

stations; these passed you find yourself in Cissia, where eleven stations and  $42\frac{1}{2}$  parasangs bring you to another navigable stream, the Choaspes, on the banks of which the city of Susa is built. Thus the entire number of the stations is raised to one hundred and eleven; and so many are in fact the resting-places that one finds between Sardis and Susa.

53. If then the royal road be measured aright, and the parasang equals, as it does, thirty furlongs,<sup>7</sup> the whole distance from Sardis to the palace of Memnon (as it is called), amounting thus to 450 parasangs, would be 13,500 furlongs.<sup>8</sup> Travelling then at the rate of 150 furlongs a day,<sup>9</sup> one will take exactly ninety days to perform the journey.

54. Thus when Aristagoras the Milesian told Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian that it was a three months' journey from the sea up to the king, he said no more than the truth. The exact distance (if any one desires still greater accuracy) is somewhat more; for the journey from Ephesus to Sardis must be added to the foregoing account; and this will make the whole distance between the Greek Sea and Susa (or the city of Memnon, as it is called<sup>1</sup>) 14,040 furlongs; since Ephesus is distant from Sardis

<sup>7</sup> Supra, ii. 6. This was the ordinary estimate of the Greeks. (See Xen. Anab. ii. 2, § 6; Suidas in voc. Hesych. in voc., &c.) Strabo, however, tells us that it was not universally agreed upon, since there were some who considered the parasang to equal 40, and others 60 stades (xi. p. 754). The truth is, that the ancient parasang, like the modern farsakh, was originally a measure of time (an hour), not a measure of distance. In passing from the one meaning to the other, it came to mark a different length in different places, according to the nature of the country traversed. The modern farsakh varies also, but not so much as the parasang, if we can trust Strabo. It is estimated at from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 miles, or from 30 to 35 stades.

<sup>8</sup> As usual, there is a discrepancy in the numbers. The stations, according to the previous small sums, are 81 instead of 111, and the parasangs or farsakhs, 328 instead of 450, as will be seen by reference to the subjoined table:—

	Stations.	Farsakhs.
In Lydia and Phrygia .. .. .	20	644
In Cappadocia .. .. .	28	104
In Cilicia .. .. .	3	154
In Armenia .. .. .	15	564
In the Mætiænic country .. 4 (say) 15		
In Cissia .. .. .	11	424
Total .. .. .	81	328

The subsequent arguments of Herodotus are based upon his totals; we must conclude, therefore, that errors have crept into some of the smaller sums. The distance from Sardis to Susa by the Armenian route does not seem to be over-estimated at 13,500 stades (between 1500 and 1600 miles).

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus takes here the rate at which an army would be likely to move. Elsewhere (iv. 101) he reckons the journey of the ordinary pedestrian at 200 stades (about 23 miles). It appears, by the account which Xenophon has left of the expedition of Cyrus the younger (Anab. i.), that a somewhat longer day's march was usual. (The average is about 6 farsakhs or 180 stades.) But this rate, apparently, cannot be continued without resting the army, at intervals, for several days at a time. If the days during which the army of Cyrus rested be counted, the real rate of motion is reduced below the estimate of our author.

<sup>1</sup> The fable of Memnon is one of those in which it is difficult to discover any germs of truth. Memnon, the son of Tithonus, and Eos (Dawn), or Hæmera (Day), is, according to most accounts, an Ethiopian king. His father Tithonus, however, reigns at Susa, and he himself

540 furlongs.<sup>2</sup> This would add three days to the three months' journey.

55. When Aristagoras left Sparta he hastened to Athens, which had got quit of its tyrants in the way that I will now describe. After the death of Hipparchus (the son of Pisistratus, and brother of the tyrant Hippias),<sup>3</sup> who, in spite of the clear warning he had received concerning his fate in a dream, was slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton (men both of the race of the Gephyræans), the oppression of the Athenians continued by the space of four years;<sup>4</sup> and they gained nothing, but were worse used than before.

56. Now the dream of Hipparchus was the following:—The night before the Panathenaic festival, he thought he saw in his sleep a tall and beautiful man, who stood over him, and read him the following riddle:—

“Bear thou unbearable woes with the all-bearing heart of a lion;  
Never, be sure, shall wrong-doer escape the reward of wrong-doing.”

leads a combined army of Susianians and Ethiopians to the assistance of his father's brother, Priam, king of Troy (cf. Strabo, xv. p. 1031; Pausan. x. xxxi. 2; Diod. Sic. ii. 22; iv. 75). We seem here to have nothing but the wildest imaginations of pure romancers.

Homer makes very slight and passing allusions to Memnon (Od. iv. 188; xi. 522). Hesiod calls him king of the Ethiopians (Theogon. 984). So Pindar (Nem. iii. 62, 63, Dissen.). This seems to have been the first form of the legend, from which all mention of Susa was omitted. The earliest author who is known to have connected Memnon with Susa is Æschylus, who made his mother a Cissian woman (Strab. l. s. c.). It is clear, however, that by the time of Herodotus, the story that he built Susa, or its great palace, was generally accepted in Greece. Perhaps the adoption of this account may be regarded as indicating some knowledge of the ethnic connexion which really existed between Ethiopia and Susiana. (See vol. i. p. 366, and pp. 537, 538.)

<sup>2</sup> Rennell (Geography of Western Asia, i. p. 290) says that this is “less than the direct distance,” which he estimates at 45 geographical (or about 52 English) miles. But if we reckon the stade at its true length of 606 feet 9 inches (English), the distance given will be rather more than 82 miles (English), so that a distance of about 10 miles will be allowed for the deflections of the route.

<sup>3</sup> It has been commonly supposed that there is an opposition between Herodotus and Thucydides with respect to the relative age of the two brothers, and to the fact involved in their relative age, whether Hipparchus was king at the time of his assassination. But if the narrative of Herodotus be carefully examined, it will be found that he *confirms*, instead of opposing, the well-known view of Thucydides, that Hippias was the elder of the two. Not only is Hipparchus never called king, but here at his first introduction he is brought forward as “brother of the tyrant Hippias.”

With respect to the fact, which is disputed by Larcher, I agree with Thirlwall, that “the authority of Thucydides is more convincing than his reasons” (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 65; cf. Thucyd. vi. 55). His authority, backed as it is by Herodotus, seems to me *decisive*. Plato (if it be he), the only early writer on the other side (Hipparch.), as a historical authority, is valueless. Clitodemus, who has been quoted against Thucydides by Meursius and others, in reality takes the same view (Frag. Hist. Gr., vol. i. p. 364). As for Heraclides Ponticus and Diodorus Siculus, on such a matter they are writers of no account.

<sup>4</sup> From B.C. 514 to B.C. 510. Compare Thucyd. vi. 59; Plat. Hipparch. The fourth year was not quite complete (Clinton's F. H. ii. p. 18).