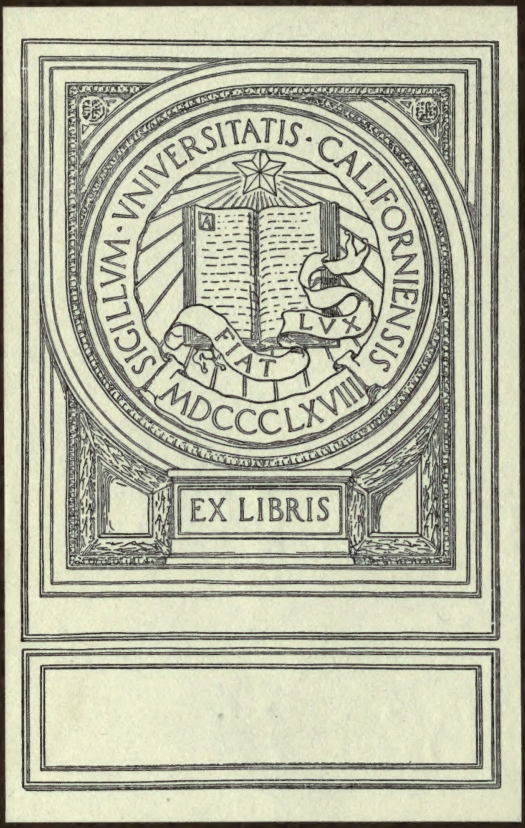
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THE SAMOS OF HERODOTUS

BY

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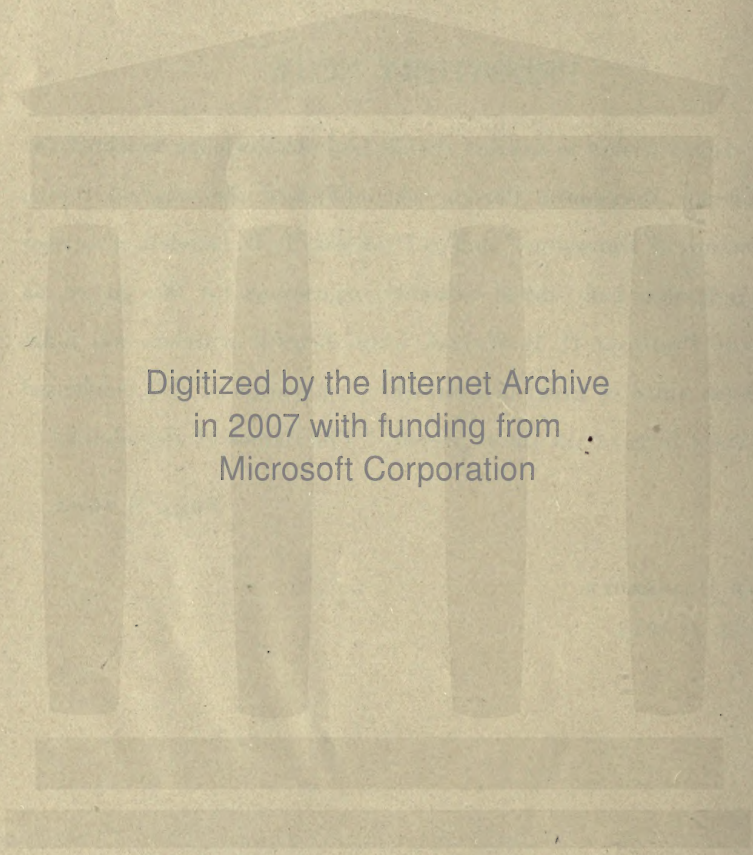
PREFATORY NOTE

The writer wishes to express thanks and acknowledge indebtedness to Professor Bernadotte Perrin, who criticized the original thesis, "The Samos of Herodotus," and to Professor T. D. Goodell, who read that production and offered valuable suggestions for this paper, as well as to Professor H. B. Wright, whose helpful criticism and judgment have aided in great measure the preparation of this condensed and revised form of the thesis proper, "The Samos of Herodotus."

Erma E. Cole.

Yale University,
June 1, 1912.



THE SAMOS OF HERODOTUS.*

It is common tradition that Herodotus was for several years an exile on the island of Samos. Rawlinson (Introduction to Translation of Herodotus, pp. 15 f.), however, supposes that "The transfer of residence to Samos is most likely a fiction. . . . His acquaintance with its buildings and localities is not greater than might have been acquired by one or two leisurely visits, and the length at which he treats the history may be accounted for on moral grounds."

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to establish three points regarding Herodotus' treatment of Samian affairs:

1. Herodotus' history of Samos indicates above all else direct influence from Samian monuments, such as the temple of Hera and its votive offerings, Samian architecture and Samian engineering. Samos is often introduced into the text where not really appropriate chiefly because of the historian's interest in its monuments. This interest grew to the point of absolute and unjustifiable prejudice in favor of Samians generally in matters of history—a prejudice most easily to be explained by long association with the people and the monuments of their achievements.

2. Certain passages dealing with Samian political factions, by their very method of treatment show an intimate knowledge of internal affairs, best explained by residence in Samos.

3. Samos was so much a part of Herodotus' mental equipment that it became the natural object of comparison in discussing miscellaneous subjects, and many passages in Herodotus not on the surface derived from Samian sources show, nevertheless, indirect latent Samian origin.

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* The material for this paper is drawn from a thesis, "The Samos of Herodotus," presented at Yale University in 1910 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I. Influence on Herodotus of Samian Monuments.

(A.) *Direct Influences from Treasures in the Hera Temple and Elsewhere.*

Herodotus admits that the Samian narrative in Bk. III is out of the course of his main history of the Persian Wars by saying in conclusion: "I drew out the story of the Samians to a rather lengthy account because they have constructed the three greatest works of Hellenic genius" (III, 60). He then disposes of these great works, the aqueduct, the mole in the harbor, and temple of Hera, in one brief paragraph.

In view of the fact that Herodotus generally put much stress upon matters which were novel to his public (cf. tiresome engineering details in the description of the taking of Babylon, Bk. I, 179-80, 191, and the entire Egyptian *logos,* Bk. II), one may infer that these great landmarks of Samos were so familiar to his hearers that he felt that he needed merely to mention them as something of vast importance and the real goal of the Samian narrative. But it was not necessary to dwell upon the works themselves. Herodotus was eager to talk about Samos, doubtless from a personal interest in it, and felt that any digression on Samos would be justifiable. The Athenian public had reason to feel interested in the early exploits of a people who not only gave Athens a scare while attempting to reduce Samos in 440, during the time of Pericles, but could boast of the greatest engineering works of the times.

It must be noted, however, that, while the so-called historical material is ostensibly regarded by Herodotus as so much bait to lead his hearers on, it is, nevertheless, something to be apologized for. The monumental aspect of Samos is the real goal, the whole statement being an endeavor to disguise his real motive, that of exploiting Samos as a "wonder-work" to his world.

Passages which show most plainly Samian influences upon the narrative of Herodotus are those which include stories about Samian monuments, especially the temple of Hera, with its inscribed tablets, paintings and works of art of all kinds. This was a constant source

of inspiration to him, and it is from his treatment of these that one gains the keynote to his interest in Samos.

(1.) *The Silver Crater.*

In his history of the Lydian kings in the first book (chapters 14, 25, 50-51), Herodotus describes the magnificent gifts sent to the temple of Delphi by Gyges, Alyattes and Crœsus. A detailed list of offerings is given and among them were two craters, one gold, the other silver; the gold one ultimately finding place in the treasury at Clazomenæ, while the silver bowl was left in the temple of Delphi and used in the spring festival to the sun. Herodotus' final statement is: "The people of Delphi say that it is the work of the Samian, Theodorus, which is believable, since it is the work of no crude artisan." No artists are mentioned in connection with all the notable gifts sent by Crœsus except the Samian, Theodorus, and the inference is that Herodotus is impelled to mention many small offerings because of eagerness to mention the Samian crater, which would seem to indicate that he made his text elastic for the reference to the specimen of Samian art, an example of distinct influence upon him of Samian relics.

(2.) *The Bronze Crater.*

In Bk. I, 69-70, the story is told of how Crœsus proposed an alliance with Sparta which was promptly snapped up by the Lacedæmonians because, according to Herodotus, once upon a time they had been favored by Crœsus, who had given them outright enough gold for a statue, when they had no other thought than to purchase the gold.

The Lacedæmonians had made a return gift of a bronze crater, ornamented with figures of animals and plants on the outside around the brim. "But this crater," says Herodotus, "never reached Sardis, for causes concerning which there are two traditions. The Lacedæmonians say that when the crater reached the Samian country the Samians sailed out and captured it. The Samians say that when the Lacedæmonians were rather tardy about bringing the crater and when they reached Samos, perceiving that Sardis and Crœsus were captured, they abandoned the crater in Samos, where private citizens purchased it and placed it in the Heræum" (chapter 70). Herodotus concludes: *τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων* (chapter 70). Though he has made a show

of giving in all fairness the two traditions about the crater, the last words show a device of the author to give the Samians the benefit of the doubt, hence his conjecture: "It is probable that the Lacedæmonians, after selling the crater, upon coming to Sparta, would say that they had been robbed of it by the Samians" (chapter 70).

The fact that Herodotus leaves the question in doubt is evidence of special Samian influence here. Likewise is the manner in which the tale has been spun out until mention of the crater could be made, for one naturally asks why the crater should be mentioned at all. The answer must be because it was a treasure of the Heræum which Herodotus doubtless saw and which, to his mind, furnished embellishment to the story of the Lydian-Spartan alliance. There may be a question whether the Spartans ever accepted Crœsus' proposals for reasons given, and it is doubtful whether the crater episode would have been mentioned had not the relic in the Heræum fired Herodotus' imagination.

(3.) *The Temple of Samos.*

In Bk. II, 148 Herodotus refers to the labyrinth built by twelve Egyptian princes and known as one of the seven wonders of the world. His tribute to the labyrinth is that if a comparison were made of all the walls and other great Grecian works put together, they would appear to have entailed less labor and expense than this labyrinth. "And yet," he concludes, "the temple at Ephesus is worthy of fame and the one in Samos. The pyramids are comparable to several works of wonder together but the labyrinth surpasses even the pyramids, being greater than one could describe." The only saving features in the Greek showing are the temples of Ephesus and Samos. Mention of the latter indicates unshakeable faith in the greatness of Samian architecture, and that it seemed to him amply able to help maintain the prestige of the Greeks is testimony to the powerful influence of Samian monuments upon him.

(4.) *The Painting of King Darius.*

An incident in the Scythian expedition of King Darius in the fourth book (chapters 87-8) illustrates again the part played by Samian architects and artists in the narrative of Herodotus.

Darius came to inspect the bridge which had been placed over the Thracian Bosporus. Its builder was Mandrokles, the Samian,

and, being satisfied with the bridge, Darius rewarded its architect ten-fold. With a part of the money Mandrokles had a picture painted of the army crossing the Bosporus while King Darius sat on his throne reviewing the troops. The painting portraying this he had erected in the Samian Heræum with the inscription: "Mandrokles, when he had bridged the fish-abounding Bosporus, dedicated a monument of the crossing to Hera, winning the laurel for himself and glory for the Samians, since he wrought to the pleasure of King Darius" (chapter 88).

This incident took place after the Persians had acquired Samos, the story of which is told in Bk. III (139 ff.), and it is very probable that it never would have been included in the Scythian *logos* had the historian not seen the painting in the Samian temple. Furthermore, it is now a favorite theory that this Samian painting representing the Persian tribes crossing the bridge, furnished the description of nations, levied or levyable in Xerxes' armies, crossing the Hellespont into Europe,—a description so detailed in the seventh book as to suggest statistical material from real records.

The long procession of tribes in native dress, numbering about forty-six nations, described in the seventh book, is an example of the marvelous imagination and method of the writer, who put in all the truth he knew about the famous crossing—and then added some more "truth." Forty-six nations could have comprised the levy had a Darius or a Xerxes so ordered, but, in view of the fact that the exaggerated figures of Herodotus as to the Persian forces which went to Greece are discredited, it is probable that the idea of the panorama suggested a way of making impressive the beginning of the great conflict, particularly when the Samian painting of an identical theme was at hand to prompt if variety failed.*

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* The query arises how far Samian influences find their way into the entire Herodotean story of the Persian war. It is instructive, at least, to see copies of the "throne scene" in three other passages; Darius at the siege of Babylon, Bk. III, 155; and Xerxes at Thermopylæ, Bk. VII, 211; and at Salamis, Bk. VIII, 90, wherein Xerxes is pictured sitting on *his* throne by the shore—a probable echo of this painting.

(B.) *Influence of Samian Relics and Samian Residence on Herodotus' Method of Treating Historical Narrative—The Story of the Rise and Fall of Polycrates.*

Herodotus begins his history of Samos with the rise of the tyrant, Polycrates, whose control began about 533 B. C., continuing it through the greatest period of prosperity when Samian naval supremacy, art, and architecture were at their height. Certainly inscriptions, statues, and paintings commemorating famous men and deeds of Samos gave color to his narrative, as well as the influence of the Heræum, itself a monument of the flourishing times of Polycrates.

(1.) *Amasis and Polycrates.*

A good example of the influence of Samian relics upon Herodotus' narrative is the famous tale of Polycrates' rise to power which contains a signet-ring for the dramatic element. We are informed with what solemnity Amasis, king of Egypt, witnessed the spectacular rise of Polycrates, conquering right and left and becoming famous throughout all Ionia, and with what neighborly interest he warned Polycrates that such unprecedented good fortune would bring him to grief if he did not at once rid himself of his best cherished possession as a charm against evil.

Polycrates, we are told, heeded the advice, ordered his sailors to row him far out on the sea, where he cast his signet-ring, expecting never to recover it; but, as Fate decreed, a few days afterward a fisherman brought a particularly fine fish to court and presented it to Polycrates. When the servants prepared the fish they found in it the signet-ring. Polycrates told Amasis the story and Amasis piously withdrew his alliance with Polycrates because he, as a friend, did not wish to witness his certain downfall—certain because for some occult reason he could not get rid of his own ring.

As a diplomatic act, Amasis' conduct is not plausible. It is more probable that Polycrates himself broke the treaty with Amasis because the successful campaign of Cambyses in Egypt was weakening the value of Amasis as an ally; but Herodotus does not wish the dramatic effect of his tale of the rise of Polycrates to be dulled by prosaic elements.

Directly after this narrative Herodotus tells us that not long before this Polycrates offered Cambyses assistance in his campaign against

Egypt, which shows that Herodotus was aware of the true situation; but the ring story is too fine to discard. That the ring story is purely Herodotean is borne out by the fact that Diodorus (I, 95) connects no ring story with the breaking of the alliance. To Herodotus the ring is the all-important element, particularly since "it was overlaid with gold, contained a precious green stone and was the work of the Samian, Theodorus, son of Telekles" (III, 41).

Herodotus mentions Theodorus more frequently than any other Samian artist, and his work was famous among the Samians. Pliny (N. H. 37, 3 f., 8) testifies that in his day a ring was exhibited in the Temple of Concord as that of Polycrates. What is more probable than that the ring was a famous heirloom in the family of Polycrates and that Herodotus saw it among other relics in the temple of Hera, for he tells us in Bk. III, 123-5 that at the time of Polycrates' death his confidant, Mæandrius, had placed the entire equipment of a certain part of Polycrates' palace in the Heræum? Thus the ring story doubtless owes its origin to the relic in the Heræum, though the story of its recovery may be a folk-tale applied to Polycrates. Polycrates' career gave a chance to point the moral that mortals must not aspire too high, an Æschylean code, and the ring pointed at future disaster, forming the occult element needed to insure dramatic effect.

(2.) *The Lacedæmonian Campaign against Samos.*

That Herodotus was powerfully influenced by Samian monuments is again attested by his story of the Spartans proceeding against Samos in the interests of the exiled faction. He relates: "The Lacedæmonians made a campaign against Samos, as the Samians say, paying the debt for former benefits when the Samians reinforced them with ships against the Messenians; but the Lacedæmonians say that they did not enter the campaign to avenge the Samians in their need so much as to pay them back for stealing the bowl which the Lacedæmonians were taking to Crœsus and the breastplate which Amasis, king of Egypt, had sent as a gift to them; since the year before the Samians seized the bowl they took the linen breastplate, with designs of animals, fashioned with gold and cotton, each cord very fine and containing 360 threads, all visible. Such another existed, but Amasis gave it as an offering to Athena at Lindus" (III, 47).

There was evidently a persistent tradition about the mysterious way in which this bowl, intended for Crœsus, came to be in the Samian Heræum, related by Herodotus in Bk. I, 70, with plainly apologetic presentation of the Samian tradition that it had been abandoned by the Lacedæmonians in Samos, where it was purchased and put in the temple. The Lacedæmonian tradition is reiterated here without attempt to discountenance it except for the Samian statement that the expedition is one of assistance to them for their aid in the Messenian wars.

If one accepts the Lacedæmonian tradition, it is the oligarchical, tyrannical faction of Samians, friends of Polycrates, which the Lacedæmonians are opposing. If we accept the Samian tradition that the Lacedæmonians aided them for past favors, it is the same Samian faction that helped in the Messenian wars and was exiled by Polycrates that speaks. That faction, then, had no part in stealing the bowl.

Plutarch (Mor. p. 859 c) favors the inference from the Samian tradition that it was not petty revenge that caused the war but hatred of tyranny and its favoring of oligarchies. It is a war among factions which is disclosed by minute comparison of Herodotus' separate statements, wherein the factional features familiar to Herodotus are not elucidated, doubtless because the ground was so familiar to him that he unconsciously omitted what would have clarified the subject to an outsider.

Two facts are revealed by this passage. (1) Herodotus has an intimate knowledge of Samian "factionalism," hardly to be gained by a casual visit. (2) Herodotus' interest in Samian relics has caused him to mention the "Lacedæmonian tradition" which might not have been cited had not the "crater" inspired the idea. Furthermore, it is not the Lacedæmonian pretext, grudge for stealing the bowl, which is accepted by Herodotus, but the Samian explanation of reciprocity for past benefits.*

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* Compare the story (Bk. III, chapter 55) of the Lacedæmonian patriots, Archias and Lycopes, who were honored by the Samians,—episodes certainly indicating some bond between the Samian patriotic faction and the Lacedæmonians.

In the concluding battle between the Samians and the allies who come to display their "grudges" the Lacedæmonians come near worsting the Samians; but Archias and Lycopes, according to Herodotus, were the only ones who pursued the Samians to a place where they could not retreat and met their

(3.) *The Fall of Polycrates.*

The Herodotean story of the fall of Polycrates (III, 120-125) contains a bias in favor of the tyrant, perhaps due partly to Herodotus' Samian interest and partly to his desire to depict the career of Polycrates as dominated by "Fate"; hence a certain amount of blamelessness is attributed to him which is not really verified by the other traditions quoted by Herodotus.

According to Herodotus, Polycrates had never done any wrong to Orœtes, who had been put in charge of Sardis by Cyrus; but nevertheless, Orœtes wished to get Polycrates into his power and murder him. Herodotus takes pains to give the reason shown in most traditions, viz., that Orœtes had been taunted by another Persian, Mitrobates, because he had not made a conquest of Samos for the king while Polycrates with only 15 hoplites had gained the island. Orœtes thus felt jealous of Polycrates because of the taunt.

One must note that the assertion that "Polycrates never had injured Orœtes" is open to question if we compare Diodorus (Exc. Vat. p. 557, X, 15, 4), who says that some Lydians, banished by Orœtes, came to Samos with considerable wealth, were received kindly at first by Polycrates, but he afterward murdered them and took possession of their property. Granting that the exiles meant nothing to Orœtes, considering the Diodorus passage: "*Λυδοί τινες φεύγοντες τὴν Ὀροίτου τοῦ σατράπου δυνάστειαν*," nevertheless it is clear that Herodotus ignores any blame of Polycrates.

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death. A grandson of Archias said that the name, Samius, had been given his father because of his grandfather's brave death in Samos, and that he especially esteemed the Samians because they had erected a tomb in his honor and at public expense.

The episode of the two brave Spartans indicates Spartan tradition and indicates also that a greater harmony existed between Spartans and certain Samians than the alleged Lacedæmonian purpose,—revenge against Samians for theft of the bowl,—shows. Plutarch (Mor. p. 860 c) emphasizes this passage as showing that the Spartans did not undertake the expedition for the sake of petty revenge, but were interested in the general principle of destroying oligarchy, for the sake of the faction that honored the Spartan Archias and Lycopes.

This passage points to the possibility that the tradition of a Lacedæmonian "grudge" on account of the crater was inserted because of the impression the crater had made upon Herodotus and illustrates the monumental genesis of Herodotean-made tradition.

Herodotus gives what he calls the "minor tradition" for the reason of Orœtes' enmity, viz., that the envoy sent by Orœtes asking money was rudely treated by Polycrates, who utterly refused to converse or render assistance. Orœtes then sent another embassy to learn Polycrates' real schemes, which, Orœtes felt certain, were nothing less than to gain the naval supremacy over all Ionia and the islands. He informed Polycrates that he had not sufficient revenue to push such a plan, but that if he would gain control of all Hellas he should rescue Orœtes out of the clutches of Cambyses, bringing him to a place of safety and his treasures with him. In this way he should have a part of Orœtes' resources. Let him send an envoy to make sure that Orœtes made bona fide promises.

The later embassy vouches for the probability of the "minor tradition" being the true one. That Herodotus assigns it second place is in accord with his desire to paint Polycrates in a favorable light. It is evident, too, that Herodotus could not do without the "minor tradition" which really paves the way for the second embassy, the pith of the plot: Polycrates, who had been superior to foes in every crisis, must be lured to his death by no common means. He must be snared by treachery playing upon the weak point in his character, greed for gold and advancement.

Herodotus relates that Orœtes cunningly "filled eight chests with stones, with gold on top, so that when Polycrates' minister should come everything would be ready. Mæandrius came, returned to Polycrates and made report and the latter set out for the treasure, despite the warnings of soothsayers and a dream of his daughter, who thought she saw her father suspended in air, washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun" (chapter 123 f.). However, Polycrates, accompanied by his retinue, sailed away to Magnesia, where he met an ignoble death at the hands of Orœtes. "Polycrates, as he hung on the cross, thus fulfilled completely his daughter's dream, for he was washed by Zeus when it rained and was anointed by the sun, since he emitted a moisture from his body. Thus ended the good fortune of Polycrates, and thus had Amasis of Egypt prophesied" (chapter 125).

It is questionable whether Amasis ever so prophesied, considering how nicely the history of Polycrates fits into the moral of the downfall—by design of the gods—of a lofty mortal who aspires too high, a favorite moral of Herodotus.

Polycrates is a sort of fairy-tale hero who miraculously recovers his lost ring, subdues all his foes, but, as the dramatic beginning warns us, must come to a tragic end. No wonder that the "minor tradition" is kept in the background. No wonder that Polycrates' fall, in the mind of Herodotus, is not due to censurable acts other than rising too high. It is "Fate," accomplished through the instrumentality of jealous men. The chest episode is the snare, the dream of the daughter a forewarning, which lead to an artistic close.

Herodotus concludes: "Except the tyrants of Syracuse there is not one of the other Greek tyrants to be compared with him in magnificence."

After outlining Polycrates' career as a warrior the quality that Herodotus emphasizes is magnificence, indicating that concrete things such as the ring, crater, chest and equipments of his hall, placed in the Heræum by Mæandrius and described as *ἀξιοθέητον*, gave the idea of "magnificence," and doubtless influenced the method of treating Polycrates' history; hence we have the ring story, the bowl episode, the breast-plate reference, the chest story. If "magnificent" is the historian's final eulogy, it may be supposed that certain Samian votive offerings influenced his imagination more in the development of his Samian chapters than mere facts of history, which he later developed to make an excursus more palatable to his public, another instance of the monumental influence of Samos upon Herodotus.

Cicero's verdict (De Finibus, V, Sect. 92) shows a different point of view. Polycrates as a warrior appealed to him and his final estimate—*At multis malis affectus. quis negat? sed ea mala virtutis magnitudine obruebantur*—is one that might be expected of one who had not sojourned in Samos.

II. Herodotus' Factional Partisanship in Recounting Samian History.

While it is apparent that the Heræum alone may easily have inspired Herodotus in his story of early, independent Samos, as it might any mere visitor, it must be noted that his particular bias in favor of Samians in other matters having no connection with art or the Hera temple, can hardly be explained by supposing that he did not have the intimate and prejudiced knowledge of a resident of the island. For example, the part played by Samos in the Ionian revolt can scarcely be accorded the mild judgment given by Herodotus, whose unusual leniency in narrating this episode must be attributed to a partiality not to be found in a mere visitor to Samos. It may be that enthusiasm for Samian relics in part influenced the historian to gloss over hostile criticism of Samos in matters of history, but close association with Samian affairs must have also played its part.

(1.) *The Story of Syloson.*

According to Herodotus (III, 39, 139-149), Syloson, a brother of Polycrates, who was banished from Samos at the time of Polycrates' seizure of the tyranny, had so pleased Darius by the gift of a scarlet cloak that when he became king of Persia Darius consented to win back Samos for Syloson and sent an army under Otanes to recover Samos.

This is fanciful enough to rank with the story of Polycrates. Eduard Meyer (*Gesch. des Alt.*, II, 488) clarifies the king's motive thus: "With Otanes' expedition the last independent state on the coast of Asia Minor was destroyed and the whole Ionic world, before so mighty and free, became subordinate to the great king,"—subordinate perhaps through the wish of the tyrannical faction.

(2.) *Mæandrius.*

Herodotus relates how Samos was in the hands of Mæandrius,—who had received the trust from Polycrates—Mæandrius, whom Herodotus would have us suppose was a most worthy individual,

for he says: "It was Mæandrius' endeavor to pursue a very just course, but he was given no chance to accomplish his desire" (III, 142). Herodotus here appears to be "editing" the story as heard from the Samians, but may be giving a true estimate of Mæandrius; however, it is not proven wherein Mæandrius tries to pursue a just course.

The historian goes on to say (III, 142 ff.) that Mæandrius assembled the Samians, generously offering to give over the government that they might have equal rights, on condition that he should keep six talents of Polycrates' fortune and should be given the priesthood of Zeus Liberator for the rest of his life. But Telesarchus, a prominent citizen, arose and denounced him, demanding that he should render an account of Polycrates' funds.

Mæandrius, now realizing that if he relinquished his place, another tyranny would arise, changed his plan and retired to the acropolis "to give an account of the funds." The citizens were summoned separately to look at the accounts, but everyone that came was seized and put in chains. Shortly after this Mæandrius became ill and his brother, Lycaretes, thinking he would soon get possession of the government, in case of his brother's death, put to death the prisoners, as Herodotus explains, "since they did not seem to care for freedom."

If we are to judge from the rôle played by the Samians in the Ionian Revolt, the majority of Samians most decidedly "do not care for freedom." The historian's comment here appears to be drawn from that story, since the account at this point hardly indicates great distaste for democracy simply because Mæandrius was called to account. One infers that the Samian faction which hated tyranny to the extent of fleeing to Sicily to avoid the returning tyrant, Æaces, after the capture of Miletus, was not particularly strong at this time, since Herodotus momentarily loses sight of it and carries the idea that the majority were on the side which "did not care for freedom." Herodotus certainly appears to be following their tradition.

The treatment of the offer of freedom accords with the Herodotean conception of Samian factions from the time of Polycrates to the end of the Persian war and indicates great familiarity with the struggles of the Samian patriots and the tyrannical faction. The query comes whether this may not be a mild prelude to an even milder account of Samian treachery in the Ionian Revolt.

Mæandrius finally made a stand against the Persian force but was badly defeated and made his escape from the island by a secret tunnel* from the acropolis to the sea.

Mæandrius' brother, Charilaus, who had been shut up in a dungeon, took command of the allies, attacked the Persians in a lively skirmish, but the Persians destroyed the Samian princes and higher officers, then besieged the acropolis and put to death everyone whom they found and depopulated the island.

(3.) *Samos in the Ionian Revolt.*

How far real bias is found in his treatment of Samians is shown perhaps best by Herodotus' story of Samos in the Ionian Revolt. In the preliminary Persian attack upon Salamis and vicinity of Cyprus, the Ionians rallied with considerable force, while the Phœnicians aided the Persians.

In the land and sea fight Herodotus states that "the Ionians proved superior to the Phœnicians while the Samians were bravest among these" (the Ionians) (V, 112). It is satisfactory to know that in this encounter Σάμιοι ἠρίστευσαν, since this can hardly be said of them at the ensuing battle at Lade.

This may be inserted here because of Samian source for this episode, or, more probably, it is used as a credit mark to Samian valor, that whatever may have been the cause of their desertion from the Greeks at Lade there shall be this much testimony to their valor. Herodotus does not give any detail as to how the Samians happened to be the bravest. His statement is conveniently indefinite.

One must note that in the account of the battle of Lade, to begin with, Herodotus gives undue prominence to the Samian contingent of ships sent to fortify Lade. When the Ionians assembled for the defense Herodotus tells us that in the equipment of troops "the Milesians with 80 ships had the east wing; next were the Prienians, with 12; Myasians with 3; Teans with 17; Chians with 100; Erythrians with 8; Phocæans with 3; Lesbians with 70. Finally came the Samians, who had the west wing, with 60 ships" (VI, 8).

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* Autopsy of this specimen of engineering may have prompted this feature of the narrative. J. Theodore Bent (Academy 1883, 23:408) remarked on the skill of the Samians in tunneling and noted that the island was full of underground tombs and passages cut from the rock.

Special criticism has been directed against the Samian number since the possession at this time of 60 ships is questionable, if Samos had been depopulated a score of years before to the extent indicated (III, 149). Macan (note on Herodotus, VI, 8) says that a Record of the Samian ships was in the Agora, but modifies by stating that only eleven ships were vouched for and that the Record could hardly have been inscribed and erected before the battle of Mycale, when Samos once more became independent.

Considering that the entire enumeration of special contingents is criticized and that the struggle to restore a lost population is recorded in Aristotle (quoted in Suidas, s. v. Σαμίων), it is not Herodotus' tale of depopulation which is the exaggerated one but rather this one which gives to the Samians 60 ships, not recorded in the monument cited later by Herodotus (VI, 14).

Herodotus continues: "When the Samians learned that the Ionians were weakening in ardor they decided to follow the advice of Æaces, son of Syloson, who had formerly proposed, at the bidding of the Persians, to dissolve their alliance with the Ionians" (VI, 13).

The "weakening in ardor" related in chapters 9, 10 and 11 of Book VI, consists of the refusal of the Ionians to follow a course of treachery planned for them by the Persian generals; for the Persians felt that a formidable array of ships had collected and hoped to win them to the Persian side by negotiating through the tyrants who had been deposed by Aristagoras. Chapter 10 closes: *οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο αὗται αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην· ἑωυτοῖσι δὲ ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι.* Herodotus' use of *ἀγνωμοσύνῃ* is interesting. In his mind it is arrogance or obstinacy for the Ionians to refuse a chance to be restored to the old footing of holding tyrannical governments under the Persians, but it is a case of "not desiring freedom" when the Samians prefer tyranny under Persian rule to democracy.

Chapter 12 relates the attempts of Dionysius, the Phocæan, to drill the Ionians in tactics designed to bring them out of their crisis, but these tactics were too taxing so that by the eighth day, according to Herodotus, the Ionians, *ἀπαθέες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων*, decided to abandon the endeavor, preferring slavery, whatever it might be, to the present hardships, and called the Phocæan a braggart, who had furnished but three ships.

Herodotus' treatment of Ionians often borders upon contempt, and the history of the Samians in the Ionian revolt leads to a surmise

that it has been caused fully as much by a desire to shield the Samians in that campaign as by his contempt for Hecatæus, the Milesian logographer whose materials he may be employing, a theory often advanced.

Herodotus continues: "For the Samians saw that there was lack of system and purpose in the Ionian camp and, too, they thought it pretty clear that they could not weaken the king's cause because they knew that whenever the present army should be destroyed another five times its size would take its place" (chapter 13). The Samians should have considered this possibility sometime before this, but Herodotus placidly goes on: "With this pretext, when they saw that the Ionians were not apt to be valorous they thought best to preserve their temples and private property" (*ibid.*).

The reward for allegiance to Persia is kept well in mind by the Samians, who, according to the reasoning of chapter 10, could they have had their way, would have accepted and had all Ionia accept without more ado the proposals of the great king. This indicates rather clearly that *ἀγνωμοσύνη* is a Samian conception of the situation, too, not solely Herodotean.

The narrative continues: Æaces, who advised this, was the son of Syloson, son of Æaces, and while tyrannos of Samos had been deprived of his office by the Milesian Aristagoras, as had happened to all other tyrants in Ionia. When the Phœnicians sailed up for the attack the Ionians also brought their ships into line. But as they approached and the battle began, from that moment it cannot be said truly* which of the Ionians were cowards or courageous in the naval battle that followed for they accuse one another; but it is said [*λέγεται*, giving a chance for doubt] that the Samians, according to agreement with Æaces, lifted sail and abandoned their position, departing for Samos—with the exception of eleven ships whose trierarchs remained and fought, disobeying the strategos. The Samian assembly, because of this exploit, had a stele erected to them as courageous men, inscribed with the names of their fathers and their stele is in the market place" (chapter 14).

Here Herodotus is compelled to show the evidence, which, by its very nature—tribute to eleven loyal trierarchs—convicts the others.

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* Herodotus avoids responsibility for the truth of the common tradition that the Samians showed treachery and tries to indicate that he has not safe evidence against them.

Perhaps the historian wished to show that there was a faction that appreciated those who did "stay by the ship."

Herodotus relates that when the Lesbians saw the conduct of those next to them, they did as the Samians had done, and so "the majority of the Ionians, too, acted in the very same way" (chapter 14). Herodotus supposes, no doubt, that such a statement points out that the Samians were not worse than the rest of the Ionians. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῦνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίευν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα—indicates nothing as to time, which might be synchronous with the act of Samians.

Pretty clear proof, however, that the Samians could not be exonerated from the general tradition of treachery comes from Herodotus himself (Bk. VI, chapter 25), in which he states that the Samians alone were exempt from the destruction of their cities and temples. That the Samians could preserve their temples by joining the Persian cause may have been justification for their conduct in the mind of Herodotus, though he does not say so, but seeks, rather, to pretend the tradition obscure which indicates Samian treachery. Thus, as a whole, the story of the Ionian Revolt shows Herodotus in his worst attack of partiality in dealing with the Samians.

(4.) *The Samians at Mycale.*

A trifle of the same tenor which characterized the story of the Ionian Revolt is repeated in the narrative of the Samian rôle in the campaign of Mycale (IX, 90 ff.).

While the Greek fleet was under command of the Lacedæmonian Leutychides at Delos, messengers sent by Samians without the knowledge of the tyrant or the Persians, came begging the Ionians to revolt from the Persians, on the ground that the Persian ships were not very seaworthy and could not contend with the Greeks. They promised to stay as hostages if the Greeks suspected them of getting their support with treacherous purpose. The Samians were received into the alliance and gave pledges of allegiance to the Hellenes.

The Greeks accordingly brought their ships from Delos to Samos, where the Persian fleet had been wintering. The Persians at once deprived the Samians of their arms, suspecting them to be shaping the policy of the Greeks, and because the Samians shortly before had set free and furnished with supplies the Athenian captives taken by Xerxes' soldiers in Attica, to the number of 500.

Herodotus tells us that those Samians who had entered the Persian ranks and been deprived of arms, seeing from the start that the outcome was doubtful, did all they could to aid the Hellenes.

It must be noted that while Herodotus practically admits a well known reputation for Samian treachery in the speech of the Samian ambassadors, he is anxious to emphasize the fact that their patriotic policy induced the campaign of Mycale, probably the work of the democratic faction. Now that the pendulum is swinging the other way, Herodotus is eager to point out that "the Samians did all they could for the Greeks" (chapter 103), evidently trying to mitigate the treachery at Lade. The vagueness of statement is suspicious and may well be Samian influence attempting to get into the good graces of history.

Since the Herodotean version of the campaign before Mycale altogether magnifies that campaign's importance, likewise Athenian prowess, in the series of battles in the Persian war, the attitude of the Samians here may have been emphasized by the historian simply to vindicate them, a motive as probable in his treatment of the campaign of Mycale as his desire to carry the fame of Athenian valor farther than the battle of Platæa.

Herodotus' bias in favor of Samos seems to be the prejudice one might expect of a native of the island. How are we to account for it if he did not feel a certain fellowship with its residents, a fellowship best explained by the supposition that he himself for a time entered into their life and customs?

III. Herodotus' Use of Miscellaneous Facts and Traditions about Samos.

(A.) *In Comparisons.* (1.) *Geography.*

Herodotus' interest in stray facts about Samos is revealed by bits of miscellany scattered through his books, for, in dealing with subjects which furnish him a natural means of comparison, Samos is cited as familiar ground and almost as "second nature"; as in Bk. I, 148, Samos is mentioned to identify the locality of Mycale.

(2.) *Dialect.*

As to the variations in the Ionian dialects (Bk. I, 142), Herodotus notes that "Miletus, Myus and Priene have the same dialect. Differing from these in dialect are the Lydian cities, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa. There are three other Ionian cities, one in Chios, another in Erythræ, which have the same dialect, but the city in Samos differs again and the Samians are the only ones to have a dialect by themselves." This statement is not made elsewhere.

(3.) *Measure.*

In a discussion about Egyptian cornfields, Bk. II, 168, Herodotus states that "the Egyptian cornfield is 100 cubits on each side, and the Egyptian chances to be the same as the Samian cubit." Herodotus seems somewhat unconscious here of the probability that the Samian cubit may not be more familiar to the Athenian or Peloponnesian Greek than the Egyptian cubit, and the manner of stating a well known fact shows to what extent Herodotus had become saturated with the life of Samos from which he involuntarily draws for material.

(4.) *Colonies.*

Various statements, incidental and otherwise, show that the Samians were enterprising as traders and eager to colonize. In the majority of cases which treat of their travels abroad references are made to temples and monuments which they erected wherever they

went or to dedications in the Samian Heræum as memorials to their enterprises.

Wherever Samos sent representatives due credit is given and in most cases the fact of a dedicatory offering being put in the Heræum must have suggested to Herodotus the farther development and narrative of their commercial history, thus inducing in some instances a more extended story than that which concerned merely the monuments themselves.

(*a.*) *Oasis.*

A peculiar case of giving credit to Samian colonization where credit was not due arises in Bk. III, 26, in the story of Cambyses' expedition into Egypt about 525 B. C. Herodotus relates the failure of the expedition against the Ethiopians through starvation; but "those who had not been sent out against the people of Ammon, when they had set out from Thebes with their guides, appeared at the city of Oasis, which the Samians possess,—those Samians said to be of the tribe of Æschrione,—and this is seven days' journey from Thebes, through the desert, and the place in the Greek language is called the island of the blest. When he made a journey from this Oasis through the desert against the Ammonites and they were about half way between them and Oasis, a great wind arose that carried ridges of sand to heap on them and they perished. This is the story of the Ammonites concerning the army."

Herodotus' treatment of Oasis as a Samian colony seems clearly a fabrication, judging from the phrase "those said to be of the tribe of Æschrione" (no such Samian tribe elsewhere being vouched for) and from the use of Oasis as a proper name, which was contrary to antique Egyptian usage. Furthermore the shifting of the responsibility of the whole story upon the shoulders of the Ammonites is suspicious. The only statement for which Herodotus appears to be responsible is that the Samians possessed Oasis at this time, of which scholars think there is no proof.*

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* Panofka (*Res Samiorum*, page 24) is the only writer to credit Oasis as a Samian colony. He explains that the Samians sought and won the favor of the Cyreneans after the 37th Olympiad and thus established the city Oasis because of the natural products in which it excelled. In the 40th Olympiad the Samians probably went there and in the 63rd Olympiad the soldiers of Cambyses met them as inhabitants of this city. According to Stein (note on III, 26) this Oasis is located near ancient Thebes and the city of the same name is in the vicinity of the capital, El Khargeh.

(*b.*) *Naucratis.*

The Egyptian "logos" which occupies Bk. II entire indicates in various ways resemblances between Greece and Egypt. Egypt as a rendezvous for the Greek trader receives emphasis. In chapter 178 the connection between Greeks and the settlements in Egypt includes the Samians only as a part of the general movement of the merchant class westward, since they are not singled out for special mention and might have been introduced in any case in the story of Naucratis, which is the nucleus of the narrative.

Herodotus' treatment of Naucratis is impartial but important as showing Samian tradition, since he is the only literary authority for Samian occupation and his statement about Samos as well as Miletus is corroborated by the work of excavation in Egypt.

Herodotus states: "Among other favors shown some of the Greeks, Amasis, while king of Egypt, gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to inhabit and to those navigators who did not wish to dwell there he gave places where they might establish altars and precincts for their gods. The greatest, richest and most famous τέμενος was called the Hellenion and was established together by the Ionian cities, Chios, Teos, Phocæa, Clazomenæ; the Dorian cities Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis, and the city of the Mytilenians which was the only Æolic member. This was their precinct, while the other cities furnished a protectorate for the Emporium, and whatever other cities had any share in it (the protectorate) did so without any claim or right. Besides this the Æginetans established a temenos for Zeus, the Samians another for Hera, and the Milesians one for Apollo."

W. M. Flinders Petrie and Ernest Gardner in 1885-6 identified the city, Naucratis, with the mound, Nebireh, to the west of the Canobic branch of the Nile and clearly identified the Great Hellenion, their discovery harmonizing with the statements of Pliny and Herodotus. (Naukratis, p. 1 ff.)

Reporting on final excavations at Naucratis, D. G. Hogarth, H. L. Lorimer and C. C. Edgar (Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1905) note that the north half of the city alone belonged to Greeks and that the Hellenion is to be identified with an enclosed precinct here. The painted pottery all found in this northern part proves the presence of Milesians, Samians and probably Clazomenian elements in the population.

During the excavations superintended by Petrie and Gardner in 1884-5-6 the temple of Apollo erected by Milesians was clearly identified. In the second season of 1885-6 the leading discoveries were the temene of the Samian Hera and Aphrodite. There is nothing in Herodotus' narrative here to indicate that Milesians predominated more than others in the settling of Naucratis, although it is the opinion of many that the Milesians took the leading part. Eduard Meyer (II, 417) maintains this to be the impression gained later and that the Milesians had acquired firm foothold since Psammetichus I. He discredits the idea that Strabo (XVII, p. 801), who narrates the founding of the city by Milesians after a naval battle against Inarus, should be taken into consideration as against the Herodotean version.

The Samians in the Herodotean version are equally prominent with the Milesians and Æginetans in establishing temene, but, as said above, the passage favors neither Samians nor Milesians to the exclusion of others, the dominant feature being merely that the Greeks generally were given Naucratis as a trading-post. Herodotus' partiality to monuments and architecture would perhaps account for this feature of the paragraph.

In 1885-6 excavations at Naucratis discovered a vase dedicated to Aphrodite by Rhœcus, probably the famous Samian architect, who, it is supposed, studied Egyptian models.

A note on Samos (American J'l Archæology, 1907, Vol. XI, p. 84), referring to unpublished sculptures, includes one of Æaces, father of Polycrates, the tyrant. It is asserted that "this statue and the Hera of Samos by comparison with earlier Ionic work show the effect of Egyptian art on Milesian artists, after the founding of Naucratis."

Whether emphasis may be put on the singling out of Milesian artists here is a question, but it is natural to suppose from the phraseology that these statues on Samian subjects were the work of Milesian artists and that Milesian art was the chief art in vogue immediately after settlement of Naucratis, or that Naucratis was more or less in the hands of Milesian colonists. At any rate Samos has not the first claim to connection with Naucratis, nor does Herodotus claim it.

Archæology and Herodotus alone vouch for the connection of Samians with the story of Naucratis; but archæology, as well as Herodotus, vouches too for the Milesian share in Naucratis. The discovery

of statuary of Milesian artists at Naucratis, showing Egyptian influence, scores for Miletus. Miletus is supported by Pliny and Strabo. The discovery of the Milesian temple to Apollo scores also for Miletus.

The excavations at Naucratis in 1885-6, showing a vase of Rhœcus dedicated to Aphrodite (Rhœcus a student of Egyptian models) indicates Egyptian influence upon Samos and consequent connection. The discovery of the temple of Hera proves Samian colonial elements, while painted pottery, found in the northern part, scores for "Milesian, Samian, and probably Clazomenian elements in the population."

Herodotus puts no emphasis on Milesian leadership; in fact, adds the Milesians last in the list of foreigners who flocked to Naucratis; but the order of the phraseology may be accidental, since the temple to Zeus, by special prominence, is mentioned first, Hera comes next, and Apollo last, as perhaps it should be in a catalogue of heavenly bodies. Hence in the order given are mentioned Æginetans, Samians, Milesians. However, Herodotus gives Samos its proper place in the enterprise and archæology has proved his statement.

(B.) *Latent Samian Influences.*

Many elements which enter the narrative of Herodotus often owe their adoption into the story to influence from a Samian quarter while the story itself may not indicate that such elements are due to a Samian source or tradition. Paragraphs which emanate from themes about Samian colonies or places where Samians have dwelt, such as Perinthos, Crete, Naucratis, etc., very probably owe their existence to the fact of Samian connection, although on the surface the connection may not be apparent.

(1.) *Rhodopis.*

In his recital of the story of the Greek courtesan, Rhodopis (Bk. II. 134-135), Herodotus speaks with an air of authority, as one absolutely sure of his ground, while he calls into question the statements of those who follow a different tradition. He has brought the discussion of Egyptian kings to the reign of Mycerinos, son of Cheops. "Mycerinos," he says, "left a pyramid which some of the Greeks say was that of his concubine, Rhodopis, but they are mistaken. They do not even appear to know who Rhodopis was. She flourished in the time of Amasis but not in the time of this king (Mycerinos) for Rhodopis lived many years after these kings who erected the pyra-

mids. She was a Thracian in race, a slave of Iadmon, son of Hephæstopolis, who was a Samian, and fellow slave of Æsop, the fable writer."

It is thought that the Greeks in Egypt are not so responsible for the idea that Rhodopis built a pyramid as the Egyptian, Manetho, who, in his account of the dynasties, confused the woman connected with the pyramid with Nitokris. According to his version, Nitokris possessed the ruddy complexion by which Rhodopis was known and erected the third pyramid, ruling in the sixth dynasty.

Herodotus' contention is that even if it could be assumed that a woman was connected with a pyramid the woman was not Rhodopis, about whom he is sure of his tradition, viz., Samian. It is held that Herodotus is correct in saying that the pyramid was not erected for a woman, and that Manetho, besides confusing Nitokris with the wrong dynasty, incorrectly attributed the pyramid to a woman, in accordance with a popular story, and further identified Nitokris with the woman of the pyramid and Rhodopis.

Herodotus states it as a fact that Rhodopis came to Egypt under the protection of Xanthos, the Samian, and was afterward set free by the Mytilenian, Charaxos, brother of Sappho, the poetess. Thus Rhodopis obtained her freedom and remained in Egypt. Becoming particularly attractive, she acquired great wealth for one in her station, but not to the extent of having such a pyramid erected.

Nothing is more confidently stated than this, and no hint need be given that it is the statement of one who is sure. It might be natural to question how it happened that Herodotus attributed the error about Rhodopis to Greeks rather than to a native historian. Herodo-

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* According to Hall (Jl. Hellenic Studies, 1904), the pyramid was recorded as built by king Menkaura (Mycerinos) of the fourth dynasty. He supposes that Manetho found two names, Menkara and Niterkara, probably two successive kings. Taking them for names of one person and confusing the first with Menkaura, the builder of the pyramid, and the second with Queen Nitokris, heroine of Herodotus' tale in Bk. II, 100, Manetho jumped at the conclusion that Menkara Nitokris was the woman of the pyramid and courtesan Rhodopis. Neterkara and Menkara II being two separate kings, the twelve years' reign which Manetho ascribes to Nitokris are doubtless the total of the two reigns. Manetho identified Νίτωκρις with Menkara, a combination of two names. Νίτωκρις being Greek and first occurring in Herodotus, Manetho doubtless took the name from Herodotus, as Nitakerti was not of the usual type of the times and probably identified it with Neterkara of the sixth dynasty.

tus himself was leaning on a very substantial tradition. He might expect Greeks from Samos who were in Naucratis or other points in Egypt to lean on the same tradition. However, he regards his version as the true one, for it came from Samos.

(2.) *Sataspes.*

In a geographical note of Bk. IV, chapters 42-3 furnish an example of forcing an anecdote into a context which hardly requires it. The circumnavigation of Libya is the pith of the discussion in 42. The experience of the Phœnicians is recalled and the point in their narrative discredited by Herodotus is the fact that when they sailed around Libya toward the North they had the sun on their right. "Thus," he concludes their exploit, "Libya was first known to be circumnavigable; and then the Carthaginians said that they were the next to circumnavigate it. When Sataspes, son of Teaspes, the Achæmenian, did not circumnavigate Libya, although sent for this purpose, because he feared the length of the voyage and the desert, he came back without accomplishing the feat his mother had enjoined on him," etc., etc.

Here follows the private history of Sataspes, who was required to circumnavigate Libya as a punishment for misdeeds. Failing in this he was obliged to return and receive the punishment first prescribed by Xerxes,—crucifixion. As a footnote Herodotus adds: *τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπείτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα ἑκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.*

The statement that the eunuch of this Sataspes fled to Samos when he learned that his master was dead follows naturally enough and is as much in order as any part of the story. This in itself hardly indicates Samian influence, but rather source. The conclusion that the wealth taken by the eunuch had been seized by a certain Samian whom Herodotus will not betray shows intimacy with the history of different men of Samos, *ἑκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι*, revealing a desire to shield him. The exile of the eunuch made Sataspes' story known to Herodotus, hence the source for the story is clear.

(3.) *Salmoxis and Pythagoras.*

Perhaps the most interesting case of latent Samian influence upon Herodotus is that of chapters 94-5-6 in Bk. IV. Darius is engaged

in the Scythian expedition and has, according to Herodotean tradition, left a great heap of rocks as a memorial of the army. Before arriving at the Danube he conquered the Getæ, "the immortals," whom Herodotus designates as the most brave and just of the Thracians. By a rather abrupt digression he traces the Thracian saga of Salmoxis, the god of the Thracians, to whom messages are sent by those chosen to go.

The one selected by lot is tossed into the air and received upon three javelins and if pierced to death by them is deemed fit to go to Salmoxis with their prayers; if he is not killed in the process he is deemed wicked and another is chosen. Salmoxis is the only Thracian god and they believe that no other god exists but theirs. Here follows an interesting addition to the story of Salmoxis (chapter 95):

ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαιτάν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ἤθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήικας, οἷα Ἕλλησί τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιεόντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά.

Salmoxis then digs an underground residence and lives out of the sight of the Thracians for three years, while they mourn him as dead. In the fourth year he appears again to the Thracians. Herodotus says "As for this living underground, I am neutral; but I think Salmoxis lived several years before Pythagoras."

τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων is a little indefinite as to source. "Those who dwell along the Euxine and the Hellespont" can hardly be sued for libel. However, if one remembers that Perinthus on the European coast of Thrace was a Samian settlement and more than likely was responsible for any story connecting Salmoxis and Samos, the statement, though indefinite, is fairly good evidence for source.

The reference to Pythagoras is stated as a part of the tradition derived from those Greeks on the Hellespont and Euxine, but some see a vein of personal criticism and almost of irony in this and what follows. A comparison of this passage with one in Bk. II, 123 leads to the theory that Herodotus is not in sympathy with the cult or

the belief of the Samian Pythagoras, or at least does not care to credit him with founding the school of belief assigned to him. Bk. II, 123 reads:

πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

"Early writers" referred to are Pythagoras, the student, and Pherecydes, of the island of Syros, his teacher, to whom Cicero attributes the first teaching of immortality. The later teachers, according to the usual interpretation, include Empedocles.

If Herodotus received the tradition of the connection of the mythical Salmoxis with a real man, a pupil of Pythagoras in Samos, he is unwilling to show plainly that it is from a Samian source. Whether the sequel comes from Samians in the island or in Perinthus may not be determined, but the historian seems to avoid even the appearance of having used a Samian source, and disagrees with the sequel besides, preferring to give Pythagoras second place chronologically and similar place as a transmigrator of souls, if the reference in Bk. II, 123, is indication of his true feeling. In Bk. IV perhaps he prefers to disguise his source, being Samian, and one which launches a tradition about which he is contemptuous.

The fact that Chœrilus, a Samian poet, on the authority of Diogenes Laertius, referred to Thales as the first to teach that the soul is immortal, indicates a tendency in Greek tradition to credit some Greek with this theory. At any rate the Samian colony on the Hellespont is a possible source for this tale.

(4.) *Miltiades at the Bridge.*

The annals of the Philaid family, tending to emphasize the patriotism or prowess of Miltiades, give clue to the Athenian source for most of chapter 137 of Bk. IV, but Samian records as well must be responsible for part of the narrative. It is the famous episode of the Ionians being urged by the Scythians to destroy the bridge of Darius before he returned from his expedition and gain their freedom from Persian tyranny. In the deliberations of the Ionians Miltiades, an Athenian, urged that they follow the suggestions of the Scythians and free Ionia; but Histiæus, the Milesian, opposed this

in the Scythian expedition and has, according to Herodotean tradition, left a great heap of rocks as a memorial of the army. Before arriving at the Danube he conquered the Getæ, "the immortals," whom Herodotus designates as the most brave and just of the Thracians. By a rather abrupt digression he traces the Thracian saga of Salmoxis, the god of the Thracians, to whom messages are sent by those chosen to go.

The one selected by lot is tossed into the air and received upon three javelins and if pierced to death by them is deemed fit to go to Salmoxis with their prayers; if he is not killed in the process he is deemed wicked and another is chosen. Salmoxis is the only Thracian god and they believe that no other god exists but theirs. Here follows an interesting addition to the story of Salmoxis (chapter 95):

ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαιτάν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ἤθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήικας, οἷα Ἕλλησί τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιεόντες ἕξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά.

Salmoxis then digs an underground residence and lives out of the sight of the Thracians for three years, while they mourn him as dead. In the fourth year he appears again to the Thracians. Herodotus says "As for this living underground, I am neutral; but I think Salmoxis lived several years before Pythagoras."

τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων is a little indefinite as to source. "Those who dwell along the Euxine and the Hellespont" can hardly be sued for libel. However, if one remembers that Perinthus on the European coast of Thrace was a Samian settlement and more than likely was responsible for any story connecting Salmoxis and Samos, the statement, though indefinite, is fairly good evidence for source.

The reference to Pythagoras is stated as a part of the tradition derived from those Greeks on the Hellespont and Euxine, but some see a vein of personal criticism and almost of irony in this and what follows. A comparison of this passage with one in Bk. II, 123 leads to the theory that Herodotus is not in sympathy with the cult or

the belief of the Samian Pythagoras, or at least does not care to credit him with founding the school of belief assigned to him. Bk. II, 123 reads:

πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἳ μὲν πρότερον οἳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

"Early writers" referred to are Pythagoras, the student, and Pherecydes, of the island of Syros, his teacher, to whom Cicero attributes the first teaching of immortality. The later teachers, according to the usual interpretation, include Empedocles.

If Herodotus received the tradition of the connection of the mythical Salmoxis with a real man, a pupil of Pythagoras in Samos, he is unwilling to show plainly that it is from a Samian source. Whether the sequel comes from Samians in the island or in Perinthus may not be determined, but the historian seems to avoid even the appearance of having used a Samian source, and disagrees with the sequel besides, preferring to give Pythagoras second place chronologically and similar place as a transmigrator of souls, if the reference in Bk. II, 123, is indication of his true feeling. In Bk. IV perhaps he prefers to disguise his source, being Samian, and one which launches a tradition about which he is contemptuous.

The fact that Chœrilus, a Samian poet, on the authority of Diogenes Laertius, referred to Thales as the first to teach that the soul is immortal, indicates a tendency in Greek tradition to credit some Greek with this theory. At any rate the Samian colony on the Hellespont is a possible source for this tale.

(4.) *Miltiades at the Bridge.*

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porary of Polycrates, of Samos, shows relations between these rulers.

Arkesilaos became restive under the decisions of Demonax, a Mantinean, who had been made mediator in accordance with the advice of the Delphic oracle. Some of the special privileges formerly enjoyed by the kings were turned over to the people and Cyrene became subject to a division into three tribes. Arkesilaos demanded the prerogatives of his ancestors, but in his revolutionary movements was worsted and fled to Samos, while his mother, Pheretime, went to Salamis, endeavoring to raise a force to help restore the old order of things at Cyrene. Arkesilaos at Samos levied forces with a view to redistribution of land, pushed a campaign against Cyrene and was successful.

Traces of the expedition of Polycrates are on coins of Cyrene. Percy Gardner, citing Mueller (Num. de l'anc. Afrique) thinks that there is no mistake in finding an allusion to this expedition in coins which bear on the one side silphium of Cyrene and the lion's head of Samos, and on the other, the eagle's head of Ialysus. The fact, too, that the Samian standard of weight, rarely in use elsewhere, was adopted by Cyrene and Barca, is brought as witness of close connection.

No conclusion may be reached as to how much of the history of Cyrene may have been transmitted by Arkesilaos to Samos, but it is probable that portions of it may have been received from entirely Samian sources. Perhaps Samian elements entered into parts of the "Libyan λόγος" which were too elusive for detection.

(7.) *Samian Source for Pæonian Episodes.*

In the history of the gradual advance of the Persian power are included the conquests of Darius' lieutenants in Europe, Megabazos and Otanes. Bk. V, 1 cites Perinthus as one of the first conquests of Megabazos.

Perinthus was a Samian colony established about 599 B. C. and rated the most prominent Hellenic city on the north coast of the Propontis, but it is given scarcely any place in Herodotus' narrative and appears to be mentioned rather because of the connection of Perinthians with Pæonians, whose relations had not always been very friendly. Looked at from Herodotus' viewpoint the greatest fact in the history of Perinthus seems to be its feud with Pæonia, which assumes some importance in the story but is dropped to make

room for a description of Thrace and its "customs." Pæonian features frequently invade the story of Book V, doubtless because of this Perinthian and Pæonian relation, and prevail perhaps on the authority of the Perinthians, who, being of Samian origin, may help to shape the trend of the work here.

A Pæonian feature which may owe its existence to the influence of the Perinthians is the story in Bk. V, 12, of the Pæonian girl who attracted the attention of Darius and thus won favor for her brothers by posing as a model of industry, carrying a jar of water on her head, leading a horse and spinning thread with one hand while walking home.

One queries whether this local story, applied to Darius, may not have been induced through Perinthian (Samian) sources which were willing to cast a shade of ridicule upon the Pæonians.

(8.) *Otanes' Conquests.*

Samian source for the history of Otanes' conquests preceding the Ionian Revolt is revealed in chapter 27 of Bk. V. Otanes had been put in command of forces along the sea when Darius went to Susa, leaving Sardis in charge of Artaphernes. The weird story of the flaying of Sisamnes, the father of Otanes, and consequent succession of Otanes to command, wherein he seized Byzantium, Antandros, Lemnos, Imbros, etc., is concluded by the paragraph:

οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν, τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὕπαρχον ἐπιστᾶσι Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν.

The use of βασιλεύσαντος raises the query whether this seems more satisfactory to Herodotus than the epithet of τύραννος for Mæandrius, and whether it denotes influence from a Samian faction.

(9.) *Pythios and the Plane-tree.*

The episode of Pythios, the Lydian, and Xerxes, related in Bk. VII, 27, receives color from a Samian source, but not revealed in Herodotus' text itself. When Xerxes and his army had advanced from the Halys river into Phrygia and Celæne, Pythios, son of Atys, entertained Xerxes and his army with expensive banquets and even showed his willingness to advance funds for the war. Xerxes asked the Persians who the man was and what wealth he possessed. In their reply Herodotus makes them say: "This is he who gave your father Darius the golden plane-tree and grape-vine."

The "plane-tree and grape-vine" appear to have been joined together, the grapevine having clusters made from smaragdus, and to have been famous among royal treasures for magnificence and quality of workmanship for several centuries, to the time of Antigonas, 316 B. C. (Diodorus, XIX, 47-48), in whose possession it was last heard of. Photius (Biblioth. 612 H.) refers to it as the work of the Samian, Theodorus, and it is supposed by some to have been among the treasures of Crœsus.

Thus the fact of the Samian Theodorus being the designer accounts for its insertion here, while the story shows that the gifts were too well known to Xerxes to need description; and that Pythios had given these things to Darius was calculated to serve as a very effective letter of introduction,—if playing the host at expensive banquets does not suffice.

(10.) *Salamis.*

How much of the story of the Ionian Revolt, battle of Salamis and Mycale may have been derived from Samian source cannot be determined, but it may not be far-fetched to suppose that a great deal more than is usually supposed came from Samos.

In the case of Bk. VIII, chapter 85, the reference to Samos is wedged in between a description of the forces before Salamis, the respective positions of Persians and Greeks, and the losses sustained by the Persians as well as their valor, compared with other exploits.

The paragraph explains itself, although its location seems forced: *ἔχω μέν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἑλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀναγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ.*

It is hardly necessary to emphasize Samian elements here, even if the author states that his motive was the fact that one trierarch was made tyrant while the other received public honor—perhaps recorded at Samos.

In general the passages classed as "Latent Samian Influences" indicate that Herodotus was extraordinarily well acquainted with various features of Samian history or "folk-lore" and that he was thoroughly saturated with the Samian point of view, his entire treatment of Samian affairs being developed from a source, as it were, native to him.

Conclusion.

Herodotus' Egyptian Book in Relation to his Treatment of Samos.

It is known that Herodotus made a short visit in Egypt, probably induced by the feeling that there—where Grecian colonial interests were increasing and the Athenians had recently supported Inarus in the campaign of 459-4—was a rich field for the antiquary and one of special interest at that time to the Greeks.

A comparison of Herodotus' method of describing Egyptian monuments and relating Egyptian history (Bk. II), "the result of a leisurely visit but not of actual residence," with his treatment of Samian monuments and history may strengthen the view that Herodotus was once a resident of Samos and was peculiarly influenced by Samian affairs.

It is interesting to note (1) that Herodotus' treatment of Egyptian monuments differs from his discussion of Samian monuments. His description and statistics of the pyramid erected by Cheops (chapters 124-5-6) are much more extended than any of his remarks about Samian monuments. Chapters 130-1-2 are devoted to details about a certain image designed as a tomb and erected by Mycerinus. Facts concerning temples form several paragraphs of chapter 138. Chapter 148 reveals a great amount of detail given to the great labyrinth, accounted one of the wonders of the world. Monuments which are unique are given considerable space in 155-6. Facts about the canal, built in the reign of Necho, fill chapter 158 entire. Any one of these attractions to the traveler has received far more attention from Herodotus than the three great wonders of Samos; for a terse paragraph upon the great Samian aqueduct is all that the historian offers, while the mole in the harbor and Samian temple to Hera are given much less space than this.

Since Herodotus claimed in Book III, 60, that the three Samian monuments were "the greatest works of Hellenic genius" the only inference from the array of details about Egyptian monuments is that they were novel and striking to his traveler's eyes, while those of Samos were such an "old story" that details concerning them seemed superfluous—a very good indication of extended residence in Samos.

(2) It must be noted also that Herodotus' treatment of his so-called history of Egypt from Menes to Amasis shows little similarity to his treatment of Samian history. The Egyptian material is treated like that in the Scythian, Lydian or any other "logos" of Herodotus. Aside from the names and length of reign of the kings very little history seems to be found, while some striking or fantastic tale connected with the kings receives considerable space. In short, legends or topics of mythical nature seem particularly attractive to Herodotus for his Egyptian book.

There is no indication of intimate knowledge of real matters of Egyptian history (such as in his treatment of the factional elements in Samian affairs), though it is true that in his narrative of the later Egyptian kings who lived a little before the time of Herodotus there is more appearance of dealing with facts, but certainly no such spontaneity of method or tone of familiarity with the under-currents of events as in the Samian material. In fact almost every chapter of Egyptian "history" betrays the expression: "I learned from hearsay"; "I heard" or "I was told by the priests of the temple," indicating rather clearly that Herodotus dare not assume to be authority for his statements. On the other hand, the general current of Samian affairs is given by one statement of fact after another without citation of source and with an air of confidence and certainty; not the method of a casual visitor to Samos.

These considerations may be merged with the statement that Samos often is an object of comparison in Herodotus' treatment of miscellaneous subjects, indicating a constant and unconscious influence of Samian things upon the historian's mind. This is a spontaneity which would be hard to find in the literary character of the book on Egypt. This book is quite systematic, about one half being devoted to the "Land and People," including notes on boundaries, the overflowing of the Nile and causes, sources of the Nile, different Egyptian customs, beasts for sacrifice, sacred festivals, an excursus on the Egyptian theory of the origin of the Greek gods and oracles, burial of the dead, animals native to the country, peculiarities of the people, etc., etc.,—(statistics which would have appealed to Alexander the Great in his conquest of the world) all arranged with a fair degree of symmetry; but all of it appears to be somewhat formal and done with set purpose, just as a modern journalist in an alien country might prepare a certain amount of material on defined topics. In the first half of the book occasionally appear

the familiar words: ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην—etc. (chapter 44); ταῦτα μέν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον,—(chapter 55).

In chapter 99 Herodotus states that his narrative up to the second half springs from his own observation, judgment and inquiry or investigation, ἱστορίη, but the second half will be "a story of Egypt according to what he has heard," i. e., what he has received for the most part from records or priests in the temples. While *Samos* was to him a natural theme for historical narrative, Egypt apparently was not, the second half of the book also appearing formal, with its list of kings, but with no themes which are spontaneously and almost unconsciously developed, as is much of the Samian material scattered through the nine books, with no attempt at a "Samian logos."

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