

THE ROLE OF THE PERSIAN ETHNOGRAPHY (1.131-40) IN HERODOTUS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role that the Persian ethnography plays in Herodotus' *Histories* by focusing on the relationship between the Persian characters in the historical narrative and the ethnographic passage describing the Persians (1.131-40). First, the Persian ethnography itself is examined, and then the main Persian characters are assessed. By drawing on key examples from the extensive appendix, which lists the actions of each Persian character, my paper aims to analyze the role that the ethnography plays in the depiction of the individual in Herodotus' text.

When we use the ethnography as a framework for thinking about the Persian characters, a few patterns emerge from the analysis: those who wield absolute power tend to violate Persian customs and are presented unfavorably, while those who largely uphold the Persian values and practices of the ethnographic passage are more favorably depicted by Herodotus. A brief comparison between the network of Persian character-ethnography relationships and that of the Scythians and Egyptians shows that this is a feature unique to the Persians in the *Histories*.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Megan Gier graduated *summa cum laude* from Northwestern University in 2010. For her BA, she double-majored in Classics (concentration in Latin) and Italian, and she spent the 2008-2009 academic year studying abroad at the Università di Bologna in Bologna, Italy. She enrolled in the Classical Languages and Literature track of the Classics PhD program at Cornell University in the fall of 2011. While at Cornell, she has enjoyed studying Latin and Ancient Greek literature, especially satire and epic poetry. Her favorite ancient authors are Lucan, Virgil, Ovid, Herodotus, Lucian, and Nicander.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to Mat, Midas, and my parents for all their love and constant support over the last few years.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most distinctive features of the historian Herodotus' work is what Stewart Flory describes as "an undeniably patchwork quality" that combines "factual narratives with anecdotes and anthropological excurses."¹ People have long discussed the nature of these "excurses" and their purpose in the *Histories*. Although these passages vary widely in their content -- extensive geographic descriptions, ethnographies of foreign peoples, and retellings of miraculous events -- most scholars view all of them as divergent from what they consider Herodotus' main narrative thread, the account of the Persian Wars. Hence they are often referred to as "excurses" or "digressions" and simply cast aside. Whether one ultimately views Herodotus' *Histories* as a cohesive whole, an unfinished work, or a patchwork of smaller units composed at different times in the author's life, it is impossible to avoid confronting these "excurses" and deciding how to interpret them. The fact that our modern conception of history and how it should be written likely differs significantly from that of the ancient Greek author complicates our attempts to explain the presence and function of this feature of Herodotus' text.

To understand the role of these sections of Herodotus' work, we need to look at them more closely and examine them as individual units, rather than lumping them all together under the term "excurses" or "digressions" and assuming that they all serve the same purpose. While it can be useful to group them into categories for ease of examination (geographic, ethnographic, etc.) and several scholars have come up with interesting explanations for how each type of "excursus" functions in the work as a

¹ Flory 1987, 12.

whole,² concentrating on an individual passage may allow for a more precise understanding of its role in the *Histories*.

Herodotus' Persian ethnography (1.131-40) is an ideal subject for close analysis since it is a fairly lengthy passage, it occupies an important position in the work, and it describes traits and customs presumably attributable to a large cast of characters in the *Histories*. As such, it presents a unique opportunity to examine how well the characters in the rest of the work map onto what Herodotus says about them in the ethnographic passage.³

On an initial surface reading, the Persian ethnography appears to have a fairly obvious purpose: to tell the readers what the Persians are like as a people. According to Michael Flower, the Persian ethnography serves as "a sort of litmus test for the actions of the Persians in the subsequent narrative".⁴ Initially, this seems to be a reasonable description of the passage's purpose, but as one reads the ethnography and encounters the diverse Persian characters in the narrative, it becomes apparent that Flower's litmus test metaphor is inadequate.

The first problem with Flower's metaphor is a technical one: a litmus test uses a single indicator to obtain a decisive result in a particular environment; the Persian ethnography, by contrast, presents multiple potential criteria for "measuring" the Persians, as it provides details on a plethora of Persian traits and practices. Flower never demonstrates or explains *how* we ought to use the ethnography to evaluate the Persians'

² de Jong 2004, 112; Erbse 1992, 119-180; Cobet 1971, 45-88.

³ Though the descriptions of Egyptian and Scythian customs are significantly longer than the Persian ethnography, very few Scythian and Egyptian characters can be found significantly involved in the events of the main narrative thread. Thus, there is much less scope for judging how well they match up with the characteristics of their nationalities as Herodotus presents them in his ethnographic descriptions. Nevertheless, I will offer a brief comparison between these two groups and the Persians at the end of the paper.

⁴ Flower 2006, 281.

actions, making it rather difficult to imagine the passage functioning as a litmus test. Since his short article is more general in scope and only claims to "lay out some suggestions for how to approach the Persians in Herodotus" (275), Flower simply skims over the most memorable acts of the four Persian kings. In fact, he summarizes the highlights of each despot's career in a single paragraph and hardly addresses the correspondence (or lack thereof) between these characters and the Persian ethnography.

Although the Persian kings are obviously central characters in the narrative of the Persian Wars, there is also a large cast of prominent, non-royal Persians who intersect with and diverge from the ethnography in different ways than the kings. With the exception of Mardonius, whom he briefly considers in his role as the post-Salamis stand-in for Xerxes, Flower barely mentions these other Persians, let alone their relationship to the Persian ethnography.

The final problem with Flower's interpretation of the Persian ethnography as a litmus test is the fact that Herodotus presents a dynamic world in which changes are constantly occurring; just like the events of the narrative, the natures of individuals and societies in the *Histories* are not static. The ethnography in Book 1 is a snapshot of Persian culture at a particular moment in time -- presumably Herodotus' own day -- and deciding how it can be used to judge the Persians who appear at different stages of the historical narrative is not a straightforward task.

Given that the main narrative thread follows the rise of the Persian Empire and the course of the conflict between the Persians and the Greeks, a period that encompasses the reigns of several Persian kings, it should not come as a surprise that there is a significant amount of diversity in the relationships between the various Persian characters and the

ethnography. Some of Herodotus' Persians closely adhere to the culture and customs presented in the ethnography, while others act in ways that are inconsistent with the behavior the ethnography leads us to expect; however, most of his Persians fall somewhere in between those two extremes. Such a wide spectrum of relationships between the characters and the ethnography suggests that the ethnography does not really function as a litmus test for Persian actions.

Though I clearly disagree with Flower's litmus test metaphor, I still think that his suggestion that we can and should use the Persian ethnography as a tool for thinking about the Persians is correct. Throughout the *Histories*, the reader is presented with ample opportunity to compare individual Persians to the ethnographic stereotype that Herodotus establishes in Book 1; this suggests that the ethnography should be utilized as a sort of framework into which the reader can place the various Persian characters. As such, the relationship between each Persian and the ethnography plays an important role in the overall characterization of that individual. In order to better understand how this particular passage operates within the complex structure of the *Histories*, we need to explore the Persian ethnography itself, assess the actions of the main Persian characters⁵ throughout the work, and analyze the correspondence between these two bodies of evidence, paying attention to how this influences the presentation of the characters. These results will then be briefly compared to the relationship between the leading Scythian and Egyptian characters and their respective ethnographies to determine to what extent the variety of character-ethnography relationships is specific to the Persians.

⁵ I realize that the definition of a "main Persian character" is subjective, but I have in mind here not just the four Persian kings, but also other prominent, named Persians who play a significant role in the unfolding of events. As much of the previous scholarship neglects these lesser characters in favor of the kings, I aim to be as inclusive as possible.

SECTION I

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PERSIANS

The Persian ethnography is the first extended ethnographic passage that appears in the *Histories*.⁶ As one might expect, a fair amount has already been written about its content. Several Herodotean scholars have examined both the rhetoric and the historical accuracy of Herodotus' characterization of the Persians, as well as the correspondence of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes to the stereotypical Persian of the ethnography.⁷ My aim in this first section of the paper is to point out specific textual observations about the ethnography that I have found particularly useful in contemplating its purpose in the work as a whole. In lieu of a complete walk-through of the contents of sections 1.131-40, I have provided a brief summary of each section in Table 1.

Taking into consideration the various Persian customs that Herodotus highlights in this passage, we can develop a general characterization of the Persian people. According to the ethnography, the Persians are quite religiously oriented, praying to various elements of nature like fire and water (1.131.2) and showing special reverence to rivers (1.138.2). They also possess a strong awareness of the social hierarchy that exists both within Persian society and between the various peoples under their control, considering themselves superior to all others (νομίζοντες ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων

⁶ Strictly speaking, a very brief description of a few Lydian customs at 1.93-4 comes before the Persian ethnography, but it is much less detailed and wide-ranging than the Persian passage. In his comments on a previous draft of this paper, Hayden Pelliccia pointed out that Herodotus would have known only "Persianized" Lydians; perhaps this accounts for the description's brevity.

⁷ See Munson 2001 and 2009, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2002, Gammie 1986, Dewald 2003, Waters 1971, and Skinner 2012.

Table 1: Contents of the Persian Ethnography (1.131-40)

Passage	Topic	Details
1.131	religious practices	do not build temples, altars, or statues (think those who build them are foolish); sacrifice to Zeus (who for them is the whole sky), the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds; later they also sacrifice to Heavenly Aphrodite/Mitra (whom they adopted from Assyrians and Arabians)
1.132	sacrifice procedure	do not use altars, fires, libations, reed-pipes, garlands, or barley; they take the animal to a purified place, invoke the deity while wearing a tiara wreathed in myrtle, chop up the victim's limbs and boil them, and lay the meat out on the freshest grass possible; then a Magus (who must be present for a sacrifice to occur) comes to chant a theogony and the sacrificer takes the meat away and does whatever he wants with it; not allowed to pray for just oneself, but rather must pray for the king and the entire Persian race
1.133	food and drink	birthday is most important day of the year -> big feast; not many main courses but rather lots of extras (they think Greeks finish a meal still hungry because they don't have any worthwhile extras after meal); love wine; can't vomit or urinate where others can see; drunk/sober and sober/drunken debating habits
1.134	social hierarchy	different greetings depending on social status: same rank = kiss on lips, slight difference = kiss on cheeks, big difference = lower one prostrates himself before the higher one; Persians see themselves as the best people ever and their regard for other peoples decreases as proximity to them decreases (least respect for those who live farthest from their land), adopted this system from organization of rulership under the Medes (neighbors ruled one another)
1.135	use of foreign customs	adopt more foreign customs than anyone else; wear Median clothing (think it is more beautiful than their own) and Egyptian breastplates into battle; learn and practice all kinds of luxuries/enjoyments, especially pederasty from Greeks; each man has several wives and even more concubines
1.136	childrearing practices	a man's number of sons is the second-best indicator of manliness (the first is bravery in battle), every year the king rewards the man who produces the most sons (for them quantity = strength); sons ages 5-20 are educated in only archery, horsemanship, and honesty; children live only with their female relatives until they are 5 years old (that way their father can avoid pain if his offspring don't survive early childhood)

1.137	crime and punishment	nobody (not even the king) can execute someone who has been accused of only a single crime, nobody can irreversibly harm his slave for just a single crime; but if the slave in question's crimes outweigh his services in number and gravity, then his master can "give way to anger"; no Persian has ever killed his own full parent (they think that if someone kills his parent, then he must be a substituted or bastard child)
1.138	disgraceful acts	they are forbidden to talk about everything they are forbidden to do; to them the most disgraceful thing is telling lies, followed by being in debt (because one who is in debt is obliged to tell lies); lepers are totally shunned and kicked out of town and forbidden contact with other Persians (leprosy is a punishment for offending the sun); foreigners with leprosy and white doves are driven out of the country; rivers are particular objects of reverence -> no urinating, spitting, washing hands in them, or allowing others do those things
1.139	names	all Persian names end with -s; their names reflect their physical characteristics and prestige
1.140	the dead; the Magi	customs dealing with the dead are spoken of as if secret; the body of Persian man is not buried until it has been mauled by a bird or dog, the Magi do this in public; Persians cover corpses in wax before burying them in the ground; the Magi have different customs than everyone else (especially the Egyptian priests, who avoid the contamination of killing any living thing that is not a sacrificial victim), the Magi kill everything but dogs and people with their own hands and think it a great achievement to kill ants, snakes, and other crawling/flying creatures

μακρῶ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους 1.134.2). Given the emphasis on rank within their own society, it is surprising that the laws of the Persians described in the ethnography apply to everyone equally. Herodotus specifically mentions a law whereby everyone, including the king, is forbidden to kill someone for committing a single offense, and even slaves are protected under this provision (1.137.1). The Persians are also frequent and eager adopters of practices from other cultures, including Greek customs, and they clearly enjoy themselves at the dinner table. In addition to their inclination to luxury and the value they place on quantity, the Persians focus on cultivating their military strength, as indicated by the fact that they educate their sons in both horsemanship and archery.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Persians in the ethnographic description is their dedication to the truth; the third area of focus in their sons' tripartite education is truth-telling (ἀληθίζεσθαι 1.136.2)⁸ and they consider telling lies to be the most shameful thing (αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται 1.138.1). The second-most disgraceful thing for Persians is being in debt, mostly because this forces one to tell lies. As one might suspect from the truth's strong presence in the Persian ethnography, Herodotus places considerable emphasis on which Persians tell the truth in the narrative.

The way in which Herodotus presents the content of the Persian ethnography is crucial for understanding how the passage operates in the larger context of the work. Rosaria Munson's close reading of the Persian ethnography provides a helpful analysis of the techniques and language Herodotus uses in describing Persian customs to his readers.

⁸ Frederick Ahl has brought it to my attention that Herodotus is the first to use the verb form ἀληθίζεσθαι, which he translates as "to genuinize". According to LSJ, it is simply the deponent form of ἀληθεύω (7th ed., s.v. "ἀληθίζομαι") and occurs only twice in Herodotus, twice in Alciphro, and once in Plutarch as ἀληθίζω. If the verb ἀληθεύω was already in use, why did Herodotus choose to use a different form?

She notes that the historian uses cognitive statements, which express the fact that "foreign peoples are different in ways that are desirable to them",⁹ as well as "negative statements of rejection, native criticism of Greek customs, explicit (positive) evaluations, [and] mention of customs that elicit a "Good" impression as well as [an] implicit similarity between the barbarian culture and the Greek".¹⁰

Munson points out instances of these techniques throughout the Persian ethnography, but I will provide just one brief example. In the first section of the ethnography, we are informed that the Persians do not consider it in accordance with their custom to build statues, temples, or altars (οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους 1.131.1); they even attribute foolishness to those who *do* build these things (τοῖσι ποιέουσι μωροῖν ἐπιφέρουσι 1.131.1). An implicit criticism of Greek religious practices can be read in this statement,¹¹ since the Greeks certainly fall into the category of those who make use of temples, statues, and altars. Herodotus explains the Persian aversion to these religious customs from the Persian point of view, stating that they find such customs foolish. Such cognitive statements often provide a justification for the differences that the Greek audience would have immediately perceived between the Persians and themselves.

Munson approaches the rest of the Persian ethnography in a similar vein,¹² and she ultimately arrives at the following conclusion about the passage:

"The near absence of expected indices of barbarity (torture, despotism, lack of restraint), the attribution to the Persians of a strong collective voice in defense of their

⁹ Munson 2001, 147.

¹⁰ Ibid., 148.

¹¹ H. Pelliccia pointed out that this criticism bears a striking resemblance to 1.4.2-4, where the Persians criticize the Greek reaction to the abduction of Helen as ἀνοήτων, contrasting their own nonchalance concerning such abductions with the Greeks' initiation of the Trojan War, which was fought over the abduction of a single Lacedaemonian woman.

¹² Munson 2001, 149-55.

nomoi, and the intrinsic righteousness of some of the *nomoi* contribute to create a "Good" impression of the culture as a whole. The negative side of the evaluation is then only conveyed through the symbols and signs of imperialism, acquisitiveness, and material abundance" (155).

Munson is correct that Herodotus presents Persian νόμοι in a relatively positive light in the ethnography. Consequentially, if we use the ethnography as a loose framework into which we can place the individual Persian characters that populate the rest of the *Histories*, we should find that the Persians whom Herodotus presents most favorably are those who most closely resemble the Persians of the ethnography; likewise, those individuals who fail to live up to or even contradict the ethnography's depiction of the Persians should be depicted least favorably. However, this is not exactly what happens when we examine the treatment of the numerous Persian characters outside of the ethnography.

Before turning to the individual Persians and their relationship to the ethnography, however, we should examine the two passages containing information about the Persian character and customs that precede the Persian ethnography and, as a result of this position, color our reading of it.¹³ Interestingly, these remarks present Persians who are vastly different from those described in the ethnography.

The first of these passages is the wise Lydian Sandanis' warning to Croesus not to pursue attacking the Persians (1.71.2-4). Sandanis describes a people who dress almost entirely in leather, eat not what they want, but what they have (σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι 1.71.2), and live in a rugged land. These Persians don't have

¹³ For what I believe is a complete list of ethnographic comments found *outside* the Persian ethnography proper (i.e. not within 1.131-40), see Appendix A.

wine, they drink water, and they have no figs or anything else good to eat.¹⁴ Once they have a taste of Lydian luxury, he warns Croesus, they will not be able to be driven away from it. We have here almost the exact opposite of the Persian image that will be developed in the ethnography later in Book 1; there, the Persians enjoy lavish banquets, are devoted to wine, and wear Median clothing¹⁵ because they think it is prettier than Persian attire, but Sandanis portrays a people who live a harsh life devoid of the luxuries that the Lydians enjoy. Following the quotation by Sandanis, Herodotus even confirms by way of authorial intervention that the Persians really did not have anything good before they conquered the Lydians (Πέρσησι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβροδὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν 1.71). After the Persians conquer the Lydians, they adopt their luxurious lifestyle, as Sandanis had predicted, and they effectively replace the people whom they have defeated.

Croesus' description of the Persians differs from the ethnography in slightly different respects than Sandanis' depiction of Persian poverty. According to Croesus, the Persians are violent by nature (φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταί 1.89.2), without means (ἀχρήματοι 1.89.2), and apparently prone to sedition. Croesus warns that if Cyrus allows his men to loot the recently conquered Sardis, whoever accumulates the most booty will lead a revolt against him. Croesus then suggests that Cyrus trick his soldiers into giving up the spoils by telling them that they must be devoted to Zeus; then, according to Croesus, the Persians will recognize that Cyrus is doing the right thing and will readily hand over what they have taken (ἐκεῖνοι συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες

¹⁴ Frederick Ahl helpfully pointed out that this coincides with the Roman notion of *felix paupertas* and the ideal of a tough but virtuous past.

¹⁵ Herodotus himself later describes the Median style of clothing adopted by the Persian soldiers with no mention of leather (7.61-2).

προήσουσι 1.89.3). The idea that the Persians are poor agrees with the rough lifestyle described earlier by Sandanis, and thus not with the ethnography, but the Persians' violent nature and inclination to revolt after acquiring wealth don't seem particularly at odds with the ethnography. At the end of the ethnography, Herodotus describes the Magi as extremely violent killers of all living creatures except people and dogs (1.140); however, the Magi are clearly distinguished from the Persians as a separate cultural group, so their propensity for killing does not mean that the Persians have a violent nature. The value Persians in the ethnography place on skills in the martial sphere like bravery in battle, horsemanship, and archery implies that they are frequently involved in warfare. However, this doesn't equate to the Persians having the violent and seditious nature that Croesus mentions. On the contrary, Croesus' prediction that the Persians will acknowledge Cyrus' plan to devote the spoils to Zeus as the righteous thing to do is in accordance with the religious nature of the Persians in the ethnography.

The differences between Herodotus' representation of the Persians in the ethnography and the comments of Sandanis and Croesus in the narrative make it clear that the characterization of the Persians has changed over time. Persian society has undergone a dramatic evolution from its pre-imperial days to Herodotus' time, and the Persians in the narrative are simply an earlier, pre-imperial version of the Persians described in the ethnography.¹⁶ The past tense used in Herodotus' affirmation of the Persians' poverty following Sandanis' comments (ἦν 1.71), in conjunction with the fact that he qualifies it with πρὶν Λυδοῦς καταστρέψασθαι, implies that this is no longer the case at the time at which he is writing. The opening of the ethnography, by contrast,

¹⁶ Munson 2009, 465.

suggests that Herodotus is telling us about the Persians contemporary with him (Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσίδε χρεωμένους 1.131.1) because it refers to the present.

Because Herodotus depicts contemporary Persian culture, which has developed after the majority of the events in the historical narrative, the level of adherence to the customs and values defined in the Persian ethnography naturally varies between individual characters throughout the work.¹⁷ However, there are several important trends to note. As many others have seen and described in a fair amount of detail,¹⁸ the Persian kings Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes are often a far cry from the positive image of their people presented in the ethnography. They frequently murder friend and foe, as well as use lying and trickery to achieve their goals, often behaving according to the description of an unrestrained absolute monarch given by Otanes in his pro-ἰσονομίη speech during the constitution debate.¹⁹ According to Otanes, an absolute monarch tends to subvert his country's ancestral customs, rape women, and kill people without a trial (νόμαιά τε κινέει πάτρια καὶ βιάται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους 80.3.5). The kings almost never follow the Persian law Herodotus describes in the ethnography that forbids even the king from killing someone who has committed only a single offense (τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίας εἶνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν 1.137.1).²⁰ Of the other important Persians who appear in the *Histories*, several seem to be almost completely

¹⁷ See Appendices B through I for comprehensive lists of passages involving the main Persian characters that I feel allow us to develop a sense of their personality and evaluate them through the lens of the ethnography. Although the actions of Otanes, Megabyzus, Intaphrenes, Amestris, and Masistes are contained in Appendix I, they are there simply for the sake of providing a comprehensive survey of passages. None of them will be discussed individually in relation to the ethnography, since their actions on the whole do not involve the contents of the ethnography.

¹⁸ see Flower 2006, Munson 2001 and 2009, Dewald 2003, and Gammie 1986.

¹⁹ Dewald 2003, 29.

²⁰ Munson 2001, 153 n. 51, notes that there is a single instance in which this law is not broken by the king: at 7.194 Darius has crucified Sandoces but decides to let him go without killing him after he reconsiders the circumstances.

defined by their relationship to the ethnography, while others have a more complicated relationship to the Persian stereotype presented by Herodotus. Let us first turn to the Persian kings.

SECTION II

CYRUS

As the first Persian king, Cyrus has a particularly interesting relationship to the Persian ethnography, and a closer examination of this dynamic may shed some light on the purpose of the ethnography. Cyrus first appears in the story of Croesus as his enemy and the conqueror of Sardis, so the reader initially views him through the eyes of the Lydian king. Herodotus gives several reasons why Croesus chose to attack Cyrus, but he says that Croesus especially wished to punish Cyrus on behalf of Astyages, his brother-in-law, whom Cyrus overthrew and was holding prisoner (Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσω ὧδε 1.73.2). Immediately after he explains how Croesus and Astyages became in-laws, Herodotus uses the same words to restate and further emphasize Cyrus' treatment of Astyages (καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε 1.75.1); however, this time he also adds the information that Astyages was Cyrus' own maternal grandfather (ἐόντα ἐωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα 1.75.1). This does not make Cyrus a particularly sympathetic character, especially since Herodotus decides to defer the explanation for the Persian king's behavior until after he recounts how Cyrus took Sardis.

However, Cyrus does eventually become a more likeable character in the course of that narrative. When Croesus is atop the already-lit pyre on which Cyrus plans to burn him alive, narrating his encounter with Solon, Cyrus has a change of heart. He recognizes that Croesus is a fellow human being and was in similar circumstances to his own before his fortune changed, so he decides to spare him (1.86). Thanks to some well-timed rain, Croesus is saved from death and becomes a wise advisor to Cyrus, who treats him with

great respect and often benefits from his wise counsel. Though he may behave violently towards Croesus initially, the fact that Cyrus realizes the error he has made and does what he can to set things right humanizes him in the eyes of the reader and overshadows his previous behavior. At this point, Cyrus has not come into conflict with any of the traits highlighted in the ethnography; this is not surprising, since the reader has not yet encountered that passage.

In the account of Cyrus' background that follows the capture of Sardis, the reader is presented with more details about his upbringing and how he became the king of Persia. Herodotus prefaces the episode with the statement that he knows three other versions of the story, but the one he is about to tell is based on the words of the Persians who wish to tell the story of Cyrus as it is rather than exaggerating the events (οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔοντα λέγειν λόγον 1.95.1). This remark casts doubt on the supposed Persian devotion to truth-telling, since it means that the sources of the other versions are Persians who do *not* wish to tell the truth about Cyrus and in lying violate their own national values. By generating the expectation that he is delivering the most accurate and objective portrayal of Cyrus' rise to power, Herodotus creates a problem for his reader, who is left to wonder whether the other stories surrounding Cyrus contain the same level of truthfulness. The historian simply describes himself as ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοῦς φῆναι (1.95.1), not revealing exactly which λόγοι he means. In the subsequent anecdotes about Cyrus, then, does Herodotus want his audience to believe that he is still relaying information received from the Persians telling the true story, or is he implying that some of the other events he describes may have come from exaggerated versions aiming to

aggrandize the king? Unfortunately, it is very difficult to tell, since Herodotus does not always state the source of his information.

Herodotus depicts Cyrus as a proud child whom the other village boys appoint as their king in the course of a game; Cyrus has experience being king within the sub-society of peasant children before he ever reaches the Persian throne. When the son of a nobleman refuses to follow the orders "King" Cyrus gives him, he ends up with a severe beating from Cyrus (1.114). When questioned by Astyages, whom Cyrus does yet not know is his grandfather, about the incident, Cyrus is completely honest; he explains the situation, says that he acted *σὺν δίκῃ* (1.115.2), and even offers himself up for punishment if it is in fact merited. When he becomes a man, he is the manliest and most-liked man of his generation (*Κύρω δὲ ἀνδρευμένω καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρησιότατῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ* 1.123.1), and he clearly has no problem leading the Persians in the revolt against the Medes. The scheme that he comes up with to convince the Persians to join him in rebellion, which appeals to their latent desire for luxury with a lavish banquet,²¹ foreshadows the cunning and inclination toward trickery that he displays following the ethnography. The language in this instance is not negative and does not imply deception, however, so it does not diverge from the expectations created by the ethnography; Herodotus simply says that Cyrus *ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι* (1.125.1).

As he closes the account of Cyrus' upbringing and rise to power in order to return to the narrative involving Croesus, Herodotus attributes less agency to Cyrus in the events surrounding the overthrow of Astyages than he did when he initially mentioned

²¹ This is mentioned by Sandanis back at 1.71.3 in his warning to Croesus about the Persians.

the upheaval back at 1.73 and 1.75. Instead of using the twice-repeated καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε to describe Cyrus' overthrow of his grandfather, Herodotus shifts the focus to Astyages. When Harpagus speaks to the imprisoned Astyages, the former Median king informs him that the innocent Medes have been reduced from masters to slaves and that the Persians have experienced the opposite status change (νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότες 1.129.4). By speaking in terms of the two groups' roles, Astyages draws the reader's attention away from both his own downfall and Cyrus' individual victory. At this point, Herodotus cites Astyages' cruelty as the reason for the Medes' subjugation by the Persians (Μήδοι δὲ ὑπέκυσαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα 1.130.1), and he also explicitly names Croesus as the aggressor in the conflict between Lydia and Persia (Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης 1.130.3); both statements shift the focus further away from Cyrus and toward his opponents, who take the blame for the Median and Lydian losses to Persia. This casts Cyrus and, by extension, the Persians, in a more favorable light precisely when Herodotus is poised to launch into the Persian ethnography, which creates what Munson calls "a 'Good' impression of the culture as a whole".²²

Following the Persian ethnography, Cyrus changes drastically, as does the language that Herodotus uses to describe him. Almost as soon as Herodotus provides his detailed, largely positive account of Persian culture, Cyrus starts to move away from that ideal. The very first action of Cyrus after the ethnography marks him as a tyrant: the Ionians come to him seeking to renew the terms they enjoyed under Croesus, and Cyrus

²² Munson 2001, 155.

refuses their request by telling them a fable about dancing fish (1.141.1-3).²³ Shortly after this, when he first learns of the Lacedaemonians, he scoffs and says, "οὐκ ἔδαισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἕξαπατῶσι" (1.153.1). Herodotus explains that Cyrus is referring to the Greek use of the marketplace, a concept that is completely foreign to the Persians (αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασιν χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορῆ 1.153.2); Cyrus seems to uphold the Persian aversion to lying here, which indicates that his departure from the ethnography's standards is gradual rather than immediate. It is important to note that here Herodotus introduces additional information about Persian culture that is not mentioned in the ethnography; he does this many times throughout the work, and the correspondence between the action of the character in question and the stated custom often has significant implications for the overall relationship between that character and the ethnography.

After Herodotus has described the many wonders of Babylon and returned to the narrative of Cyrus' campaign against the Assyrians, Cyrus begins to seriously violate several of the ethnography's most notable Persian customs. When his army is planning the crossing of the River Gyndes on the way to Babylon, one of Cyrus' sacred white horses gets swept away in the river and drowns (1.189). Enraged, Cyrus threatens to reduce the river to such a size that even women can cross it without getting their knees wet (ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μὲν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικῆς μὲν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσασθαι 1.189.2). He then proceeds to halt the

²³ In his comments on an earlier draft, H. Pelliccia pointed out that tyrants often tell such parables. Steven Hirsch's short article "Cyrus' Parable of the Fish: Sea Power in the Early Relations of Greece and Persia" suggests that this parable demonstrates the Persian awareness of the difficulties they faced in trying to subdue and control the sea-based Greeks (226).

entire expedition to Babylon so that his army can spend an entire summer turning the Gyndes River into 360 channels as punishment for the death of the horse. The supposed Persian reverence for rivers described in the ethnography at 1.138 is conspicuously violated here; the first Persian king's disrespect for the Gyndes sets a precedent that Xerxes will follow when he blasphemously abuses the Hellespont, though the latter's offense is certainly on a much grander scale.

Even the Persians' extreme hatred of lying, so heavily emphasized in the ethnography and seemingly in line with Cyrus' own previous comments about the Greek marketplace, does not stop Cyrus from using deceit multiple times in his efforts to conquer the Massagetae, a people whom Herodotus believes Cyrus has attacked because his seemingly miraculous birth and unbroken string of successes in war (πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαίροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἢ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἢ εὐτυχίῃ ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γινομένη 1.204.2) incited him to attempt further conquests. First, he pretends to court Tomyris, the queen of the Massagetae, but she knows full well that what he really wants is her kingdom. Only when Cyrus realizes that his trick was unsuccessful (ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρηε 1.205.2) does he begin attacking the Massagetae openly. When Tomyris sends a message challenging him, Cyrus again resorts to treachery, though this time Croesus engineers the plan. The resulting banquet that the Persians prepare for the Massagetae as a trap works perfectly; after they have eaten and drunk their fill, the Massagetae fall asleep and the Persians attack them, killing many and capturing even more (1.211). For the second time in the *Histories*, Cyrus uses a luxurious banquet to manipulate others into doing what he wants; this time, however, it serves to lure his

enemies to their death rather than to convince his own people to join him in a rebellion against their oppressors.

When Tomyris berates Cyrus for capturing her son by means of deception rather than by besting him in battle in an angry letter (τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν 1.212.2), it is clear how far Cyrus has deviated from the ideals of the ethnography. Shortly after this, Cyrus is killed in battle and Tomyris searches for his corpse. When she finds it, she shoves his head into a blood-filled wineskin while once again bemoaning his deceit. For the third time in the account of Cyrus' failed war against the Massagetae, Tomyris uses the word δόλος to describe Cyrus' actions (παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ 1.214.5). Can it be accidental that the barbarian queen Tomyris thrice criticizes the Persian king's lack of honesty -- precisely the moral requirement that the ethnography parades as the central Persian ideal?

Until the very end of the work, that is the last glimpse we get of Cyrus, who goes from being a well-respected champion of the Persian people to a river-punishing, deceitful king who violates some of the most distinctive customs of his ἔθνος. It is no coincidence that Cyrus' transformation illustrates one of the criticisms of one-man rule that Otanes makes during the constitution debate in Book 3, namely that a τύραννος violates ancestral customs (νόμαιά τε κινέει πάτρια 3.80.5). The fact that Cyrus changes so radically only *after* the ethnography suggests that we should consider his change in light of the image that Herodotus creates of Persian culture within the ethnography. Once Cyrus becomes an absolute ruler, he ceases to adhere to the norms of his own society; the fact that Herodotus has sandwiched the ethnography in between the

announcement that Cyrus has become the ruler of all Asia and the depiction of his actions once he has absolute power unambiguously reflects how corrupted Cyrus has become.

The placement of Herodotus' description of Babylon, which comes right before Cyrus' extreme departure from the Persian ideals of the ethnographic passage, further emphasizes the negative transformation of the first Persian king. Within his account of Babylon's wonders, Herodotus mentions a temple precinct containing an enormous solid gold statue (1.183). He comments that Darius, one of the later Persian kings, had designs on that statue, but didn't dare to take it (τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν 1.183.3). However, his son Xerxes stole it and even killed the priest who was telling him not to remove the statue (Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα 1.183.3), far surpassing his father's wicked aspirations.

Shortly after that, Herodotus relates another Babylonian incident involving Darius. The clever queen Nitocris had her tomb built over the gates of the city's greatest thoroughfare, which she then inscribed with a message inviting future kings of Babylon who were short on cash to take money from her tomb. The inscription also warned that things wouldn't go well for anyone who opened the tomb for any other reason (1.187.2). Darius, annoyed both by the fact that the tomb's location prevented him from using the gates and that, even though the money was just lying there with its inviting inscription, he couldn't take it, decided to open the tomb. Herodotus relates that when Darius opened the tomb, he found only this note: "Εἰ μὴ ἄπληστός τε ἕας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἄνοιγες" (1.187.5). Even if Darius partially avoided censure by not daring to take the golden statue back at 1.183, Herodotus still singles him out for his

greed here. It is also interesting to note that these are the first mentions of Darius and Xerxes in the *Histories*, so neither of them makes a very respectable first impression.

Immediately following this anecdote is the description of Cyrus' march on Babylon, which is, as I have already noted, the point in the narrative at which he appears to entirely discard the Persian values of the ethnography. It is almost as if the mention of the avarice and outrageous misconduct of future Persian kings in Babylon has derailed Cyrus from conducting himself within the cultural norms valued by the Persians. After we get a fleeting glance of two later Persian rulers, Cyrus suddenly begins to fall far short of his previous commendable actions. As we have seen, he continues on this path until his death, but the reappearance of Cyrus in the final episode of Book 9 leaves the reader to ponder a puzzling paradox concerning the founding Persian king's relationship with the ethnography.

Section 9.122 is a flashback to the days of Cyrus, when some leading Persians propose that they relocate to some of the more fertile lands of the peoples that they had conquered. Cyrus rejects this advice, explaining that because soft lands tend to breed soft men, they must make a choice between living somewhere nice under the rule of others and being masters but occupying a harsh land (ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους: φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι: οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια 9.122.3).

Herodotus informs us that the Persians responded to Cyrus' remark by choosing to remain in their rugged land (ἄρχειν τε εἶλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπεῖροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν 9.122.4). However, the reader has just finished a lengthy account of Persian imperial expansionism that ultimately stems from Cyrus' actions

during his kingship; it seems almost impossible to reconcile the Cyrus of this anecdote with that depicted in the rest of the *Histories*.

Cyrus' words and ultimate decision to remain in his native land not only appear to contradict the events of his rule as Herodotus has presented them up to this point, but also clash both with the extravagant Persian lifestyle described in the ethnography and with Cyrus' own promise of such luxury as a means of persuading the Persians to help him overthrow Astyages. Motivation to attain luxury is the force that drives the Persians' decision to back Cyrus in his rise to power and thus acts as the source of their own status as a ruling people; however, at the end of the work, Herodotus presents a Cyrus who denounces luxury as a threat to the continuation of the very Persian rule that desire for luxury created in the first place.

One possible solution to this apparent paradox is to interpret this last episode as having taken place before the Persians ever encountered the Lydians. Though it still leaves unanswered the question of what triggered Cyrus' transformation from stay-at-home monarch in 9.122 to aggressive imperialist in Book 1, reading the episode in this temporal framework does allow for two different Cyruses. Perhaps Sandanis' prediction that the Persians, inexperienced in the Lydian art of high living, would cling tightly to luxury once they encountered it extends even to Cyrus himself; once he takes Sardis, the founder of the Persian empire adopts the indulgent lifestyle that he formerly criticized.

Whatever the explanation for this peculiar aspect of the *Histories*, the fact remains that Cyrus increasingly departs from and even violates the customs described in the ethnography as time goes on.

SECTION III

CAMBYSES

Cambyses, the son of and successor to Cyrus, also strays quite far from what we might expect from a Persian based on the ethnographic section. Since Herodotus has already briefly mentioned Darius and Xerxes in the context of Babylon, Cambyses is the last of the Persian kings to be introduced. Like his father Cyrus, Cambyses initially seems to adhere to the Persian ethnography but then increasingly diverges from it.

The first mention of him occurs in the opening of Book 2, where Herodotus informs the reader that Cambyses considered the Ionians and Aeolians slaves that he inherited from his father Cyrus (2.1.2). This is what we might expect, given that the ethnography describes a Persian sense of superiority over others that increases along with the foreigners' geographic distance from Persia (1.134.2). After describing Cambyses' cruelty toward Psammenitus, the conquered Egyptian king, and Cambyses' ultimate decision to spare him further harm, Herodotus remarks that Psammenitus would probably even have been given back his land and ruled as regent of Egypt under Cambyses if he had refrained from resuming revolutionary activities (εἰ δὲ καὶ ἠπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονέειν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας: τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν 3.15.2). The fact that Herodotus describes the return of rule to the sons of rebellious kings as a Persian custom here, even though it

is not a part of the Persian ethnography passage, emphasizes that Cambyses has not yet departed from Persian ways.

In fact, Cambyses does not actually do anything that clearly goes against the Persian customs outlined in the ethnography until he commits serious sacrilege at 3.16. Yet Herodotus even introduces this account of Cambyses' blasphemous deeds with a surprisingly neutral statement: Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπάκετο ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε (3.16.1). No indication of the nature of the things that Cambyses wanted to do in Sais is given, which prolongs Cambyses' adherence to the ethnography up until the moment when Herodotus must actually describe the Persian king's deeds. Once he reveals that Cambyses ordered the corpse of King Amasis to be removed from its burial, abused, and burned, Herodotus notes that this was considered sacrilegious both by the Persians and the Egyptians (οὕτω οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιέειν ὁ Καμβύσης 3.16.4); the Persians consider fire a god and believe that it is not right to give a corpse to a god, while the Egyptians consider fire a living beast and embalm corpses specifically to avoid their consumption by beasts. Cambyses' explicit violation of Persian religious beliefs is his first major departure from the Persians described in the ethnography.

Cambyses deviates from the ethnography not only in regard to the religious customs of the Persians, but also with respect to their legal procedures. When he returns to Memphis from his botched expedition to Ethiopia, Cambyses is enraged to find the Egyptians celebrating; he misinterprets their religious celebrations as an expression of joy over his failed campaign. Summoned by Cambyses, the governors of Memphis attempt to explain that the Egyptians' festival celebrations are related to the appearance of the god

Apis, but the king does not believe them; he then punishes them with death for lying (ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἐζημίῳ 3.27.3). He exhibits the Persian hatred of lying, though it is admittedly unclear whether he is angered simply by the governors' supposed act of lying or rather by his belief that they are lying about something as important as the population of Memphis mocking him. What stands out more than the issue of Persian dedication to the truth is the fact that Cambyses disregards the Persian law described by Herodotus in the ethnography. Though not even the king may legally execute someone for a single offense, Cambyses has the governors executed not for perpetrating a serious crime, but rather for breaking a social taboo.

The explanation given by Herodotus for how Cambyses was able to marry his own sister also shows how Cambyses deviates from the ethnography in several ways. Herodotus notes that there was no custom of Persians marrying their sisters before the issue arose in Cambyses' time (οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῆσι ἀδελφεῖσι συνοικέειν Πέρσαι 3.31.2), so Cambyses is essentially creating his own custom here. Because he is doing something unprecedented, Cambyses asks the royal judges, who are the ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν (3.31.3), whether there is a precedent for such a marriage (ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν, εἴρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλῆιους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῖ συνοικέειν 1.31.2). They reply that they cannot find a νόμος that orders or encourages a brother to live in wedlock with his sister, but that they have found one that the Persian king is allowed to do whatever he wants (νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελύει ἀδελφεῖ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιέειν τὸ ἂν βούληται 3.31.4). Herodotus praises the prudence of the royal judges

here, commenting that οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεια, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξέυρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς (3.31.5). The fact that the royal judges grant the king explicit license to do whatever he wants goes against the impression created by the ethnography that the laws apply to all the Persians equally and also sets a dangerous precedent. As a result, Cambyses wields frighteningly absolute power, committing several atrocities against his own family and the Persian people (3.30-37).

Though he kills his own brother and sister-wife, shoots Prexaspes' son in the heart with an arrow, and sacrilegiously abuses and mocks cult statues and corpses, even Cambyses is not entirely a "cartoon despot".²⁴ The fact that Herodotus frequently asserts Cambyses' insanity, attributing it to various potential causes, suggests that Cambyses is not so egregiously terrible just because he is a Persian autocrat; some underlying cause is at least partially to blame for his behavior. Herodotus first describes Cambyses as ὑπομαργότερος when he relates how he fatally stabbed the Apis bull (3.29.1), and then he provides the Egyptians' opinion about the effect of Cambyses' terrible deed: Καμβύσης δέ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀντίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης (3.30.1). Numerous other references to Cambyses' insanity are sprinkled throughout the accounts of his outrageous offenses, culminating in Herodotus' final assertion: πανταχῆ ὧν μοι δῆλα ἐστὶ ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἰροῖσὶ τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελάειν (3.38.1). This reinforces the connection between the king's crazy behavior and his violation of Persian customs, though it is interesting to note that he does sometimes fulfill the expectations

²⁴ Dewald 2003, 43.

generated by the ethnography even in moments of sheer insanity. For example, Cambyses shoots the son of Prexaspes because he wants to prove that he is not insane and that the Persians said false things about him (οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθέες 3.34.3); his desire to expose the Persians' statements about him as dishonest is definitely in line with the Persian hatred of lying described in the ethnography, even if he is clearly out of his mind at this point.

In spite of all his horrendous acts, Cambyses manages to become a somewhat sympathetic character on his deathbed. In one of his few lucid moments, he realizes that his mistaken interpretations of oracles and dreams have led to his downfall. He confesses everything to a group of eminent Persians and urges them to take revenge on the usurping Magi brothers to preserve the freedom of the Persians. In his speech, he specifically advocates treachery as a means by which the Persians might take power back from the Medes (ἀλλ' εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτήν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῶ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἀνασώσασθαι 3.65.6); considering the concern with the truth that he has displayed up to this point, it is somewhat surprising to see him going against this particular Persian custom at the end of his life. The fact that Cambyses violates this custom at the same moment in which he has become a slightly more sympathetic character reminds the reader that he is still nowhere close to the Persian ideal created in the ethnography. This is underscored by the fact that the eminent Persians present for the king's deathbed speech do not believe him about the Magi being in control and the death of the real Smerdis, but rather think that he is making false accusations in order to embroil Persia in conflict (Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεούσι ἀπιστίη πολλή ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ

διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέροδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν 3.66.3). The Persians' distrust of their own king is indicative of their assumption that he will violate their customs, and this assumption has been accurate throughout most of Cambyses' life.

SECTION IV

DARIUS

Unlike Cyrus and Cambyses, Darius is immediately at odds with the Persian ethnography when he first appears in the main narrative thread. Darius joins Otanes and the other Persians trying to overthrow pseudo-Smerdis, and he quickly assumes leadership of the group; he urges immediate action and threatens to inform the Magi about the plot if the other conspirators hesitate to act immediately (3.71). When Otanes asks how the group of conspirators is going to get past the guards at the palace in Susa, Darius answers him by saying that he can provide a plausible excuse for getting in. In his reply to Otanes, Darius openly advocates lying (ἐνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω 3.72.4) and essentially claims that there is no real difference between lying and telling the truth, since they both have the same goal (τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἳ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείῃ διαχρεώμενοι 3.72.4). According to Darius, both liars and truth-tellers are simply using different means to achieve their shared objective of gaining an advantage and advancing themselves. If the opportunity of profiting were removed, Darius predicts, the truth-teller and the liar would be equally likely to be false and truthful, respectively (εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὅ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδῆς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθῆς 3.72.5). This completely contradicts the supposed Persian hatred of lying; the fact that Darius does not just condone, but actually encourages lying puts him that much more at odds with the ethnography.²⁵

²⁵ H. Pelliccia noted in comments on an earlier draft that Darius, as well as the Egyptian upstart king Amasis, displays characteristics of the Odysseus-type trickster.

Although he deviates from the ethnography from his first appearance in the historical narrative, Darius does not always violate Persian customs. The two significant appearances he makes before he becomes a central character in the narrative, namely Darius' designs on the solid gold statue in Babylon's central temple precinct (1.183) and his opening of the tomb of Nitocris (1.187) have already been discussed; however, it should be noted that these two brief episodes demonstrate Darius' adherence to the acquisitive nature of the Persians that Munson sees in the ethnography.²⁶

Following the deposing of pseudo-Smerdis, Darius even champions Persian νόμοι in the constitution debate; he closes his argument in favor of monarchy with the reminder that the Persians should maintain one-man rule and not dissolve ancestral customs (ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρὶς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ: οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον 3.82.5). It is strange to see such strong support of traditional Persian values from one who has just openly encouraged the other conspirators to tell lies, an oddity pointed out also by Hartmut Erbse.²⁷

After his speech in the constitution debate, Darius immediately turns back to trickery as a means of winning the Persian kingship; as soon as the rules have been established for the contest that will decide the next king of Persia, Darius goes to his clever groom Oebares and gives this command: νῦν ὦν εἴ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις (3.85.1). After Oebares assures his master that he has φάρμακα that will do the job, Darius orders him to put the plan into action with the following words: εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὦρη

²⁶ Munson 2001, 155.

²⁷ Erbse 1992, 57-8.

μηχανάσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι (3.85.2). The words of Oebares here (τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα 3.85.2) are rather odd, especially considering the fact that he does not use any sort of magic in his plan; LSJ translates this phrase as "such charms have I" in the entry for φάρμακον.²⁸ Even if it is meant in a figurative sense, the word φάρμακα certainly seems to have a negative connotation here. Darius's use of σόφισμα in his reply to Oebares seems to have a negative tone as well,²⁹ Herodotus' use of these two words adds emphasis to the fact that Darius is using trickery in this situation.³⁰

Once he has used trickery to gain the kingship, Darius continues to employ deception in his actions as king, violating the values of the Persian ethnography every time he does so. Shortly after he comes to power, Darius decides to punish Oroetes, the wicked governor of Sardis who had been appointed by Cyrus, for the numerous murders he has committed. When Darius summons an assembly of prominent Persians to deal with the issue, he asks, "ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἄν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίη καὶ μὴ βίη τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ; ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν" (3.127.2). The fact that the king even states and rejects other alternatives to craftiness draws attention to the fact that this is Darius' tactic of choice, however un-Persian it may be. Thirty Persians respond to his request, promising to carry out his orders, so he actually makes them draw lots to determine who gets to deceive and capture or kill Oroetes. This

²⁸ LSJ, 7th ed., s.v. "φάρμακον" A.3.

²⁹ LSJ, 7th ed., gives this example from Herodotus in the entry for "σόφισμα" under the section with the slightly more neutral meaning of "clever device, ingenious contrivance" (II), but I think that it should actually go under the next section as "sly trick, artifice" (II.2) because it seems to have a negative connotation in this context.

³⁰ In comments on a previous draft, H. Pelliccia posed the question of whether Persian ideology made a clear distinction between lying more generally and using trickery to bring down an enemy. Though I am inclined to agree with his suggestion that we can't determine this on available evidence, I do think it is noteworthy that characters like Zopyrus and Gobryas, whom I will discuss in detail later on, are rewarded and praised by other Persians for actions that involved outright deception of enemies. Herodotus also does not present them in the same manner, which may be significant as well.

strongly suggests that Darius is not the only important Persian of his day who has no qualms about resorting to cunning.

Deception drives Darius' actions in several other scenarios, the most notable of which is the siege of Babylon. Herodotus says that Darius tries every trick in the book but fails to get into the city (καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκει ἐς αὐτοῦς Δαρεῖος 3.152), and it is not until Zopyrus, the son of the conspirator Megabyzus, comes up with and carries out an elaborate masterwork of deceit that the Persians are able to penetrate the Babylonian defenses and capture the city. Although Zopyrus is directly responsible for the successful scheme, Herodotus makes it clear that Darius exhausted his arsenal of tricks before Zopyrus happened to have an idea that worked. Darius uses the scheme of another subordinate, the conspirator Gobryas, in order to escape from the Scythians (4.134-5). He also sends a letter to Histiaeus to lure him back to Persia so that he can keep an eye on him. While Herodotus does not use the explicit language of trickery in this passage as he does in the others, his description of Histiaeus as τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεισι πιστεύσας (5.24.2) carries the implication that the contents of the letter are not true. Darius' previously shown penchant for falsity, combined with the fact that he acts on the advice of the Persian Megabazus, who warns the king that he should keep a tighter grip on the Greek man, contributes to the sense that the letter is something of a ruse.

Even in spite of his frequent deceptions, Darius acts in accordance with the Persian ethnography in other respects. On his march through Thrace toward Scythia, Darius stops by the river Tearus and erects a pillar inscribed with praise for the river (ἦσθεις τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα

τάδε. 'Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν' 4.91.1-2). The rest of the inscription may contain self-praise, but his compliment to the Tearus corresponds to Herodotus' assertion in the ethnography that the Persians specifically revere rivers. During the part of the narrative that covers the rule of Xerxes, Herodotus mentions a group of ships under the command of a Persian named Sandoces, at which point he launches into an anecdote involving Sandoces and Darius. Herodotus says that Darius had once ordered Sandoces to be crucified because he accepted a bribe as a royal judge; while Sandoces was actually hanging on the cross, Darius reconsidered and decided to let him go (λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὐρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλῆιον: εὐρῶν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἶη, ἔλυσε 7.194.2). Darius' thought process here echoes one that Herodotus describes in the ethnography; the historian mentions a law that requires a man to weigh the good and the bad actions of a slave before punishing him (λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χράται 1.137.1). While the language used is slightly different, Darius seems to follow this Persian custom in dealing with Sandoces.

Several other characters receive fair treatment from Darius, and the king typically keeps his word when he promises to reward someone for his assistance, which stands in marked contrast to his tendency to lie in other types of situations. Both Histiaeus of Miletus, who advises the other Ionian tyrants not to grant the Scythians' request that they destroy the bridge, and Coës of Mytilene, who advises Darius not to destroy the pontoon bridge leading into Scythia, are promptly rewarded upon Darius' return to Sardis after the

failed campaign. Herodotus tells us that Darius gave them both their choice of reward (ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἴρεσιν 5.11.1), just as he had promised. Herodotus is of the opinion that Darius probably would have forgiven Histiaeus, in spite of his treachery, if Artaphrenes and Harpagus had not captured and beheaded him first (εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς ἐξωγρήθη, ἄχθη ἀγόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὔτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην 6.30.1); Darius was so angry upon receiving the embalmed head of Histiaeus that he ordered the two Persians to wash and bury the head, as Histiaeus had been a great benefactor of the king and Persia (τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ὡς ἄνδρὸς μεγάλως ἔωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι εὐεργέτῳ 6.30.2). Herodotus explains that Artaphrenes and Harpagus beheaded Histiaeus because they feared that Darius would pardon him, focusing the reader's attention on what would have been a surprising act of clemency on the part of the Persian king. Zopyrus, the man whose trick helped Darius capture Babylon, and Syloson the Samian, who once gave Darius a cloak before he was anybody of importance, are both rewarded for their service to the king. Darius also follows the custom of honoring the sons of rebellious rulers, a Persian practice that Herodotus introduced in his account of how Cambyses treated Psammenitus (3.15), when Miltiades' son Metiochus is captured and brought to him. Instead of harming him, Darius gives Metiochus a house, possessions, and even a Persian wife (6.41).

Overall, Darius mainly deviates from the ethnography with respect to his frequent use of trickery and lies; aside from this repeated violation of Persian custom, Darius exhibits many behaviors that the Persian ethnography leads the reader to expect. His

complicated relationship with the ethnography helps to humanize him and allows Herodotus to give him what seems like a balanced treatment.

SECTION V

XERXES

The son of Darius, Xerxes, has a different relationship with the ethnography than any of the other Persian kings. Cyrus and Cambyses begin by adhering to the customs of the ethnography, only to diverge from it in their later actions, and Darius immediately departs from Persian customs as soon as he speaks for the first time; Xerxes, by contrast, constantly vacillates between acting in accordance with the ethnography and deviating from it. Like his father, he is first mentioned in relation to the golden statue in Babylon. He too demonstrates the Persian interest in acquiring material wealth, but the fact that he kills the temple priest telling him not to remove the statue signals that he does not have any reservations about committing sacrilege, which does not match the ethnography. The scene in which he treats the Hellespont with unrivaled disdain, cursing it, having it flogged, and sinking a pair of shackles into it after a storm destroys the bridge he is building across it (7.35), recalls Cyrus' punishment of the river Gyndes. Though the Hellespont is not actually a river, Xerxes calls it one when he insults it (σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἄλμυρῷ ποταμῷ 7.35.2), which makes his treatment of the Hellespont a departure from the ethnography's assertion that Persians hold rivers sacred. Xerxes later dispatches a division of his army to Delphi with orders to plunder the sanctuary and bring all the treasure to him (8.35), again displaying his disregard for the gods and all that is sacred; this episode also recalls his theft of the temple's golden statue in Babylon (1.183). When Themistocles tries to persuade the Greeks to pursue the fleeing Xerxes, he describes the Persian king as ὃς τά

τε ἰρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα: ὅς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμασίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε (8.109.3). His remarks, even if they are a bit exaggerated for rhetorical effect, portray Xerxes as one who has strayed quite far from characteristic Persian behavior according to the ethnography.

At other points, however, Xerxes performs religious rituals and shows the type of deference that one would expect from a Persian after reading the ethnography. When he and his troops reach the Scamander, he makes a huge sacrifice to Athena of Ilium and orders the Magi to pour libations to the dead heroes (7.43). When his army arrives at the river Strymon, the Magi sacrifice white horses to the river and perform other rites, and they bury alive children of the local people at the point where they make the crossing (7.113-4), which Herodotus erroneously infers is a Persian custom (Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶοντας κατορύσσειν 7.114.2) based on a similar act later carried out by Xerxes' widow Amestris.³¹ Though his interpretation is incorrect here, this is nonetheless another instance in which Xerxes acts in accordance with what Herodotus portrays as Persian custom. Before launching his attack at Thermopylae, Xerxes once again pours libations (7.122). In Achaea, after his guides tell him the legend of Athamas, Xerxes respectfully avoids the house and precinct of Athamas' descendants (7.197); Herodotus uses the verb ἐσέβητο here to describe the Persian king's actions (7.197.4). On the day after he burns down the Acropolis in Athens, he sends the Athenian exiles in his party to make sacrifices on the Acropolis (ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἰρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ

³¹ In their notes on this passage, How and Wells comment that human sacrifice was likely not common in Persia (How 1928, 169).

ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἰδόν 8.54); though Herodotus presents two possible motivations behind the king's actions, the fact that one of them is remorse for having burnt down the temple presents the possibility of a different Xerxes than the Hellespont-abusing, priest-killing tyrant present in other parts of the *Histories*.

When Artayctes, the corrupt Persian governor of Sestus, deceives Xerxes into giving him the precinct of Protesilaus by pretending it is a house, Herodotus makes it very clear that Xerxes had no idea of the reality of the situation and implies that he would not have allowed Artayctes to take the land if he had known the truth. Herodotus says that Artayctes ἐξηπάτησε (9.116.1) and διεβάλετο (9.116.2) a Xerxes who did not suspect what was behind the governor's veiled words (οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνος ἐφρόνεε 9.116.3). Importantly, this is the very last scene of Herodotus' work in which Xerxes appears, so the final image of Xerxes is as a man who is unwittingly fooled by the lies of Artayctes into allowing him to have the precinct of Protesilaus and to commit gross sacrilege there.

Xerxes' only explicit attempt at lying is laughable, and certainly not what one might expect from the son of Darius. After the battle at Thermopylae, Xerxes hides most of the numerous Persian corpses to make it seem like many more Greeks died in the fighting, and then he invites his soldiers to survey the battlefield (8.24-5). Herodotus does not use the same language that he does to describe Cyrus' deception against the Massagetae and Darius' various uses of trickery; rather, he emphasizes the humor of the situation by pointing out that Xerxes was completely incapable of deceiving anyone with his foolish setup, and he expresses the absurdity of the situation with an authorial

comment at the end (οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα
πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐωυτοῦ: καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν 8.25.2).³²

Xerxes references customs several times in the course of the narrative concerning his rule. In his speech to the Persians announcing his decision to attack Greece, Xerxes explicitly states that he is not introducing a new custom, but rather following the existing one, noting that the Persians have always been at war ('ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἠτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπεῖτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα' 7.8.α.1). He even criticizes the Spartans for killing the heralds he sent to them, noting that they violated universal custom in doing so (κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγγέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας 7.136.2). It is interesting that the Persian king who seems most conscious of the role that customs play in politics is also the one who has the least stable relationship with his own peoples' customs.

There are also several instances in which Herodotus presents information about a Persian custom not included in the ethnographic section but that is relevant to the actions of Xerxes. For example, Herodotus mentions that Xerxes ordered Leonidas' head to be cut off his corpse and impaled, which he considers proof that Xerxes was angrier with Leonidas than with anyone else; otherwise, the historian explains, Xerxes would not have violated the Persian custom of honoring valiant warriors (βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα

³² In his comments on a previous draft, H. Pelliccia pointed out that this is precisely the sort of passage that would prompt Fehling to consider it "free composition" on the part of Herodotus. Herodotus would have intended for the reader to react to the absurdity of the story by reasoning that the story is so ridiculous that nobody could possibly have invented it; ergo, it must be true.

παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια 7.238.2). Xerxes is shown to be acting contrary to that particular custom, but he is portrayed as following some of the additional customs that Herodotus mentions as well.

After Xerxes' wife Amestris weaves him a special shawl, he meets his lover Artaynte while he is wearing it. Not thinking that she will ask for the shawl, he tells her that, in exchange for her services (ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων 9.109.2), she can have anything she wants from him. However, Artaynte immediately requests the shawl, putting Xerxes in a difficult situation (9.109). When she makes her request, Xerxes suggests alternative gifts to get her to forget about the shawl; one of the things that he offers is sole command of an army, which Herodotus explains is a characteristically Persian gift (Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον 9.109.3). Unfortunately for Xerxes, Artaynte can't be persuaded to take something else instead of the shawl. Once Amestris sees her wearing it, she gets angry with Xerxes and takes advantage of his being constrained by another Persian custom. On the king's birthday, he is not allowed to refuse any request asked of him (ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχήσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλῆιου δείπνου προκειμένου 9.111.1), so Amestris chooses that time to ask for the wife of Masistes, whom she proceeds to horribly mutilate. In the end, Xerxes' decision to follow these customs ends in a disastrous situation that could actually have been prevented if he had not upheld them.³³

Overall, each king has a unique relationship to what Herodotus presents as Persian cultural norms, and each one also follows some customs while diverging from

³³ In comments on a previous draft, H. Pelliccia noted that Xerxes is also undermined by being at a moral disadvantage in this situation. He knows that Amestris knows about his relationship with Artaynte, as Herodotus indicates when he describes Xerxes' initial reaction of horror at her request.

others. Herodotus depicts the Persian kings as complex, largely believable characters who often directly contradict the expectations for their behavior created by the Persian ethnography, but the fact that none of the four kings violates Persian customs all the time adds to their depth as characters. Dewald notes that, on the whole, Herodotus "avoids portraying any of [the Persian kings] as an immoral or amoral horror, like the Aegisthus, Clytemnestra, or Creon of tragedy, or the tyrant of Plato's *Gorgias*".³⁴ She convincingly argues that the Persian kings' autocratic rule is what defines and causes their actions, and she lays out what she calls the "despotic template", in which one of the key factors is the distance between the unrestrained tyrannical ruler and the people he rules.³⁵ For Dewald, the physical distance between ruled and ruler results from the organization of the bureaucratic system and exclusivity of access to the king; I would take this a step further and add that there is also a cultural distance between the Persian king and his people.

This cultural divide between the kings and the general population of Persians is indicated by the lack of continuity between the practices described in the Persian ethnography and the personalities and actions of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes. I would propose, then, that Herodotus uses the ethnographic account of the Persian ἔθνος to illustrate how drastically the position of absolute power has corrupted and warped those who wield it.

³⁴ Dewald 2003, 47.

³⁵ Ibid., 32-43.

SECTION VI

THE OTHER PERSIANS

The relationship between the ethnography and the other Persian characters that are prominent both in Persian society and in terms of their actions in the *Histories* lends further support to this idea. While there are naturally some exceptions, the majority of the other Persians involved in the events of the narrative abide much more closely by the values and customs attributed to their people. Just as in the case of the kings, these other noble Persians vary widely in how well they match up with the ethnography of the Persians. The non-kingly Persians can be divided into groups based on how well they adhere to the traits of the ethnography. Many of them closely represent the values presented in the ethnography, some only behave in ways that go against the ethnography, and Mardonius is somewhere on the spectrum between those extremes.

The "Most Persian" Persians

The "most Persian" characters, those who adhere most closely to the Persian characteristics Herodotus describes in the ethnography, are Prexaspes, Artabanus, Datis, and Artaphrenes. Some of them are the kings' right-hand men and operate in close proximity to the kings who tend to violate the ethnography often, a mechanism that serves to highlight the kings' behavior by way of contrast.

Herodotus first mentions Prexaspes as the Persian whom Cambyses trusts the most, a distinction that saddles him with the responsibility of traveling to Susa to kill Cambyses' brother after a dream causes the king to fear that Smerdis is conspiring against him (3.30). Prexaspes next appears as the victim of the king's insanity when Cambyses

shoots his son in the heart with an arrow to prove that he is not crazy, a horrific situation in which he nevertheless keeps his composure and prudently compliments Cambyses on a wonderful shot (3.34-5). By far the most admirable act of this noble Persian occurs when he demonstrates his extreme commitment to the truth. The Magi usurpers persuade him to help them maintain the illusion that the real Smerdis is on the throne, relying on the fact that he was personally injured by Cambyses (ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθεε πρὸς Καμβύσειω ἀνάροισι, ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε 3.74.1); interestingly, the verb that Herodotus uses here (ἀνέπεισάν 3.74.3) can mean not only "persuade", but also "mislead" or "bribe". The way that Herodotus describes the situation makes Prexaspes' choice to cooperate with them reflect less badly on him, and the ultimate result of his decision absolves him of any blame that he might receive for agreeing to mask their deception of the Persian people. The Magi know that he is well respected among the Persians and they hope to profit from this, so they give him the task of addressing the masses and assuring them that everything is fine; but once Prexaspes is safely atop the tower from which he is to make his announcement, he refuses to comply with their demands. Instead of lying to the people, he reveals the truth of what has transpired, which includes an admission of the fact that he himself had been concealing the truth previously (διεξεληθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν -- οὐ γὰρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα -- ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι, ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν 3.75.2). The fact that he had often claimed in the past that Smerdis was alive and had outright denied the murder (πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὡς περιεῖη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, καὶ ἐξαρηνησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ 3.74.4), another factor that led the Magi to turn to him to address the Persians, is

overshadowed here by his decision to reveal everything to the people in his address to them. Since Prexaspes' lying to the enemies served the greater purpose of revealing the truth to the Persians, his violation of the ethnography here is pardonable. In addition to revealing the truth to the Persians, Prexaspes reminds them of the achievements of Cyrus and urges them to take revenge on the usurpers; he then jumps to his death, setting in motion the chain of events that leads to the recovery of the kingship from the clutches of the Magi.

Though Prexaspes was ordered to kill Smerdis by Cambyses and was thus partially responsible for the brief success of the Magi's coup, Herodotus does not criticize him for the murder. Instead, he makes it clear that Prexaspes had no choice but to follow orders (ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσει ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε 3.75.2) and then depicts him in a favorable light in his last moments (Πρηξάσπης μὲν νυν ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνήρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε 3.75.3). The dedication to honesty that plays such a dominant role in the ethnography is thus finally borne out by one of the Persian characters in the narrative, as Prexaspes is a man still capable of exhibiting the best aspects of the Persian people because he is not a king and does not aspire to become one.

Artabanus is another Persian who stays true to the values of the ethnography. Like Prexaspes, he is within the inner circle of the Persian kings, but the fact that he is the brother of Darius and the uncle of Xerxes puts him in a unique position. Since he doesn't have the unchecked power of his kingly relatives, Artabanus manages to stay uncorrupted and tries to provide wise advice to the kings. Unfortunately his advice usually falls on

deaf ears, as despots often suffer from severe lack of judgment,³⁶ but Artabanus nonetheless persists in trying to keep his impetuous family members out of trouble. Though he appears briefly as the voice of reason unsuccessfully begging Darius not to attack the Scythians (4.83), Artabanus plays a much more significant role during the reign of Xerxes.

Even when he knows that he runs a risk by speaking openly - though admittedly he realizes that his kinship with Xerxes is a reliable safety net (Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυρος ἐὼν ἔλεγε 7.10) - Artabanus tells the truth. His warnings are no more successful with Xerxes than they are with Darius, but this is not necessarily a reflection on him; as autocratic rulers in Herodotus' text, they are almost immune to good advice regardless of its source. Though he and Xerxes certainly disagree about many things, it is clear that the king respects his uncle and often turns to him for guidance, even if he doesn't end up following Artabanus' suggestions. After Xerxes has the series of dreams commanding him to attack the Greeks, he goes to his uncle for advice; the king proposes that Artabanus dress in his clothes, sit on his throne, and sleep in his bed in order to see if the dream will then appear to him as well. This plan of action makes Artabanus notably uneasy, and he initially refuses to cooperate because he does not feel that it is right for him to sit on the royal throne (Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἶα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἴζεσθαι 7.16); like Prexaspes, Artabanus clearly has absolutely no desire to be king.

³⁶ Dewald 2003, 34.

Artabanus is especially noteworthy because he doesn't contradict any of the Persian practices mentioned in the ethnography, a considerable achievement when compared to many of the other Persians that populate Herodotus' text. If nothing else, he serves as a pointed reminder that it is not the entire Persian people who have taken a turn for the worse, but rather their kings, who, corrupted by absolute power, stand in stark contrast to the ethnography's positive overall portrayal of Persians.

Datis, though he gets less time in the spotlight than Prexaspes and Artabanus, also exhibits behavior consistent with the expectations generated by the ethnography. He shows great religious reverence in both anecdotes about him that Herodotus relates. Darius appoints Datis, together with Artaphrenes, as the replacement for Mardonius after the latter completely botches his campaign against the Greeks. In the course of his mission to enslave Athens and Eretria, Datis comes to Delos. As soon as he arrives, the Delians all flee in fear, and he sends this message to them: ἄνδρες ἰοοί, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ' ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώρην μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε' (6.97.2). Datis reassures the Delians that, even if the king hadn't ordered him not to harm Delos or its people, he has the sense on his own not to inflict any harm upon them. He knows that Delos is the birthplace of two gods, and he demonstrates the proper religious reverence that the Persian kings so often fail to express.

One night at Myconos, Datis has a dream that leads him to search his fleet the next morning (6.118). He finds a golden ἄγαλμα of Apollo on one of the Phoenician

ships; once he learns from where the object was plundered, Datis sails back to Delos and leaves the statue there, ordering the Delians to return it to Theban Delium. Rather than aspiring to steal statues like his king Darius, Datis finds one that has already been stolen and takes measures to return it. While Herodotus does not know the contents of the vision that Datis saw in his dream, the fact that he returned a religious object following the dream implies that this was the command issued in the dream. Once again, Datis seems to act in accordance with the ethnography's characterization of Persians as religious people.

His co-commander, Artaphrenes, also belongs to this group of "most Persian" characters whose behavior matches what the ethnography describes as typically Persian. He is a critical character in the events surrounding Histiaeus, since he helps to prevent the revolt that Histiaeus is engineering and also kills him before he is able to gain influence again with Darius and pose a future threat to Persia. Artaphrenes intercepts a letter from Histiaeus to some Persians in Sardis who are planning a revolt against Darius, and he uses it to expose their plot (6.4). As governor of Sardis, he demonstrates the respect for law and order shown in the ethnography when he enacts reforms that benefit the Ionians. He forces them to make agreements with each other that they will refer their disputes to court and not raid and plunder one another (Ἄρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος μεταπεμπόμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι, ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν 6.42.1).

The "Least Persian" Persians

Unlike the Persians who act in accordance with the ethnography, Zopyrus, Gobryas, Oroetes, and Artayctes only exhibit behaviors that conflict with the standards in

the ethnography, making them in a sense the "least Persian" characters. Even though they are all guilty of lying, Herodotus only portrays Oroetes and Artayctes in a negative light, perhaps because those two are also guilty of numerous other offenses.

Zopyrus is the man whose plan leads to the capture of Babylon under Darius. His entire scheme involves deception; first, he mutilates himself and pretends to desert to the Babylonians, claiming that Darius was the one who disfigured him. Then, after Zopyrus wins a series of sham battles in which the attacking Persians are almost entirely unarmed, he gains the confidence of the Babylonians and the keys to their city gates. Finally, he opens the gates and lets the Persian troops swarm into the city (3.155). All of this trickery clearly runs counter to the Persian hatred of lying, but Herodotus overshadows that fact by adding in an additional Persian custom that was not mentioned in the ethnography: *κάρατα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται* (3.154.1). In spite of the fact that Zopyrus is telling lies, Herodotus makes the identification of his action as an *ἀγαθοεργία* more important than its conflict with the ethnography. Zopyrus may be at odds with the ethnography, but his actions are perfectly in line with this new custom that Herodotus has introduced. Zopyrus' own explanation for the self-mutilation, namely that he has done this to himself because he can't stand the Assyrians mocking the Persians (*αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτὸν, δεινὸν τι ποιούμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελάων* 3.155.2), matches the Persian ethnocentrism from the ethnography.

Herodotus refers to Zopyrus' scheme as a *δόλος* when he describes the moment in which he flings open the gates to let the Persian army enter the city (*ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε* 3.158.1), but the overall stress that he puts on the

positive outcome of the trick in the episode gives it a very different character than the acts of deception perpetrated by the kings. In doing a service to both king and country, Zopyrus acts for the right reasons, even if he does lie in the process; the fact that he is also not in the position of ultimate authority perhaps makes up for the lying as well. According to Herodotus, no Persian before or after Zopyrus ever surpassed him in the eyes of Darius -- with the exception of Cyrus, since no Persian would ever compare himself to Cyrus (Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδείς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῆ οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κύρος μόνος: τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδείς Περσέων ἠξίωσε κω ἑωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν 3.160.1). After this statement, Herodotus ends the anecdote by describing the various honors that Darius awarded Zopyrus for his crucial part in the capture of Babylon, leaving the reader with a positive view of Zopyrus as a man who uses trickery for the only purpose that seems to be acceptable to the Persians: the benefit of Persia.

Gobryas is another individual who lies but is ultimately cast in a good light by Herodotus. Like Zopyrus, he suggests a plan of action when Darius is at an impasse, but his suggestion is defensive rather than offensive. Instead of helping Darius to capture a city, Gobryas provides Darius with a way to escape from the Scythians. His proposal is that they abandon the weakest of their soldiers as decoys while the rest of the army sneaks away (4.134). Though Gobryas explicitly suggests deception in his detailing of the plan (τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας 4.134.3), he is not the one who takes the blame for it. Ultimately, Darius is singled out as the one responsible for this despicable desertion. Once Gobryas has outlined the plan and Darius accepts it, the king becomes the main actor; he thinks up a προφάσιος for the

army's departure, telling the weakest men that the army is launching an attack and leaving them behind to guard the camp (3.135.2). When the abandoned soldiers realize what has transpired, they recognize that they have been betrayed by Darius (ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου 4.136.1); Gobryas is never again named in connection with the incident. By shifting the responsibility from Gobryas to Darius, Herodotus avoids portraying Gobryas in a negative light, even though the deception was originally his idea. Since Gobryas comes up with a plan that ultimately benefits Persia, he is also acting in accordance with the custom of doing service for the country that Herodotus introduced in the story concerning Zopyrus.

Another Persian, Oroetes, also diverges from the ethnography, but Herodotus does not make any effort to portray him in a less negative light. In addition to lying, Oroetes kills numerous people: the Samian tyrant Polycrates, the prominent Persian Mitrobates and his son Cranaspes, and a messenger sent to him by Darius. Unlike Zopyrus and Gobryas, Oroetes does not act in the service of Persia when he lies, but rather uses trickery to pursue his own selfish agenda. As the governor of Sardis, Oroetes is in a position of power; though he is technically still subordinate to the king, there is clearly a considerable physical distance between him and Darius that provides him with a certain degree of autonomy. Because he is in charge, Oroetes essentially follows in the steps of the Persian kings, becoming corrupted by power and diverging wildly from the ethnography as a result.

Herodotus informs the reader that during the entire pseudo-Smerdis debacle, Oroetes did absolutely nothing to help the Persians regain rule from the Medes (μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιληίην μένων ἐν τῆσι Σάρδισι

Ὀροίτης ὠφέλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιορημένους τὴν ἀρχὴν 3.126.1); instead, he took advantage of the chaos generated by those events and killed Mitrobates and his son during that time (3.126.2). Herodotus details the deception Oroetes uses to lure Polycrates of Samos to his base in Magnesia (3.123-4), but when he gets to the point in the story at which Polycrates is murdered, he simply says that Oroetes' murder and crucifixion of Polycrates is too horrible to be narrated (ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὀροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε 3.125.3). After Oroetes kills Polycrates, Herodotus indicates that it didn't take long for vengeance to overtake the Persian (χρόνω δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετῆλθον 3.126.1); he restates this fact in the summary sentence of the entire episode, emphasizing the idea that Oroetes got what he deserved (οὕτω δὲ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον 3.128.5). The fact that Darius must ask for a volunteer to kill Oroetes by means of σοφίη is particularly fitting, since Oroetes is a dishonest character who only acts in ways that do not match the ethnography.

Artayctes is another Persian who exhibits serious conflicts with the model of Persian behavior presented in the ethnography. Just like Oroetes, he abuses his position of power and acts solely in his own interest, and Herodotus consequently depicts him as a completely despicable character. Artayctes is the governor of Sestus under Xerxes, and he is first mentioned in passing when Xerxes and his army march past the place where he was crucified as punishment for his impious deeds (ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἰδὸν ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναίκας ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε 7.33). Herodotus waits until the end of the entire *Histories* to provide the full story of Artayctes' horrendous acts. The account begins with the statement that Artayctes, a terrible and wicked Persian, was

acting as an absolute ruler in the province he governed: ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος (9.116.1). The first word of the sentence is ἐτυράννευε, which draws an immediate connection between Artayctes and the Persian kings; like that of the kings, Artayctes' corruption manifests itself through the lack of correspondence between his actions and the expectations generated by the ethnography.

Artayctes is actually portrayed as even worse than the kings, since he tricks Xerxes into enabling him to possess, plunder, and defile the sacred precinct of Protesilaus (βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε 9.116.1). Herodotus makes it clear that Xerxes would not have allowed Artayctes to take what he describes simply as the οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνου (9.116.3) if he had known the truth behind the governor's words. Once Artayctes uses deceit to obtain permission to take the precinct, he takes its treasure away, farms the land itself, and has sex with women in the shrine (τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ἐς Σηστόν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὄκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιούντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσητο 9.116.3). Though the ethnography does state that the Persians think people who build temples and altars are foolish (1.131.1), it certainly doesn't indicate that they habitually desecrate the sacred spaces of others, so Artayctes' actions are definitely out of line here.

Since both Oroetes and Artayctes abuse their positions as governors and violate the conventions established in the ethnography, they are closer to the Persian kings than to the other important Persians who do not adhere to expected Persian behaviors. This strengthens the link between a character's corruption by power and his departure from the standards of the ethnography, which in turn explains why Mardonius appears to fall

somewhere in the middle of the spectrum in terms of how he corresponds to the Persian ethnography.

SECTION VII

MARDONIUS

Mardonius first appears as a very un-Persian character; Herodotus mentions that as a general under Darius, Mardonius deposed Ionian tyrants and set up democracies in those cities (τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαροδόσιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλεις 6.43.3). The historian himself draws the reader's attention to the strangeness of this action, introducing it with the announcement that it will seem incredible to those who doubted that Otanes really advocated *ισονομία* in the constitution debate (ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπὶ Ὀτάνεια γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας 6.43.3).

During the reign of Xerxes, Mardonius plays a much more active role, eventually acting as a stand-in for the king in Greece when he returns to Persia. As Xerxes' cousin and the man with the most influence over him (δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων 7.5.1), Mardonius pressures the king into invading Greece. Herodotus names the desire to stir things up and to be the governor of Greece (ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἐὼν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι 7.6) as the force motivating Mardonius' speech in this scene. He seeks the type of power that corrupts Oroetes and Artayctes, although it does not have the same effect on him once he succeeds in securing a position of power.

Two of the most defining characteristics of Mardonius are his confidence in Persia and his disdain for the Greeks, both of which reflect the sense of superiority over

other peoples that Herodotus attributes to the Persians in the ethnography. Mardonius belittles the Greeks when he praises Xerxes' decision to invade Greece, criticizing the way they conduct their wars. He also declares that the Persians are the best of all people in war (εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια 7.9. γ), so it won't be a problem for them to crush the Greeks.³⁷ Because of this attitude, he ends up taking much of the blame for the disasters that afflict the Persian campaign in Greece. When word of the defeat at Salamis makes it to Susa, the Persians blame Mardonius (Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες 8.99.2), and he begins to fear that he will be punished for pushing Xerxes to march on Greece (φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα 8.100.1). However, Mardonius is still confident enough in the Persians that he convinces Xerxes to leave him in command of the Persian army in Greece; in fact, Mardonius blames the defeat on the other races in the Persian army, whom he considers cowards (εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος 8.100.4). Once again, he exhibits Persian ethnocentrism.

After the flight of Xerxes, Mardonius is put in charge of the Persian army; having this command, however, does not cause him to suddenly degenerate into a dishonorable character. On the contrary, he appears to adhere more closely than ever to the values of the ethnography. When he sends a message to the Athenians urging them to form an alliance with the Persians, Mardonius promises that such an alliance would be without trickery and deception (ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου

³⁷ The truth-telling Artabanus, however, is quick to put him in his place, telling him not to slander the Greeks and intentionally misrepresent them in order to convince Xerxes to attack them; he ends his speech by issuing a challenge to Mardonius to take the troops there himself and suffer the consequences of his arrogance (7.10).

καὶ ἀπάτης 8.140.α.4). He also follows a Persian custom that Herodotus introduces during his description of Persian strategy meetings at Plataea. Even though the Persians have received bad omens, Mardonius advocates ignoring the omens and following the Persian custom of engaging in battle (νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν 9.41.4); since he is in charge, he gets the final say and the Persians are defeated.

Even though Mardonius seems to follow Persian custom in many of his thoughts and actions, he is still portrayed in an overall negative way by Herodotus. He seems to be selfishly motivated and arrogant, and the other Persians often criticize him. Mardonius contrasts interestingly with Zopyrus and Gobryas, who both engage in lying and deception but nevertheless come out with an overall positive characterization, likely because they commit these violations of the ethnography to benefit Persia. Mardonius, on the other hand, tries to gain power for himself and often acts in ways that are detrimental to the Persians; the fact that Mardonius is a successor to Xerxes, in the sense that he takes over command of the war against the Greeks, aligns him with the kings and their departures from the customs in the Persian ethnography.

Though I hope to have shown that significant variation exists in the relationships between important Persian characters and the ethnography that purports to characterize them, there are nonetheless several conclusions that we can draw from our analysis. Those characters that wield absolute power - the kings, as well as Oroetes and Artayctes to a certain extent - more frequently deviate from the ideal Persian of the ethnography; the distance between their behavior and their own people's νόμοι marks them as tyrannical rulers and illustrates how much they have been corrupted by their unrestrained power. Oroetes and Artayctes, as well as Mardonius on occasion, commit wicked deeds

out of self-interest, defying the expectations generated for them by Herodotus' portrayal of their people. On the other hand, characters who adhere closely to the traits set out in the ethnography - Prexaspes, Artabanus, and the like - are depicted most favorably and contrast sharply with their kings, whose absolute power they certainly do not desire to wield. Some, like Zopyrus and Gobryas, violate Persian customs but are nonetheless redeemed by the fact that they have done so for the ultimate benefit of Persia. As we have seen, Mardonius has a particularly complicated relationship to the ethnography, since his political status changes once he takes over command of the Persian forces in Greece.

SECTION VIII

THE SCYTHIANS AND EGYPTIANS

But is this complex network of character-ethnography conflicts and correspondences unique to the Persians in the *Histories*, or do the other cultures that receive extensive ethnographic treatment from Herodotus exhibit similar patterns? While not as many Scythians and Egyptians as Persians appear in the main narrative thread, the customs and traits of these two groups are described in great detail in the text, so they merit a brief comparison.

Only three Scythian characters have a relationship with their ethnography worth examining in this light: Idanthyrsus, Anacharsis, and Scyles; the anecdotes concerning the latter two appear within the Scythian ethnography, while Idanthyrsus is the only one who actually appears in the main narrative thread. Though there are only three men, it is immediately obvious that they all have a much simpler relationship with their ethnography. When Idanthyrsus, the Scythian king who leads their forces against Darius' invasion, is criticized by Darius for avoiding battle, he offers the explanation that he is simply practicing his normal way of life (οὐδέ τι νεώτερον εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέειν 4.127.2), as he is a nomad. Idanthyrsus mentions that they have no towns and no fields, characteristics of their lifestyle that Herodotus praised earlier in the ethnography (4.46).

Anacharsis and Scyles are on the opposite end of the spectrum from Idanthyrsus; Herodotus mentions them explicitly as examples of the extremely negative consequences of practicing foreign, and especially Greek, customs in the Scythian world, which is very

set against adopting foreign customs (Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δεύτερα αὐτίς Σκύλης 4.76.1). Among the Scythians, then, Herodotus only presents characters who either completely adhere to or significantly violate the ethnography and who reap the benefits or pay the price, respectively.

Since the account of Egypt occupies all of Book 2, there are certainly more Egyptian than Scythian characters that appear in the *Histories*, though the majority of them are confined to the whirlwind tour that Herodotus gives of Egyptian history following the description of their νόμοι. Since the historian goes on at great length about Egyptian religious customs, he pays special attention to which rulers observed proper rituals and dedicated monuments to the gods. The glaring exception here is Cheops, who closed down the sanctuaries, prevented the people from making sacrifices, and forced the Egyptians to work on his massive building projects (2.124). Herodotus notes that the Egyptians hate Cheops and his brother, who followed in his footsteps, so much that they do not even like to name them and pretend that the pyramids were named after someone else (τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία 2.128).

Amasis is really the only important Egyptian king who appears outside the ethnography; he is the one who supposedly provokes Cambyses into attacking Egypt by sending him the daughter of the king that he usurped in place of his own daughter, whose hand in marriage Cambyses has requested (3.1). He certainly does not follow the ethnography as closely as most of the other Egyptian kings, but his most blatant violation

of Egyptian custom is his philhellenism. Like the Scythians, the Egyptians are not fond of foreign customs (πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται 2.79.1); with the single exception of Chemmis, where there is a temple of Perseus, the Egyptians explicitly avoid Greek customs (ἐλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι 2.91.1). Though Amasis is not killed by the Egyptians for giving space to Greeks for sanctuaries and sending votive offerings to their temples (2.178-82), his interactions with the Greek community in Egypt arguably set in motion the events that lead to Cambyses attacking and gaining Egypt. Overall, the Egyptians seem to exhibit slightly more varied relationships to the ethnography than the Scythians, though this could be due simply to the fact that Herodotus presents more Egyptian characters than Scythian ones.

As far as I can tell from such limited data, the wide range of Persian character-ethnography relationships is not present in the case of the Scythians or the Egyptians -- or at least it is not present to the degree that would allow us to characterize it as a general feature of Herodotean ethnography rather than a feature unique to the Persians in the text. What I aimed to demonstrate in this paper is that the Persian ethnography serves a much more complex purpose in Herodotus' text than that of simply presenting interesting customs and beliefs of the Persian people. Since it functions as a framework for thinking about the Persians in Herodotus' narrative, the ethnographic passage is key to the interpretation of the numerous and complex Persian characters, though it is important to remember that attempting to use it as a source of criteria for evaluating the characters is not as straightforward as one might like. The position that the passage occupies between the end of the account of Cyrus' rise to power and the beginning of his increasing

departure from the idealized Persians of the ethnography suggests that Herodotus uses the ethnography to highlight the negative transformation of Cyrus caused by his acquisition of power. The fact that Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes largely contradict the expectations engendered in the reader by the ethnographic description of the Persians, while many Persians of lesser rank like Prexaspes and Artabanus exhibit the positive traits enumerated in the ethnography, points to the link Herodotus draws between the position of autocratic ruler and the atrocities that such power causes. While I certainly don't claim to have exhausted the possible functions of the Persian ethnography in the *Histories* and I recognize that there is still much that can be said about it, I do hope to have at least shown that it is productive to consider how it operates within the larger context of Herodotus' work.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Additional Remarks on Persian Traits and Customs Outside the Main
Ethnographic Section

Passage	Speaker	Context	Contents
1.71	Sandanis (Lydian)	warning Croesus about attacking Persians	wear only leather clothing, eat what they have to, live in rugged land, do not drink wine but water, don't have figs or anything else good to eat, will cling tenaciously to luxury once they have a taste of the good things the Lydians have
1.71	Herodotus	comment on Sandanis' remark	confirms Sandanis' assertion that the Persians had nothing luxurious and good before they conquered the Lydians
1.89	Croesus	telling Cyrus not to let Persians loot Sardis	naturally aggressive, not used to possessions, if Cyrus lets them loot Sardis (which is now his) whoever gets the most stuff will lead a coup
1.153	Herodotus	explaining Cyrus' contempt for Greek <i>agora</i>	Persians do not have anything like the <i>agora</i> at all (which Cyrus describes as a public place where Greeks gather to deceive one another)
3.2	Herodotus	why Egyptian claim to Cambyses is silly	Egyptians know Persian customs better than anyone -> should know it is illegal for Persians to make illegitimate son king when legit one alive
3.12	Herodotus	sees skulls on battlefield in Egypt	have thin and very brittle skulls because they wear felt tiaras from birth to shield themselves from the sun (vs. sun-hardened Egyptian skulls)
3.15	Herodotus	Cambyses pities Psammenitus	tend to honor sons of rebellious foreign kings and give them their kingdoms back (e.g. Thannyras son of Inaros, Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus)
3.31	Herodotus	Cambyses is able to marry his sisters	royal judges (who serve for life if not criminals) find no law saying man can marry his sister, but there is one that Persian king can do whatever he wants
3.79	Herodotus	Magi-killing frenzy started by the Seven	most important day on Persian calendar is festival of the Magophonia, Magi have to stay inside their houses for the entire day and can't appear outside
3.117	Herodotus	survey of satrapies set up by Darius	king controls a plateau near Aces River and has cut off water supply to tribes there, in summer they must go to Persia and pay king huge fee to get water
6.59	Herodotus	instance of similarity to Lacedaemonian custom	newly-appointed Persian king cancels any outstanding tribute owed him by any communities (as does incoming Spartan king)
7.2	Herodotus	how Xerxes came to power after Darius	when king goes on campaign he must choose a successor to the kingdom before he leaves
7.8	Xerxes	speech justifying decision to attack Greece	ever since Cyrus deposed Astyages and Persians gained control of the Medes there has never been a time when Persians were not at war

7.61	Herodotus	description of Persian costume in Xerxes' army	tiaras on heads (loose felt caps), colorful tunics with sleeves, iron breastplates like fish-scales, trousers, wickerwork shields, quivers, short spears, large bows, arrows of cane, daggers hanging by right thigh from belt, used to be called Cephenees by Greeks (called themselves Artaei) until Perseus + Andromeda's son Perses succeeded childless grandpa Cepheus (then they took their name from him)
7.62	Herodotus	description of Medes in Xerxes' army	wore same style of clothing as Persians because it is actually a Median style of dress, used to be called Arians but changed their name when Medea came
7.83	Herodotus	following list of top commanders in catalog	picked 10,000 called the Immortals because number always remained exactly 10,000 (dead immediately replaced); Persians were best dressed and <i>aristoi</i> of all the troops in Xerxes' army, conspicuous for wearing huge amount of gold, brought covered wagons for concubines, large and well equipped personal retinues of slaves, own personal provisions carried separately from other soldiers' (on camels and yoke animals)
7.114	Herodotus	9 local boys and girls buried at Strymon	burying people alive is Persian custom (another instance: Amestris burying 14 kids of distinguished Persians as gift to underground god)
7.238	Herodotus	Xerxes decapitates Leonidas	they are the last people on earth who would treat men who battled bravely with disrespect (-> shows that Xerxes was <i>really</i> annoyed by Leonidas)
8.98	Herodotus	Xerxes sends news of defeat at Salamis	nothing mortal is faster than their message-delivery system, because there is a fresh horse and ride for each day of journey delivery is as fast as possible
9.41	Mardonius	omen-induced delay to battle at Plataea	Mardonius advocates ignoring the omens (and not delaying further in search of favorable ones) and just coming to blows "in the Persian custom" (but not entirely specific about what exactly this entails - presumably implication is that this style is reckless/rushed and/or disregards divine forces?)
9.107	Herodotus	Masistes insults Artayntes	being called more cowardly than a woman is the worst insult there is
9.109	Herodotus	Xerxes offers gifts	sole command of an army is a very Persian gift
9.110-1	Herodotus	Amestris gets revenge via Xerxes' birthday	royal banquet once a year on king's birthday, called <i>tukta</i> ("complete"), only time of year king anoints his head with oil, king gives gifts to the Persians, no request can be refused by the king on that day
9.116	Herodotus	Artayctes calls Protesilaus an invader	Persians regard all Asia as belonging to them and whoever their king is at the time

Appendix B: The Actions of Cyrus

Passage	Contents
1.46	Croesus disturbed by Cyrus and Persia's rise to power
1.73	Croesus mad that Cyrus has defeated/captured his brother-in-law Astyages
1.75	reminder: Cyrus is holding Astyages (his own maternal grandpa!) captive
1.76	conscripts all peoples he passes on his way to Croesus, tried to incite Ionians to rebel against Croesus
1.77	Croesus did not expect Cyrus to march on Sardis after an evenly matched first battle at Pteria
1.79	rushes to Sardis as fast as possible once he hears Croesus is disbanding his troops
1.80	orders Persians to kill all Lydians but Croesus, uses the camels to overcome Lydian cavalry
1.84	announces prize for the first Persian to scale walls of Sardis
1.86	puts Croesus + 14 Lydian boys on pyre, has change of heart about burning Croesus after Solon story told
1.88	impressed by Croesus' demeanor, intrigued by Croesus' remark that Persians are sacking/plundering <i>his</i> city
1.90	takes Croesus' advice to stop sack of Sardis, surprised that Croesus can still do good deeds/advise well as a king
1.91	Cyrus = mule: mother Median daughter of Astyages, father Persian and a subject of the Medes
1.95	H wants to tell more about Cyrus and rise of Persia (version told by Persians seeking to tell the truth)
1.108	Harpagus entrusted with task of killing baby Cyrus by Astyages
1.114	chosen as "king" of village boys and then beats up another kid who refuses to obey his orders
1.115	admits what he did, explains/justifies it, and is prepared to face the consequences
1.120	Magi assure Astyages that Cyrus will not be a problem because prophecy has been fulfilled by his playing king
1.121-2	sent to Persia to live with his real parents, rumor of him being reared by a bitch (Cyno) started
1.123	grew up to be bravest and most-liked man of his generation, "courted" by Harpagus and sent the hare message
1.125-6	plan: a day of hard work for Persians + 1 feast day, speech: free yourselves from slavery and enjoy good luxuries!
1.130	Persians have ruled all Asia since they rebelled under Cyrus, Astyages kept captive until death, that's how he became king and ruled all Asia
1.131-140	(PERSIAN ETHNOGRAPHY)
1.141	refuses Ionian/Aeolian request for renewal of terms under Croesus with dancing fish fable
1.153	reaction to Lacedaemonians: not afraid of men who lie to each other in marketplaces, leaves someone else in Ionia and goes to deal with other rebellions
1.155	contemplates reducing rebellious Lydians to slavery, instead takes Croesus'

	advice to make them into "women"
1.177-8	systematically defeats all the tribes in mainland Asia (H wants to jump to Babylon)
1.188	as Great King he takes food/livestock/special water (from River Choäspes) from home and is accompanied by carts carrying the water in silver containers
1.189-90	loses a sacred white horse to River Gyndes, threatens to reduce it so women can cross it easily, stops campaign to Babylon to divide it into 360 channels as punishment
1.190	Babylonians well aware of his expansionist ambitions and have been stockpiling food for years as they watched him attack everyone indiscriminately
1.191	manages to enter Babylon by making its riverbed fordable and easily captures them during their festival
1.204	attacks Massagetae because of 1) apparently miraculous nature of his birth 2) his continual good fortune in war (conquered everyone he went after)
1.205	pretends to court Queen Tomyris but she doesn't fall for it (*use of word <i>dolos</i> for Cyrus' attempt)
1.206-8	counsel on what to do, decides to follow Croesus' trick of the banquet (since Massagetae not used to luxury), sends Croesus and Cambyses back to Persia
1.209-10	dream about Darius with wings and convinced he is plotting against him, sends Hystaspes (his dad) back to Persia to keep tabs on him
1.212	accused of deceit by Tomyris in angry letter
1.214	Tomyris shoves head of his corpse into blood-filled wineskin and mentions his trickery again, H finds this story of Cyrus' death most trustworthy
9.122	not impressed by proposal to move to nicer land, says soft lands breed soft men and it is better to live in harsh land and rule than to live in soft land and be ruled - since a country cannot produce both good crops and men

Appendix C: The Actions of Cambyses

Passage	Contents
2.1	inherits kingdom from Cyrus, considered Ionians/Aeolians slaves he inherited from his dad
3.1	reason for his attack on Egypt: King Amasis sent a fake when Cambyses requested his daughter
3.2	Egyptians actually claim that he is one of them so they can claim relation to Cyrus
3.3	alternate story for why he attacked Egypt: wanted to avenge his mom Cassandane for being disrespected by Cyrus in favor of Egyptian woman
3.13	supposedly threw silver coins sent by Cyrene as an insufficient gift of submission to his troops
3.14	deliberately tormented Psammenitus to test his courage, impressed by his response (only cried for old friend) and pitied him, ordered his son released (but too late)
3.15	Psammenitus lived an easy life after that, and if he had avoided rebelling he could have regained Egypt and reigned as Cambyses' regent
3.16	goes to Memphis and orders mummified corpse of Amasis to be dug up, abused, burned (*SUPER sacrilegious!)
3.17	wants to make expeditions against Carthaginians, Ammonians, Ethiopians, sends spies with gifts to Ethiopians
3.21	reprimanded by Ethiopian king: good men don't want to possess land other than their own or enslave people who haven't wronged them
3.25	so enraged by report from spies that he just takes off against Ethiopians without supplies, only stops when cannibalism occurs
3.27-9	misinterprets festival at Memphis, summons and kills governors (for "lying"), summons priests + Apis, flogs priests and stabs Apis, orders any celebrating to be killed
3.30	killing Apis made him totally insane, sent his trusted Persian Prexaspes to kill his brother Smerdis because of a dream
3.31-2	killed sister-wife, story of how sister marriage legally approved in his case, killed her either because of the lion-puppies duel comment or the lettuce comment
3.33	supposedly had the sacred disease, maybe driven mad by Apis murder (or anything else, since life is full of terrible disasters!)
3.34-5	upset with Prexaspes about whether Persians were lying about him earlier/now, shoots his son with an arrow to answer the question, buries 12 elite Persians alive
3.36	reacts badly when Croesus rebukes his actions and tries to kill him, when he misses Croesus and servants bring him out of hiding he kills them for disobeying him before
3.37	opening tombs in Memphis to look at corpses, mocking cult statue of Hephaestus, made fun of and burned statues of Cabiri
3.38	H says only a totally crazy person would ridicule religion/tradition of another culture so Cambyses is obviously insane

3.61-4	discovers Magi pseudo-Smerdis plot, overwhelmed with grief for mistakenly killing Smerdis, accidentally stabbed in thigh when jumping onto horse, finally understood oracle of his death in Ecbatana
3.65-6	deathbed speech to Persians: admits murder, asks for revenge, stay free and use treachery against the Medes to get power back!, Persians don't believe him though

Appendix D: The Actions of Darius

Passage	Contents
1.183	golden statue in Babylon: Darius wanted it but didn't have the guts to take it, Xerxes took it and killed the priest telling him to leave it alone!
1.187	opens tomb of Nitocris out of greed and anger that it was keeping him from using one of the city gates
3.38	asked Greeks how much \$ they would take to eat their dads' corpses, Callatiae how much \$ to cremate the corpses
3.71	gets in on the coup with Otanes and the others (the Seven), urges quick action and threatens to turn informer if they don't listen to him
3.72	"where a lie is necessary, let it be spoken", justifies lying to get what they need (i.e. entrance to the palace) since objective is the same
3.76-9	argument settled by sight of birds, get into palace and fight and kill the Magi brothers, take their heads and sound the alarm to Persians to kill all the Magi they see (-> Magophonia festival)
3.80-3	constitution debate: Otanes = democracy, Megabyzus = oligarchy, Darius = monarchy (wins - after all, they got their "freedom" from a single man, so monarchy must be best!), exemption for Otanes
3.84	rules for the Seven and how to choose the king decided
3.87	immediately goes to groom Oebares to ask for a trick to win kingship, the trick (two different stories), Darius wins!
3.88	subjects are all Asia (minus Arabs), marries Cyrus' daughters Atossa and Artystone and real Smerdis' daughter (Parmys) and Otanes' daughter (Phaedymia), erects statue for his victory
3.89	established satrapies and their governors, fixed tribute (previously had just been donations), described as "retailer" by Persians because he put a price on everything (Cambyses was "master" and Cyrus "father")
3.119	arrests Intaphrenes and all his male relatives because afraid of possible plotting, allows his wife to pick only one to save and she picks her brother, impressed and gives her also her oldest son, kills the rest
3.127-8	wanted to punish Oroetes and hires it out to eminent Persians to capture/kill him with cunning, Bagaeus wins the "lottery" and tricks him with the letters pretending to be from Darius
3.129-31	sprains ankle and is healed by Democedes of Croton (a slave of Oroetes), rewards him handsomely with lots of gold
3.134-5	convinced by Atossa (who is doing this as a favor for Democedes) to invade Greece, sends eminent Persians with Democedes as their guide to explore Greece
3.139	how Darius captured Samos: Syloson (gave Darius a red cloak for free back when he was nobody) shows up and asks Darius to help him get Samos back and he sends Persians there to help
3.152	Babylon revolts and Darius tries all the tricks he can think of but can't get into the city while besieging it
3.159	with help of Zopyrus he conquers Babylon, demolishes city wall and tore down its gates and impaled 3000 most prominent men on stakes, then gave it back to rest of Babylonians

3.160	really valued Zopyrus and gave him yearly presents, thought no Persian ever did a greater act of service (H says nobody did later or before, except Cyrus)
4.1	decides to get back at Scythians for their unprovoked aggression against Medes in the past
4.44	his desire to find where Indus River meets the sea led to most of Asia being discovered
4.83	while making preparations he ignores attempts of his brother Artabanus to cancel expedition because of difficulty of getting at Scythians
4.84	Persian Oeobazus asks him if 1 of 3 sons can stay behind and he says all 3 can, then he orders them to have their throats slit
4.87-8	erects columns with numbers of all tribes/peoples he brought with him, gives architect of pontoon bridge tons of gifts
4.91-3	erects column praising waters of River Tearus and himself for getting there, leaves a huge pile of rocks, conquers Getae
4.97-8	takes advice of Coës (commander of Mytilenean contingent) to leave Ionians to guard the bridge, gives them a rope with 60 knots
4.131-2	mysterious gifts (bird, mouse, frog, arrows) from Scythians, thinks they are surrendering to him but Gobryas figures out the real meaning
4.134-5	follows plan of Gobryas to have weakest guys "guard the camp" while the rest of the Persians escape to the bridge (i.e. betray them)
4.137-8	Histiaeus points out that all the Ionian tyrants owe their power to Darius, so they vote not to destroy the bridge, all of them highly valued by the Persian king
4.143	pays a lovely compliment to Megabazus (the guy he leaves behind in command of his troops in Europe)
4.166	executes Aryandes on a false charge of sedition - really he was trying to claim equal status to Darius
4.204	gives village in Bactria to enslaved Barcaeans when they are enslaved and sent out of Egypt to him by Persian army
5.11	back in Sardis, he rewards Histiaeus of Miletus (allows him to found settlement at Myrcinus in Edonia) and Coës of Mytilene (makes him tyrant of Mytilene) for their help/advice
5.12-4	impressed by multi-tasking Paeonian woman and orders Megabazus to uproot entire people of Paeonia and send them to him
5.23-4	advised by Megabazus to keep Histiaeus from further entrenching himself in Thrace, summons him to Sardis on pretext that he is his BFF and he needs him to forget Miletus/Thrace and come to Susa with him
5.32	officially approves request from Aristagoras for ships to get Naxos via Artaphrenes (D's brother and gov of Sardis)
5.105	first reaction to hearing about capture/burning of Sardis was to discount Ionians and ask about Athenians, shot arrow into sky praying to Zeus to punish Athens, had servant remind of Athenians him 3x/meal
5.106-7	believes lying speech of Histiaeus that he wasn't involved and sends him off to restore order in Miletus and bring him Aristagoras and then return to Susa

6.20	does no further harm to captured Milesian survivors and resettles them in town of Ampe on Red Sea
6.24	considered Scythes (king of Zancle) most honest man to come to him from Greece because he came back again later after returning to Sicily and eventually died in Persia
6.30	H speculates that he would have pardoned Histiaeus, castigated Artaphrenes and Harpagus (captor) for sending him just Histiaeus' emblamed head, made them honor it with burial rites as benefactor of Persia
6.41	heaps honors upon Metiochus (son of Miltiades who tried to get Ionians to destroy bridge) when he is captured and brought to him: gives him house, property, Persian wife, his kids considered Persians
6.70	receives deposed Spartan king Demaratus with great pomp and gives him land and settlements when he comes over to the Persian side
6.94	reminders and Pisistratidae pushing at Athens, wanted this as pretext for conquering Greeks who didn't give him earth/water, mission for Datis/Artaphrenes: reduce Athens/Eretria to slavery and bring slaves
6.98	during reigns of Darius/Xerxes/Artaxerxes Greece suffered more than in 20 generations before Darius, Darius means "doer of deeds", Xerxes = "man of war", Artaxerxes = "great man of war"
6.119	before Eretrians captured: furious with them as original aggressors, after: satisfied with seeing them reduced to slavery and did no further harm - resettled them in Cissia
7.1	even more angry with Athens after news of Persian defeat at Marathon, more determined to attack Greece, 3 years of preparation, then Egypt revolted the next year
7.3-4	chooses Xerxes as successor because Xerxes follows Demaratus' advice (he should get it because born after Darius became king), died a year after Egyptian revolt before he could punish Egyptians or Athenians
7.69	had statue of his favorite wife (Artystone, daughter of Cyrus) made of beaten gold
7.194	had Sandoces crucified for accepting bribe as royal judge but once he weighed the man's crimes and good deeds he decided to let him go, realized he had acted with more haste than wisdom

Appendix E: The Actions of Xerxes

Passage	Contents
1.183	golden statue in Babylon: Darius wanted it but didn't have the guts to take it, Xerxes took it and killed the priest telling him to leave it alone!
4.43	ordered Sataspes to be impaled for a rape but S's mom convinced Xerxes to let her make him sail around Libya instead, he turned back and gave a false report to Xerxes and then got impaled
6.98	during reigns of Darius/Xerxes/Artaxerxes Greece suffered more than in 20 generations before Darius, Darius means "doer of deeds", Xerxes = "man of war", Artaxerxes = "great man of war"
7.2-4	in a fight with half-brother Artobazanes over succession, argued that he should get it because son of Atossa (daughter of Cyrus who gained Persians their independence), wins with help of Demaratus
7.5	reluctant to go after Greece but kept preparing for Egypt, his cousin Mardonius had the most influence over him
7.6	in addition to being pressured by Mardonius, he also had Onomacritus (oracle-monger) and Pisistratidae and Aleudae (Thessalian royalty) hounding him to go after Greece
7.7	crushed rebellion in Egypt first, reduced entire Egyptian population to even worse state of slavery than under Darius, left brother Achaemenes in charge there
7.8	the meeting speech: following Persian tradition of constant warfare, needs to make a name for himself too, wants to bridge Hellespont to march through Europe and punish Athens on behalf of Persia and Darius
"	(speech cont.): Athens original aggressors, make Persian territory end only at sky, enslave everyone, reward for best-prepared forces, give your opinions (because I don't want you to think I don't consider them!)
7.11	reaction to Artabanus: you can only get away with saying that because you are my uncle and I will leave you with the women, if we don't act then Athens will, no middle ground in this war, our right to seek revenge
7.12-14	troubled by words of Artabanus and changes mind, dream #1, apologizes and calls everything off in meeting with Persians, dream #2
7.15-6	goes to Artabanus in fear of the dreams and makes him sleep in his pajamas to see if the dream figure returns
7.19-22	third dream (disappearing olive garland), extensive preparations for 4 years -> largest army ever known, careful preparations for sailing around Mount Athos (canal dug)
7.24	H says he had canal dug out of sense of grandiosity and arrogance and to display his power + leave a memorial
7.25	sends supplies out to be deposited in strategic locations and finds out detailed information about places they would pass through
7.27-9	given lavish meal by Pythius the Lydian and offered huge donation by him, makes him a guest-friend and gives him 7000 staters so he can have an even 4 million, tells him he will never regret his generosity

7.31	sees really beautiful plane tree and gives it golden decorations and its own guardian (one of the Immortals)
7.32	once at Sardis he sends heralds to all Greeks (except Athenians and Lacedaemonians) to demand meals and because he is sure they will all be scared into compliance even if they refused earth/water to Darius before
7.35	reaction to storm destroying bridge: 300 lashes + pair of shackles + branding + verbal abuse for the Hellespont as punishment, supervisors of the bridging project beheaded
7.37	sees sun disappear and anxiously consults Magi about the omen, is reassured and continues on with invasion
7.38-9	enraged by Pythius' request to spare 1 of his 5 sons, angry/weird response, orders the son requested to be cut in half and army marched through him
7.43	at the Scamander he wants to see where Priam ruled and checks it out, sacrificed 1000 cattle to Athena of Ilium and had Magi pour libations to dead heroes
7.44-5	surveys whole army and has the ships race, is satisfied but then starts weeping
7.46-52	convo with Artabanus: 46: life is sad and terrible; 47: A still scared; 48: X asks if army isn't big enough; 49: A explains why sea and land are enemies; 50: X: that makes sense, but stop worrying about everything;
"	(convo cont.): 51: A: don't make Ionians fight Athenians; 52: X: that is the dumbest thing to say - the Ionians are fine. Go back to Susa and be guardian of my royal sceptre
7.53-4	pep talk to distinguished Persians, pre-crossing rituals (burning perfumed spices, scattering myrtle branches, libations into sea, prayer to sun god for success, toss cup and golden bowl and akinakes into sea)
7.57-8	omens of horse giving birth to hare, hermaphrodite donkey, but he ignores them both and keeps going
7.59	counts his troops at Doriscus in Thrace
7.101-4	convo with Demaratus about Greeks: X wants honest answer, D gives it and then X laughs at him and calls him ridiculous, D says Lacedaemonians only fear the law and are more afraid of it than X's men of him
7.106	regularly rewarded Mascames (who he made gov of Doriscus) every year for being best gov of all he or Darius appointed, tradition continued by their sons
7.107	considered Boges (gov of Eïon) a really good man and always praised him (only one out of the govs expelled by Greeks) because of his bravery and conduct under siege
7.108	conscripted everyone in the lands he passed through toward Greece after leaving Doriscus
7.117	at Acanthus his head canal architect (Artachaees) died of disease so he had a huge magnificent funeral and burial for him
7.130	realizes why Thessaly surrendered so easily (geography), when the Aleudae (ruling family of Thessaly) surrendered to him first he took it as an offer of friendship from entire country

7.133	did not send heralds to Athens or Sparta because those Darius sent were thrown into the Pit (Athens)/a well (Sparta) and told to get earth and water from there
7.136	when 2 Spartans sent to atone for deaths of heralds he refuses to kill them, says that he would not behave in way he was criticizing them for (i.e. killing messengers) or release them from guilt by killing them in return
7.138	H tells us that real target of X's campaign was all of Greece (but ostensibly Athens)
7.146	saved Greek spies from being killed by his commanders when captured and instead sent his guards to show them around Sardis so they could see all his troops
7.147	reasoning for previous: spies' info would scare Greeks into submission; similar thinking in another situation: didn't capture enemy ships transporting grain to Aegina because Persians were going there too
7.150	story that he sent herald to Argos to appeal to their shared ancestry (Perses) and tell them to stay out of the conflict (H skeptical about it though)
7.187	out of all the tens of thousands of men under X, nobody had more good looks and height deserving of supreme power than X himself
7.196	set up horse-race while in Thessaly and easily beat them
7.197	after hearing a local story about a sanctuary he stays clear of both the sacred grove and house of descendants of one involved in the story (and orders his army to stay away too) out of reverence
7.208-9	amused by Spartans exercising naked and combing hair before battle and asks Demaratus what they are doing, doesn't believe him though
7.210	expected Greeks to run away and got mad when they didn't for four days, sent Median and Cissian troops against them
7.212	leapt up from his seat 3x out of fear for his army during the battle that first day
7.223	at sunrise after Persians had been led to the pass he made libations before launching his attack
7.233	brands the Thebans (who surrendered to the Persians when things started going in their favor) with the king's mark
7.234-7	Demaratus offers one plan and Achaemenes another, X goes with A's plan but tells everyone not to speak ill of D in the future because he is a loyal guest-friend
7.238	orders the head to be cut off corpse of Leonidas (Spartan general) and put on a pole, H cites this as confirmation of how much L annoyed X during his lifetime
8.24-5	hid bodies of Persians at Thermopylae to disguise them from his other troops and then told them to go survey the battlefield (those who came over from Euboea not fooled)
8.35	sends one division of his army to Delphi with orders to plunder the sanctuary and bring him all the property from it, H says he was more familiar with what was in that sanctuary than the things in his own home

8.50	burned down Thespieae and Plataea because Thebans told him that they had refused to support the Persian cause
8.54-5	told Athenian exiles in his party to go up and sacrifice in their own manner on the conquered Acropolis at Athens, they saw a shoot that had already sprouted from the sacred olive tree (burnt to a stump the day before)
8.67-9	assembles leaders and asks them what he should do, all but Artemisia advise him to start sea battle, he is most pleased with her response but ignores it and goes with the majority
8.88	when he sees Artemisia ramming an "enemy" ship he says his women have turned into men and his men into women
8.90	when Phoenicians come to complain about Ionians he actually kills the accusers instead - has their heads cut off so they would never again slander their betters
8.97	after disaster of Salamis he starts to fear that Greeks might destroy his bridges in the Hellespont and trap him in Europe, tries to subtly make preparations and fools all but Mardonius
8.99	H says that the Persians' fear for him caused massive display of grief when news of defeat made it to Susa (they stayed in mourning until he made it back to Susa)
8.100-1	cheered up by Mardonius' little pep talk and offer to stay with picked troops while he retreats with the rest
8.102-3	seeks advice from Artemisia and she tells him to let Mardonius stay with the troops, he is pleased with this because it is in line with his own idea (H says he was so scared nothing could have made him stay)
8.109	Themistocles describes him: a man who commits atrocious deeds, does not distinguish between sacred and profane, burns/topples statues of gods, thrashed the sea and sank shackles into it
8.114	bursts out laughing at Spartan herald who comes to demand retribution for Leonidas and then points to Mardonius and says he will pay them what they deserve
8.115-7	flight toward the Hellespont, makes it with small fraction of his troops because of food shortages and disease
8.118	story about him returning on boat and having to toss Persians overboard to avoid sinking, then giving garland to helmsman for good idea and killing him for causing death of Persians
8.119	made pact of friendship at Abdera and gave them gifts (akinakes and tiara), H says Abderans add that he finally felt safe enough to undo his belt since leaving Athens
9.107	gives rulership of Cilicia to Xenagoras for saving his brother (Masistes) from being attacked by Artayntes
9.108	fell in love with Masistes' wife but turned down (didn't use force), got his son Darius to marry her daughter, then he fell in love with the daughter (Artaynte) instead and was successful with her

9.109	stupidly tells Artaynte he will give her whatever she wants, forced to give her the shawl Amestris made him (doesn't want to), offered her gold/cities/command of an army instead but she refused them all
9.110-1	on his royal birthday banquet (tukta) Amestris asks him for Masistes' wife and he can't refuse, sends for Masistes and fails to get him to divorce his wife and remarry, angry and withdraws his offer
9.113	found out Masistes was planning revolt in Bactria and killed him + his sons + all his troops
9.116	tricked by Artayctes into letting him have house of "some Greek" (sanctuary of Protesilaus) - H implies that he wouldn't have allowed it if he had known the truth

Appendix F: The Actions of Prexaspes, Artabanus, Datis, and Artaphrenes

Prexaspes

Passage	Contents
3.30	Persian trusted most by Cambyses, sent on mission to Susa to kill Smerdis when Cambyses had dream, killed him either on a hunting outing or led him to Red Sea and drowned him
3.34-5	had honor of bringing messages to C and son was C's wine-server, told C Persians thought him too fond of wine, C shoots his son in the heart with an arrow (to prove his sanity!), out of fear he compliment's C's shot
3.62-3	suspected by C of not killing Smerdis but reassures him he did, finds the messenger sent by pseudo-Smerdis and interrogates him, deemed innocent by C, figures out it is the Magi brothers who have rebelled
3.67	vehemently denies he killed Smerdis because once Cambyses died it was dangerous for him to admit he was personally responsible for death of a son of Cyrus
3.74	Magi try to win him over because he was terribly treated by C, was only one who knew about death of real Smerdis, and held in great respect by Persians, he was won over by making oaths and pledges that he would
"	(cont.) not tell anyone about their deception and he would be made rich, Magi also proposed he climb tower and tell Persians real Smerdis was in charge (because he was most likely to be trusted by Persians)
3.75	agrees to address Persians but instead goes through genealogy of Cyrus and reminded them of Cyrus' achievements for the Persians, told them truth (forced by C to kill S), told them to take revenge on Magi, killed self

Artabanus

Passage	Contents
4.83	tried to convince brother Darius not to attack Scythians because they were hard to get at, failed to convince him
4.143	asked D what he would like to have as many of as there are seeds in a pomegranate (D answered he would rather have that many good men like Megabazus than rule Greece)
7.10	speaks because he is X's uncle: logic of hearing opposition, I warned Darius and he didn't listen - look what happened to him, the Greeks are way better than Scythians, danger if Greeks dismantle bridge, story of bridge
"	(cont.) built by D almost destroyed, good planning is best - think it over more, god curtails excessive things with lightning, to Mardonius: stop dissing Greeks, slander is terrible, you take the army and die
7.16	reluctant to comply with X's idea because not right for him to sit on the royal throne, explains his reasoning: X chose bad plan, dreams aren't divine, isn't going to be fooled by me in your clothes, but I will do it

7.17-8	pretends to be X, visited by dream guy who threatens to burn his eyes out with skewers, scared and explains why he was against X going on campaign but says it is ordained by gods he has to do it and tell Persians
7.46-53	convo with X (look under X for summary of what is said), sent back to Susa to guard X's power

Datis

Passage	Contents
6.94	Mede appointed (together with Artaphrenes II) in place of Mardonius to reduce Athens/Eretria to slavery and bring captives to Darius (they are defeated at Marathon)
6.97-8	sends message to Delians (who have fled Delos in fear) telling them that even if Darius hadn't ordered it he would still not harm Delos or its inhabitants (since birthplace of 2 gods), burns 300 talents of incense, sails off
6.118-9	has unrecorded dream on Myconos that presumably led him to search the fleet, found gilded image of Apollo on Phoenician ship, took it to the sanctuary at Delos and told them to return it, takes Ertrian captives to D

Artaphrenes

Passage	Contents
5.25	half-brother of Darius, appointed governor of Sardis by him
5.30-2	Aristagoras makes proposal to him about Naxos expedition, he increases # of ships and gets approval from Darius
5.73	questions Athenian delegation sent to Sardis about who they are and why they seek alliance with Persia, when they answer he tells them to give D earth and water or leave
5.100	defended acropolis at Sardis when the Greeks attacked
5.123	told to march on Ionia and neighboring Aeolian territory, captured Clazomenae in Ionia and Cyme in Aeolis
6.1	figures out Histiaeus engineered the revolt: "you stitched the show, Aristagoras merely put it on"
6.4	Histiaeus tried to deliver letter to some Persians about rebellion from Darius but the messenger gave it to Artaphrenes instead, discovered plot (through clever plan) and put large number of Persians to death
6.30	had Histiaeus brought to Sardis instead of taken to D, together with his captor (Harpagus) he impaled H on a stake and sent embalmed head to D, D was angry and made them give the head proper burial rites/honors
6.42	beneficial for Ionians: made them agree to submit disputes to arbitration instead of raiding/plundering, reassigned their tribute amounts (though not very different from previous assessment)

Appendix G: The Actions of Zopyrus, Gobryas, Oroetes, and Artayctes

Zopyrus

Passage	Contents
3.153	one of his pack mules gave birth, told witnesses to keep it quiet, thought about oracle and realized Babylon could be captured now
3.154	wants to be the one to bring about fall of Babylon because Persians greatly value services to the king (those who perform them greatly honored), plan involves self-maiming (cuts off ears, nose, shaved head, flogs self)
3.155	goes to D and D thinks he is crazy, says if he had told D he wouldn't have let him do it, details his plan of pretending to turn traitor and deceiving the Babylonians
3.156-7	tells B he is deserter because D punished him with the injuries, after 3 sham battles (pre-arranged and expendable Persian troops have only daggers!) he becomes B's commander-in-chief and in charge of wall defense
3.158	opens the gates to let the Persians in and they take Babylon
3.160	nobody performed greater act of service than him in D's mind, D said he would prefer to see him without injuries than get 20 Babylons, valued greatly by D: annually got most precious things in Persia, given B (tax-free!)

Gobryas

Passage	Contents
3.70	recruited by Otanes into group to overthrow Magi, recruited Megabyzus
3.73	speaks in support of Darius' exhortation to act immediately and go after the Magi
3.78	when fighting in the dark with a Magi and Darius he asks why D is just standing there and says he is afraid to hit him by accident, tells D to strike with dagger even if he hits them both
4.132	comes up with correct interpretation of Scythians' "message" (bird, mouse, frog, 5 arrows)
4.134	comes up with plan to escape Scythians: leave donkeys and weakest men with fires lit and slip away at night
6.43	is father of Mardonius

Oroetes

Passage	Contents
3.120	decided to kill Polycrates of Samos while gov of Sardis because Mitrobates (gov of Dascylium) insulted him for not capturing Samos for the king (by his twisted logic, this made P responsible for him being dissed)

3.121	alternate reason: Polycrates treated a messenger sent by Oroetes with contempt by not turning around to speak to him (H says may have been deliberate or accidental)
3.122	found out about P's plan to rule the sea, sent message: I know what you are doing and you need money - I have money and need protection, so let's make a deal
3.123	P happy and sends secretary to send money and he deceives him with barrels of stones covered with layer of coins on top
3.125	killed P in a way that H can't bear to mention and crucified corpse, freed Samians in P's entourage and kept all his non-Samians/slaves
3.126	didn't try to help Persians regain power from Magi, used that chaos to kill Mitrobates + his son (both distinguished Persians), killed messenger from Darius whose message displeased him
3.127	D wanted to punish him once he came to power but he was strong (1k Persian bodyguard, controlled Phrygia, Lydia, Ionia) so D needed trickery - task of killing O given to one of many Persian volunteers
3.128	Bagaeus (lottery winner) took fake letters to O and had them read to see if his bodyguards might be open to revolt from O, killed by guards who obeyed letter from "Darius" commanding them to kill O

Artayctes

Passage	Contents
7.33	H mentions in passing that he was gov of Sestus, captured and crucified by Athenian Xanthippus because he fooled around with women in sanctuary of Protesilaus
7.78	in charge of Macrones and Mossynoecians in Xerxes' army
9.116	had tricked X and stole treasure from sanctuary of Protesilaus, turned it into arable land, had sex with women in temple there, at this point besieged by Athenians at Sestus
9.118-9	escaped from Sestus when situation got very dire, captured by Greeks and taken back to Sestus
9.120	recognized omen of wriggling salt fish, tried to buy his freedom and make financial compensation for his crimes but Xanthippus said no, nailed to plank of wood and suspended while son stoned to death in front of him
9.122	was descendant of Artembares -> segue into story of him advising Cyrus to relocate without success

Appendix H: The Actions of Mardonius

Passage	Contents
6.43-5	deposed Ionian tyrants and instituted democracy in those cities, fleet demolished in storm at Mount Athos, disaster on land with Brygi (wounded in battle with them), returned to Asia after inglorious campaign
6.94	relieved of his command by Darius because of unsuccessful campaign (replaced by Datis and Artaphrenes)
7.5	had most influence of anyone with Xerxes, urges X to punish Athenians for harming Persia, to enhance his reputation and serve as warning to potential invaders of Persia, also Europe was pretty and fertile
7.6	H tells us he pushed X to invade Greece because he wanted to stir things up and he wanted to become governor of Greece
7.9	speech: X is greatest Persian ever (past and future!), must punish unprovoked aggression, we have nothing to fear from them, I got all the way to Macedonia!, Greeks fight stupidly, only get things by action
7.10	reprimanded by Artabanus for dissing the Greeks, challenged by him to lead the campaign himself so that he will get killed and find out what kind of men he is trying to persuade X to attack
7.82	commanded infantry forces under Xerxes
7.108	had conquered part of Greece before on earlier campaign -> made it possible for X to conscript people as they went through that area
8.26	questioned by Tritantaechmus when Persians learn that Greeks compete in Olympics just for garland and not money
8.97	not deceived when X pretended he was getting ready for another naval battle after Salamis while really starting his retreat because he knew him so well
8.99	blamed by Persians for defeat at Salamis once news of it gets to Susa
8.100-1	worried about himself being punished for persuading X to attack Greece, makes proposal to X: no escape for Greeks - don't let them mock us!, not the Persians' fault, you can leave and I will stay with 300k troops
8.113-4	picks his troops: the Immortals, Persians, some Medes/Sacae/Bactrians/Indians, surrogate scene with X when Spartan herald demands retribution for Leonidas
8.133	wintered in Thessaly, sent Mys out to consult all the oracles he could
8.136	sends Alexander to Athens with a message in an attempt to win over the Athenians: you can't defeat king or hold out forever, make peace with us on favorable terms, join our military alliance
9.1-2	immediately sets off to attack Athens once he gets their insulting rejection message from Alexander, ignores Theban advice to stay in Boeotia
9.3-4	H says he wanted to take Athens out of obstinacy and because he envisioned himself using beacons to report the capture to Xerxes, captures empty Athens 9 months after Xerxes had, sends same message again
9.12-4	learns Spartans are coming and begins evacuating Attica (bad for cavalry, easy to get trapped there) to head to Thebes, changes plans and heads to Megara to fight advance guard first

9.18	sees valor of Phocians and promises them rewards for committing themselves to the war effort
9.24	mourns death of Masistius together with rest of army (shave their own hair and that of horses and animals and lament endlessly) - Masistius was next most respected by X after Mardonius
9.37	used Greek diviner to examine entrails and got omens favorable for defence only
9.41	meeting with Artabazus to discuss situation, more stubborn and wanted to just ignore the omens and attack in normal Persian custom, got his way because he was in charge and no opposition voiced
9.42-3	asks Persians if they know any oracles about Persian army being destroyed in Greece and tells them what he knows (they should not sack Delphi), H says that was wrong but gives a different one
9.47-8	moves Persians to thwart Pausanias' attempt to change the line-up, calls him out on it: you are actually cowards, let's fight just Persians and Spartans, but he gets no response to this message
9.58	finds out that Greeks left and chastises Larisans for telling him about awesome prowess of Spartans (which has been proven false now), says they need to catch up and make them pay for wronging Persia
9.63-4	rode into battle on white horse, Persians fought well until he was killed and then they fled, killed by Spartan Arimnestus
9.71	individual prize for valor on the Persian side awarded to him by H
9.84	H not sure who took his body and buried it, many have been rewarded by M's son for supposedly doing so

Appendix I: The Actions of Otanes, Megabyzus, Intaphrenes, Amestris, and Masistes

Otanes

Passage	Contents
3.68-9	first to suspect that pseudo-Smerdis was a fake, gives daughter Phaedyimia task of figuring out if it is real Smerdis or the Magus - she accepts, it though dangerous, and she dutifully fulfills her promise and finds out
3.70-2	recruits other trusted Persians, in the discussion he cautions Darius not to rush things but to gather more supporters before acting, once he loses he questions how they are going to get in
3.76	again advocates waiting after they find out about Prexaspes denouncing the Magi, this time defeated by omen of 7 pairs of hawks chasing 2 pairs of vultures
3.80	pushes for democracy: look at what Cambyses and Magus did, monarchy not orderly because ruler not accountable, inherent arrogant abusiveness and envy, monarch subverts customs + rapes women + kills w/o trial
3.83-4	realizes one of them will be king and renounces any claim to the kingdom as long as his descendants are not subject to whoever becomes king, also gets annual privilege of Median clothing + other precious gifts
3.144	Darius puts him in charge of army to lead Syloson back to Samos and tells him to do whatever Syloson says
3.147	once Samian brothers + mercenaries attack Persians during truce-making he ignores Darius' order not to kill/enslave any Samians + give pristine island to Syloson, orders his men to kill anyone they found (adult or kid)
3.149	handed over uninhabited Samos to Syloson, later he was persuaded by a dream + genital infection to repopulate Samos

Megabyzus

Passage	Contents
3.70	recruited into coup by Gobryas
3.81	agrees with Otanes' arguments about abolishing monarchy but advocates oligarchy as solution - democracy is ignorant mob rule
3.153	father of the Zopyrus who captured Babylon

Intaphrenes

Passage	Contents
3.78	lost an eye from wound he received fighting Magi
3.118	died shortly after the coup (H says because of an act of violence), wanted to see D but guards told him no and he thought he should be able to, cut off ears and noses of heralds and put them on bridle he tied onto them

3.119	arrested by D along with his sons and all male relatives, his wife chose to save her brother instead of him so he did not escape execution (along with all but wife's brother and I's own oldest son)
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Amestris

Passage	Contents
7.114	H tells us that in her old age she had 14 kids of leading Persians buried alive as gift from her to god who lives underground
9.109	wove shawl for Xerxes that he then was forced to give to Artaynte
9.110	not mad at Artaynte when she heard that X gave her the shawl, but mad at A's mom (considered her responsible for all this) and plotted her destruction, on X's birthday she asked for Masistes' wife as her gift
9.112	had X's personal guards mutilate Masistes' wife - cut off her breasts and threw them to gods, cut off nose, ears, lips, tongue and sent disfigured woman back home

Masistes

Passage	Contents
7.82	one of commanders under Xerxes, son of Darius and Atossa (-> full brother of Xerxes)
9.107	criticizes Artayntes (a Persian naval commander who escaped from Mycale) and calls him worse than a woman, almost attacked and killed by A then but saved by Xenagoras (who got Cilicia as reward from king)
9.111	refuses to divorce his wife and marry X's daughter when X commands it, responds to X's anger then by saying "you haven't killed me yet" and leaving
9.113	finds out about his wife's mutilation, goes back to Bactria (where he was gov) and tries to stir up revolt against X, intercepted by X's men and killed on his way there

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