruction of the conception. Three stages of refinement may be discerned.

Firstly, the Scythians with whom Alexander was in contact north of the Jaxartes were European Scythians - that is classified as part of the same group as those known to dwell north of the Euxine. This is the most repeatedly evident element of the conception. The evidence for this had already been discussed at length.

Secondly, the above conception is refined to make it clear that the Jaxartes Scythians were not only ethnically the same as the Euxine Scythians, but politically part of the same state. There was a single European Scythian king ruling all the tribesmen from the Danube to the Jaxartes. References to such a King are numerous. Curtius refers to such a King (his brother's name Carthasis) in VII.7.2-4<sup>114</sup>.

Arrian's account of events on the Tanais differs slightly from Curtius'. In Arrian there is no mention of the Scythian King having dispatched his brother, Carthasis. Of the Scythian commanders who fought Alexander north of the Jaxartes, the name of only one is ever given, 'Satraces'<sup>115</sup>. Moreover, Curtius concluded the episode of the confrontation with an account of how the 'Saca' sent envoys promising submission - being impressed by Alexander's act of returning prisoners<sup>116</sup>. Arrian too has the 'Scythian king' send envoys with promises of submission, but adds that they: 'had been sent to excuse what had occurred, on the ground that it had not been the action of the Scythian community, but only that of raiders and freebooters.'<sup>117</sup> Though this would seem to be irreconcilable with Curtius' account, in which the King sent his brother with deliberate intentions of harassing Alexander, it is not. It is plain, even from Arrian's account, that Alexander did not completely trust the King nor believe his explanation<sup>118</sup>. The original story

114. Curtius VII.7.2: 'But the king of the Scythians (rex Scytharum), whose rule at that time extended beyond the Tanais, thinking that this city which the Macedonians had founded on the bank of the river was a yoke upon their necks, sent his brother, Carthasis by name, with a large force of cavalry to demolish it and drive off the Macedonian forces away from the river.' From Curtius VII.7.2-4 it is further apparent that this King ruled from the 'Tanais' as far as 'the forest lying beyond the Danube'.
115. Arrian IV.4.8. After the Scythian defeat, counted among the thousand who fell was 'εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης'.
116. Curtius VII.9.17-18.
117. Arrian IV.5.1: ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐπιπεμφθέντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ [τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἄρπαιγην ληστρικῆν τρῶπῃ σταλέντων...
118. As Milns interprets the passage, R.D. Milns, *Alexander the Great*, (London, 1968), p.174.

may have referred to both the King's despatching of a force against Alexander, the King's subsequent plea and Alexander's disbelief.

Like Curtius, Arrian does find a place in his history for a brother to the Scythian King, the former succeeding to the throne, upon the latter's death.<sup>119</sup> The new King offered Alexander his daughter in marriage. Thus it is certain that the affairs of a European Scythian King, and his brother and successor (perhaps Carthasis by name) were essential elements in the earliest histories of Alexander. The King and his brother were no doubt historical personages. Neither, however, would ever have ruled all the tribes between the Jaxartes and the Danube, as Alexander believed they did.

A third stage, refining the above conceptions still further, involved the conception of a series of divisions within the European Scythian King's empire. These divisions were seen in terms of Persian 'satrapies'. Thus, upon succeeding to the throne the brother not only offered Alexander friendship and the hand of his daughter (an historically conceivable tactic if there were grounds to suspect the former King of aggression and deceit) but also instructed his envoys to say: 'If, however, Alexander should not think fit to marry the Scythian princess, he was still willing to give the daughters of the satraps of the Scythian territory and of the chief personages in Scythia to Alexander's most trusted followers ...'<sup>120</sup>

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119. Arrian IV.15.1f: 'Envoys came to Alexander a second time from the European Scythians, together with the envoys he himself had sent to Scythia, for the king of the Scythians at the time when they were being sent by Alexander had died; and his brother was reigning. The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the Scythians to do whatever Alexander commanded.'

120. Arrian IV.15.3: ...ἀλλὰ τῶν γε σατραπῶν τῶν τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνάσται κατὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκυθίδα,... Milns (*Alexander the Great* p.176) misinterprets this passage. He believes the alternative to a marriage between Alexander and the Scythian princess was one between Alexander and the daughter of a Scythian satrap. It was between Alexander's commanders and the daughters of the satraps.

The influences in the formulation of Alexander's conception of the Scythian Empire may be defined as follows: firstly, the consequences of the geographical misconceptions for which, as has been discussed above, Hekataios and Aristotle were chiefly responsible; secondly, the misconception of tribal geography itself for which the two same scholars may also be seen to be responsible.

Hekataios' conception of the tribal geography corresponded closely with Alexander's. It is even possible that Hekataios' *Ges Periodos* (shorter and more systematic than Herodotos' work) was carried by some of Alexander's officers, though such a hypothesis cannot be substantiated.

Aristotle may be considered an influence in the formulation of the conception of the physical geography of the north in Alexander's day and this had an indirect effect upon the conception of the tribal geography. But did he have any more direct influence? There is one indication that he may have. In 1931 Rostovtzeff drew attention to a papyrus fragment which gave part of the text of Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes. This fragment reads as follows: 'Aristotle in the third book of his *Nomima*, which is about the customs of the Scythians, says... small... are called by the Barbarians...' <sup>121</sup> This fragment is too recent to be included in any edition of Aristotelian fragments <sup>122</sup>, and has never since been mentioned in connection with 'Scythian literature'. It is, however, of the utmost significance.

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121. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus* p.79 n.4. Didymus, *On Demosthenes* X.4.14:

Ἀριστοτ[έλης ἐν τ]ῇ τρίτῃ[ι τῶν Νομί]  
 [μων ἢ περὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐ[θῶν ἐ]στὶ, φη[σιν...  
 ... ρον μεικρά[.].[.]αδε, [...] υ[..  
 ... το προσαγορ[ε]υθῆναι [ὑπὸ τ]ῶν βα[ρ]  
 [βάρων...]

122. In neither V. Rose (ed.) *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum Fragmenta* (1886; Stuttgart, 1967), nor W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis Fragmenta Selecta* (Oxford, 1964).



Aristotle wrote a book on the customs of the Scythians.

In the extant fragments of Aristotle's *Nomima Barbarika* there are no indications that book three was devoted to a topic other than Scythians. There are indeed no indications at all of the contents of the third or Scythian book - unless the following be it. Rostovtzeff refers to Flinders Petrie Papyrus I.ix.<sup>123</sup> As Mahaffy in his commentary writes: 'The texts are too mutilated to let us know more than the general fact, that the first piece was a description of the manners and customs of barbarous nations, such as were frequently composed by the Peripatetic school in imitation of the *Βαρβαρικὰ νόμιμα* of Aristotle.'<sup>124</sup> Despite this claim Rostovtzeff suggests the fragment has much in common with the Nikolaos of Damaskos *Ἐθνῶν Συναγωγή*.<sup>125</sup> The Flinders Petrie fragment might therefore be seen to have more in common with Ephoros, the main source for Nikolaos' ethnographical work. The above circumstances may be reconciled in the following, and completely overlooked, possibility. The papyrus fragment may have been drawn from Aristotle's *Nomima*, which was in turn drawn from Ephoros<sup>126</sup>. Nikolaos' work was drawn directly from Ephoros, and therefore incidentally resembles the papyrus fragment.

Even if nothing of the contents of Aristotle's *Skythika* can be recovered, that Aristotle wrote such a book remains evident. That he wrote in the same tradition as Ephoros (thus Hecataean) is highly probable. If Alexander was influenced by Aristotle's conception the influence may be

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123. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien* p.79 n.4. J.P. Mahaffy, 'Flinders Petrie Papyrus' I.ix. *Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs*, VIII.

124. Mahaffy, *ibid.*, p.29

125. *FGrHist* 90F 103-124. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, p.79 n.4.

126. The possibility of a relationship between Aristotle's *Nomima* and the works of Ephoros and Nikolaos has been raised by Jacoby. No conclusion was reached. See commentary on F 103-124, II c p.256 '...das Verhältnis zwischen ihm (Ephoros) und Aristoteles' unbekannt ist.'

defined as Hecataean. If on the other hand, it was Alexander who influenced Aristotle then it is still evident that Alexander's conceptions should be identified as Hecataean (even if the identification of a possible source for these conceptions is forfeited).<sup>127</sup>.

Thus, the gross (and essentially Hecataean) geographical misconceptions under which Alexander laboured led him to underestimate the distance from the Danube to the point on the Jaxartes where he crossed in 329 and to err in his identification of the tribes he encountered, while the no doubt accurate observation of the existence of 'satrapies' among the Scythians<sup>128</sup> must have further encouraged Alexander in conceiving of a single extensive 'European Scythian Empire'. He had in fact confused a Saka confederacy with the 'Royal Scythian Empire' - the conception of which he had inherited from the Hecataean literary tradition.

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127. See 57 above.

128. See Appendix 1.

### CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been three-fold: firstly to trace the course of the various traditions in the conception of the tribal geography of the Royal Scythian Empire in classical literature from Hekataios to the age of Alexander; secondly, to define two main conceptions and traditions - a wide definition of 'Scythians' with a vague and idealised conception of their way of life and tribal organisation, characteristic of Hekataios' writings and of subsequent writings in what may be termed the Hecataean tradition and a narrow definition of 'Scythians' with a detailed and realistic conception of their way of life and tribal organisation, as found in Herodotos and alluded to by one other later writer; thirdly, to attempt to demonstrate that the Hecataean tradition was by far the major one, while the Herodotean was the minor.

The first of these tasks has been undertaken in the course of the investigations of the conceptions held by the twelve men central to the above chapters. The second and third aims proved to be more difficult tasks, but as the following summary of the theses' central lines of argument shows, they are not beyond achievement.

Having established the high probability that Hekataios did in fact write a monograph in which he dealt with Scythians, and that Herodotos in part used this work, but otherwise drew upon different sources and personal researches, it is possible to define to some extent the various characteristics of each conception. Hekataios believed the north was limited by an encircling ocean and the Rhippean mountain range, that a westward flowing Tanais separated Europe and Asia, and that all the tribes between this river, the mountains and ocean, from the Danube to India, were Scythians. This model corresponded with both the Homeric and the Persian model (Hekataios simply used *Skythai* where the Persians used *Saka*). Herodotos was sceptical of both the existence of the encircling Ocean and the Rhippean

mountains, and the use of the Tanais as a continental boundary, and for him Scythians were in the strictest sense the overlords of the nomad kingdom between the Danube and the Don, the organisation of which was perceived in surprising depth. Tribes outside this kingdom were definitely non-Scythians. When Herodotos uses a wider definition of Scythians, as he occasionally does, he may be seen to have been using Hekataios and thus simply slipping into Hecataean usage.

Though it is difficult to establish a date of composition, it is evident that Hellanikos too wrote on the Scythians, and in fact wrote a *Skythika*. Despite this work's occasional similarities to Herodotos' work and dissimilarities to any extant work, it may be argued to have derived its content and conceptions, not from Herodotos or from original researches, but from the now non-extant work of Hekataios. It may further be argued that Damastes' work on Scythians, his map, tribal catalogues and conceptions, though he was a student of Hellanikos, were derived directly from Hekataios' work.

Hippokrates' work on Scythians in *Airs, Water, Places*, presents many problems. Again there are indications that may suggest it was derived from Herodotos, but a detailed analysis of the text suggests it is more probable that it was compiled independently - upon the use of original researches and the work of Hekataios. Elements of the author's personal researches may be found in his understanding of Scythian tribal organisation, social differentiation, and climate, while the inheritance of Hekataios may be detected in the concept of the physical geography of the region, the system by which the tribes are defined as Scythian or European, the descriptions of Scythian climate, and the customs of the Sauromatai and Scythians, and the explanation for the origin of the 'women's disease'. Hippokrates used both a wide and narrow definition of Scythians: the former may have been the influence of Hekataios, the latter the result of independent observations.

There has been a great reluctance on behalf of modern scholars to consider the possibility that Thucydides too wrote

inside an Ionian geographical tradition - where the debt should be to Hekataios or Herodotos. It is nevertheless evident that when Thucydides digressed upon the Thracians, Getai, and Scythians it was in this tradition that he wrote (paying attention to nation's dress and power, rivers, borders, and comparisons with other people). Even the act of inserting such digressions into an historical narrative may be seen as the influence of Ionian geographical writings. Both Hekataios and Herodotos may here have provided the influences.

In the works of Xenophon a significant contradiction is to be found. Xenophon offers a conception of 'Scythia' in both his *Memorabilia* and his *Cyropaedia* but while in the former there is an allusion to a Scythian Empire, in the latter there is only a vague notion of an extensive Scythian land. The narrow definition cannot here be considered an inheritance from Herodotos but must rather have been the result of contemporary Athenian trading knowledge. The latter, wide definition was a modification of the Hecataean model under the influence of philosophical dictates.

The much-maligned work of Ktesias offers further insight into the tradition. As Ktesian material is only to be found in secondary sources it is often difficult to understand Ktesias' own use of such terms as *Σκύθαι* and *Σάκαι* (primarily in Photius' epitome) behind the numerous *Gothi* and *Geti* (Jordanes), *Amazones* (Justin, Diodoros) and *Scythae* (Justin). The main distinction Ktesias appears to have made between the northern tribes is one between those he designates as *Skythai* and those as *Sakai*. This conception corresponds neither with the Hecataean (wherein all are *Skythai*) or Herodotean (wherein the Scythians are subdivided and organised into a small Empire). Though it is difficult to establish any relationship between Ktesias and Hekataios, it is possible to argue Ktesias' independence from Herodotos with respect to the accounts of the two Persian invasions of the European Scythians, his conception of the geography of Scythia, and the history of the early Scythians and the eastern Saka. Here Ktesias' sources may have been Persian.

Eudoxos is rarely recognised as a geographer, although he wrote a *Ges Periodos* in the fourth book of which he writes on the Scythians. When he has been so recognised, his prime source has often been thought to have been Herodotos. However, despite the many superficial similarities between their work, the real source may have been Hekataios. Lasserre successfully argues this case with respect to the Massagetai, the Syrmatai, sword-worship and the description of Hyrcania.

Ephoros offers the possibility of historiographical researches reaching out to Homer, Herodotos, Hippokrates, Ps.-Skymnos, Eratosthenes and Poseidonios. All these researches suggest Ephoros was writing in the Hecataean tradition. At the same time, however, Ephoros recognized the existence of an alternative conception of the Scythian Empire. Ephoros' wide Hecataean definition of 'Scythia' was accompanied by an unrealistic appraisal of the virtues of the Scythians and their state in terms inherited indirectly from the early Ionian poets. He rationalises the Herodotean conception of a gruesome and oppressive group of warlords by claiming they represented only a minority.

Some understanding of the contents of, and conceptions in, Theopompos' work on Scythian affairs at the time of Philip II may be gained from an examination of texts of Trogus Pompeius/Justin, Satyrus/Athenaios, Polyainos, Clement of Alexandria, Plutarch, Strabo, Frontinus, Lucian of Samosata and even Jordanes. Though in his *Philippika*, Books 46-50, Theopompos appears to have dealt with the Scythians in the context of their historical dealings with the Macedonians, in so doing he does not fail to employ a conception of their 'state' characteristic of the idealising and non-Herodotean tradition, a conception without any historical foundation. The Scythian Empire had already started to disintegrate.

The tendency to hold to this idealised conception and wide definition of Scythians persisted even into Alexander's day. From an analysis of the works of the numerous ancient Alexander historians, it is possible to hazard a reconstruction

of Alexander's personal conception of the north. It appears Alexander, no less than his historians, laboured under geographical misconceptions leading to an underestimation of the distance from the Istros to the point on the Jaxartes where he crossed in 329. Consequently Alexander believed certain central Asian Saka tribes to be part of a single European Scythian Empire, under a single King. It is highly probable that the Hecataean literary tradition had played a part in the transmission of the misconceptions related to both the physical and tribal geography of the northern region. Alexander's conception may be considered the result of an accumulating non-Herodotean tradition.

Alexander's conception was not, however, the end-result. It is possible to follow the course of the Hecataean tradition into the late Hellenistic period in the works of such writers as Apollonios Rhodios, Eratosthenes, Timagenes, Poseidonios, Strabo and the Mithridatic historians<sup>1</sup>. Elements of both the Hecataean and Herodotean traditions can also be found in Latin, late Greek and even Icelandic literature<sup>2</sup>, though in these later stages the original conceptions became so transfigured and the lines of derivation so extended that the identification of continuing traditions could only barely be justified.

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1. See Rostovtzeff, *Skythien*, pp.30-40, 88-95.

2. In work by such writers as Cicero, Horace, Virgil, Mela, Pliny the Elder, Quintus Curtius, Dionysius Periegeta, Tertullian, Origen, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Claudian. See Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, pp.41-75, 96-104, and the collection of texts in Lovejoy, *Primitivism and related ideas in Antiquity*, pp.330-344. Among the Latin writers Lucian, who demonstrates a deep understanding of Scythian culture and society, is the exception and enigma.

In still later literature, see Zosimus' general use of *Scythae* in his *Historia nova*; the *Christian Topography* of Cosmos Indicopleustes, Theophylactus' excursus on the 'Scythian nations' and Snorre Sturlason's description of the world in his *Ynglinga Saga*, 1-2. Even in the 19th century use and misuse was made of the early literary tradition concerned with Scythians. See, for example, J. Pinkerton, *An enquiry into the history of Scotland*, Vol 2 (Edinburgh, 1814).

## END NOTE A

THE SCYTHIAN TRADE-ROUTE

The following is a brief overview of the scholarship related to reconstructing the 'Scythian trade route'.

Westberg's interpretation of Her. IV.21-27 placed the Argippaioi in the foothills south of the Urals and the Issedones just west of the range (Friedrich W. Westberg, 'Zur Topographie des Herodot', *Klio* IV (1904) pp.182-192). Cary and Warmington (*op.cit.*, pp.163-167) placed them both much further south, just east of the Caspian and north of Sogdians. Tomaschek, however, upon the evidence of Ptolemy, who locates two towns by the names of Issedon Scythica and Issedon Serica, and a region called *Issedones magna gens* in Central Asia, favoured placing the tribes much further east. See Tomaschek, 'Argippaioi' in *RE* (1896) 719-721; Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographie* ed. C.F.A. Nobbe (Hildesheim, Olms, 1966) VI.15.3 and map 8 of Asia; and for a more detailed and recent analysis of Ptolemy's geography of the area see André Berthelot, *Asie central et sud-or d'après Ptolémée*, (Paris, 1930) pp.228-254 and maps opp. p.224 and at end of book. Hennig, doubting Tomaschek's suggestion, favours the region just beyond the Urals (R. Hennig, 'Herodots Handelsweg zu den sibirischen Issedonen' *Klio* XXVIII (1935) pp.242f; *Terrae Incognitae* (Leiden, 1936) Vol I 'Altertum bis Ptolemäus' pp.58-61; 'Westliche und nördliche Einflüsse auf der antike Mittelmerwelt' *Klio* XXV (1932) pp.1-21). Thomson, however, suggests that the actual trade route stretched to the Altai mountains, just to the north of Ptolemy's Issedonia, and this provides the obvious reason for the existence of the trade route: Altai gold and furs, (*op.cit.*, pp.62-64). The wealth of the Altai nomad civilisation has recently been amply testified in the archaeological work of S. Rudenko (*Frozen Tombs of Siberia, the Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, tr. M.W. Thomson (London, 1970, pub. in Russian in 1953). More recently still, E.D.



Phillips and J.D. Bolton not only reviewed all preceding scholarship on the subject, but also undertook thorough analysis of all the ancient literary and archaeological evidence and the philological possibilities of the tribal names, and although unwilling to provide a clear definition of the route, both conclude that the Argippean and Issedonians probably lived in the region of the southern Altai (the Issedones a little further east), that the Arimaspians were Mongolians and the fabled Hyperboreans who dwelt down to the sea (at least in such catalogues as Her.IV.32 - not IV.33) were the Chinese. See Phillips, 'The Legend of Aristeas', fact and fancy in early Greek notions of East Russia, Siberia and Inner Asia'. *Artibus Asiae* (1955) VI 8 pp.161-177; Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, (London, 1962), esp. 104-118. G.F. Hudson offers perhaps the earliest and most plausible reconstruction of this trade route (along the lines which Phillips and Bolton were later to follow). See in particular his maps (from *Europe and China*, [London, 1931] p.31 and p.37).

## END NOTE B

HERODOTOS' SOURCES

It is possible here to give only the briefest overview of the research centred on the question of the sources of Herodotos' work on the Scythians. The surprising accuracy of Herodotos' account of the Scythians - their social structure and customs, mythical and legendary tales - has long been recognised. The archaeological evidence was first provided by Rostovtzeff in *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, (1870, rep. New York, 1952) and *Skythien und der Bosphorus 2 V* (Berlin, 1931) and E.H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, (Cambridge, 1913), while the linguistic evidence was first supplied by Kothe and Harmatta (see Appendix I). The accuracy should no longer occasion surprise. It simply requires an explanation. Five explanations have been most favoured.

(1) Actual observations from travels in Scythia, an ingredient to various degrees in nearly every work on the question, from Jacoby 'Herodot' *RE* 1913 257 to the more recent Б.А.Рыбаков, Геродотова Скифия (Москва, 1979) pp.63-89, wherein it is believed Herodotos travelled extensively around the Pontos. The major challenge to this thesis has come, though unconsciously, in D. Kimball Armayor, 'Did Herodotus ever go to the Black Sea?' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978) pp.45-62, wherein it is argued that Herodotos effectively claims to have seen such things as the Vessel of Exampaios (pp.50-57) and the inhabitants of the Kolchis (ii.104, pp.57-61) when that could not have been the case. This casts doubt upon the first hand quality of many descriptions related to Scythia.

(2) Pontic Greeks - such as Tymnes (Her. IV.76; V.37; VII.98). Jacoby, 'Herodot' *RE* 256, 257, 276 and Stephan Borzak, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpathenbecken*, p.12, recognise the possibility that Herodotos may have made

oral enquiries in Olbia and Tyras. Tymnes himself is often neglected, but he has been noticed by Macan, p.51; Jacoby, *ibid.*, How and Wells, p.330 ('No doubt he was "agent" for the Scythian king in the factory at Olbia.');

Yaroslav V. Domansky, 'Antiquity's great reporter-historian among the Scythians' *Unesco Courier* (Dec, 1976), pp.9-14, who believes tales collected from Greek and Scythian informants at Olbia, among whom was Tymnes; and Ribakov, *Herodotus' Scythia* p.100f. on Tymnes as source for information on Royal Scythians on Dniepr and 'Gerrhos'.

(3) Native Scythian legends (historical tales and Shamanist epics) such as <sup>those</sup> concerning Darios' campaign and the origins of the Scythians (see End Note C). Whether these stories were collected directly from Scythians or through Pontic Greeks, no one has dared argue confidently. To this option of a Scythian oral source, Ribakov offered another option - an Agathyrsi oral source. This he believes explains many of the biases in the account of the Persian expedition (pp.94-95, see in particular Her. IV.125). Borzsak p.12 prefers to see the Agathyrsi section as Hekataios' work.

(4) Aristeeas of Proconnesos' poem, the *Arimaspea*. Herodotus' debt to this work is clearly significant (see at least Her IV.13-15). It was first noticed by W. Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden: I: Über das Arimaspeische Gedicht des Aristeeas; II: Die Nachrichten Herodots über den skythischen Karawenweg nach Innerasiens.' *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophischen-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, Wien, 116 (1889) pp.715-780 and 117 (1889) pp.1-70. E.D. Phillips published three papers in the area: 'The legend of Aristeeas, fact and fancy in early Greek notions of East Russia, Siberia and Inner Asia', *Artibus Asiae* 18 (1955) pp.161-177; 'A Further Note on Aristeeas', *Artibus Asiae* 20, 2/3 (1957) pp.159-62; 'The Argippaei of Herodotus', *Artibus Asiae* 23, 2 (1960) pp.124-128. Bolton, in his as yet unsurpassed work

on Aristeas (*Aristeas of Proconnesus*, [London, 1962]) treats the subject throughout his work.

(5) Hekataios and other early authors of *periploi* and maps. Armayor, doubting that Herodotos' eyes were his prime source of information substitutes the Ionian literary tradition. He argues convincingly in favour of regarding this tradition, featuring Hekataios, as being responsible for several sections of Herodotos' description of both Scythia and Persia. See O. Kimball Armayor, 'Did Herodotus ever go to the Black Sea?' and his 'Herodotus' catalogues of the Persian Empire in the light of the monuments and the Greek literary tradition', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 108 (1978) pp.1-9. As Müller points out (*Antiken Ethnographie ...* p.111) use of *Periploi* would seem evident from the description of the Euxine coast in IV.28, 31, 47-58. See also Jacoby, 'Herodotus' *RE* 258, and Borzsak, p.12.

All five of the above sources clearly played a role in Herodotos' work. The only question which remains is that of these sources' relative importance. No investigation of this question can be entered into here.

## END NOTE C

SCYTHIAN LEGENDS

At the beginning of the 1950's Boris N. Grakov hypothesized that the content of scenes depicted on Scythian wares was too specific to simply be representative of everyday situations, and that they represented Scythian myths and legends (Dimitri S. Raevsky, 'Three Vases recount the legend of King Targitaos', *The Unesco Courier*, [Dec. 1978] p.15). More recent Soviet scholarship has made great progress in interpreting Scythian wares along these lines. See V. Blavackij, 'Le rayonnement de la culture antique dans les pays de la Pontide du Nord', *VIII<sup>ème</sup> Congrès internationale d'archéologie classique* (1963) pp.399-42; *From the lands of the Scythians, Ancient Treasures from the Museums of the U.S.S.R. 3000 B.C.-100 B.C.* (Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1975) p.31, pp.150-2; Ivan Artemenko, 'Four Ukranian Archaeologists Present their latest finds', *The Unesco Courier*, (Dec. 1976) p.17; Vasily Bidzilis, 'The Golden Cup of Gaimanov', *The Unesco Courier*, (Dec. 1976) pp.17-18. Boris Mozolevsky, 'Scythian Idyll on a royal breatplate' *ibid.*, pp.19-20; Ostroshchenko, 'A horse's finery capped by a goddess of the chase', *ibid.*, pp.21-22; Zavitkhina, Mariya P., 'Pazyryk, A nomad way of life "deep-frozen" for 25 centuries in Siberian mountain tombs', *ibid.*, pp.31-38; M. Grigory Bongard-Levin and A. Edvin Grantovsky, 'Shaman and Shamanism: Epic journey to a legendary land', *ibid.*, pp.42-47. Perhaps the best example of extracting the folklore of the northern nomadic tribesmen from their artifacts is that of Gyula Laszlo, *The Art of the Migration Period*, (Florida, 1974), in the chapter entitled 'Mythology' pp.94-135. Approaching the subject of an oral epic tradition from another direction, Meuli argues vigorously in favour of a rich oral tradition among the Scythians in association with shamanism: 'Das poetische und prosaische Erzählgut schamanistischer Völker ist voll von Erzählungen schamanistischer Abenteurer, Fahrten, Kämpfe, Lebensrettungen

und Verfolgungen, Erzählungen, die nun von ihrem ursprünglichen Zweck losgelöst und von beliebigen Erzählern weitergegeben...' Karl Meuli, 'Scythica', *Hermes* LXX (1935) pp.121-176, (quote from p.152). On the particular issue of epic poems associated with the Persian invasion, see V. Blavatsky 'Le rayonnement de la culture antique dans les pays de la Pontide du Nord', *VIII<sup>e</sup> Congr. internationale d'archéol. class.*, p.396. The depiction of a mounted Scythian chasing a hare may, for example, represent the scene described in Herodotos wherein the Scythians, when faced by the Persian army, engaged in such a chase (iv.134). Whether this, however, indicates popularity or familiarity with this story among the Scythians themselves or only among the Greek craftsmen is not clear. Whether a depiction of Dareios hunting, found on Greek ware in a Scythian tomb near Panticapaeum (Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, [New York, 1969, rep. of 1870] ed.) indicates the preservation among the Scythians of a tradition concerning the invasion is also far from clear. This may simply indicate subsequent trade across the Pontos. A full investigation of the Soviet scholarship in this field is beyond the competence of the present author.

## END NOTE D

THE DATE OF DAREIOS' EXPEDITION

Scholars have often begun investigation of the date of Dareios' Scythian expedition with attention to the opening words of Herodotos' Scythian Logos: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Λαρείου ἔλασις<sup>1</sup>. This, however, provides no more than a *terminus post quem* of November 27 521 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Herodotos offers no indication of the period between the two events. Investigation might rather turn to Thucydides' evidence.

A possible date may have been that of Hippias' expulsion from Athens. According to Thucydides, after the death of Harmodios, Hippias: πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἅμα διεσκοπεῖτο, εἴ ποθεν ἀσφάλειάν τινα ὀρφή μεταβολῆς γενομένης ὑπάρχουσάν οἱ, Ἴππόκλου γοῦν τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τυράννου Αἰαντίδῃ τῷ παιδί θυγατέρα ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρχεδίην, Ἀθηναῖος ὢν Λαμψακηνοῦ ἔδωκέν,

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1. Her. IV.1; Reginald Walter Macan, *Herodotus, The Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books* (1973 reprint of 1895), App.III p.33f; Jack Martin Balcer, 'The Date of Herodotus IV.1, Darius' Scythian Expedition', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, V.76 (1972) pp.111-113.
  2. Herodotos appears to be aware of only one Babylonian revolt (III.150). The Behistun inscription, however, records two (Behistun I.72-96; III.76-92). Though the capture of Babylon which Herodotos bears in mind is possibly the first, and surely most memorable, the capture to which he tied the Scythian expedition must have been (unwittingly) the second - there being no mention of an expedition between the first and second captures. Macan, p.533; How and Wells, I. pp.300-301. Balcer, counting Bardiya's insurrection as a revolt (Behistun I.35-72) refers to the above two captures as the second and third (Balcer, 'Darius' Scythian expedition' pp.112-113). For extensive bibliographies on the chronology of Darios' first year see Balcer p.112 n.41 and Richard A Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (Providence, 1956) p.10-11. The final capture of Babylon may be dated to Nov 27 521 B.C. upon the following evidence in Parker and Dubberstein; as evidence for the end of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV (Araka) there are the following texts (listing simply their dates and places of origin):  
 VII/13/1 (Oct.20,521) Uruk.  
 VII/16/1 (Oct.23,521) Babylon.  
 VII/27/1 (Nov.3,521) Sippar.  
 VIII/22/1 (Nov.27,521) capture of Araka (Behistun ch.49-50).  
 As evidence for reacceptance of Dareios:  
 IX/20/1 (dec,521) Borsippa.

αἰσθαόμενος αὐτοὺς μέγα παρὰ βασιλεῖ Λαρεΐφ δύνασθαι<sup>3</sup>. As Hippokles is counted among those by Dareios' side on the Scythian campaign and who were said to give their vote in favour of saving Dareios' Danube bridge<sup>4</sup>, Hippias' arrangement for the marriage of his daughter came, in all probability, during or shortly after Hippokles' participation in the Scythian expedition. Though this may not have been the only time Hippokles held favour with Dareios, it is clearly the period of greatest favour and the period Hippias would most likely be seeking the favour of Dareios through such a man. The correlation between Harmodios' death and the Scythian expedition is indeed made in the column of *Tabula Capitolina* 'From which time, Harmodios and Aristogeiton/killed the tyrant Hipparchos, and Dareios crossed over against the Scythians/bridging the Kimmerian Bosphoros, it has been 527 years'.<sup>5</sup> The inscription, inscribed in A.D. 15, would date these events to B.C. 512. As Balcer successfully argues, the chronology of these inscriptions is not consistently accurate<sup>6</sup>; more important than the date provided is the correlation between Dareios' campaign and Hipparchus' assassination. Such a correlation would offer some substantiation to the hypothesis that the marriage between Hippias' daughter and Aeantides took place while Hippokles was campaigning with Dareios in Scythia.

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2. (Contd.) X/5/1 (Jan.8,520) Sippar  
X/22/1 (Jan.25,520) Babylon.

3. Thuc. VI.59.

4. Her. IV.138.

5. Translation from Balcer, 'Darius' Scythian Expedition' p.102. Text II.21-25, *Inscriptiones Graecae* xiv.1297:

Ἄρ' οὐδ' Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων [Ἰπ]-  
παρχον τὸν τύραννον ἀνεῖλον [καὶ]  
Λαρεῖος ἐπὶ Σκύθας διέβη ζεύ[ξ]α[ς] τὸν  
Κιμμέριον [Β]όσπορον, ἔτη ΦΚΗ'

6. Balcer, 'Darius' Scythian Expedition' p.103-111. The reference in the *Tabula* to the bridging of the Kimmerian Bosphoros is clearly an error. The Thracian Bosphoros was meant.



It may further be suggested that the Scythian campaign was over by the time Hippias retired to Sigeion, for had it not been, or had it been in progress, he would doubtlessly have found himself campaigning with the King on the Danube. Indeed, from Sigeion he went to Lampsakos and then to Dareios' court, and this court was clearly not in Scythia for he is said to have still been there twenty years later<sup>7</sup>.

If, as has been proposed, the Scythian campaign can be dated to the year of Harmodios' death, the date of this event must be established. After giving an account of Hipparchos' assassination, Thucydides writes that τυραννεύσας δὲ ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἔτι Ἀθηναίων καὶ παυσθεῖς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ὑπὸ ...<sup>8</sup> The expulsion of the Peisistratidai may be dated with some accuracy to 511/510, and this would date Hipparchos' death to 514/513<sup>9</sup>. At this point, therefore, it may be tentatively suggested that Dareios undertook his Scythian campaign in the year 514/513.

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7. Thuc. VI.59. Possibly first to Sardis, then to Susa.

8. Thuc. VI.59.

9. Athenaion Politeia 19.6 in *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts*, tr. intro., and notes by Kurt von Fritz and Ernst Kapp, (New York, 1974). On the chronology of the Peisistratidai see F. Jacoby, *Athis: the local chronicles of ancient Athens* (New York, 1973) p.152.

## END NOTE E

MILTIADES' EXPULSION

Some modern writers' interpretations of Her. VI.40 have been most incredible. How and Wells believe that 'more probably these nomads were some Thracian or Moesian tribe and not Scyths'.<sup>1</sup> Such an identification is groundless. The Thracians were not  $\nu\omicron\mu\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ , and at this time there was no such people as the 'Moesians'. The argument also fails for the same reason as that which How and Wells use to dismiss Grote's identification of the invaders with Persians: this 'is not what H. says...'<sup>2</sup> Herodotos would have known the difference between Scythians, Thracians and Persians (as would his informants). The suggestion that the invaders were Persians, advanced by both Grote and Burn is based upon Nepos' reference to such an expulsion in his biography of Miltiades.<sup>3</sup> Nepos' biography of Miltiades is, however, as Burn himself points out<sup>4</sup>, dubious evidence. The only basis for suggesting that the invaders were Persians, is the twin assumptions that Miltiades did speak openly against Dareios at the Danube bridge and that Scythians could not possibly have ridden as far as the Chersonese. Neither can be assumed.

Accepting Herodotos' identification of the invaders as

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1. How and Wells, p.78.
  2. *Ibid.*
  3. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks*, p.133. For Nepos see *The Book of Cornelius Nepos on the great Generals of Foreign Nations*, tr. Edward Seymour Forster (London, 1966), 'Miltiades' 3. In this passage the Persians are not described as invaders of the Chersonese, but are the reason Miltiades fled the Chersonese; (after having supported the Persians on the issue of the Danube bridge) 'When the opinion of Histaïos met with general approval, Miltiades, feeling sure that with so many witnesses his proposal would come to the king's ears, left the Chersonesus and returned to Athens.'
  4. Burn, *ibid.*, p.134, note 15. Burn even says 'if Nepos is right it is only by accident'. In fact, Nepos appears to have omitted mention of the real reason behind Miltiades' flight. This is evident from the gap in his account between the debate at the Danube bridge and Miltiades' flight from the Chersonese.

Scythians, an attempt may now be made to understand the nature of the incursion. The discussion may start with chronology. The main problem lies in the phrase τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει [πρὸ] τούτων; whether τούτων refers to Miltiades' first arrival (mention in VI.39 and the beginning of VI.40) or to his reinstatement (mentioned at the end of VI.40) and whether, even if πρὸ is inserted, the τρίτῳ ἔτει was before or after 'this'. Two reconstructions of events would seem to be possible. The Scythian incursion and Miltiades' expulsion may be dated either to some time between 514 and 512, two/three years after Miltiades' arrival in the Chersonese in 516/515<sup>5</sup>, or to about 496/5, two/three years prior to his reinstatement by the Dolonkoi in 493<sup>6</sup>. If the former, then the Scythian incursion may well have followed immediately upon Dareios' withdrawal, and be identical with the Scythian action mentioned by Strabo and Ktesias. If the latter date be accepted, then it may be necessary to conceive not of a single Scythian attempt to extend their rule throughout Thrace, but rather of several Scythian raids south in the late 6th and early 5th centuries. In favour of the first of the above possibilities is Herodotos' opening phrase that, with relation to his first arrival, Miltiades' flight was νεωσιτί. This could not possibly apply to a period of nearly 20 years<sup>7</sup>. Herodotos' claim that the Scythians who expelled Miltiades ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Λαρείου συνεστράφησαν may also

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5. As De Selincourt's translation would suggest: Miltiades 'had not been long in the Chersonese before he was involved in more serious difficulties, for two years after his arrival he was obliged to take to his heels to escape from the Scythians...'
  6. As How and Wells (pp.77-78) and Stein (p.148) believe, and as Godley's translation would suggest: 'For he had been driven from the country three years ere this...'
  7. How and Wells also make this observation, but still insist 'the Scythic raid is clearly dated to 495 B.C., while Miltiades' accession was before 510, probably before 515 B.C.' (p.77).

recommend the dating of the raid to the early period, corresponding to Strabo and Ktesias, for a raid in 496, seventeen years after Dareios' invasion could hardly have been an act from provocation<sup>8</sup>.

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8. Herodotos would, however, seem to insist that the Scythians were intent on revenge, even many years after the event, when he gives an account of the Scythian embassy to Cleomenes in an attempt to enlist Sparta's support. As these Scythians were said by some to have introduced the King to the drinking habits from which he died, the embassy may be dated late in the King's career, and therefore some time after 510, and possibly even as late as the 490's (Her. VI.84). cf. Wade-Gery, Essays in Greek History, (Oxford, 1958) p162.

## END NOTE F

Ps.-SKYMNOS, PERIEGESIS 839-885

As no English translation of the 'Scythian' section (839-885) of Ps.-Skymnos' *Periegesis* has yet been published, my own translation may here be useful. The translation is based on the Greek text found in Aubrey Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, (New York, 1952), 'Fragments periegeseos ad Nicomedem regem (Pseudo-Scymni)' pp.164-176.

839. North of these places is barbarian Scythia, adjoining the uninhabited land, and unknown to all the Greeks.
842. Ephoros said, the first by the Istros are the Karpidai, then the Aroteres further on, and the Neuroi until again a waste land because of ice.
845. Coming across the Borysthenes towards the east are the Scythians inhabiting so-called Hybla, and Georgoi next to these northwards, then again desert for a great way, beyond this, the tribe of Androphagoi Scythians and beyond there is again desert adjacent.
850. As you cross Panticapes there is the tribe of the Limnaioi, and many others not having been given separate names; being called nomadic and extremely pious, not one of whom would ever maltreat a living thing,
855. carrying their homes, as he has said, and being nourished by milk acquired by milking Scythian mares. They live having declared their whole community common to
860. all. And he says the wise Anacharsis came from among the Nomads, the most pious of men.  
... and coming into Asia there dwell certain people, whom they call Sakai. He says the most remarkable are the Sauromatai, Gelonoi and
865. thirdly the so-called tribe of the Agathyrsoi. Next there lies Lake Maiotis, taking its name from the Maiotai,
870. into which the Tanais, taking its waters from the Araxes, flows, as Hekataios of [Mile?] Teos said, and as Ephoros

has written in his history, coming out of a certain lake, the far side of which is unknown. Having two mouths the flow goes into both the so-called Maiotis and into the Kimmerian Bosphoros.

875. *Asia*. First the Sarmatai inhabit the Tanais, which is the border of Asia, cutting either continent apart, they stretching for 200 stades. Then the tribe of the Maiotai, they being called the Iazamatai, as
880. Demetrios has said, but according to Ephoros, it is the race of the Sauromatai. They say the Amazons are mixed with the Sauromatai, after having come from a battle which had been fought about the Thermodon; on account of these things they got the name 'Gynaikokratoumenoi'.

## END NOTE G

THE OXO-CASPIAN TRADE-ROUTE

Tarn challenged the theory of an Oxus river trade route in his early work, 'Patrokles and the Oxo-Caspian trade route' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1901, Vol. XXI pp.10-29. Gisinger (*Erdbeschreibung des Eudoxos*, p.24) takes the opposite standpoint though he does not attempt to substantiate his claim as to the existence of an Oxo-Caspian trade route. The passage which raises this question is Strabo II.1.17: 'Thus Bactria will be a very considerable distance farther north than even the mouth of the Caspian (or Hyrcanian) Sea; and this mouth is about six thousand stadia distant from the inmost part of the Caspian Sea and from the Armenian and Median mountains (and it seems to be a more northerly point than the coast-line itself that runs thence to India; and to offer a practicable route of circumnavigation from India, according to Patrocles who was once governor of these regions).'

Patrocles seems to also lie behind another description of this region: Strabo XI. 7.3: 'Aristobulus declares that the Oxus is the largest of the rivers he has seen in Asia, except those in India. And he further says that it is navigable (both he and Eratosthenes taking this statement from Patrocles) and that large quantities of Indian wares are brought down on it to the Hyrcanian Sea, and thence on that sea are transported to Albania and brought down on the Cyrus River and through the region that comes next after it to the Euxine.'

Pliny VI.xix.52 describes the same region: 'Varro further adds that exploration under the leadership of Pompey ascertained that a seven days' journey from India into the Bactrian country reaches the river Bactrus, a tributary of the Amu Darya, and that Indian merchandise can be conveyed from the Bactrus across the Caspian to the Kur and thence with not more than five day's portage by land can reach Phasis in Pontus.'

The question of the existence of an Oxo-Caspian trade route has been a greatly disputed issue in modern scholarly writings (embracing also the question of the ancient course of the Oxus river). Apart from Tarn's article mentioned above, see Albert Herrmann, *Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebiets*, (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologische Klasse, Berlin, 1914); R. Hennig, *Petermanns Mittheilung*, 1929, pp.169ff. (not available for consultation); A. Herrmann, 'Gibt es noch ein Oxusproblem?' *Petermanns Mittheilung*, 1930, pp.286-288. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Appendix 11, 'The supposed Oxo-Caspian trade-route', pp.488-490 and App.15 'The Oxus Question today' pp.491-493.

Without attempting to either enter or summarise the above debate, one point shall be extracted from the above materials - that is, Tarn's conclusion that Patrokles, upon whom the tradition of a trade route is largely based, did not speak of a trade route, but only a possible trade route. This suggestion goes far in resolving most of the difficulties involved in this area. See Tarn 'Patrokles and the Oxo-Caspian trade route' *ibid.*, p.19.



## Appendix I

THE ROYAL SCYTHIAN EMPIRE

Investigation of the nature of the Royal Scythian Empire has, in the space of just ten years, become a major scholarly industry, particularly, though not exclusively, in the Soviet Union. In this short time these investigations have borne great fruits. The formulation of comprehensive conceptions of the nature of the Empire has now become possible. A full report on the state of the modern conception is beyond the scope of this paper. The following is simply a review of some of the most significant contributions to the subject.

Non-Russian Language

H. Kothe, 'Pseudoskythen', *Klio*, 48, 1967, pp.61-80; and 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot', *Klio*, 51, 1969, pp.15-88. Kothe heralds in the new period with his use of detailed linguistic studies in an attempt to understand the historical changes in the tribal geography of 'Scythia'. By identifying two different languages Kothe was able to correlate the introduction of specific tribal and personal names with two stages of Scythian expansion: 1) the expansion of the 'old Scythians' across south Russia. By the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century a group of these Scythians (calling themselves the Auchetae) penetrated the Carpathian basin where they mixed with the indigenous Thracian population; 2) late in the 6th century the Basileioi expanded into these same lands. One group (calling themselves the Agathyrsoi) even penetrated the Carpathians by the end of the 6th century.

J. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, (Szeged, 1970), particularly pp.13-25. In his investigation of Sarmatian tribal history, Harmatta also performs invaluable work with respect to the tribal organ-

isation of numerous ancient Iranian-speaking nomad peoples - Sarmatian, Dahai, Scythians). He concludes that of the two forms of tribal organisation (perceived by Leo the Wise - XVIII.42), (i) living side by side and (ii) tribes living under the leadership of one tribe, it was the second which was relevant to the 'Scythian Empire'. A linguistic study shows that the tribes regarded themselves as either 'Royal/powerful' (as in Παριοι, Ξάνδοι, Ούργοι and Spali/Palaei) or 'Subjects/weak/slaves'.

Tuomo Pekkanen, 'On the Oldest Relationship between Hungarians and Sarmatians: From Spali to Asphali', *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* XLV, 1973, pp.1-64. Pekkanen pursues Harmatta's enquiries and successfully argues that the definition of some tribes as Royal/Strong and others as Slaves/Weak was a definition the tribes made of themselves (conceivably the Royals in particular). The Royal/Illustrious tribe of one confederation would seem to have been variously designated as Ούργοι = Ἐωξολανοί = βασιλῆιοι ἄλλοι = Spali/Pali. The rebellion of a group Herodotos calls δοῦλοι upon the return of the Scythians from Asia at the end of the 7th century, resembles the Sarmatian civil war of 334 A.D. In this later war the line of conflict, as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus (17.02.18; 17.13.1; 19.11.1), was drawn between the *potentes...ac nobiles* and the 'Limigantes'. These groups would seem to correspond with the two groups of Sarmatians to which Strabo refers (VII.3.17) as οἱ Βασίλειοι λεγόμενοι καὶ Οὔργοι. Pekkanen interprets Diodoros' reference (ii.43) to the war between the Pali and Napae along the same lines. The division of tribal society can also be found among the Roxalani and Iazyges confederations. In the above civil wars the rebels were not simply domestic slaves but a substratum of the same tribal group, probably originating in the assimilation of a neighbouring subject tribe.

Georges Dumézil, *Romans de Scythie et d'alentour* (Paris, 1978). Well-known for his theory of the tri partite nature

of Indo-European society, kingship and religion, Dumézil attempts a similar analysis of Scythian society by correlating the various tribal and personal names with a level of society. He discovers the tripartite model too simple for this particular society. Dumézil recognises the supremacy in the 'Scythian confederation' of one Royal tribe, but adds to the work of his predecessors only in his analysis of Scythian myths. See in particular the part 'L'organisation sociale des Scythes', pp.169-263. Ch.XI 'La légende d'origine et l'organisation sociale des Scythes' is one of the more successful chapters in a work of uneven quality.

### Russian Language

Though their work is inaccessible to most western scholars, it is the Soviet scholars who have made the greatest number of contributions to the subject. For the fullest and most up-to-date bibliography of the relevant Soviet literature see A.M. Khazanov (reference below) pp.5-35. The most outstanding contributors have been B.N. Grakov, A.I. Terenožkin, and A.I. Artamanov. It is a Soviet historian who has offered the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to date.

A.M.Хазанов, Социальная история Скифов, (Москва, 1975).

With English Summary pp.334-341. The work takes the following form. Ch.I - a history of research in this field. Ch.II - use of the Scythian legends as an historical source. Ch.III - family and marriage among the Scythians. Ch.IV - reconstructing the main form of social organisation in Scythian society. Ch.V - social stratification. Ch.VI - the history of the Scythian Empire. Conclusion - the last three chapters are of the greatest importance to the modelling of the tribal geography and organisation. In his last chapter (VI) Khazanov performs the useful task of defining three Scythian Kingdoms. The first Kingdom arose in the 7th century, was responsible for the invasion of Asia, but ended upon the Scythians' return to the steppes in the first half of the 6th century.

The second Kingdom arose during the second half of the 6th century with the conquest of the agricultural tribes of the Forest-Steppe region. The Kingdom reached its zenith in the 4th century (much trading with the Greeks) and fell in the second half of the 3rd century under the onslaught of Celts, Thracians and Sarmatians. From the remnants emerged two minor Kingdoms, one in the Dobrudja and the other in the Crimea. The third Kingdom (that in the Crimea) was characterised by sedentarization and enmity towards the Greek settlements.

Apart from the fact that Khazanov appears to have overlooked some of the details of Scythian tribal history as provided by the linguistic studies of Kothe, there is one other deficiency in his work. Khazanov's date for the fall of the second Kingdom may be challenged. The Sarmatian and Celtic invasions cannot be coupled together in this regard, being nearly a century apart. The Kingdom would seem to have broken into two smaller Kingdoms under Sarmatian (not Celtic or Thracian) pressure late in the 3rd century.

## Appendix II

THE EARLY TRADITION

The tradition related to writing on Scythians (including such elements as a wide and narrow definition of Scythians and idealisation of the northern tribes) did not start with Hekataios and Herodotos, though these may have been the main sources for the period of the tradition under discussion in this thesis. The literary tradition, the element of idealisation in particular, goes back as far as Homer. As background for this thesis, the course of this early tradition may here briefly be traced.

In the *Iliad* XIII.3-6, Home write that Zeus:

... δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσϛ φαεινῶ,  
 νόσφιν ἐφ' ἰπποπόλων θρηικῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν  
 μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἰππημολγῶν  
 γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

This is the first known use of such glowing terms in the description of northern tribes. The text, however, provides no clues either as to which of the above terms were being used as adjectives (and here the problem is related to the larger subject of the 'traditional epithet' in Homer<sup>1</sup>) nor as to the identity of these tribes. There would seem to be four possible identifications: Thracians, Cimmerians, Scythians or Altai tribes.

Poseidonios appears to have believed Homer was referring to Thracians<sup>2</sup>. This is not improbable. The first people in the catalogue, the Mysoi, were Thracian. For this very same reason, however, it is probable that the three peoples listed

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1. On this much greater subject see Milman Parry, 'The Traditional Epithet in Homer' pp.1-190 in Adam Parry (ed.) *The Making of Homeric Verse, The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, (Oxford, 1971).
  2. Strabo VII.iii.3. See also Karl Reinhardt, *Poseidonios* (München, 1921; Hildesheim, 1976) p.77.

after them lay beyond the Thracians.

Homer may have had the Cimmerians in mind. He knew of the community of Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν<sup>3</sup> and Strabo appears to believe Homer was familiar with the people<sup>4</sup>. Homer's reference is, however, vague and, as Sulimirski writes 'seems to reflect an ancient tradition of a country and people which were known some time ago, but which were now forgotten.'<sup>5</sup> As Sulimirski goes on to argue, the Cimmerian rule in the south Russian steppes was superseded by that of 'early Scythians' in the 10th or 9th centuries B.C.<sup>6</sup> This dating is now generally accepted, even though there appears to be a discrepancy of 100-200 years between the archaeological evidence and literary testimony<sup>7</sup>.

It is thus possible Homer was referring in XIII.5-6 to more recent inhabitants of the Cimmerian lands. These were mostly 'old' Scythians, but east of the Borysthenes the Basileioi Scythians would have just been taking a footing<sup>8</sup>. The names Homer uses for his northern tribes are sufficiently vague to be appropriate for the description of newcomers/invaders. No tribal names, just adjectives. Stephanos Byzantios would seem to have believed Homer was speaking of Scythians for in his entry under Ἄβιοι he writes: δικαίους δ'εἶπεν Ὅμηρος δία τὸ μὴ βουλευθῆναι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεῦσαι. The explanation 'for they were not willing to make an expedition against Asia with the Amazons' is more likely to have been Stephanos' explanation, rather

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3. Odysseus XI.14-19.

4. Strabo I.ii.9. See also Germain Aujac, *Strabon et la science de son temps* (Paris, 1966) p.25.

5. T. Sulimirski, 'Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia', *Artibus Asiae*, 17 (1954) p.284.

6. *Ibid.*, p.282-318.

7. See Heinz Kothe, 'Die Herkunft der kimmerischen Reiter', *Klio* XLI 1963, pp.5-37; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India* (Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1967) ch.1 'The original home of the Sakas' and App. 'The early inhabitants of Central Asia'.

8. Appendix I.

than one to be found in a lost work by 'Homer'. Nevertheless, that Homer may have, unconsciously, been referring to Scythians (the Amazon's legendary neighbours) remains probable.

There is one final possibility. Aristeeas had written of a trade route from the Basileioi on the Euxine coast as far as a station among the Issedonians (near the Altai mountains).<sup>9</sup> If communications with these Altai peoples predated Aristeeas' travel by but a few decades, it is possible that tales of these tribes had penetrated the Ionian world as early as Homer's day. The idealisation of these tribes may have been associated either with the fact that these tribes were trading partners or with the possible existence of a religious sanctuary among these people (the two may have been connected, a sacred place being also the main trading station).<sup>10</sup>

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The question of who in fact Homer was referring to is

9. See End note A.

10. It is particularly significant that Herodotos (Iv.25-27), clearly following Aristeeas, describes the Argippaioi and Issedonians as law-abiding, peaceful and neutral. G.F. Hudson (*Europe and China*, pp.43-44) makes the important suggestion that due to the similarity of names 'Argippaioi' and 'Argimpasa', whom Herodotos (IV.54) names as the Scythian equivalent of Aphrodite, there may have been a religious relationship between the Scythians (that is the Royal Scythians) and the Argippaioi. It is possible that some religious sanctuary or holy place in the territory of the Argippaioi had become the point at which traders from the west (Scythians) and from the east (Issedones) met and bartered their goods, to which Aristeeas had travelled, to which banished men might take refuge and in which disputes might be arbitrated. All these activities would have been encouraged by the sanctity of the territory and its people. A wall hanging from Pazyryk in the Altai may also be interpreted as indicating, not only that the Argippaioi lived in west Siberia, but also that these people were especially sacred. See plates 147 and 154 in Rudenko's *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*. According to Rudenko it is a 'Scene showing rider before a goddess seated on throne holding a branch in blossom'. Phillips ('The legend of Aristeeas' p.169 note 50) would seem to be more penetrating; the illustration is 'representing a robed figure seated on a ceremonial chair and holding what may be a representation of the 'tree of life' or 'world-pillar' of Shamanistic lore. The head of this figure is shaven bald and he wears a fur cap. A mounted man approaches him. It is suggested that this may be one of the Argippaioi of Herodotus, with a Scythian visiting him.'

impossible to settle. The choice would seem most likely to be between the newly-arrived Royal Scythians and the Altai tribes with whom they were in contact. Settlement of this question is not however a prerequisite for the consideration of a question of even greater relevance: What were the implications of the *Iliad* XIII.5-6 on subsequent writings?

Hesiod is the first to accept Homer's inheritance. He appears to have used at least two of the 'Homeric' terms. Strabo, in his lengthy and detailed discussion of the whole question of Greek knowledge of the northern tribes<sup>11</sup>, asks at one point how Homer could be ignorant of the Scythians if he called certain people 'Hippemolgoi' and 'Galactophagoi', 'For that the people of his time were wont to call the Scythians "Hippemolgi", Hesiod, too, is witness in the words cited by Eratosthenes: "Αἰθίοπας τε λίγυς τε ἰδί Σκύθας ἱππημολγούς".<sup>12</sup> Hesiod also uses the word 'Galaktophagoi' (though without an accompanying reference to Scythians). In a passage from his *Gen Periodos*, quoted, it would seem, first by Ephoros in the fourth book of his history, *Europa*, and from Ephoros by Strabo, Hesiod says: τὸν Φινέα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρπυιῶν ἄγεσθαι: Γλακτοφάγων εἰς γαῖαν, ἀπήναις οἰκί' ἐχόντων<sup>13</sup>. Here the term 'Galaktophagoi' is being used, not just as an adjective, but as a substantive designating a nomad people, after the manner of the Homeric traditional epithets. Thus, in Hesiod's writing of Homer's tribes, whatever Homer himself had intended, became Scythians<sup>14</sup> - or, as the emphasis should perhaps be put around the other

11. Strabo VII.3.1-10.

12. Strabo VII.3.7.

13. Strabo VII.3.9.

14. Noted also by Borzsak, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über des Karpathenbecken*, p.6; Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens*, p.10; and Gisinger, 'Zur Geographie bei Hesiod', *Rhein. Mus.* 78, 1929, p.327: 'Der idealisierte nördliche Erdrand Homers (II.XIII.4-6) ist durch die erdkundliche Empirie realistisch zum Skythenland geworden (Hesiod), und erst weiter nördlich beginnt bei den Hyperboreern die sagenhafte Ferne'. Hesiod also introduced Griffons into northern ethnography, p.322. See also A.O. Lovejoy, Gilbert Chinard, George Boas and Ronald S. Crane, *A documentary history of primitivism and related ideas*, Vol I; Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and related ideas in Antiquity. Contributions to the history of primitivism.* (Baltimore, 1935) p.288. Lovejoy and Boas, pp.288-289 and 315-344 discuss at length the idealisation of the Scythians in ancient texts. Their study, however, proves of little assistance to the present study, as they make no attempt to understand the texts in terms of particular identifiable literary traditions - that is, in historiographical terms.



way, the Scythians became the Homeric tribes. The people, whose particular identity the Greeks had for the first time perceived and whose name is for the first time given a rendering in Greek, are assimilated into the Greek consciousness by being associated with the Homeric tribes.

Hesiod also seems to place the Scythians opposite the Ethiopians and Libyans, and this is in all probability, as Borzsak astutely observes, the source of the conception which is to recur in Hekataios, Hippokrates (and, it needs to be added) Herodotos<sup>15</sup>. Hesiod not only employed the concept of Hyperboreans (possibly an inheritance from Homer)<sup>16</sup> but may have introduced to literature the conception of the Rhiplean mountains<sup>17</sup>.

Aristeas' conception of the northern tribes, for all Bolton's invaluable work, is still uncertain, particularly with respect to the Hyperboreans and Rhiplean mountains. Desautel (1971) believes Aristeas mentions neither the Rhipleans nor Hyperboreans<sup>18</sup>. Riese (1875) believes he mentioned neither Hyperboreans nor Scythians<sup>19</sup>. Junge (1939) believes he had no conception of an encircling Ocean<sup>20</sup>. Bolton believes Aristeas mentioned all of the above elements (with the possible exception of the ocean<sup>21</sup>) and that Aristeas had actually gone out looking for Hyperboreans and Griffons<sup>22</sup>. Whatever the preconceptions with which Aristeas

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15. Strabo VII.3.7. Pap.0. 1358. Borzsak, *ibid.*, p.6.

16. According to Herodotos (IV.32) Homer mentions the Hyperboreans in a work called the *Epigonoi*, 'if, indeed, Homer was the author of that poem'. See also G.L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis*, (London, 1969), pp.46-47.

17. Her. IV.32. J. Desautels, 'Les monts Rhipées et les Hyperboréens dans le Traité Hippocratique des aires, des eaux et des lieux' *Revue des études grèques*, 84, 1971, p.292.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Riese, *Die Idealisierung...* p.15.

20. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p.19. Curiously, Rostovtzeff completely omits discussion of Aristeas in his *Skythien*.

21. Bolton, *Aristeas*, pp.71-74.

22. *Ibid.*, p.100.

started out on his trip, the record of his journey as it appeared in the *Arimaspea* would seem to be detailed, without a general application of 'Scythian' to all northern nomads (- thus Herodotos' detailed knowledge of the north eastern tribal enumeration) and without idealisation of the tribes. If Hyperboreans were mentioned it was clearly only as a rational conjecture for the identification of the people beyond the last tribes he visited and heard reliable reports of.

Alkman finds a place in the tradition with his reference to a horse described as Κολαξαῖος<sup>23</sup>. Mentioned with the 'Colaxaeon' is the 'Ibenian' horse. The latter were an illustrious Lydian horse breed<sup>24</sup>. The 'Colaxaeon' must also be an illustrious breed<sup>25</sup>. The true significance of this word is to be found in Her. IV.5 where Κολάξαις is the name of the youngest brother in what is reported to be the Scythian's own tale of origin. It was this brother who inherited his father's kingdom and divided it among his three sons. 'Kolaxais' was a native Scythian word associated with the ruling clan of the Basileioi<sup>26</sup>. Where could Alkman have found such a term? Bowra believed: 'Alkman introduced the adjective so naturally that it must have been familiar to his audience, and may have come from some recent and popular work.'<sup>27</sup> This argument does not at all follow. Alkman could

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23. Alkman, 'Maiden-songs' verse 59 in J.M. Edmonds (ed. and tr.) *Lyra Graeca* 3V (London, 1963) V.I pp.54-55.
24. From Stephanos' entry under Ἰβαῖοι it is evident that the 'Ibenians' are Lydian. From Her. I.78.1 it is evident that Lydian horses were an illustrious breed.
25. This conclusion is also reached in C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry, From Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford, 1961 2nd ed.) p.28; and Denys L. Page, *Alcman, the Partheneion*, (New York, 1979) p.90.
26. Heinz Kothe, 'Pseudoskythen' *Klio* 48, 1967, pp.61-66; Detlev Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot, Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots*, (Berlin, 1971) pp.33-37; Georges Dumézil, *Romans de Scythie et d'alentour*, (Paris, 1978), pp.191-192.
27. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, p.28. Bowra makes the error of claiming Her. IV.5.2 refers to Kolaxais as the one 'from whom the sea-faring section of the Skythians claim descent.' There is no mention in the text of 'sea-faring'. The word Παράλιαι was clearly Iranian and attempts to translate it as if Greek are futile. See Kothe, 'Pseudo-

well have used the term for its alien and exotic value<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, it is probable that it did come from a recent literary work. This work was doubtlessly the *Arimaspaia*. As Alkman is known to have mentioned 'Εσσηδόνες<sup>29</sup>, a tribe which figured prominently in Aristeas' work<sup>30</sup>, it is highly probable that Alkman had heard a reading of the poem, the *Arimaspaia*, and had taken his reference to Κολαξαῖος from there<sup>31</sup>.

A further incidental, and often overlooked early reference to Scythians is to be found in Alkaios' writings. Eustathius writes: 'Others say that this is another Achilles, king of the district among the Scythians (παρὰ Σκυθαις βασιλέα τῶν τόπων), who had fallen in love with Iphigeneia and remained there after following her when she was sent thither. The commentators who hold this view call Alkaios to witness where he says: "ὦ 'ναξ Ἀχιλλεῦ ὅς γάρ Σκυθίας μέδεις"<sup>32</sup>. It is thus evident that at least as early as the beginning of the 6th century B.C., there was knowledge of a Scythian Kingdom extending as far as the Danube.

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27. (Contd.) skythen' pp.66f; Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, (Szeged, 1970) pp.14f.
28. Aristides 2.508 in fact claims Alkman liked naming strange people. Bowra, *ibid.*, p.27.
29. Stephanos: 'Ισσηδόνες, ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. Ἀλκιμῶν δὲ μόνος Ἐσσηδόνας αὐτοὺς φησιν. εὕρισκεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα παρ' ἄλλοις διὰ τοῦ Ἐ. λέγονται καὶ Ἰσσηδοί τρισυλλάβως · ἔστι καὶ Ἰσσηδῶν πόλις.
30. The variant form has been taken by W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, (Munich, 1920) i.303 and K. Meuli 'Scythica' *Hermes* LXX (1935) p.154 (who favour a sixth-century date for the *Arimaspea*) as proof that Alkman did not hear or know of Aristeas' poem. But as Bolton argues (*Aristeas*, p.5): 'It is not difficult to account for the slight change to Ἐσσηδόνες as a mishearing of an outlandish name.'
31. Bolton, *Aristeas*, p.43. Herodotos no doubt took his reference to Kolaxais having divided his kingdom between his three sons (IV.7) from Aristeas' poem.
32. Alkaios fr.15 in J.M. Edmonds (ed. and tr.) *Lyra Graeca*, V.I. (from Eustathius, *ad Dion. Perieg.* 306). See Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus, an introduction to the study of Ancient Lesbian poetry* (Oxford, 1955 rep. 1970) p.283 on the passage.

Aischylos played a major role in the course of the traditions. He appears to have combined the Homeric tradition with elements of the newer and more accurate Aristean tradition. Aischylos, like Hesiod, is drawn into the discussion by Strabo when he argues that 'Aeschylus, too, is clearly pleading the case of the poet when he says about the Scythians: "ἀλλ' ἰππάκης βρωτῆρες εὐνομοὶ Σκῦθαι".<sup>33</sup> This line echoes both the Homeric verses and Hesiod's identification of the people as Scythians. It is not clear from which of Aischylos' lost works this line comes, but it was probably from his *Prometheus Unbound*. It was from this work that Stephanos cites the passage to be found in his 'Abioi' entry: 'Aeschylus calls them Gabioi in his *Prometheus Unbound*. "Thereafter thou shalt come unto a people of all mortals most just and most hospitable, even unto the Gabians; where nor plough nor mattock, that cleaves the ground, parteth the earth, but where the fields, self-sown, bring forth bounteous sustenance for mortals".<sup>34</sup> The Homeric idea of justice recurs and the idea of hospitality is introduced for the first time<sup>35</sup>. Of particular interest are the final lines of the passage. As Stephanos points out, one of the meanings frequently given to the term 'Abioi' is 'without means of sustenance' or without fixed dwellings<sup>36</sup>. Why then should Stephanos call 'abioi', a people whom Aischylos clearly describes as having fields and 'bounteous sustenance'? The answer may be that Aischylos is alluding

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33. Strabo VII.3.7.

34. Aischylos fr.110 in Herbert Weir Smyth, *Aeschylus* 2V (London, 1963) V.2, p.451. ἔπειτα δ' ἤξειε δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον  
[βρωτῶν] ἀπάντων καὶ φιλοξενώτατον,  
Γαβίους, ἔν' οὐτ' ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος  
τέμνει δίκελλ' ἄρουραν, ἀλλ' αὐτόσποροι  
γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφρονον βρωτοῖς.

35. Norden believes that there may even be a literary connection between the description of Scythian peoples as hospitable and Tacitus' description of Germanic hospitality in his *Germania* 21. E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Berlin, 1923) Ch.2, VII 'Gastfreundschaft' pp.130-142.

36. As in Stephanos' *Abioi* entry, and Nicolaus' *Galactophagoi* entry.

to a nomadic way of life: the soil was not tilled to produce crops and the self-sown fields are the steppe grassland which supports their horses and cattle, which in turn support the nomads. Aischylos would here also appear to be speaking of Scythians<sup>37</sup>.

A further question is why, if Didymos and Stephanos concluded that the 'Gabioi' were the same as the 'Abioi', does Aischylos write 'Gabioi'? There are two possible explanations. 'Abioi/Gabioi' may have been attempts to reproduce the name of a real tribe<sup>38</sup>. Anxious to find meaning in the foreign tribal name, the Greeks may have rendered it Ἄβιοι. As no Scythian tribe is known by this name, such a theory would favour the suggestion that Homer had been referring to Altai tribes in *Iliad* XIII, 5-6. There may have been such a tribe in the region of the Issedonians and Agrippaioi. This is, however, unlikely. More probably 'Gabiol' is a corruption of 'Abioi', there being some resemblance between a majuscule Γ and Α. At what stage the corruption occurred is unclear. Homer's 'Abioi' was clearly a Greek adjective.

There are few clues to Aischylos' conception of the tribal geography of Scythia<sup>39</sup>. Scythia is referred to only

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37. That Aischylos was referring to a Scythian tribe when he mentioned the Gabioi is placed in doubt by the circumstances of the quotation in Stephanos' work. Following the quotation, Stephanos writes that 'Philostephanus and others say the same - but they are Scythian'. (ὁμοίως καὶ Φιλοστέφανος φησὶ καὶ ἄλλοι · εἰσὶ δὲ Σκύθαι). These words of Stephanos refer not to Aischylos, but to Didymos who claims the Abioi were a Thracian tribe. Didymos in arguing this had apparently quoted the Aischylos passage in his own work, and Stephanos (as he is wont to do) after introducing the scholar, simply reproduced the sources to which the scholar himself had referred. Thus, Didymos would seem to have based his argument that the Abioi were a Thracian race upon his interpretation of the Aischylos passage, possibly also with an awareness of the Homeric verses. Neither the content nor (vague) context of the Aischylos passage, nor (as has been seen) the Homeric verses could support such an inference.
38. Suggested by Walter Leaf (ed.) *The Iliad* 2V (London, 1902) Vol 2, p.3.
39. On Aischylos' conception of the physical geography of the north and its close correspondence with Hekataios' conception, see the reference in chapter 1, note 67.

three times in the *Prometheus Bound*<sup>40</sup>. Each time the use seems general - without any qualifying political definition or geographical limits besides the northern Ocean. Nevertheless there are indications that the *Ἐκύθαες δ'ἀφίξη νομάδας* were considered distinct from other tribes such as the Chalybes, Amazons, and Arimaspians. Thus Io is instructed not to approach the 'Scythian nomads, who dwell, perched aloft, in wattle houses on strong-wheeled wains, and are accoutred with far-darting bows' but to travel on past them and the Chalybes till she reaches the Amazons<sup>41</sup>. In Asia she is to meet griffons and the one-eyed Arimaspeans<sup>42</sup>. None of these tribes are described as 'Scythian'<sup>43</sup>. Thus, while Aischylos' physical geography of the north may correspond with Hekataios' his tribal geography, with the absence of the 'Scythian' epithet, seems to have been influenced by Aristeas<sup>44</sup>.

The embryos of two distinct traditions can therefore be detected in the very earliest writings on Scythians. The main agents in the formulation and transmission of these two traditions were, for the one, Homer-Hesiod-Hekataios, and for the other Aristeas-Herodotos. The traditions which this paper traces through post-Herodotean literature, are extensions of these same two early ones.

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40. Verses 1-2, 415-419, 709f.

41. 709f.

42. 804-5.

43. W.A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*, (New York, 1937 rep. 1976) p.14, misrepresents Aischylos by saying Io had to travel to the abode of 'the Scythian Arimaspians'. Aischylos uses no such words.

44. See Bolton, *Aristeas*, pp.44-61, on the numerous elements in Aischylos' work which may have been derived from the 'Arimaspea'.

## Appendix III

THE SCYTHIAN EXPEDITION OF 519 B.C.

The Behistun inscription V.20-30 records: 'Saith Darius the King: Afterwards with an army I set off to Scythia (Sakam), after the Scythians who wear the pointed cap. These Scythians went from me. When I arrived at the sea, beyond it there with all my army I crossed. Afterwards I smote the Scythians exceedingly; another (leader) I took captive; this one was led bound to me and I slew him. The chief of them, by name Skunkha (Skuxa), him they seized and led to me. There I made another their chief as was my desire. After that, the province became mine'.<sup>1</sup> Most modern scholars, believing that 'pointed-hat' Scythians were only found in the far north east of the Persian empire, have identified the sea (drayah) which Dareios crossed as the Caspian<sup>2</sup> or even Oxus river<sup>3</sup>, and identified Skunkha as the leader of those Scythians whose rebellion is mentioned in the inscription 21.2.5-8<sup>4</sup>. Balcer, however, points out that Skunkha is not referred to as an impostor or rebel, does not wear the Sogdian fur-lined coat of the eastern Saka depicted in the tribute procession reliefs of Artaxerxes I and III, and that the statement i[mai:y:Sakā:hacama:]iṣa, 'These Saka went away from me' does not suggest rebellion but actual movement<sup>5</sup>. The Scythians mentioned were, therefore, probably

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1. Quoted from Behistun 74 5.20-30. in L.W. King and R.C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia* (London, 1907).
  2. A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, (Chicago, 1970), p.141; Andres Robert Burn, *Persia and the Greeks, the Defence of the West, c.546-478 B.C.* (London, 1962) p.103, R. Kent, 'Old Persian Texts: IV. The Lists of Provinces', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1943), p.305.
  3. Walther Hinz in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (1972) p.245. (Not available for direct consultation.)
  4. Although, except possibly in Behistun 5.20-30, there is no reference to putting down this revolt.
  5. Balcer, 'Darius' Scythian Expedition' p.123 'aiṣa' means simply 'to come, go'. See Behistun V.45 for the formulae used to refer to a rebellion.

not an eastern group from beyond the Caspian or Oxus. They may have been European. The Persian use of 'Saka' for a European Scythian people presents no problem. That such was the accustomed Persian usage is amply testified<sup>6</sup>.

It may be added moreover, in addition to Balcer's arguments, that the pointed-hat of the 'Scythians' would seem to distinguish an upper class among the Iranian-speaking tribes of the north (be they European Scythian or eastern Saka) rather than to distinguish a far north eastern group. The key to the significance of the hat may be found in Lucian's description of the Scythian Toxaris: 'At home he was not a member of the royal family or τῶν πιλοφορικῶν; he belonged to the general run of the people - called "eight feet" in Scythia, meaning the owner of two oxen and a cart.'<sup>7</sup> Lucian, a mine of information on the nature of Scythian society apparently from a source perhaps as early as the fourth century B.C. would here appear to be using the words τῶν πιλοφορικῶν or 'of those who wear the felt cap' to define a rank among the Scythians. That is to say, the cap was a mark of social status. The pointed cap would seem to be performing a similar function, albeit narrower, in Persian society, where it was worn by the King alone. Such a cap is indeed worn by all the Scythians depicted on the gold work from Southern Russia. The fact that the Persians give the name 'Tigraxanda' to the northeastern most group of Saka alone has clearly misled most scholars. There were 'pointed cap' Scythians elsewhere<sup>8</sup>.

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6. Her. VII.64; Ktes. F 3; Strabo VII.3.9; Polyainos VII.11.6. See also A.J. Windekens, 'Les nom des Saces et des Scythes', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, I (1949/50) pp.98-102.
7. Lucian, 'Scythian or Consul' 1. See the work on Scythian social organisation by Georges Dumézil, *Romans de scythie et d'alentour* (Paris 1978) p.196 where πιλοφορικῶν is interpreted as 'aristocratie guerrière'. See also Appendix I. See also ch. 'Hippokrates' n.69.
8. Even the Amyrgioi, the neighbours of the 'Tigraxanda' wore the tall pointed hat according to Her. VII.64.



Several other documents suggest that the Persians had early knowledge (519 B.C.) of, and claimed as subjects, Scythians in the Crimean-Maiotis region - as well as the eastern Scythians: Dareios, Persepolis e II.5-18 "... these are the countries which I got into my possession ... and bore me tribute:... Ionians who are of the mainland and (those) who are by the sea, and countries which are across the sea ... Sind, Gandara, Saka ..."<sup>9</sup> Dareios, Naqs-i-Rustam a 15-30: "... these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them and they bore tribute to me ... Sind, Amyrgian Saka, Saka with pointed caps, Saka who are across the sea".<sup>10</sup> Dareios, Persepolis h.II.3-10, described his empire 'from the Saka who are beyond Sogdiana thence into Ethiopia: from Sind thence into Sardis.'<sup>11</sup> Finally, a stele erected at Tell-el-Maskhoutah in 517 after Dareios' Egyptian expedition refers to S'KP<sup>h</sup>.S'Kt' 'the Scythians of the marshes and the Scythians of the plains'.<sup>12</sup>

Of the tribes documented above, the Humavarga Saka (Hauma-drinking or 'hauma-preparing' Saka), Saka beyond Sogdiana (Sakaibis:tyaiy:para:Sugdnam) and Scythians of the plains (S'KT'I), may all be identified with the group the Greeks refer to as 'Αμύργιοι. Hellanikos identifies the 'Αμύργιον as a plain of the Sakai<sup>13</sup>. Herodotos mentions the Amyrgoi as people subject to the Persian Empire through Herodotos' reference, as Armayor points out, may be seen to present problems<sup>14</sup>. However, apart from this eastern group

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9. Quoted in Balcer, 'Darius' Scythian Expedition' p.123; R. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts and Lexicon* (New Haven, 1953 ed.) p.136.
  10. Quoted in Balcer, pp.123-124. Kent, *Old Persian*, pp.137-138. Compare Susa m II.2-11, 145. A similar list to this one is found in DSe 15-30 (overlooked by Balcer, probably due to the omission of reference to Scythians beyond the sea); 'Sind, Amyrgian Scythians, Scythians with pointed caps...Ionians, (those) who are by the sea and (those) who are across the sea, Skundra...'
  11. Quoted in Balcer 124; Kent, *Old Persian*, p.137.
  12. Balcer, p.127; Georges Posener, *La première domination Perse en Egypte* (Cairo, 1936) p.54, 184-5.
  13. Stephanos gives the following entry: 'Αμύργιον πεδίων Σακίων' 'Ελλάνιος Εγκυκλιος · τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμύργιος, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν.
  14. See ch. 'Hellanikos' pp.50-51.

mention is also made of 'countries which are across the sea', 'Saka who are across the sea' and 'the Scythians of the marshes'. These names may refer to a European Scythian group. The marshes of the Tell-el-Maskhoutah may have been those of the Maiotis. It is even possible, as Balcer argues<sup>15</sup>, that the 'Saka Tigrigandra are these same European Scythians'.

The same distinction between the western pointed-cap Scythians, and eastern Amyrgians may be found in Xerxes' Persepolis foundation tablet - the Akkadian text listing 'the Amyrgian Kimmerians and the Kimmerians (wearing) pointed-caps' where 'Saka' replaces 'Kimmerians' in the Persian and Elamite texts<sup>16</sup>.

Balcer's arguments at this point lose direction. Though it is conceivable that Persians had contacts with Scythians in the Crimea-Maiotis region at the time of Dareios, it is not conceivable that such European Scythians would be considered subjects by Xerxes. The mention of the 'Tigraxandra' by Xerxes must be a reference to an Asian group. Moreover, Balcer pays no attention to the order in which the tribes are enumerated in the Persian texts. The listing of the tribes in Dareios, Naqs-i-Rustam a 15-30 as 'Sind, Amyrgian Saka, Saka with pointed caps, Saka who are across the sea' is, as shall be seen, an enumeration from east to west. If the Saka across the sea are a European Scythian group across the Euxine then it is highly improbable that the 'Saka tigraxanda' was simply an alternate name for this same group. They must be a group between Europe and the Amyrgians (possibly just east of the Caspian). Balcer does, nevertheless, seem to appreciate the significance of the placement of the Scythians across the sea, near the Ionians - that is, that the latter must be near the former, and that is, in Europe.

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15. Balcer p.127.

16. *Ibid.*, pp.125-126. Kent XPh 26 '...Sakā:haumavargā:Sakā:tigraxandā..'

Balcer attempts to push his identification of a European Scythian group among the peoples listed in the inscriptions of 519 still further by reference to the Sindoi. He argues that the Sindoi of the Persian texts are located by Hellanikos and Herodotos on the Crimean Bosporos<sup>17</sup>.

The Sindoi were indeed a tribe on the east coast of the lower Maiotis - but it was not this tribe to which Dareios was referring in his documents. This is immediately evident upon several counts. Firstly, as the Lexicon to Kent's *Old Persian Grammar* makes clear, the old Persian form of the place 'Sind' is 'Hindu', the Elamite 'hi-in-du-is', Avestan 'hindu' and Sanskrit 'sindhu' - meaning 'stream, the Indus, country around the Indus'.<sup>18</sup> The form Dareios and Xerxes use is 'Hidus', or 'Hidauv'.<sup>19</sup> Thus when Dareios and Xerxes use the term which can be transliterated as 'Sind' they are both plainly using a term which designated the land on the Indus River, or as Kent defines it more particularly, 'province of the Persian Empire, on the upper Indus River'.<sup>20</sup> Balcer had clearly not looked at the original text. Secondly, the enumeration of the tribes at each occurrence of 'Sind' (or 'Hindus') points to a location of the land on the Indus<sup>21</sup>.

17. Hell. F 69 Schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV.321: 'Hellanikos says in his *Peri Ethnon* "As one sails through the Bosporus there are the Sindoi (Σίνδοι) and above these the Maiotai Scythians"'. (own translation). Her. IV.28.

Balcer does not find any need to explain why then the Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. IV.321 placed the tribe on the Istros plain - when he cites Timonax: 'Laurion a plain of the Scythians. Timonax records 55 tribes of Scythians in the first book of his 'Concerning Scythians'. The river Istros divides at the plain of the Sindoi (Σίνδων), and its stream goes into the Adriatic and into the Euxine Pontos...' (own translation). The historical explanation is the migration of the Sindoi from the Maiotis to the Dobrudja sometime in the 4th or 3rd centuries B.C. - at the same time as the Royal Scythian migrations to the same place.

18. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar*, p.214.

19. (Hindus) DPe 17f; DNa 25; DSe 24; DSn 10; XPh 25; (Hidauv) DPh 7; DSf 44.

20. Kent, p.214.

21. In Dareios, Naqs-i-Rustam, the Sind is grouped not with 'Sardis, Ionians who are of the mainland and (those) who are by the sea, and countries which are across the sea (Royal Scythia?)' but with lands bordering on southern Central Asia: 'Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia,

Thirdly, the Sind is also mentioned by Xerxes. Not only does Xerxes, like Dareios, separate the Sind from the Pointed-cap Saka, and locate them near Gandara, but the mere mention of this country as a subject to Xerxes must disqualify its location north of the Euxine, on the same grounds as it does that of the Pointed-cap Saka. Xerxes was never involved with tribes north of the Euxine.

It is therefore not possible to place the Sind and the 'Pointed-cap Saka' near lake Maiotis, as Balcer does. It is, however, not necessary that these tribes be so located to build a convincing argument for the identification of the 'Saka across the Sea' as a people from near lake Maiotis - an argument Balcer attempts. A much better case may be made for this latter identification when the 'Sind' and the 'Saka Tigraxandra' are placed with some attention to historical accuracy, that is, in the east. This then provides grounds for accepting a rigid east-west enumeration of the northern lands in both Dareios N.a 15-30 and Dareios Persepolis II 5-18 (the enumeration of countries further south being more haphazard). Such enumeration renders the location of the 'Scythians across the sea' as those in Europe, extremely probable. Thus, Balcer's conclusion at this point would seem to be sound, even though his reasoning is unsound.

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21. (Contd.)

Sattagydia, Arechosi, *Sind*, Gandara, Saka, Maka.' Similarly Dareios, Persepolis h.II.3-10 becomes nonsensical if 'Sind' is regarded as a western land. The lines 'from the Saka who are beyond Sogdiana thence into Ethiopia: from Sind thence into Sardis' are meant to describe the great extent of Dareios' realm to Sardis, just as Sogdiana (NE) was to Ethiopia (SW). As Sardis is at the western extreme of the Persian Empire, Sind must be at the eastern extreme - that is, the Hindus.

## Appendix IV

JORDANES' SOURCES AND USAGES

A further opportunity to investigate Jordanes' sources is provided by his account of events centering upon the West Euxine cities of Odessus and Tomis. Jordanes offers an account of how, according to Dio<sup>1</sup>, Philip, when *inopia pecuniae passus, Odyssitanam Moesiae civitatem instructis copiis vastare deliberat, quae tunc propter vicinam Thomes Gothis erat subiecta*<sup>2</sup>. Whenever Jordanes uses the word 'Goths' for a people of this period he is usually referring to the Thracian Getai<sup>3</sup>. Thus, the above account would record Odessus as being subject to the Getai, and as depending upon the Getai for the city's defence. Several references in Jordanes' text, however, raise suspicions as to whether in Jordanes' original source at this point Jordanes' Goths are not Getai but Scythians.

Firstly, the reason for Philip undertaking the campaign is said to have been that he was 'suffering from need of money.'<sup>4</sup> This is the same issue over which Philip and Ateas are said to have argued in Justin's account of Philip's Scythian campaign<sup>5</sup>; as Justin simply epitomised Pompeius Trogus' work, the *Historiae Philippicae*, this was doubtlessly also the reason stated therein. As Trogus' work is cited by Jordanes on several occasions<sup>6</sup>, it is possible that Jordanes' cited source for the account of Philip's Gothic campaign, Dio<sup>7</sup>, had used and cited Trogus, either directly

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1. See ch. 'Theopompos', n.28.
  2. Jordanes X.65.
  3. See ch. 'Theopompos' pp.191-194.
  4. Jordanes X.65.
  5. Justin ix.1-3.
  6. For example Jordanes vi.48; x.61.
  7. Jordanes X.65. That is, Dio Chrysostom.

or indirectly. The episode of Philip's attack on Odessos may therefore have been recorded by Trogus (who took it from Theopompos), lost from Justin's account through epitomisation, but have survived in Dio's work. If this were so, Philip's 'Gothic' expedition in Jordanes' history, may be the same as Philip's Scythian expedition in Justin's work<sup>8</sup>. Thus, the people who confront Philip and to whom Odessos was subject may have been Scythians and not Getai.

Secondly, it is curious that Jordanes should mention the city of Tomis in order to explain Gothic control of Odessos. The reason for this, as Iliescu suggests<sup>9</sup>, was that he had just given an account in X.62 of how the Getai queen Tomyris had founded the city of Tomyris after her victory over Cyrus<sup>10</sup>. Jordanes appears therefore to be suggesting that Odessos was under Getai control at the time of Philip, because of its proximity to Tomis, a town which was not only under Getai control at the time, but was actually founded by a Getai Queen. Such was Jordanes' conception. The historical reality, however, was different. Tomyris was not a Getai queen. She was a Scythian queen (in the sense of Saka<sup>11</sup>), and this Jordanes must have known. Not only does he allude to such knowledge when relating how Tomyris crossed over into what is *nunc a magna Scythia nomen mutuatum minor Scythia appellatur*<sup>12</sup> but all his sources knew Tomyris as a Scythian. Trogus is named by Jordanes as his source for the conflict between Cyrus and Tomyris<sup>13</sup>, and in

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8. Justin xi.II.
  9. Iliescu, 'Geten oder Skythen, zu Iord.Get.65' *Eos* LVI (1966) pp.318-319.
  10. Jordanes x.62: *tunc Thomyris regina aucta victoria tantaque praeda de inimicis potita, in partem Moesiae, quae nunc a magna Scythia nomen mutuatum minor Scythia appellatur, transiens, ibi in Ponti Moesiaco litore Thomes civitatem suo de nomine aedificavit.*
  11. See Herodotus I.205-215 for a full account of Tomyris' conflict with Cyrus.
  12. Jordanes X.62.
  13. Jordanes X.61: *Tunc Cyrus, rex Persarum, post grande intervallum et pene post DCXXX annorum tempore (Pompeio Trogo testante) Getarum reginae Thomyre sibi exitiabile intulit bellum...*

Justin's epitome of Trogus, Cyrus' adversary is referred to as *regina Scytharum Tamyris*<sup>14</sup>. Similarly, Paulus Orosius, another of Jordanes' sources, believed (though on dubious grounds) by Mommsen to be the only work other than Cassiodorus' used by Jordanes at first hand<sup>15</sup>, also refers to 'Thamyris' as queen of Scythia<sup>16</sup>.

Clearly Jordanes believed there was no difference between Scythians and Getai, just as there was no difference between Getai and Goths<sup>17</sup>. He believed, moreover, that the Scythians had lived in Scythia Minor ever since Tomyris crossed over, that Tomis was a Scythian town and that Odessus had been brought under Scythian influence. Though his belief that Tomis was founded by the queen Tomyris probably arose from the similarity of names, for Jordanes is

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14. Justin i.8.1f: *Cyrus subacta Asia et universo Oriente in potestatem edacto Scythis bellum infert. Erat eo tempore regina Scytharum Tamyris, quae non muliebriter adventu hostium territa, Araxis fluminis posset, transire permisit...*
15. As Mierow argues (p.26), this conclusion of Mommsen's is questionable. Mommsen is in error when he says that Orosius is the only author Jordanes refers to by book number, for references to books are also found concerning the works of Ptolemaios (Jordanes III.16) and Symmachus (xv.83).
16. Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos*, ed. and comment. Karl Zangemeister (Wien, 1967, rep. of 1882 ed.): *Igitur idem Cyrus proximi temporis successu Scythis bellum intulit. quem Thamyris regina quae tunc genti praeerat cum prohibere transitu Araxis fluminis posset, transire permisit...*
17. The confusion between Scythians and Getai in the case of Tomyris may have been encouraged still further by the fact that Tomyris was in fact Queen of the Scythian tribe known to Herodotus, Arrian and others as the Massagetai. The similarity between Massagetai and Getai certainly suggests a linguistic relationship but does not reflect a racial one. See Kothe, 'Der Skythenbegriff bei Herodot' *Klio* LI 1969, pp.56-70 on the etymology of words containing 'get'. As Kothe so convincingly argues, this is a root meaning 'dog', 'wolf' or 'werewolf' and belongs to early Scythian (pre-Basileioi) languages. 'Getai' was probably the Scythian name for a Thracian people (Kothe, *ibid.*, p.47-48). On the Massagetai see Herrman, 'Massagetae', *RE*, 1930 XIV.II (Stuttgart, 1930) 2123-2129.

keen to give such etymological explanations<sup>18</sup>, it is possible that his account does preserve a record of both well-established Scythian influence in the towns of Odessos and Tomis at the time of Philip's campaign against Ateas, and of an alliance between these towns and the Scythians during the conflict with the Macedonians<sup>19</sup>.

Though Jordanes' account of Philip's 'Gothic' campaign may as a whole go back to Theopompos, it must be noted that it is doubtful that the etymological explanation of Tomis' name was found in Theopompos. As Iliescu points out<sup>20</sup>, this account of the foundation of Tomis is nowhere else to be found in classical literature and seems to lack a place in Trogus' history. Book I of Trogus' work, though dealing with Tomyris, not only calls her a Scythian queen (a fact which would not have disturbed Jordanes) but refers to her only in connection with Cyrus' campaign beyond the Araxes. In the story of how Cyrus was there to lose his life, Trogus would hardly have found an opportunity to cross over into Europe and discuss the foundation of Tomis. The account given by Trogus would seem to end at the obvious and climatic point of Cyrus' death. Book II of Trogus' history would also seem unable to provide a place for such a reference. As has been seen, Trogus' account of events demonstrates an appreciation of the separate identity of the Scythians,

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18. For example, *Getica* 48: 'Hence even today in the Scythian tongue they (the Parthians) are called Parthi, that is, Deserters' and *Getica* 156: 'the land of the Bruttii...chanced to receive its name in ancient times from a Queen Bruttia'.
19. The omission from Jordanes' account of the Scythian's eventual defeat at the hands of Philip, the event which to Trogus was of the utmost significance (*Justin ix.II* - see pp.31f.), is hardly surprising. Jordanes on his own admission, wrote his history *ad maiorem gloriam Gothorum* (*Jord.Concl.* 315-6) and while, for example, he will relate Decabalus' success against Domitian, he fails to mention Trajan's subsequent victory (76-78). See also the inaccurate accounts of Dareios' 'Gothic' expedition and his loss of 8,000 men (63); Xerxes' return to Asia after fearing to face Goths in battle (64), and of Sitalces' victory over the wrong Perdiccas (66). On this issue see Iliescu, 'Geten oder Skythen...' p.319 and 'Bemerkungen zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung in den *Getica* des Iordanes', *Studi Clasiche XII* (1970), pp.411-428.
20. Iliescu 'Bemerkungen zur gotenfreundlichen Einstellung...' p.417 n.52.



Getae, and Greeks of the cities. Thus although Trogius may describe Scythian or Getic overlordship of towns, he would not be capable of confusing the identity in this matter, nor that of the initial colonists of a town.

It is probable that this piece of information was found neither in Theopompus nor Trogius, but introduced for the first time by Jordanes himself. Having been born and having lived in Moesia, Jordanes may well have collected the tale orally. Jordanes offers foundation stories for three cities in Moesia; Tomis (62), Marcianopolis (Nicopolis? 101) and Anchialos (108). It is possible, as Mommsen suggests, that Jordanes had lived in these cities<sup>21</sup>. The etymology found in Jordanes' work may have been a piece of folk etymology picked up at first hand from the city's inhabitants. Jordanes is not, however, the only writer who could possibly have introduced the story. His source, Dio Chrysostom, was associated with a Euxine city (Borysthenes), and may have been in a position to hear the folk tale. Moreover, the etymology may have been encouraged by the existence of yet another pair of names, where an Amazon queen is said to have founded and given her name to the Pontic city of Themiscyra, at the mouth of the Thermodon. As Iliescu points out, it is even possible that the founding of Themiscyra was confused with that of Tomis<sup>22</sup>. It is evident from Justin II.iv not only that Trogius dealt in depth with the Amazons, but also that he mentioned Themiskyrios (as the name of a plain near the river Thermodon) and numerous cities in Asia supposedly founded by Amazons. Thus, Trogius in all probability mentioned an Amazon Queen's foundation and naming of a town called Themiskyrios. Trogius was then used by both Justin II.iv and Diodoros II.45.4. Jordanes' sources were also clearly familiar with Trogius at this point<sup>23</sup>, but confused the cities of Tomis and the 'Amazon foundation', Themiskyrios. Thus

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21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, 418. On Themiscyra, Diodoros ii.45.4.

23. Trogius-Justin II.4.5 = Jordanes 51.

though Theopompos may have been responsible for the essential account of a relationship between Ateas and the cities of Odessus and Tomis, in one respect Jordanes' text preserves an additional non-Theopompean story.

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