



## **SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

**“The perception of the Scythians in Greek historiography (5th-3rd cent. BC).  
Images of the Other”.**

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*A Dissertation thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of  
Master of Arts (MA) in Black Sea cultural Studies*

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December 2013

Thessaloniki – Greece

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December 2013

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Map 2. The Black Sea in Late Antiquity

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<sup>1</sup> Braund 2005, xii

## **Abstract**

The word “Other” is a usual word for people in order to define their identity and to find their place in the world.<sup>2</sup> From the antiquity until today the term “*otherness*” most of the times has been used stereotypically and means not only the different but also the inferior.<sup>3</sup> This human behaviour has affected scientists who try to find the reasons of this human attitude.<sup>4</sup> This thesis is focused on the perception of the Scythians in the Greek historiography. My research has based on the ancient texts during 5<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. Moreover, I have used many books and scientific papers which engaged with the role of the Scythians in the Greek historiography. The Greeks and the Scythians came closer when the Greeks settled the Black Sea area during the archaic period. As a result, the Greek colonization to the Black Sea area, especially for the north part, was a game of mixed cultures.<sup>5</sup> In the case of the North Black sea area, Greeks of Olbia and Scythians had to establish connecting bonds each other.<sup>6</sup> They had to develop diplomatic, security and trade relations.<sup>7</sup> The problem which came up, was that the Scythians understood the Greeks of Olbia as Greeks, whereas the Greeks of mainland and especially the Athenians considered the Greeks of Olbia as people more connected to the Scythians.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the cultural interaction between the Scythians and the Greeks was unique and it was influenced by the certain area of the Black Sea. the contact between these two peoples was perplexing.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the ancient Greek authors write for the different customs of the native people of the Black Sea area.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, some authors named these indigenous people as barbarians, whereas archaeological findings testified that Black Sea area was not a place in which the barbarians and the Greeks met.<sup>11</sup> The Black Sea region was an area which created a mixture of cultures.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Gruen 2011, 1

<sup>3</sup>Gruen 2011, 1

<sup>4</sup>Gruen 2011, 1

<sup>5</sup>Braund 2008, 362

<sup>6</sup>Braund 2008, 363

<sup>7</sup>Braund 2008, 363

<sup>8</sup>Braund 2008, 363

<sup>9</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>10</sup>King 2004, 25

<sup>11</sup>King 2004, 25

<sup>12</sup>King 2004, 26

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## **Acknowledgements**

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents who are supporting me in every step of my life not only financially but also psychologically. I feel deeply grateful to them. Many thanks also to my supervisor, Mr. Ioannis Xydopoulos, for his pure interest his useful notes, for reading a draft of my dissertation and his comments on particular chapters. This thesis has been improved due to his useful comments.

I am also thankful to Mr. Manolis Manoledakis whose comments encouraged me through the whole academic year. I also wish to thank Mrs Georgia Aristodemou for her useful and important directions regarding the citation system.

## Introduction

The aim of this essay is to document the Scythian references in ancient texts between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. We note that the majority of scholars dealing with the Scythian – Greek relations focus on the 5<sup>th</sup> century, while the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries could be researched more in depth. Thus, this research covers all three centuries.

The motivation for this project was also an opportunity to gain insights into the special relationship between the Scythians and the Greeks. The first objective of the research is to understand what made the connection between the Scythians and the Greeks so special. The second objective is to prove that the Scythians represented “the image of the Other” for the Greeks. The term “image of the Other” means that the Scythians were portrayed as the completely different persons from the Greeks.

It is interesting to examine why the Scythians and Greeks interacted with each other and why the ancient Greek authors wrote for them. The Greeks and the Scythians met at the valley of the river Dnieper.<sup>13</sup> The Scythians were nomadic people who lived in the north Black Sea area. The relationship between the ancient cities of the Black Sea and the Greeks begun when the Greeks established their colonies in the shores of the Black Sea area.<sup>14</sup> When the Greeks decided to establish new colonies, they checked the area where they would move.<sup>15</sup> Before the colonization process the Greeks did some research or trade journeys in order to be familiarized with the area where they would settle.<sup>16</sup> Still, the place which they met in the Black Sea area was unwelcomed and very different from the Aegean Sea.<sup>17</sup> Black Sea considered being an area in the end of the ancient world.<sup>18</sup> However, the Black Sea area was abundant in products like timber, wheat, slaves and fishes which the Greeks desired.<sup>19</sup> During the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Bylkova 2005, 13

<sup>14</sup> Μανωλεδάκης 2009, 787

<sup>15</sup> Petropoulos 2003, 25

<sup>16</sup> Μανωλεδάκης 2008, 195

<sup>17</sup> Ascherson 1995, 59

<sup>18</sup> Μανωλεδάκης 2009, 778

<sup>19</sup> Højte 2008, 154

centuries the Greeks established their colonies in the Black Sea region.<sup>20</sup> Apollonia, Mesembria, Odessus, Callatis, Tomis, Istria, Olbia and Chersonesus.<sup>21</sup> Inside the hinterland of the Pontic region lived the locals who were influenced by the arrival of the Greek colonists.<sup>22</sup> These people were the Thracians, Getae, Sarmatians, Scythians, Maeotians and the Colchians.<sup>23</sup> They were connected each other.<sup>24</sup>

There is no unanimous opinion among the scholars about the reasons of the Greek colonization.<sup>25</sup> In general during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC the colonization was necessarily due to (*stenokhoría*) limited land and the lack of food supplies.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the Greeks colonized the Black Sea area because they seek for goods.<sup>27</sup> These goods were metals from the South-eastern part of the Black Sea region, grain from the North, slaves from the north and the east, timber from the south, cattle and fish.<sup>28</sup> In addition, some colonists decide to settle in the Black Sea area because they were political refugees.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, the exact period of installation of the Greeks in the Black Sea area remains in question.<sup>30</sup> The colonization process faced three stages.<sup>31</sup> During the first one, the Greek colonies must have been established around 8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, but for this stage there is lack of archaeological evidence.<sup>32</sup> During 8<sup>th</sup> century the first Greeks who reached the Black Sea area established their trading posts.<sup>33</sup> The first Greek colony in the area of Black Sea region considered to be Taganrog which assumed to be found approximately in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>34</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>20</sup>Mitchell 2002, 40

<sup>21</sup>Mitchell 2002, 40

<sup>22</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>23</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>24</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>25</sup>Maslennikov 2013, 18

<sup>26</sup>Ascherson 1995, 50

<sup>27</sup>Højte 2008, 154

<sup>28</sup>Højte 2008, 154

<sup>29</sup>Højte 2008, 154

<sup>30</sup>Petropoulos 2003, 17

<sup>31</sup>Tsetskhladze 1994, 111

<sup>32</sup>Tsetskhladze 1994, 115

<sup>33</sup>Maslennikov 2013, 18

<sup>34</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 14



the colonization process took place later, during 600-480 BC in the area of Strait Kerch.<sup>35</sup> The second stage was the Miletian colonization during the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>36</sup>

## Literature Review

The bibliography towards the issue of the Scythians is enormous. There are many scholars who have touched upon the theme of the interaction between the Scythians and the Greeks.

Macan in his book *Herodotus II* gave a lucid interpretation of Herodotus. Although this book is old (it is written in 1895) , I found its analysis very helpful for my research. Bury in his paper analyzes the chronicle of the European expedition of Darius invasion to Thrace and Scythia. In his paper ‘‘The European expedition of Darius’’ *CAH (II,)* underlined the reasons facts and the events which took place during the expedition of Darius against the Scythians. He also analyzes the issue of the cultural relations between the Scythians, the Ionians and the Persians. I found this paper very helpful for my research because Bury quoted his statements with the Herodotean texts. Kullmer in his book *Die Historiades Hellanikos von Lesbos* analyzed interesting interpretations for Hellanikos fragments. It is very interesting and useful regarding this thesis because Hellanikos wrote about Scythians and expressed certain statements. Minns had wrote one of the most important books for the Black Sea region Scythians and Greeks. *A survey of ancient history and archaeology on the north coast of Euxine*. Although it is an old book, still it is necessary for every researcher who studies about the Black Sea area. Minns touched upon the main archaeological and historical issues of the North Black Sea region. Rostowzew in *Skythien und der Bosporen*, included many texts of Russian scholars which are presented in German language. Moreover, Rostowzew presents many pictures of Scythian and Steppe art. The book of Jakoby, ‘‘*Griechische Historiker*’’ covers many fragments of ancient Greek historians which were helpful for this thesis, especially for the historical clues of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Especially, for the depiction of Scythians, a very illustrative book is Bacon’s ‘‘*Barbarians in Greek tragedy*’’. Bacon underlines the role of tragedy in the creation of the term *barbarian* in the Greek mind. Moreover, Bacon

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<sup>35</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 14

<sup>36</sup> Højte 2008, 152

presents the ways that the ancient tragedians used their texts in order to criticize the political situation of Athens. As far as the Greek colonization is concerned, the book of Boardman ‘‘the Greeks overseas’’ offers a very detailed description of the Greek colony movements to the north, south, east and west. The interaction between the Scythians and the Greeks during the Archaic period is analyzed by Weiler in his paper ‘‘*Greek and Non-Greek World in the Archaic Period*, GRBS. He shows the beginning of Graeco-Scythian relations. Regarding the depiction of the Scythians in Aristophanes comedies, Dover’s book ‘‘*Aristophanes Comedy*’’ presents the political situation of Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Dover interprets the Aristophanean comments on Scythians. Aristophanes mocks Scythians several times and presents them as inferior people. The contradiction issue of Herodotus visit to Black Sea area discusses O.Kimball-Armayor ‘‘Did Herodotus ever go to the Black Sea, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol. 82*’’. This paper underlines detailed the issue if Herodotus went to the Black Sea area through the Herodotean ‘‘*Histories*’’. As far as the issue that the Scythians were the ‘‘*images of the Other*’’ in antiquity, Edward’s Said book ‘‘*Orientalism*’’ analyzes in depth the discourse of Orientalism. The main argument of Said is that ‘‘West’’ has created a certain attitude towards the East. Moreover, Said examines this idea from the antiquity until the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD. Continuing with the issue barbarians and Greeks, Vlassopoulos in his book *Greeks and Barbarians*, presents how Greeks pointed the feeling of superiority which Greeks had over the barbarians. Vlassopoulos’ main argument is that the Greek interaction over the between the Greeks and the non -Greeks. He examines also the change of the Athenian attitude after the Peloponnesian war. Moreover, he analyzes in detail the Darius invasion to Scythia. Another very important theme is the role of wine as a sign which characterized the barbarians and the Greeks. Lissarrague ‘‘*The aesthetics of the Greek banquet: Images of wine and ritual*’’, underlines the fact, that the ancient Greeks believed that the people who drink neat wine were barbarians. Herodotus in his fourth book admires the Scythians because they defeated the Scythians. The invasion of Darius to Scythia is observed by Georges, Darius in Scythia *AJAH*. Many scholars have stated that the first ancient text which expressed clearly the differentiation between the barbarians and the Greeks was Aeschylus *Persians*. Goldhill’s paper *Battle Narrative and Politics in Aeschylus Persae*, *JHS* outlined the world of politics in Athens during 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

This thesis was based on Herodotus. The most detailed historical interpretation of Herodotus ‘‘Histories’’ is François Hartog’s book ‘‘*The mirror of Herodotus. The representation of the other in the writing of history*’’ deals with the 4<sup>th</sup> book of Herodotus (Melpomeni). Hartog analyzes the Herodotean chapters which refer to the Scythians and their customs in a relation to their burials, their family life, their sacrifices and their interaction with the Amazons. He also explains how Herodotus perceives the difference between the Greeks and the Other and the way that he and his readers understand the difference. Concerning the 4th century BC, Gardiner-Garden’s paper Ateas and Theopompus, *JHS* 1989, is a lucid paper which analyzed the struggle between the Scythian king Ateas and the Macedonian king Philip the II in 342 BC. It is important because this paper includes fragments of Theopompus which present the historical facts. One of the most noteworthy scholars of the Black Sea region is Vinogradov. In his book *The political History of the Olbian Polis in the 7<sup>th</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. A Historian and Epigraphic Investigations*, Vinogradov examined the interaction of Scythian and the Greeks in the settlement of Olbia from the 7th BC until the 1st century BC. In Olbia the Greeks and the Scythians exchanged not only goods, but also culture, ideas and customs. The theme of the Greeks and the barbarians was analyzed in depth by tragedy. Hall in her book *Inventing the Barbarian*, offers a detailed analysis of the Greek perception towards the barbarians. Hall examines the images which the ancient tragedians used in order to define the non-Greek, barbarian world. Tsetschladze in his article Greek Penetration of the Black Sea in the book ‘‘*The Archaeology of Greek colonization*’’ analyzes the theme of the Greek colonization in the Black Sea area. He analyzes through the archaeological findings which prove the interactions between the ancient Greeks and the Scythians. Ascherson in his book *The Black Sea. The Birthplace of civilization and Barbarism* offers a general view of the ancient sources which referred to the interaction between the Greeks and the non-Greeks in the region of the Black Sea. Moreover, Ascherson’s book analyzes in a philosophical way how the Greeks and barbarians co-existence. Vinogradov’s contribution in the research of the Black Sea region is huge, in his *Pontische Studien. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarzmeerraumes* analyzes his main interests of archaeology, history and epigraphy for the whole Black Sea area. A complete volume of archaeologists is *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2* (2 vols.). The archaeologists who write in these volumes present their findings on several coasts of the Black Sea area. As it had been already been said, Olbia was the main

colony of the Black Sea region, where Greeks and the Scythians met. *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World from the Sixth century BC to the Second century AD* collected several chapters which consider the progress of archaeology in Olbia. Moreover, this book includes the situation of Olbia under the early Roman Empire. Continuing with the importance of Olbia in the Black Sea area, Osborne in *Reciprocal Strategies: Imperialism, Barbarism and Trade in archaic and Classical Olbia Meetings of cultures in the Black Sea Region: between conflict and coexistence*, analyzes the story of Scyles in Herodotus. Furthermore, Osborne examines the issue of the Olbia Greekness. The Olbians implied the political structure of other Greek cities. The following book is devoted to subject of trade and production in the northern Aegean. Rutishauser in *A dark wine in the wine-dark sea: production, trade and Athenian policy in the northern Aegean in Revenue des etudes anciennes*, concerns relations between Greeks the citizens of Black Sea region and the indigenous inhabitants of the Black Sea region. He analyzes the trade links which existed between the Aegean islands and the Black Sea region.

A very lucid explanation about who were the Greeks during Archaic and Classical period analyzed by Simon Hornblower in *Greek Identity in the Archaic and Classical Periods, Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*. Hornblower examines the Greek identity, i.e. what did identity mean for the Greeks? Hornblower concludes that for the ancient historians considered that Greeks were the people who share common gender, religion and language.

Braund in his paper *Scythian Laughter*, which is included in *Meetings of cultures in the Black Sea Region: between conflict and coexistence* focus on people like Anacharsis and states that these stories were used by the Greeks in order to show which customs were Greeks and which were barbarian. The next book is a commentary on Thucydides, Hornblower *A commentary on Thucydides*, Vol. I and II. Hornblower writes the most detailed commentary on Thucydides passages. Hornblower adds in his volumes except of historical data, philological, archaeological, literary and economic.

The following paper concerns the position of the Black Sea area in the ancient world. Manoledakis in *Η θέση του Εύξεινου του Πόντου στην άκρη του γνωστού κόσμου και οι πρώτες επαφές των Ελλήνων με την περιοχή σύμφωνα με τις πρώιμες μαρτυρίες*

των μύθων, *Ελληνικά* (58) writes that the ancient Greeks believed that the Black Sea area was the end of the world. Thus, Manoledakis based on the myths which connected the ancient Greeks with the indigenous people of the Black Sea region in order to explain the interaction between the Greeks and the autochthonous people. Regarding Scythians, Bouzek writes that the Scythians were dividing into tribes. In his paper «Scythian Tribes», 2008, *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού*, Εύξεινος Πόντος, Bouzek writes also for the archaeological findings which defined the settlements of the Scythians. Bouzek in his Attic of fifth and fourth centuries BC and Art of the Cimmerian Bosphorus in Solovyov L.S. (ed.) *BAR International Series* (2000), analyzes the issue of Greek interaction with the Greeks who lived in the Black Sea colonies. Bouzek examines in depth the cultural exchange between the Athenians, the Greeks of Bosphorus and the Scythians. Petersen also in *Kurgan Burials from Nymphaion-a new approach*, *Black Sea Studies vol.8*, states his conclusions regarding the archaeological findings of kurgan burials of Nymphaion. The paper of Petersen explained the significance of the kurgans in a more social-political context.

The following paper is devoted to representation of Massagetae in Greek literary sources. Xydopoulos, in *Defining identities in the Black Sea region: The case of the Massagetae in Greek literary sources*’, *Egnatia 14*, examines the case of Massagetae as a barbarian tribe who lived in the Black Sea area. Massagetae as the Scythians were not categorized as Greeks. The next paper returns to the difficult problem of the representation of the Other in ancient times. Gruen in his book, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, focused on opinions which expressed in several ancient authors such as Aeschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon and Aristophanes. The goal of Gruen is to explore how the ancient sources present the “Other” i.e. the non- Greek people who lived in the Black Sea area.

The next paper deals with the interpretation of Herodotus on the funeral of Scythian kings. Ivantchik in his paper *The funeral of Skythian King: The Historical Reality and the Description of Herodotus (4.71-72) The barbarians of Ancient Europe*, concludes that the findings of excavations of Scythians burials in the northern Black Sea area confirms that Herodotus text is reliable. Mayor A., Colarusso J., Saunders D., *Making Sense of Nonsense Inscriptions associated with Amazons and Scythians on Athenian vases*, discusses the linguistic role of non- Greek words in several inscriptions connected with the several tribes who inhabited the Black Sea area.

The next book returns to the issue of Greek colonization in the Black Sea area. Maslennikov in *Οι Αρχαίοι Έλληνες στο βόρειο Εύξεινο Πόντο* writes for the colonization process in the Black Sea region. Furthermore, he analyzes the contradictions towards the issue of the exact date in which ancient Greeks inhabited the Black Sea area. Wine was one of the trade links which connect the Greeks colonists and the Scythians. Porucznik in *The image of a drunken Scythian in Greek tradition, ESJ* discusses the reason why wine played an important role in the Scythian life. Moreover, she explains the reason why through the use of wine by the Scythians, the Greeks categorized Scythians as barbarians. Thus, this paper sets the issue of how the Greeks always drunk wine unmixed with water and the Scythians drunk neat wine. This custom made them barbarians.

The following paper is devoted to Scythian archers who lived in Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Braund in his paper *Scythian Archers, Athenian Democracy and a Fragmentary Inscription from Erthyrae in Antičnyj mir - Vizantija. K 70*, analyzes the representation and the role of Scythians in the Athenian democracy through an inscription which was found in Erthyrae. He gives a new perspective to clarify how the Athenian perceived the Scythians slaves who lives next to them. Theopompus of Chios was one of the most important historians of the fourth century BC. Flower in his *Theopompus of Chios. History and Rhetoric in the fourth Century BC*, offers carefully look at the context of fragments. Flower collects many fragments of Plutarch and Athenaeus. Moreover, he comments on Theopombus attitude towards Phillip the II of Macedonian and Demosthenes. Theopompus data are useful because he includes the battle between the Scythian king Ateas and Phillip the II of Macedonia.

The papers collected in the following volume, Tsetskhladze G., (ed.) *The Greek colonization of the Black Sea Area. Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, present many articles written in English by several scholars from the Black Sea countries and also Britain and Israel. The main purpose of the presented papers is the archaeological interpretation of the historical texts which referred to the Black Sea region. The development of Greek- Barbarians in the Black Sea region is the subject of the following collective work edited by Tsetskhladze G., *Ancient Greeks West and East*. The papers of this volume deals with the cultural exchange in Archaic and Classical Athens through the Greek colonization. All of the papers analyze the evidence of every perspective and thus, examine again the old theories.

Harrison's book *Divinity and History. The religion of Herodotus*, comments on the connection of Herodotus and religion. He discusses also the difference between the Scythian and the Greek customs in the field of religion. The most prominent example is Scyles who was murdered by his compatriots (Scythians) because he took part in Dionysiac rituals. Scythians did not accept the cult of Dionysus. Tsetskhladze in his book '*North Pontic Archeology: Recent discoveries and Studies*', examines the classical archeology of the Black Sea area. Furthermore, he deals with the interaction between the Scythians and the other locals in the Black Sea region. Mitchell S., In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity, in *Representations of Empire Roman and the Mediterranean World*, presents very useful data regarding the trade connection between the Greeks and the Scythians, i.e. which were the trade products. Moreover, Mitchell analyzes the axis which developed between the Scythians, the Black Sea Greeks and the Greeks of the mainland. As far as the history of the Scythians is concerned, Vinogradov in his paper Two waves of Sarmatian migrations in the Black Sea steppes during three Pre-Roman period. In Bilde,P./Hojte./Stolba.V. (eds) *The Cauldron of Ariantas, Black Sea Studies I*, writes for the entry of Sarmatians into the steppes north of the Black Sea area and their clash with the Scythians who lived in the steppe.

The following book concerns the whole region of Black Sea from the antiquity until the modern times. King C., *The Black Sea. A History*, offers the connections that have made Black Sea area a so important region. Moreover, concerning the antiquity, King analyzes the relations between the Greeks and the 'Other' through the ancient sources.

The papers of *Scythians and the Greeks. Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (6<sup>th</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD)* edited by Braund David, is a collective study about the Scythian and other non – Greek cultures in relation with Greek one. Braund covers the gap from 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD concerning the ancient sources and the archeological evidence for the Scythians. Alekseyev writes for the connection between the Scythian royal burials that belonged to the Scythian leaders.<sup>37</sup> Braund includes an interesting point about Pericles' campaign in 430BC at the cities of the Black Sea. Maslennikov deals with the

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<sup>37</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 40

development of Greek-barbarian relations in the European part of Bosphorus from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC when the Greeks settled their first colonies until the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD when Mithridates Eupator dominated the Bosporean kingdom.

Rolle, Royal Tombs and Hill Fortress: New Perspectives on Scythian Life, (eds.) Aruz Joan, Farkas Ann and Fino Valtz Elisabetta, in *The Golden Deer of Eurasia. Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the Ancient World*, analyzes in detail the royal burials which have been excavated in Scythia. The archaeological findings prove Greek-Scythian interaction and testify the fact that the Scythians moved from the coasts of the Black Sea area to the steppe next to the Scythian population. The next paper returns to the issue of the Scythian burials. Bouzek explains the practices of the Scythian burial from the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the 4th century BC in his paper "*Scythian tumuli*", 2008, *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού*. He underlines the importance of gold in the Scythian royal tombs. Still, gold kurgans were a privilege only for the Scythian upper class.

### **Methodology**

First of all this thesis has two main tasks. To collect and to present the historiographical texts this refereed to the Scythians from 5th to the 3rd centuries BC. From the ancient times thousands of people wrote history. Nowadays, we are aware of their names but not of their works. Historiography is the science which records with chronological reference data regarding people in a specific time. From the ancient time, many ancient authors tried to write the objective view of history but they failed. The reason was that they only wanted to pleasure their audience. The boom of the Greek historiography came from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The Greek authors tried to divide the real facts from the myths. In this thesis I will include the texts of Herodotus, Hellanikos, Thucydides and Xenophon. Moreover, there are used some references from ancient tragedy and comedy. Tragedy narrates not only the exact historical facts but also includes the myth material according to its criteria and plot.<sup>38</sup> The ancient authors chose their plots in order to teach the Athenian audience.

In some cases in which some ancient texts are not saved, I used the texts of latter authors who present in their works fragments from older authors, i.e Strabo who writes

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<sup>38</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 124



his texts during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC but in his work presented some fragments from historians during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The second task of this thesis is to show if the Scythians represent the other in the Greek society. This essay tries to present the Scythians through ancient texts from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The procedure of this thesis will be as follows. First of all I will classify the ancient texts from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Thus, my basic ancient sources are Herodotus, Thucydides, Aeschylus and Euripides. Then, I will sort the sources in accordance with their themes. After that, I will try to present the Scythians and their place in the Athenian world and mind. In addition, I will attempt to present what the Athenians believed for the Scythians.

The structure of the thesis will be as follows. First of all, it is important to understand which were the criteria in which the Greek intellectuals. Moreover, it is necessary to understand who perceived the Greeks as barbarians and what as Scythians. Then, I will present the passages which simple referred to the Scythians. Furthermore, I will quote references which are connected with the Scythian way of life and their relations with the Black Sea Greeks and the Greeks of the mainland.

## **The Greeks**

It is important to define the Greek origin in order to understand, how the term ‘‘Greeks’’ and ‘‘Greece’’ were used by the ancient Greek authors.

Homer defines the Hellenes as the citizens of Argos.<sup>39</sup> The Greek mythology defines that the Greek identity is connected with the common ethnic origin, the city and the family.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, Herodotus who writes for the Persians wars, he identifies the fourth criteria of the Greek identity and of the Hellenic ethnicity in his eighth book. He explains it as it follows ( 8.144) ‘‘*For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and foremost, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the utmost rather than make pacts with the perpetrator of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all of which it would not befit the*

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<sup>39</sup> Weiler 1968, 23

<sup>40</sup> Hall 1992, 141

*Athenians to be false.*<sup>41</sup> It has been assumed that during the Persian wars, the Pan-Hellenic identity was created.<sup>42</sup> The term ‘*Hellas*’ in a broad sense means the whole of Greeks. Even so, the identification of the geographical area of *Hellas* was problematic. Herodotus writes (7.176) ‘*To the west of Thermopylae rises a high mountain, inaccessible and precipitous, a spur of Oeta; to the east of the road there is nothing but marshes and sea. In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called the Basins by the people of the country, and an altar of Heracles stands nearby. Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate in it.*’<sup>43</sup> For Herodotus Thermopylae is the gateway to *Hellas*.<sup>44</sup> In addition, the historian from Halicarnassus adds that (7.172.2) ‘*To these the Thessalian messengers came and said, “Men of Hellas, the pass of Olympus must be guarded so that Thessaly and all Hellas may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to guard it with you, but you too must send a great force. If you will not send it, be assured that we will make terms with the Persian, for it is not right that we should be left to stand guard alone and so perish for your sakes.*’<sup>45</sup> He elucidates that Greece was the part where there were no Persians.<sup>46</sup> During Thucydides time the term was still limited to the south of Thessaly, although at that time the term had a wider meaning, (Thucydides 2.68) ‘*But many generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their city with the Ambraciotes, bordering upon Amphilochia; and then they first learned the Greek language now used*

<sup>41</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+8.144&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01.26> *Ηρόδοτος* 8.144

πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ' ἣν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαιῶς ἔχει τι μωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῶν ταῦτα ἐργασαμένων, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὁμαίμον τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶνιδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι.

<sup>42</sup>Hall 1989, 6

<sup>43</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+7.176&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01.26> *Ηρόδοτος* (7.176) ‘*τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλίων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατείνονές τινι Ὀϊτῆν: τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἢ ὧ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τε νά γε α. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐ δέδμη το δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν.*’

<sup>44</sup>Weiler 1968, 28

<sup>45</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+7.172.2&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01.26> *Ηρόδοτος* (7.172.2) ‘*ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον: Ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίῃ τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ: οὐ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος μόνους πρὸ ὑμῶν δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι.*’

<sup>46</sup>Weiler 1968, 29

from the Ambraciotes that lived among them. [6] For the rest of the Amphilochians were barbarians.’<sup>47</sup> The term Hellas has the same meaning for both Thucydides and Herodotus.<sup>48</sup> For Thucydides Greeks were the people of the same origin, language, customs and religion. However, when Isocrates refers to the Hellenes he means the Athenians.<sup>49</sup> Especially Isocrates says that the Greeks were not the people who shared the same race but those who had a common Athenian education.<sup>50</sup> In addition, during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Pseudo – Scylax indicates that Thessaly was the northern frontier of Hellas. As a result, the Greeks were not a homogenous group.<sup>51</sup>

### The barbarians

The differentiation between the Greeks and the barbarians can also be detected from the Archaic period.<sup>52</sup> The evidence here is the *Iliad* where there is a clear reference of the differentiation between the Hellenes and the barbarians.<sup>53</sup> In the *Iliad* the Carians are called barbarophonoi, (*Iliad* 2.867) *And Nastes again led the Carians, uncouth of speech, who held Miletus and the mountain of Phthires, dense with its leafage, and the streams of Maeander, and the steep crests of Mycale.*<sup>54</sup> In addition, this is an indication that the issue of the barbarians and the Greeks existed already during the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> Thus, this evidence shows that the Greeks could distinguish their language from another one.<sup>56</sup> That is to say that during the Archaic period the language was the only

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<sup>47</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Thuc.+2.68&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0247>Θουκυδίδης 2.68 Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε μὲν μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἄργει καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας [4] (καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας) , [5] ὑπὸ ζυμφορῶν δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον πιεζόμενοι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὁμόρους ὄντας τῇ Ἀμφιλοχικῇ ζυνοίκους ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ζυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν.

<sup>48</sup>Hornblower 2006, 177

<sup>49</sup>Walbank 1951, 46

<sup>50</sup>Walbank 1951, 46

<sup>51</sup>Harrison 2002, 37

<sup>52</sup>Hall 1989, 6

<sup>53</sup>Weiler 1968, 22

<sup>54</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hom.+Il.+2.867&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0134>Ιλιάς 2.867 Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφόνων, οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶντ' ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον Μαιάνδρου τε ῥοὰς Μυκάλης τ' αἰπὴν ἀκάρηνα.

<sup>55</sup>Ascherson 1995, 60

<sup>56</sup>Hall 1989, 6

criterion in order to define the Greek identity towards the barbarians.<sup>57</sup> Before the Persian wars, Heraclitus believes that the barbarians were uneducated people.<sup>58</sup>

For once the ancient cities – states forgot their differences and they fought all together against the enemy.<sup>59</sup> That time was the Persian wars during the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>60</sup> After the Greek victory against the Persian enemy, the polarization between the Greeks and the barbarians was escalated.<sup>61</sup> This change was portrayed in the ancient Greek tragedy and the ancient Athenian tragedians underlined this polarity.<sup>62</sup> They used the different behaviour of the barbarians in order to denote the Greek morals.<sup>63</sup> Their main theme was the Persian wars.<sup>64</sup> This is proved by *Aeschylus Persians* which is written in 472 BC, where the tragedian poet comments on the barbarian differences in language, clothes and beliefs.<sup>65</sup> *Aeschylus 182-195* 'Atossa I dreamed that two women in beautiful clothes, one in Persian garb, the other in Dorian attire, appeared before my eyes; both far more striking in stature than are the women of our time, [185] flawless in beauty, sisters of the same family. As for the lands in which they dwelt, to one had been assigned by lot the land of [Hellas](#), to the other that of the barbarians. The two, as I imagined it, seemed to provoke each other to a mutual feud, and my son, when he had become aware of this, [190] attempted to restrain and placate them. He yoked them both to his car and placed the collar-straps upon their necks. ' <sup>66</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Weiler 1989, 25

<sup>58</sup> Weiler 1989, 24

<sup>59</sup>Walbank 1951, 42

<sup>60</sup>Walbank 1951, 42

<sup>61</sup>Hall 1989,6

<sup>62</sup>Hall 1989, 139

<sup>63</sup> Ascherson 1995, 83

<sup>64</sup> Weiler 1968, 26

<sup>65</sup> Goldhill 1988, 60

<sup>66</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aesch.+Pers.+182&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0012> Αισχύλος 182-195 'Ατόσσα ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδ' ἐναργὲς εἰδόμην

180ὥς τῆς πάροιθεν εὐφρόνης: λέξω δέ σοι.

ἐδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ' εὐείμονε,

ἡ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἡσκημένη,

ἡ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν, εἰς ὅσιν μολεῖν,

μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ,

185κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένονος

ταῦτοῦ: πάτρην δ' ἔναιον ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα

κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ἡ δὲ βάρβαρον.

τούτῳ στάσιν τιν', ὥς ἐγὼ 'δόκουν ὀρᾶν,

τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλαιοι: παῖς δ' ἐμὸς μαθὼν

190κατεῖχε κάπρᾶννεν, ἄρμασιν δ' ὕπο

Aeschylus by describing Darius as the ruler of archers, he symbolizes him as symbol of barbarism.<sup>67</sup> He presents his tragedy from the side of the defeated Persians.<sup>68</sup> (*Aeschylus Persae* 556) *Why then was Darius [555] in his time so unscathed by disaster, he who was ruler of archers, to the men of Susa a beloved leader?*<sup>69</sup> Thus, the ancient Athenian poets through their tragedies tried to make valid the Athenian policies, mostly the democracy which was distant from the Persian policy of tyranny.<sup>70</sup> Especially in *Aeschylus Persians*, the dialogue between Atossa and the chorus of Persian elders present the opposition between Athenian democracy and Persian despotism.<sup>71</sup> *Aeschylus 241-242 Atossa And who is set over them as shepherd and is master of their host? Chorus Of no man are they called the slaves or vassals.*<sup>72</sup> The *Persians* cited the words freedom, slavery and despotism.<sup>73</sup> This is interesting because the Persian characteristics were the luxurious life, they were savage and finally the Persians portrayed as victims of their own passions.<sup>74</sup> The Greek characteristics were totally the opposite, freedom, the participation to the Assembly (state power) and bravery. The Athenian reaction might be remarkable, the *Persians* was first staged in 473 few years after the battle of Salamis.<sup>75</sup> Thus, many of the Athenians would had

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ζεύγνυσιν αὐτῶν καὶ λέπαδν' ἐπ' αὐχένων  
τίθησι. χῆ μὲν τῇδ' ἐπυργοῦτο στολῇ  
ἐν ἡνίασι τ' εἶχεν εὐαρκτον στόμα,  
ἡ δ' ἐσφάδαζε, καὶ χερσὶν ἔντη δίφρου  
195 διασπαράσσει καὶ ζυναρπάξει βίᾳ  
ἄνευ χαλινῶν καὶ ζυγὸν θραύει μέσον. ''

<sup>67</sup>Hall 1989, 139

<sup>68</sup>Goldhill 1988, 128

<sup>69</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aesch.+Pers.+556&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0012>

(*Αἰσχύλος Πέρσαι* 556)

τίπτε Δαρεῖος μὲν οὐ-  
555 τω τότε ἄβλαβῆς ἐπῆν  
τόξαρχος πολιῆταις,  
Σουσίδαις φίλος ἄκτωρ;

<sup>70</sup>Ascherson 1995, 61

<sup>71</sup>Goldhill 1988, 129

<sup>72</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aesch.+Pers.241&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0012> *Αἰσχύλος* 241-242 Ἀτοσσα

τίς δὲ ποιμάνωρ ἔπεστι κάπι δεσπόζει στρατῶ;  
Χορός

οὐτινος δοῦλοι κέκλινται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

<sup>73</sup>Goldhill 1988, 130

<sup>74</sup>Ascherson 1995, 61

<sup>75</sup>Goldhill 1988, 133

taken part.<sup>76</sup> Aeschylus does a straight forward comparison between the Athenians and the Persians.<sup>77</sup> During the 5<sup>th</sup> century the archer symbolized the barbarians and was something inferior to the ancient Greek mind.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the polarization between the Greeks and the barbarians continued approximately fifty years later in 420 BC when Euripides writes *Andromache*.<sup>79</sup> Euripides *Andromache* ‘‘645 -652’’ Menelaus [645] *How can you maintain that old men are wise, when you, Peleus, son of a famous father and connected by marriage with a man who was once renowned among the Greeks for wisdom, utter words that are disgraceful to yourself and reproachful to me on account of this barbarian woman [650] here? You ought to be driving her off to beyond the Nile's waters or beyond the Phasis—and asking for my help at it too—since she is from Asia where great numbers of Greeks fell before the spear, and she shares in the death of your son, Achilles.*’<sup>80</sup> As a result, from Aeschylus and Euripides time there was a polarization between the barbarians and the Greeks.<sup>81</sup> The Athenians wanted to signify their hegemony.<sup>82</sup> After the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the opposition between the barbarians and the Greeks changed.<sup>83</sup> They came face to face.<sup>84</sup> The ancient writers’ focused on the different behaviour, the regime (tyranny) and the excess wealth that the barbarians used to have.<sup>85</sup> Most of the tragedians believe that the barbarians were the people who were the pawns of the Greeks.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, the tragedy raised the

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<sup>76</sup>Goldhill 1988, 135

<sup>77</sup>Goldhill 1988, 135

<sup>78</sup> Hall 1989, 139

<sup>79</sup>Bacon 1961,152

<sup>80</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Eur.+Andr.+645&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0090>Ευρυπίδη 645-652 ‘‘Μενέλαος

645τί δ᾽ ἦτ’ ἄν εἴποις τοὺς γέροντας, ὥς σοφοί,  
 ὅτ’ ὦν σὺ Πηλεὺς καὶ πατὴρ κλεινοῦ γεγώς,  
 κάς τοὺς φρονεῖν δοκοῦντας Ἑλλήσιν ποτε  
 κῆδος συνάψας, αἰσχρὰ μὲν σαρτῶ λέγεις  
 ἡμῖν δ’ ὀνειδίη διὰ γυναῖκα βάρβαρον,  
 650ἣν χρῆν σ’ ἐλαύνειν τήνδ’ ὑπὲρ Νείλου ῥοᾶς  
 ὑπὲρ τε Φᾶσιν, κάμῃ παρακαλεῖν ἄμα,  
 οὗσαν μὲν ἡπειρώτιν, οὗ πεσῆματα  
 πλεῖσθ’ Ἑλλάδος πέπτωκε δοριπετῇ νεκρῶν,  
 τοῦ σοῦ δὲ παιδὸς αἵματος κοινουμένην.’’

<sup>81</sup> Weiler 1968, 28

<sup>82</sup>Beck 1994, 36

<sup>83</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 14

<sup>84</sup> Saïd 1984, 67

<sup>85</sup> Redfield 2002, 55

<sup>86</sup> Saïd 1984, 88

difference between the democratic and the tyrannical regime.<sup>87</sup> As a result, the Persian wars showed the controversy between the oriental luxury and the Greek simplicity.<sup>88</sup> However, due to the fact that Athens was the centre of Greece, the differentiation between the barbarians and the Greeks was Athenian, not Greek. Only the Athenians were able to organize a democratic regime.<sup>89</sup> The most important oppositions: a) The Athenian democracy and the Persian tyranny and despotism. b) Persians gave power to women. The Greek and the Roman society was male- dominated.<sup>90</sup>

As a result, during the Archaic period there was a sense of ethnicity and the polarization between the Greeks and the barbarians was magnified after the Persian wars. Before the Persian wars the perception of the Other came from the myths, i.e. Cyclops or the harpies in the *Odyssey*.<sup>91</sup> The Greeks, through their confrontation with the Persians, developed a growing sense of superiority and created their own ethnic identity, which they set as criteria for the definition of barbarians.<sup>92</sup>

### **The Scythians**

The Scythians, who are examined in this thesis, are the second wave of the Proto – Scythians.<sup>93</sup> These Scythians brought with them a culture which was shaped in eastern Eurasia during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>94</sup> During the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC took place the north Pontic steppe Scythian who came into contact with the Greeks who inhabited the Black Sea area.<sup>95</sup> They wore mostly leather clothes and they consume milk and meat as a part of their daily diet.<sup>96</sup> They used the skulls of their enemies as drinking cups.<sup>97</sup>

The Scythians are described by the ancient authors i.e. Pindar, Aeschylus, Pseudo-Hippocrates as people who traveled with their wagons.<sup>98</sup> Especially Herodotus devotes

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<sup>87</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 14

<sup>88</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 14

<sup>89</sup>Harrison 2002, 4

<sup>90</sup>Ascherson 1995, 62

<sup>91</sup>Hall 1989, 61

<sup>92</sup>Ascherson 1995, 49

<sup>93</sup>Murzin 2005, 33

<sup>94</sup>Murzin 2005, 33

<sup>95</sup>Alekseev 2006, 160

<sup>96</sup>Barfield 2006, 12

<sup>97</sup>Barfield 2006, 12

<sup>98</sup>Rolle 2005, 177

his fourth book to the Scythians in order to present and describe them.<sup>99</sup> The Scythians for Herodotus are people with different clothes and lives from the Greeks.<sup>100</sup> They were a nomadic tribe, who appeared in the historic records during the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when they were expelled by the Massagetai.<sup>101</sup> The Massagetai were nomadic people who lived beyond the river Araxes.<sup>102</sup> Then, the Scythians ousted the Cimmerians from the area of the Sea of Azov and from the South Caucasus.<sup>103</sup> As Rolle writes their land extended from the coast of Pontic Sea to the south, from the river Danube to the west, and from the river Don to the east.<sup>104</sup> Scythia was in the edge of the forest.<sup>105</sup> Their language was influenced by the Iranian language family.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, as far as their characteristics are concerned, they were famous for their warlike character. During the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Scythians shaped their military character.<sup>107</sup> They were well - known for their talent to shoot their arrows suitably from the horseback.<sup>108</sup> Some of them were nomads, others were settled. They raised horses and they cultivated the cereals.<sup>109</sup> Their administrative system was in fact quite loose, and the various Scythian groups handled most of their affairs through a traditional structure of tribal elders. In addition, a monetary system was not developed by the Scythians until their late history. Over time Scythian society became increasingly divided into social strata, with the inherited kings and their military retainers gaining an increasing amount of wealth and power. Although most Scythians were freemen, slaves were common in the kingdom.

The Scythians were divided into many tribal groups.<sup>110</sup> Agrarian Scythian groups lived in what is now Poltava region and between the Bug River and the Dnieper River. The lower Bug River region near Olbia was inhabited by Hellenized Scythians, known as Callippidae.<sup>111</sup> Callippidae were a mixed culturally tribe with Scythian and Greek

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<sup>99</sup>Bouzek 2008, 1

<sup>100</sup>Braund 2005, 7

<sup>101</sup>Bouzek 2008, 1

<sup>102</sup>Rosellini and Saïd 2013, 226

<sup>103</sup>Maslennikov 2005, 157

<sup>104</sup>Rolle 2011, 109

<sup>105</sup>Minns 1913, 27

<sup>106</sup>Rolle 2006, 168

<sup>107</sup>Murzin 2005, 33

<sup>108</sup>Rolle 2006, 177

<sup>109</sup>Barfield 2006, 12

<sup>110</sup>Rolle 2006, 168

<sup>111</sup>Sulimirski 1985, 152



elements.<sup>112</sup> The central Dniester River region was home to the Alazones.<sup>113</sup> *'(Herodotus 4.17) North of the port of the Borysthenites, 1 which lies midway along the coast of Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae, who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones; these and the Callippidae, though in other ways they live like the Scythians, plant and eat grain, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. [2] Above the Alazones live Scythian farmers, who plant grain not to eat but to sell; north of these, the Neuri; north of the Neuri, the land is uninhabited so far as we know.'*<sup>114</sup> Thus, there were some cases in which the Scythians adopted Greek customs, and vice versa.

North of Alazones was the Aroteres.<sup>115</sup> The kingdom was dominated by the Royal Scythians, a small but an aggressive minority in the lower Dnieper River region.<sup>116</sup> Crimea peninsula had established a system of dynastic succession. Their kingdom was divided into four districts ruled by governors who maintained justice, collected tributes, and gathered taxes from the Pontic city-states.<sup>117</sup>

### Contacts between the Scythians and the Greeks

It is interesting to present, how the first colonists lived. They lived with fishing trade.<sup>118</sup> The colonies had been built at the mouths of the Black Sea rivers i.e. Olbia at the mouth of southern Bug or at the costs.<sup>119</sup> Thus, the location of the colonies helped fish export and trade.<sup>120</sup> Later, the colonists began to plant grain for export.<sup>121</sup> Especially, during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the citizens of Olbia convinced the Scythians to

<sup>112</sup>Braund 2007, 40

<sup>113</sup> Sulimirski 1985, 152

<sup>114</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.17&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01> *'(Hρόδοτος 4.17)*

*ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενείων ἐμπορίου (τοῦ το γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαιτάτων ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίας) , ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ πρῶτοι Καλλιπίδαι ἐμονται ἐόντες Ἑλληνέες Σκύθαι, ὕπερ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Καλλιπίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτὰ Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσιν καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρίμνα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακούς καὶ ἐγγρους. [2] ὕπερ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇσι σπείρουσιν τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρῆσι. τούτων δὲ κατὰ περθεοὶ κέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορρῇ νᾶνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ''*

<sup>115</sup> Minns 1913, 27

<sup>116</sup> Sulimirski 1985, 152

<sup>117</sup> Minns 1913, 17

<sup>118</sup> Ascherson 1995, 50

<sup>119</sup> Højte 2008, 150

<sup>120</sup> Ascherson 1995, 51

<sup>121</sup> Ascherson 1995, 51

plant wheat in order to export it.<sup>122</sup> Thus, the northern shores of the Black Sea became the main source for grain for Athens.<sup>123</sup>

In 438BC the Bosporian kingdom was passed from Archaianaktidai to the rule of Spartokos. Moreover, the scholars claimed that the most prosperous age for the Kimmerian Bosphorus created from that period until the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>124</sup>

In the 7<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and in 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Greeks established colonies around the Black Sea area.<sup>125</sup> They founded colonies in an area which was considered as barbaric by the ancient Greek writers. For the Greeks, the Scythians were the northern barbarians of Europe and the ancient Greeks used the term Scythians in order to describe the nomads population who lived in the steppes north of the Black Sea and they carried their homes were their wagons.<sup>126</sup>

Borysthenes was the first connection between the Greeks and the Scythians.<sup>127</sup> From this connection the result was a cultural mix.<sup>128</sup> The Greeks were influenced by locals. Their language was a mix of barbarian and Greek. Olbia became more organized colony and the the commercial links with the Scythians developed.<sup>129</sup> The Scythians started to exchange the steppe products with the Greeks.<sup>130</sup> Scythians desired wine from the Greeks.<sup>131</sup> The Scythians in return exported slaves.<sup>132</sup> Another meeting point between the Scythians and the Greeks was the burial at Temir-Gora.<sup>133</sup> It is dating approximately in 630-600 BC and is based on painted oinochoe.<sup>134</sup> According to Herodotus there were Greeks who have adopted barbarian customs. Sometimes as Herodotus shows the Scythians adopted the Greek practices.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Ascherson 1995, 51

<sup>123</sup>Ascherson 1995, 51

<sup>124</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 16

<sup>125</sup>Petropoulos

<sup>126</sup>Rolle 2005, 177

<sup>127</sup>Kuhn 2008, 34

<sup>128</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>129</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 124

<sup>130</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 124

<sup>131</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 125

<sup>132</sup>Gavrilyuk 2007, 144

<sup>133</sup>Maslennikov 2005, 155

<sup>134</sup>Maslennikov 2005, 155

<sup>135</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

The contact between the Scythians and the Greeks changed several times. Sometimes were hostile and some others friendly.<sup>136</sup> The ancient sources during the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC testify also the fact that the installation of the Greek settlements peaceful.<sup>137</sup> The Scythians-Greek contact during the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the European Bosphorus is proved also archaeologically.<sup>138</sup> The pottery findings also verify the peaceful coexistence between the Scythians and the early Greeks during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>139</sup> The first findings were Ionian pottery from Crimea, Taganrog and Istria.<sup>140</sup> In Tomis (western part of Pontus) there is a pottery finding which is dated from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>141</sup> In addition, during the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC had been proved archaeologically, that the Greek settlements had not a Greek style rather than a barbarian appearance.<sup>142</sup>

Furthermore, there had been created trade relationships between the cities of the Black Sea area and the cities of the Greek mainland during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>143</sup> The trade goods were wine and grains.<sup>144</sup> The aim of trade was not only for exchange purposes but also for the exchange of ideas.<sup>145</sup> Due to the trade, it became known that the Scythians drunk wine.<sup>146</sup> The Scythians learnt to drink wine from the Greeks who lived in the Black Sea colonies. This was also proved archaeologically, because few amphorae have been found inside two royal Scythian tombs in Solokha kurgan.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, the seals which have been found on the amphorae belong to a north Aegean port.<sup>148</sup> This fact also indicates that the ships which sailed from Athens and were sent to the Black Sea area stopped at Northern Aegean ports and transferred amphorae with

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<sup>136</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>137</sup>Petropoulos 2003, 28

<sup>138</sup>Maslennikov 2005, 157

<sup>139</sup>Petropoulos 2003, 28

<sup>140</sup>Vinogradov 2000, 145

<sup>141</sup>Tsetschladze 1994, 119

<sup>142</sup>Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>143</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 465

<sup>144</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 466

<sup>145</sup>Braund 2007, 83

<sup>146</sup>Porucznik 2013, 713

<sup>147</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 471

<sup>148</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 471

wine.<sup>149</sup> Then the wine was sent to the Greek Black Sea colonies, and the Black Sea Greeks traded wine with the Scythians.<sup>150</sup>

However, ancient sources, prove that during the 5<sup>th</sup> century the scenery changed and became completely hostile.<sup>151</sup> Still, the hostile relations might begin before 5<sup>th</sup> century when the first fortification systems built.<sup>152</sup> There are some singly examples of fortification systems of Istros and Porthmion.<sup>153</sup> There are also evidence fire destructions in Kepoi, Myrmekion, Porthmeion and Tagnarog which testify the hostile relations between the Greeks and the local tribes.<sup>154</sup> However, more helpful are the written sources which indicate the changes which occurred during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>155</sup> After the Darius loss in his expansion to Scythia, the Scythians became more aggressive as they succeeded in creating a large area from the river Don to Danube.<sup>156</sup> Under the rule of Archaenactid dynasty in 480-438/37 BC the Scythians changed and they became very aggressive towards the Bosporian Greek colonies.<sup>157</sup> The Scythians became so savage due to their defeat of the Archaeanactids. They had to move to the hinterland to the river Kuban and Don, where the first Greeks had established their colonies.<sup>158</sup> After 438/7 BC (the Spartokids rule the area of Bosphorus) was established Great Scythia.<sup>159</sup> During that time prospered the Greek-Scythian interaction between the Greek colonies in Bosphorus and the Scythian steppe of the northern Black Sea area.<sup>160</sup> This is proved by the Cimmerian Bosphorous burials which revealed this political, cultural and economical relationship between Bosphorus and Scythia.<sup>161</sup> During the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the Bosporian upper-class was wealthy.<sup>162</sup> This is also by proved by royal tombs, in which there have been found works from the

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<sup>149</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 470

<sup>150</sup>Porucznik 2013, 713

<sup>151</sup>Dimitriadou Daphne, <Αποικισμός του Ευξεινού Πόντου>, 2003, Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Black Sea URL: < [http:// www. Ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=3683](http://www.Ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=3683)> , 1

<sup>152</sup> Højte 2008, 152

<sup>153</sup> Højte 2008, 152

<sup>154</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>155</sup> Maslennikov 2005, 158

<sup>156</sup> Georges 1987, 139

<sup>157</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>158</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>159</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>160</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>161</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>162</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

Athenian craftsmen.<sup>163</sup> These items which had been found confirmed the links between the Bosphorus and Scythia.<sup>164</sup>

Ancient texts and archeological evidence show the interaction and the clash between the Greeks and the Scythians in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>165</sup> During that era (5<sup>th</sup> century BC) the Cimmerians were attacked by the Scythians. The Scythians driven out the Cimmerians to the region of the steppe between the rivers Kuban and Dnieper.<sup>166</sup> The Scythians established a new area, controlling the whole steppe from Danube to the Caspian Sea. Thus, they were a very hostile tribe who scared their neighbours.<sup>167</sup> The aggressiveness of the Scythian came out from their expansion to the Balkans and the growth of the battles between the Scythian and the Greeks.<sup>168</sup> The valley of Dnieper was considered Scythian, whereas Olbia and the colonies surrounded it considered as Greek.<sup>169</sup> The region of Dnieper considered being the region of steppe.<sup>170</sup> The region of steppe was occupied by Scythian tribes and there was no space for the Greek colonists.<sup>171</sup> Herodotus states that the people who lived in Olbia were of Greek origin, whereas the people who inhabited the area after the cross of Byrosthene were called Borysthentes, (4.18) *‘‘these are the tribes by the Hypanis river, 1 west of the Borysthene. But on the other side of the Borysthene, the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of these live Scythian farmers, whom the Greek colonists on the Hypanis river (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneitae. [2] These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching east a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes, 2 and north as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthene; and north of these the land is desolate for a long way; [3] after the desolation is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation apart and by no means Scythian; and beyond them is true desolation, where no nation of men lives, as far as we know.’’*<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>164</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>165</sup> Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders 2012, 2

<sup>166</sup> Boardman 1964, 254

<sup>167</sup> Barfield 2006, 12

<sup>168</sup> Vinogradov 1997, 15

<sup>169</sup> Vinogradov 1989, 107

<sup>170</sup> Bylkova 2005, 132

<sup>171</sup> Bylkova 2005, 132

<sup>172</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.18&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01>  
 26 *Ἡρόδοτος (4.18) ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ ἔθνεα πρὸς ἐσπέρας τοῦ Βορυσθένης: ἀπὸρ*

This is the reason why many settlements in the region of Bug and Dniester area desisted.<sup>173</sup> During the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the Greek cities created in Kerch and in Taman peninsula the Bosphorian kingdom in order to confront the Scythian diffusion.<sup>174</sup> To confront the aggressive Scythians, the Greek colonies of the Straits of Kerch united in a military alliance.<sup>175</sup> More helpful are the written sources which indicate the changes which occurred during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the relationship between the Scythians and the Greeks slightly changed. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a prosperity period dominated between the cities and the kingdoms in the Black Sea area.<sup>177</sup> It became more commercial.<sup>178</sup> They exchanged goods, customs and slaves.<sup>179</sup> In addition, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century there was a clear polarization especially in the era of Bosphorus between the Scythians and the Greeks.<sup>180</sup>

The archeological findings confirmed that the Greeks established colonies in the hinterland of Black Sea too.<sup>181</sup> Findings from the Greek pottery have been found in Nemirov and Bel'sk settlements which were north into the forest steppe.<sup>182</sup> This is also proved by Herodotean texts, *'(4.105) The Neuri follow Scythian customs; but one generation before the advent of Darius' army, they happened to be driven from their country by snakes; for their land produced great numbers of these, and still more came down on them out of the desolation on the north, until at last the Neuri were so afflicted that they left their own country and lived among the Budini. It may be that these people are wizards; [2] for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say*

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διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄν ωῖόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἑλληνέες οἰοικέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεῖτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας. [2] οὗτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡ ὦ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατ' ἡκόντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κεῖται Παντικᾶπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον πλὸν ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένα ἡμερέων ἑνδεκα. ἡ δὲ κατ' ὑπερθετούτων ἡ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλόν. [3] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὼν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατ' ὑπερθε ἔρημον ἡδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

<sup>173</sup> Vinogradov 1997, 15

<sup>174</sup> Dimitriadou Daphne, <Αποικισμός του Ευξεινού Πόντου>, 2003, Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Black Sea URL: < [http:// www. Ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=3683](http://www.Ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=3683) > , 2

<sup>175</sup> Burstein 2006, 142

<sup>176</sup> Maslennikov 2005, 158

<sup>177</sup> Dimitriadou Daphne, <Αποικισμός του Ευξεινού Πόντου>, 2003, Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Black Sea URL: < [http:// www. Ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=3683](http://www.Ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=3683) > , 2

<sup>178</sup> Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders 2012, 2

<sup>179</sup> Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders 2012, 3

<sup>180</sup> Maslennikov 2005, 160

<sup>181</sup> Tsetskhladze 1998, 17

<sup>182</sup> Højte 2008, 151

that once a year every one of the Neuroi becomes a wolf for a few days and changes back again to his former shape. Those who tell this tale do not convince me; but they tell it nonetheless, and swear to its truth.’<sup>183</sup> The Neuroi moved to the hinterland.<sup>184</sup> (4.108-4.109) The Budini are a great and populous nation; the eyes of them all are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is three and three quarters miles in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; [2] for there are temples of Greek gods among them, furnished in Greek style with images and altars and shrines of wood; and they honor Dionysus every two years with festivals and revelry. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini do not speak the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.’<sup>185</sup> Gelonoi were Greeks and this is testified by their appearance and their customs as Herodotus states. They had moved from the coastal emporia to the hinterland and they lived among the Budini.<sup>186</sup> Budini lived to the north of Scythia and they spoke Graeco-Scythian language.<sup>187</sup> They probably moved from the coastal emporia because they searched for other financial opportunities except trade.<sup>188</sup> Propably, the settlements nearby the sea did not offer a suitable place for agriculture.<sup>189</sup> Moreover, many Greeks changed their residence from the coasts to the

<sup>183</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.105&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> Ηρόδοτος 4.105 Νευροῖδὲν νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μιῇ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρειοῦ στρατηλασίης κατέλαβέ κλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπὸ πόφῳ· ὁφθαλμοὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ μὲν ἡχώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἳ δὲ πλεῖν ἐξ ἄνωθεν σφικτῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὅτι πεζόμοιοι οἰκήσαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἐν ὠτῶν κλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόνιζε εἶναι. [2] λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὥς ἕτερος ἐκάστου ἅπαζ τῶν Νευρῶν ἑκάστον γλύκος γίνεταί ηἱ μέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὐτὶς ὁπίσω ἐξ τῶν τόκων ἀτίσται. ἐμμένοντα ὅτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσπον, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐλέγοντες.

<sup>184</sup> Braund 2008, 360

<sup>185</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.108&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> Ηρόδοτος 4.108-4.109 Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαται αὐτή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μὲν οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι καὶ κήπου ἐκτεταμένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν γῆν ὁμοιοῦν δὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὁρθῶς καλέονται. [2]

ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασέα ἰδιόσπιαν τοῖσι:

ἐν δὲ τῇ ἰδιότητι πλείστη ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν.

ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐν ὄρεσι κάλιστα ὁρᾶται καὶ ἀλλὰ θηρία τε τραγὸν πρόσωπα,

τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παρὰ ῥά πτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχεις αὐτοῖσι εἰς ἰσχυρήσι μοῖς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

<sup>186</sup> Braund 2008, 359

<sup>187</sup> Rolle 2005, 178

<sup>188</sup> Rusyayeva 2007, 102

<sup>189</sup> Højte 2008, 153

hinterland in the area of Crimean Bosphorus Panticapeum, Nymphaeum, Theodosia, Phanagoria Hermonassa and Kepoi.<sup>190</sup>

During the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the most important colony in the Black Sea area was Olbia.<sup>191</sup> Olbia was colonized by the Milesians.<sup>192</sup> Herodotus had an excellent knowledge of Olbia, a site in the northern coast of the Black Sea area.<sup>193</sup> The city flourished firstly as a trading post (*emporium*) and harbour.<sup>194</sup> Trade wine started after the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>195</sup> Then the wheat trade was extended in Olbia.<sup>196</sup> In addition, Olbia imported wine from the Greek world and this was their main exchange good with the Scythians.<sup>197</sup> The Scythians wanted wine in order to show their esteem in the Scythian society.<sup>198</sup> This is the reason why the rich Scythians wanted the wine in order to present their power inside the Scythian society.<sup>199</sup> In addition, the upper-class Scythian use wine in their burials.<sup>200</sup> The Scythians exchanged wine with the supply of slaves.<sup>201</sup> Olbia reached its peak in the field of trade during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>202</sup> Generally, the scholars have been said that the Olbians and the Greeks from the Aegean islands bought grain from the Scythians. Moreover, Shcheglov states that the Scythians exported also their wild animals and propably slaves.<sup>203</sup> In 470 BC the change in relationship between the Scythians and the Greeks became clearer.<sup>204</sup> Olbia was limited and in 470 BC extrapolated the opinions about the “*Scythia protectorate*” in Olbia.<sup>205</sup> That mean, that the *Olbiopolitai* had to pay tribute to the Scythian elites.<sup>206</sup> The lists of the Greek exported products were amphorae and weapons.<sup>207</sup> The

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<sup>190</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>191</sup>Buyskikh 2007, 23

<sup>192</sup>Ascherson 1995, 68

<sup>193</sup>Braund 2008, 349

<sup>194</sup>Ascherson 1995, 68

<sup>195</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 124

<sup>196</sup>Ascherson 1995, 68

<sup>197</sup>Braund 2008, 354

<sup>198</sup>Braund 2008, 354

<sup>199</sup>Braund 2008, 354

<sup>200</sup>Braund 2008, 354

<sup>201</sup>Braund 2008, 356

<sup>202</sup>Buyskikh 2007, 34

<sup>203</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 125

<sup>204</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 125

<sup>205</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 125

<sup>206</sup>Højte 2008, 155

<sup>207</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 130



evidence of all these are the royal Scythian burials.<sup>208</sup> Olbia is the most characteristic example of interaction between the Greeks and the non-Greek people.<sup>209</sup> The Scythian-Olbian economical bonds came to an end around the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>210</sup> After 325 BC not only the trade but also political and social links between the Greeks and the Scythians restricted.<sup>211</sup> The reason of the financial decline might be the lack of economical interest from the side of Olbia.<sup>212</sup> As a result, from the beginning of fifth century BC trade developed economically both Olbia and Scythia.<sup>213</sup>

To conclude the whole Black Sea colonies experienced the exchange of goods with the Scythians.<sup>214</sup> Olbia played the main role in these exchanges.<sup>215</sup> The region of Bosporus had some commercial relationships but to a lower extend than Olbia.<sup>216</sup> During the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek colonies of Bosporus were the main supplier of grain to Athens.<sup>217</sup> In addition, the Greek colonies of Chersonesus sold amphorae to the Scythian market, this had been proved archaeologically.<sup>218</sup> After the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the commercial links between the Scythians and the Greeks who inhabited the Black Sea area came to an end.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>208</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 132

<sup>209</sup>Braund 2007, 74

<sup>210</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 132

<sup>211</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 132

<sup>212</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 132

<sup>213</sup>Leypunskaya 2007, 125

<sup>214</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 132

<sup>215</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 133

<sup>216</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 133

<sup>217</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 133

<sup>218</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 133

<sup>219</sup>Leypunskaya 2005, 133



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## Chapter 1. The historiography during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC

### *The Scythians in Herodotus*

Here, I collect the Herodotean passages in which there is some piece of information about the Scythians. Herodotus is the first, who offers a full account of the various tribes living in the Black Sea area. The Herodotean text is very important because it is the main source of information about the Scythians. They can be divided in three main categories, which are helpful for our way of analysis: in the first category belong the passages in which we have simple references to the Scythians by name. In the second, there are sections which we find information about the Scythian and their land. Thirdly, there are some passages in which we find information about the Scythian way of life and their contacts with the Greeks. Herodotus in his fourth book starts with a motive which is well-known in mythology. He begins by writing about the origins of the Scythians as follows (4.5 -7): ‘‘ *The Scythians say that their nation is the youngest in the world, and that it came into being in this way. A man whose name was Targitaïs*

<sup>220</sup>[https://www.google.gr/search?q=maps+of+black+Sea+in+classic+period&source=lnms&tbm=isch&s a=X&ei=bka3Uv\\_NDeqW0AWd14HQDQ&ved=0CAcQ\\_AUoAQ&biw=1366&bih=629#facrc=\\_&img dii=\\_&imgcr=Rn62No7SfncB7M%3A%3Bsnq6OZwJ5HYcM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fupload.wi kimedia.org%252Fwikipedia%252Fcommons%252F1%252F15%252FAncient\\_Greek\\_Colonies\\_of\\_N\\_ Black\\_Sea.png%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fen.wikipedia.org%252Fwiki%252FChersonesus\\_\(Crimea\) %3B1301%3B818](https://www.google.gr/search?q=maps+of+black+Sea+in+classic+period&source=lnms&tbm=isch&s a=X&ei=bka3Uv_NDeqW0AWd14HQDQ&ved=0CAcQ_AUoAQ&biw=1366&bih=629#facrc=_&img dii=_&imgcr=Rn62No7SfncB7M%3A%3Bsnq6OZwJ5HYcM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fupload.wi kimedia.org%252Fwikipedia%252Fcommons%252F1%252F15%252FAncient_Greek_Colonies_of_N_ Black_Sea.png%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fen.wikipedia.org%252Fwiki%252FChersonesus_(Crimea) %3B1301%3B818)

appeared in this country, which was then desolate. They say that his parents were Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes river (I do not believe the story, but it is told).<sup>1</sup> [2] Such was Targitaüs' lineage; and he had three sons: Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. [3] In the time of their rule (the story goes) certain implements—namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask, all of gold—fell down from the sky into Scythia. The eldest of them, seeing these, approached them meaning to take them; but the gold began to burn as he neared, and he stopped. [4] Then the second approached, and the gold did as before. When these two had been driven back by the burning gold, the youngest brother approached and the burning stopped, and he took the gold to his own house. In view of this, the elder brother agreed to give all the royal power to the youngest.<sup>221</sup> Lipoxaïs, it is said, was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxaïs, the second brother, of those called Katiari and Trasprians; the youngest, who was king, of those called Paralatae. [2] All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king; “Scythians” is the name given them by Greeks. This, then, is the Scythians' account of their origin, and they say that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed from the time of their first king Targitaüs to the entry of Darius into their country.<sup>222</sup>

<sup>221</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.5&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>  
6Ηρόδοτος

4.5<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.5&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>

ὥς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι  
πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐούση ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον· τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέ  
γουσιεῖναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὧν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένης τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. [2]  
γένεος μέντοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόζαιν καὶ Ἀρπόξ  
αῖν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάζαιν. [3] ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερομένα χρύσεια ποιήματα, ἄροτρό  
ν τε καὶ ζυγόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν· καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσ  
σον εἶναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι. [4] ἀπαλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέν  
αι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὐτισταῦτα ποιέειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νε  
ωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκείνον κομίσει ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς τ  
αῦτα συγγόντας τὴν βασιλῆην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

<sup>222</sup>Ηρόδοτος 4.6 -7

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.6&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>  
ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιπόζαιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρπ  
οζάιος οἱ Κατίαιοί τε καὶ Τράσπιδες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ καλέονται Παρ  
αλάται· [2] σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὐνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες ὠνόμασαν.  
γεγονέναι μὲν νυν σφέας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι, ἔτα δὲ σφίσι ἐπεῖτε γεγόνασιν τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρσίην διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἄλλα τοσαῦτα.  
τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασόμενοι μ  
ετέρχονται ἀνά πᾶν ἔτος. [2] ὅς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος  
λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διεναντίζειν. δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵππων ἐν ἡμέρῃ μὴ περιελάσῃ αὐτὸς

As it has already been pointed out the motive of the story is familiar: a father with his three sons arrives from another civilized place in what appears to a remote and desolate land, in the periphery of the ‘‘ancient world’’.<sup>223</sup> They are descendants of Zeus, hence they have a divine origin, and seek to find ways of civilizing their kingdom. The help a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask- falls from the sky, but only the youngest son is capable of handling these items.<sup>224</sup> The myth ends with the latter becoming the absolute king of the country. This myth puts the Scythians in the sphere of the non – Greek peoples, who become civilized with external help but they still belong to an inferior cultural status compared to the Greeks. Besides the information about the origin of the Scythians in that passage Herodotus makes us another remarkable comment: he points out that the name ‘‘Scythia’’ was first introduced and applied to this land by the Greeks.<sup>225</sup> He recounts the myth that the Scythians came to their land approximately a thousand years, before Herodotus was born.<sup>226</sup> (Herodotus 2.145) ‘‘Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt, Pan is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the earliest of all; Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods); and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. [2] How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. [3] The Egyptians claim to be sure of all this, since they have reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. [4] Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.’’<sup>227</sup> In this way, he incorporates the

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. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐούσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιλείας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάζαιν , καὶ τουτέων μίανποιῆσαι μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. [3] τὰ δὲ κατὰ περθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας οὐκ οἷα τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὄραν οὔτε διεξίεναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων: πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥερα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληίοντα τὴν ὄψιν

<sup>223</sup>Hall 1989, 114

<sup>224</sup>Bouzek 2008, 1

<sup>225</sup>Hartog 1988, 27

<sup>226</sup>Hartog 1988, 28

<sup>227</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+2.145&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> ἐν Ἑλλησι μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ’

Scythians to the Greek mythology, not only for comparison reasons but also in order to make his audience more familiar with them. Moreover, the Greeks established their cult in the colonies of Olbia and Berezan in order to acquire rights over the land which they colonized.<sup>228</sup> Especially Achilles and Heracles were the most popular deities who were used by the Greeks, especially in the case of Olbia.<sup>229</sup> Heracles is connected with the Black Sea region with his tenth labour.<sup>230</sup> Thus, he was one of the most important colonizers in the Black Sea area.<sup>231</sup> Thus, it is interesting the fact that the Greeks in order to justify their intercourse with the Scythians they claimed that they were the ancestors of them.<sup>232</sup>

Still, there is another variation of the Scythian origins which derives from another myth: According to the Greek historian, the Greeks who lived around the Black Sea believed that the Scythians originated from Heracles, who, on his way back from with Geryones' oxen, made a stop in the desolate land, where the Scythians lived. He slept for a while, since he was tired, with his mares near him. And the story continues: *When Heracles awoke, he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, until at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half maiden and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. [2] When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not return them to him before he had intercourse with her; Heracles did, in hope of this reward. [3] But though he was anxious to take the horses and go, she delayed returning them, so that she might have Heracles with her for as long as possible; at last she gave them back, telling him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have*

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Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πάν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυνάδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἳ ἐκ τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. [2] Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε: Πανὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων πλεονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα. [3] καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπρεκέως φασὶ. ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. [4] Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἐξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα: Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῆος λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.

<sup>228</sup>Rusyaeva 2007, 95

<sup>229</sup>Rusyaeva 2007, 95

<sup>230</sup>Rusyaeva 2007, 95

<sup>231</sup>Rusyaeva 2007, 95

<sup>232</sup>Gruen 2011, 225

paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. [4] Now tell me what I am to do when they are grown up: shall I keep them here (since I am queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered: [5] "When you see the boys are grown up, do as follows and you will do rightly: whichever of them you see bending this bow and wearing this belt so, make him an inhabitant of this land; but whoever falls short of these accomplishments that I require, send him away out of the country. Do so and you shall yourself have comfort, and my will shall be done."<sup>233</sup>

On the other hand, the Scythians were proud of their perception of being the youngest nation in the entire world.<sup>234</sup> In addition, it is interesting the fact that there are three different versions in mythology about the Scythian origin.<sup>235</sup> Herodotus narrates as follows," (8-10) this is what the Scythians say about themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks who live in Pontus is as follows. Heracles, driving the cattle of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desolate, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. [2] Geryones lived west of the Pontus, I settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows around the whole world from where the sun rises, but they cannot prove that this is so. [3] Heracles came from there to the country now called Scythia, where, encountering wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, which were grazing yoked to the chariot, were spirited away by divine fortune. When

<sup>233</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.9&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.012>  
6 Ηρόδοτος

4. '9. ὥς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλ αἰήνκαλεομένην γῆν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιζοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄν ω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἐνερθε ὄφιός. [2] ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κοῦ ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας· τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῇ· τὸ δὲ Ἡρα κλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπιτῶ μισθῷ τοῦτω. [3] κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὥς πλείστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδού σαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν Ἴππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσα τοὶ ἐγώ, σῶστρον τε σὺ παρέσχε· ἐγὼ γὰ ρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. [4] τούτους, ἐπεὶ γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιέειν, ἐζήγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατ οικίζω (χώρας γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτῇ) εἴτε ἀποπέμψω παρὰ σέ. ' τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸ ν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν [5] 'ἐπεὶ ἀνάνδρωθέντας ἴδῃ τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιέουσα οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὀρᾷς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὥδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτ ον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρας οἰκίτορα ποιεῦ· ὅς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τ ῆς χώρας, καὶ ταῦτα ποιέουσα αὐτὴ τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐν τεταλμένα ποιήσεις.'

<sup>234</sup>Hartog 1988, 17

<sup>235</sup>Hartog 1988, 20

*Heracles awoke, he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, until at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half maiden and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. [2] When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not return them to him before he had intercourse with her; Heracles did, in hope of this reward. [3] But though he was anxious to take the horses and go, she delayed returning them, so that she might have Heracles with her for as long as possible; at last she gave them back, telling him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. [4] Now tell me what I am to do when they are grown up: shall I keep them here (since I am queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered: [5] "When you see the boys are grown up, do as follows and you will do rightly: whichever of them you see bending this bow and wearing this belt so, make him an inhabitant of this land; but whoever falls short of these accomplishments that I require, send him away out of the country. Do so and you shall yourself have comfort, and my will shall be done." So he drew one of his bows (for until then Heracles always carried two), and showed her the belt, and gave her the bow and the belt, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, he departed. But when the sons born to her were grown men, she gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; furthermore, remembering the instructions, she did as she was told. [2] Two of her sons, Agathyrus and Gelonus, were cast out by their mother and left the country, unable to fulfill the requirements set; but Scythes, the youngest, fulfilled them and so stayed in the land. [3] From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their belts to this day. This alone his mother did for Scythes. This is what the Greek dwellers in Pontus say. '236*

<sup>236</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0126><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.10&fromdoc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0126> Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπερ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατ' ὑπερθε λέγουσι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκεῖντες ὧδε. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνας βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἦντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. [2] Γηρυόνα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἑλληνέας λέγουσι Ἑρύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροις τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνῦσι. [3] ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώραν καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χεῖμῶνα τε καὶ

This myth, which was created by the Greeks who lived around the Black Sea area served a special purpose. Simon Hornblower has recently argued that, during the colonization of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Greeks who settled in new areas were noticeably and sometimes ingeniously prone to re-categorize as Greeks the people whom they found there.<sup>237</sup> Having said this, it can be also argued that the creation of this Greek past with respect to the local inhabitants of newly founded colonies, must be seen against the backdrop of political aspirations.<sup>238</sup> Almost unavoidably, the geographical growth involved and the claims to ownership that extended well beyond territorial expansion covering an entire ideological agenda raised questions of identity.<sup>239</sup> Hornblower traced this tendency of recategorizing in Herodotus and his representation of the Lydian king Croesus. Since the Herakleidai were the first Lydian dynasty the, according to Hornblower, then the first barbarian to injure Greeks turns out to be a ruler of a land, which, under earlier management, had a <good Greek pedigree>.<sup>240</sup> Xydopoulos does not agree with this line of thought, “since to rule over

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*κρυμὸν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντήν κατυπνώσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ἰὺν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θεῖναι τύχῃ. ὥς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν: ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄνθρωποις μιζοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφιός. [2] ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας: τὴν δὲ φάσαι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μυχθῇ: τὸ δὲ Ἡρακλέα μυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. [3] κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὥς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδούσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν Ἴππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσα τοὶ ἐγώ, σῶστρον τε σὺ παρέσχες: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. [4] τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρὴ ποίειν, ἐξηγήσομαι σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρας γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὕτη) εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ. τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτῶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν [5] 'ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃ τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιέουσα οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις: τὸν μὲν ἂν ὀργᾷ αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορα ποιέω: ὃς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπῃται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ταῦτα ποιέουσα αὕτη τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις.' τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσήν, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφί οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. [2] καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἷους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον, οἷχασθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεωτάτον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῇ χωρῇ. [3] καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας: τὸ δὴ μῶνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. 1 ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκόντες λέγουσι.'"*

<sup>237</sup>Hornblower 2008, 39

<sup>238</sup>Horndlower 2008, 29- 30

<sup>239</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 19

<sup>240</sup>Horndlower 2008, 39



a country, which was discovered, or a state'' founded by someone belonging to another ethnicity, does not imply any changes to the ethnicity of the contemporary ruler.<sup>241</sup> Furthermore, this recategorization was not used for every foreign people that the Greeks met in their adventures, explorations and discoveries. For the area we are dealing with, i.e. the Black Sea in general and the hinterland to its north, this is exactly the practice that was followed. Early Greek presence north of the Pontus was widely known, since it had been mythically 'secured' by diffuses of mythical narratives concerning famous heroes such as Heracles, Achilles, and Iphigenia, as well as an entire expedition that took place in this area.<sup>242</sup> As Braund observes the intermarriage between the *Echidna* and Heracles could be exemplified an archetype of the Greco-Scythian marriages.<sup>243</sup>

He describes the crossings which the Scythians made to Sindica.<sup>244</sup> (*Herodotus* 4.28) *living on this side of the trench lead armies over the ice, and drive their wagons across to the land of the Sindi. All the aforesaid country is exceedingly cold: for eight months of every year there is unbearable frost, and during these you do not make mud by pouring out water but by lighting a fire; the sea freezes, as does all the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians living on this side of the trench lead armies over the ice, and drive their wagons across to the land of the Sindi. [2] So it is winter for eight months, and cold in that country for the four that remain. Here, there is a different sort of winter than the winters in other lands: for in the season for rain scarcely any falls, but all summer it rains unceasingly; [3] and when there are thunderstorms in other lands, here there are none, but in summer there are plenty of them; if there is a thunderstorm in winter they are apt to wonder at it as at a portent. And so, too, if there is an earthquake summer or winter, it is considered a portent in Scythia. [4] Horses have the endurance to bear the Scythian winter; mules and asses cannot bear it at all; and yet in other lands, while asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.*<sup>245</sup> In this passage Herodotus refers to the Scythians who had been

<sup>241</sup>Xydopoulos 2010, 19

<sup>242</sup>Petropoulos 2003, 21

<sup>243</sup>Rusyayeva 2007, 96

<sup>244</sup>Maslennikov 2005, 158

<sup>245</sup>Ἡρόδοτος 4.28 δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐστί, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν. 1ῃ δὲ θάλασσα πῆγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάζας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. [2] οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελεῖ χειμῶν ἐών, τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοιπούς τέσσαρας ψύχρα αὐτόθι ἐστί.

living in the area of the eastern Crimea.<sup>246</sup> They developed cultural, economical and political links with the Greeks who inhabited the area of Bosphorus. Moreover, during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the area of Bosphorus supplied Athens with wheat. Athens in return exported attic art. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the Scythians works which are known came from Athens.<sup>247</sup>

Herodotus also presents the Scythian customs and their way of life.<sup>248</sup> The Scythians who dominated steppe Scythia had social classes. They were the royal Scythians and they treated to other Scythians as slaves.<sup>249</sup> *Herodotus 4.20 Across the Gerrus are those lands called Royal, where the best and most numerous of the Scythians are, who consider all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches south to the Tauric land, and east to the trench that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and to the port called The Cliffs<sup>1</sup> on the Maeetian lake; and part of it stretches to the Tanais river. [2] North of the Royal Scythians live the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.*<sup>250</sup> The Scythians punished their slaves because the slaves had been sleeping with their wives.<sup>251</sup> Herodotus writes as follows, (*Herodotus 4.2*) *Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, because of the milk<sup>1</sup> they drink; and this is how they get it: taking tubes of bone very much like flutes, they insert these into the genitalia of the mares and blow into them, some blowing while Other milk. According to them, their reason for doing this is that blowing makes the mare's veins swell and her udder drop. [2] When done milking, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets,*

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κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοις γινομένοις χειμῶσι, ἐν τῇ τὴν μὲν ὥραϊν οὐκ ἔστι λόγος ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὕον οὐκ ἀνιέι: [3] βρονταί τε ἤμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρος δὲ ἀμφιλαφές: ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὥς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς γένηται ἦν τε θέρος ἦν τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νενόμισται. [4] ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν: τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῶ ἔστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

<sup>246</sup> Maslennikov 2005, 159

<sup>247</sup> Bouzek 2000, 11

<sup>248</sup> Hartog 1988, 19

<sup>249</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>250</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.20&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01>  
 25 ‘‘Ἡρόδοτος 4.20 πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλεῦμενα βασιλῆα ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοι τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι: κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γεγόμενοι ὠρυζαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλεῖται Κρημνοί: τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. [2] τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιλῆων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μεγάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. Μεγάγχλαινων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατ’ ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.’’

<sup>251</sup> Braund 1999, 522

and make their slaves stand around the buckets and shake the milk; they draw off what stands on the surface and value this most; what lies at the bottom is less valued. This is why the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take: for they do not cultivate the soil, but are nomads.<sup>252</sup> The question which is posed here is why the Scythians choose milk? Herodotus just narrates the procedure which Scythians used to blind their slaves.<sup>253</sup> For the Greeks drinking milk reminds them uncivilized way of life i.e. in Homer 'poem Odyssey, Cyclop was drinking milk and he did not know wine. For the Greeks this is an uncivilized sign as they only drunk wine mixed with the water. Thus, for the Greeks wine is a civilized drink. The fact that the Scythians used to drink milk categorized them to the uncivilized people. However, Herodotus and other ancient authors do not criticize the Scythians because they are milk-drinking.<sup>254</sup> Many of them as Aeschylus and Strabo presented it as a positive site of the Scythian lifestyle.<sup>255</sup> Strabo quotes some fragments of Aeschylus work from Prometheus trilogy, (7.3.1) *Just now I was discussing the Thracians, and the ““Mysians, hand-to-hand fighters, and the proud Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, men most just,””*<sup>12</sup> *because I wished to make a comparison between the statements made by Poseidonius and myself and those made by the two men in question. Take first the fact that the argument which they have attempted is contrary to the proposition which they set out to prove; for although they set out to prove that the men of earlier times were more ignorant of regions remote from Greece than the men of more recent times, they showed the reverse, not only in regard to regions remote, but also in regard to places in Greece itself. However, as I was saying, let me put off everything else and look to what is now before me: they<sup>3</sup> say that the poet through ignorance fails to mention the Scythians, or their savage dealings with strangers, in that they sacrifice them, eat their flesh, and use their skulls as drinking-cups, although it was on account of the Scythians that the*

<sup>252</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.2&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.012>  
 6 Ηρόδοτος 4.2

*τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὧδε. ἐπεὰν φουσι ἤραςλάβωσι ὅστεῖνους ἀλοῖσι προσεμπερεστάτους, τοὺτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φουσι τοῖσιστόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων φουσόντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιεῖν: τὰς φλέβας τῆς πίμπλασθαιφουσόμενας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὐθαρ κατίεσθαι. [2] ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλζωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ζύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλακαὶ περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον, τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἥσσον τοῦ ἑτέρου. τοῦτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ὃν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι. οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες.*

<sup>253</sup>Braund 1999, 523

<sup>254</sup>Braund 1999, 526

<sup>255</sup>Braund 1999, 526

*Puntus* was called “Axine,” but that he invents certain “proud Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, men most just”—people that exist nowhere on earth, How, then, could they call the sea “Axine” if they did not know about the ferocity or about the people who were most ferocious? And these, of course, are the Scythians. And were the people who lived beyond the Mysians and Thracians and Getae not also “Hippemolgi,”<sup>4</sup> not also “Galactophagi”<sup>5</sup> and “Abii”?<sup>6</sup> In fact, even now<sup>7</sup> there are Wagon-dwellers and Nomads, so called, who live off their herds, and on milk and cheese, and particularly on cheese made from mare's milk, and know nothing about storing up food or about peddling merchandise either, except the exchange of wares for wares. How, then, could the poet be ignorant of the Scythians if he called certain people “Hippemolgi and Galactophagi”? For that the people of his time were wont to call the Scythians “Hippemolgi,” Hesiod, too, is witness in the words cited by Eratosthenes: “The Ethiopians, the Ligurians, and also the Scythians, Hippemolgi.”<sup>8</sup> Now wherein is it to be wondered at that, because of the widespread injustice connected with contracts in our country, Homer called “most just” and “proud” those who by no means spend their lives on contracts and money-getting but actually possess all things in common except sword and drinking-cup, and above all things have their wives and their children in common, in the Platonic way? <sup>9</sup> Aeschylus, too, is clearly pleading the cause of the poet when he says about the Scythians: ““But the Scythians, law-abiding, eaters of cheese made of mare's milk.” ”<sup>10</sup> And this assumption even now still persists among the Greeks; for we regard the Scythians the most straightforward of men and the least prone to mischief, as also far more frugal and independent of Other than we are. And yet our mode of life has spread its change for the worse to almost all peoples, introducing amongst them luxury and sensual pleasures and, to satisfy these vices, base artifices that lead to innumerable acts of greed. So then, much wickedness of this sort has fallen on the barbarian peoples also, on the Nomads as well as the rest; for as the result of taking up a seafaring life they not only have become morally worse, indulging in the practice of piracy and of slaying strangers, but also, because of their intercourse with many peoples, have partaken of the luxury and the peddling habits of those peoples. But though these things seem to conduce strongly to gentleness of manner, they corrupt morals and introduce cunning instead of the straightforwardness which I just now mentioned.’’<sup>256</sup> These above are

<sup>256</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Strab.+7.3.7&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.>

general views which categorized the Scythians as they had barbarian characteristics like Persians, i.e. morally wrong behaviour.

Once in every year, the Scythian governors offered a bowl of wine to the Scythians who had killed their enemies.<sup>257</sup> (*Herodotus 4.66*) Furthermore, once a year each governor of a province brews a bowl of wine in his own province, which those Scythians who have slain enemies drink; those who have not achieved this do not taste this wine but sit apart dishonored; and this they consider a very great disgrace; but as many as have slain not one but many enemies have two cups apiece and drink out of both.<sup>258</sup> For the Scythians, this custom was a kind of plunder and this behaviour showed their military bravery *aristieia*.<sup>259</sup> The Scythian way of drinking wine without mix it with water is a barbarian symbol. The Greeks always mix the wine with the water. In Anacreon texts' which are preserved through the texts of Athenaeus, the Scythians were known in Athens as drunken people. According to their customs, the Scythians used to drink their wine without adding any water. Whilst, the Athenians drunk their wine always mixed with water, and believed that this Scythian custom was uncivilized. (*Anacreon 76, preserved in Ath.11.427a;*) *Boy, bring me a cup, to drink at a gulp; Mix ten measures of water and five of wine, So that once again and peacefully, I may honor Dionysus. Let's not fall, Into riot and disorder, With our wine, like the Scythians, But let us drink in moderation. Listening to the lovely hymns.*<sup>260</sup> This passage proves what the Greeks should avoid during a symposium.<sup>261</sup> As a result, the Scythian way of drinking was the wrong way and if somebody drunk like a Scythian this would mean that he had barbarian behaviour.<sup>262</sup> Liddell and Scott prove that for the Greeks the infinitive 'σκυθίζειν' meant someone whose manners were Scythian and that he drunk unmixed wine.<sup>263</sup> The Scythian custom of drinking pure wine is also

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<sup>257</sup>Hartog 1988, 165

<sup>258</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.66&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01>

<sup>260</sup>Herodotus 4.66

*ἄραξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης ἑκάστος ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ νομῷ κρινᾷ κρητῆρα οἶνον, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ἂν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι. τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦοἶνον τούτου, ἀλλ' ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέονται. ὄνειδος δὲ σφι ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῷ γκαὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδου κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουσι ὁμοῦ.*

<sup>259</sup>Hartog 1988, 163

<sup>260</sup>Lissarrague 1990, 91

<sup>261</sup>Osborne 2007, 38

<sup>262</sup>Osborne 2007, 38

<sup>263</sup>Liddell – Scott 1996

referred in Plato's text (*Laws* 1.637) *Athenian O Stranger of Lacedaemon, all such indulgences are praiseworthy where there exists a strain of firm moral fiber, [637c] but where this is relaxed they are quite stupid. An Athenian in self-defence might at once retaliate by pointing to the looseness of the women in your country. Regarding all such practices, whether in Tarentum, Athens or Sparta, there is one answer that is held to vindicate their propriety. The universal answer to the stranger who is surprised at seeing in a State some unwonted practice is this: "Be not surprised, O Stranger: such is the custom with us: with you, perhaps, the custom in these matters is different."* [637d] *But, my dear Sirs, our argument now is not concerned with the rest of mankind but with the goodness or badness of the lawgivers themselves. So let us deal more fully with the subject of drunkenness in general for it is a practice of no slight importance, and it requires no mean legislator to understand it. I am now referring not to the drinking or non-drinking of wine generally, but to drunkenness pure and simple, and the question is—ought we to deal with it as the Scythians and Persians do and the Carthaginians also, and Celts, [637e] Iberians and Thracians, who are all warlike races, or as you Spartans do; for you, as you say, abstain from it altogether, whereas the Scythians and Thracians, both men and women, take their wine neat and let it pour down over their clothes, and regard this practice of theirs as a noble and splendid practice; and the Persians indulge greatly in these and other luxurious habits which you reject, albeit in a more orderly fashion than the others.*<sup>264</sup> However, the fact that the Scythians were considered to have a tendency in drinking wine, had to do not with the quantity of wine but with the fact that they did not mix wine with water.<sup>265</sup> This

<sup>264</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Plat.+Laws+1.637&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0166> Ἀθηναῖος

ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε ζένε, ἐπαινετὰ μὲν πάντ' ἐστὶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅπου τινὲς ἔνεισιν καρτερήσεις, ὅπου δὲ ἀνεῖνται, [637ζ] βλακικώτερα: ταχὺ γὰρ σου λάβοιτ' ἀντιστῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀμυνόμενος, δεικνὺς τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἄνεσιν. ἅπασιν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν δέ, μία ἀπόκρισις ἀπολύεσθαι δοκεῖ τοῦ μὴ κακῶς ἐχειν ἄλλ' ὀρθῶς: πᾶς γὰρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐρεῖ θαυμάζοντι ζένη, τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀήθειαν ὀρῶντι, 'μὴ θαύμαζε, ὦ ζένη: νόμος ἔσθ' ἡμῖν οὗτος, ἴσως δ' ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τοῦτων [637δ] ἕτερος. ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶν οὖν, ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν κακίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἐτι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔπωμεν πλείω περὶ ἀπάσης μέθης: οὐ γὰρ σμικρόν ἐστιν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα οὐδὲ φαύλου διαγνώωναι νομοθέτου. λέγω δ' οὐκοῦν περὶ πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ μή, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς πέρι, πότερον ὥσπερ Σκύθαι χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι χρηστέον, καὶ ἐτι Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες καὶ Θρᾷκες, πολεμικὰ [637ε] σύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, ἢ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς: ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε, Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θρᾷκες ἀκράτῳ παντάπασι χρώμενοι, γυναικῆς τε καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἰματίων καταχεόμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύειν νομίσασιν. Πέρσαι δὲ σφόδρα μὲν χρῶνται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τρυφαῖς ἃς ὑμεῖς ἀποβάλλετε, ἐντάξει δὲ μάλλον τοῦτων.

<sup>265</sup> Porucznik 2013, 713

was a part of the Scythian culture which was totally opposed to the Greek one.<sup>266</sup> The Greeks always drunk wine mixed with water. As a result, the image of the drunken Scythian was popular in Greek tradition as something strange and totally foreign for the Greek society.<sup>267</sup>

We can conceive of the Athenian reaction audience. It would be really shocked by hearing this kind of custom and that it was also a remark of bravery. On the contrary, in ancient Greece, the prizes for bravery and plunder were completely different for them.<sup>268</sup> The most important prizes were the recognition of the city and an olive wreath.<sup>269</sup> As a result, the Greeks in Herodotus probably felt what was Greek and what was barbarian.

Continuing to the Herodotean text, from my point of view the examples of Herodotus about Anacharsis and Scyles are the most interesting because both of them present the boundaries which existed between the ancient Greek colonies and the Scythian territories.<sup>270</sup> Furthermore these example express the joining of cultures because these two people moved between two cultures.<sup>271</sup> Scyles and Anacharsis crossed the cultural and the physical frontiers between the Scythians and the Greeks.<sup>272</sup> Moreover, both stories took place in Olbia.<sup>273</sup> There are many similarities between Anacharsis and Scyles: they were half Greeks (from their mother's side), they also experienced Greek practices and had the same fatal death, as both of them were killed by their own brother.<sup>274</sup> There cases should be present together because both of them suffered the same consequences.<sup>275</sup>

Herodotus says that there is no need to explain who Anarchasis was, because the Greeks know him.<sup>276</sup> Anacharsis was a Scythian philosopher who travelled from the shores of the Black Sea to Athens in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. According to Herodotus

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<sup>266</sup>Porucznik 2013, 713

<sup>267</sup>Porucznik 2013, 713

<sup>268</sup>Pritchett 1974, 370

<sup>269</sup>Hartog 1988, 164

<sup>270</sup>Ascherson 2005, 56

<sup>271</sup>Osborne 2008, 333

<sup>272</sup>Ascherson 1995, 58

<sup>273</sup>Osborne 2008, 333

<sup>274</sup>Osborne 2008, 334

<sup>275</sup>Hartog 1988, 62

<sup>276</sup>Braund 2008, 350

and Plutarch, he visited Athens in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and met Solon the Athenian lawmaker.<sup>277</sup> When he visited Athens he spoke Greek not fluently, and the Athenians did not speak well the Scythian language.<sup>278</sup> Anacharsis was impressed by the Athenian culture and when he returned to his homeland, he tried to insert the Greek culture but he was ,urdered by his brother who was the king of Scythia.<sup>279</sup> He got caught when he was taking part in Great Mother's ritual which in Cyzicus.<sup>280</sup> The story is narrated by the Herodotus as follows: (4.76 -77)*Namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a student of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were keen for every kind of learning, except the Lacedaemonians; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. [2] But this is a tale pointlessly invented by the Greeks themselves; and is this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said.*<sup>281</sup> Anacharsis represented the embodiment of wisdom despite his Scythian/barbarian origins.<sup>282</sup> He was a partaker of Greek culture and he wanted to spread it in the Scythian world.<sup>283</sup> His murder shows that the Scythians did not accept the cultural influence and the ritual pactices of Olbia.<sup>284</sup> Due to that reason the Scythians denied the existence of Anacharsis.<sup>285</sup>

Scyles was the king of Scythia approximately in 440 BC.<sup>286</sup> His mother was Greek and taught him to read and write in Greek.<sup>287</sup> The interesting fact is that his mother originated from the Black Sea colonial world, a woman from Istros.<sup>288</sup> His life was bounded between the Greeks who colonized the Black Sea area, the Thracians and his

<sup>277</sup>Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders 2012, 3

<sup>278</sup>Braund 2008, 350

<sup>279</sup>Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders 2012, 3

<sup>280</sup>Rusayeva 2007, 97

<sup>281</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.176&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> *Ηρόδοτος* 4.77

*καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο, ὅπισω τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἑλλήνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦνα τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. [2] ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὧν ἂ νῆρῳσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.*

<sup>282</sup>King 2004, 38

<sup>283</sup>Braund 2008, 350

<sup>284</sup>Braund 2008, 352

<sup>285</sup>Braund 2007, 85

<sup>286</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 47

<sup>287</sup>Osborne 2008, 333

<sup>288</sup>Braund 2008, 352



compatriots the Scythians.<sup>289</sup> He did the same journey from the Scythian land to Olbia every month.<sup>290</sup> Thus, Scyles acquired two identities. Inside the walls of Olbia he was a Greek man and worn Greek clothes had a house and an Olbian wife.<sup>291</sup> On the other hand, he was a steppe ruler outside the city's walls.<sup>292</sup> Everything was revealed when the Scythians went up the walls of Olbia; they saw Scyles while he was taking part in a Dionysian ritual.<sup>293</sup> By taking part in the Greek celebrations Scyles betrayed his Scythian identity and was murdered by his own brother somewhere in Thrace, near the river Danube.<sup>294</sup> Herodotus narrates the incident (4.78-4.80) *and a great many years afterward, Scyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Scyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia; but his mother was of Istria, <sup>1</sup> and not native-born; and she taught him to speak and read Greek. [2] As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously killed by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, a Scythian woman whose name was Opoea, and she bore Scyles a son, Oricus. [3] So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no way content with the Scythian way of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the upbringing that he had received. So this is what he would do: he would lead the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians), and when he arrived there would leave his army in the suburb of the city, [4] while he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates, would take off his Scythian apparel and put on Greek dress; and in it he would go among the townsfolk unattended by spearmen or any Other (who would guard the gates, lest any Scythian see him wearing this apparel), and in every way follow the Greek manner of life, and worship the gods according to Greek usage. [5] When he had spent a month or more like this, he would put on Scythian dress and leave the city. He did this often; and he built a house in Borysthenes, and married a wife of the people of the country and brought her there.*<sup>295</sup> But when things had to turn out badly for him, they did so for this

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<sup>289</sup> Alekseyev 2005, 53

<sup>290</sup> Hartog 1988, 65

<sup>291</sup> Harisson 2000, 217

<sup>292</sup> Braund 2007, 88

<sup>293</sup> Ascherson 1995, 57

<sup>294</sup> Alekseyev 2005, 42

<sup>295</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.78&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01>  
26Ηρόδοτος 4.78

οὗτος μὲν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἐπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμοιαι καὶ Ἑλληνικάς ὁμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερ  
ονΣκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπίθεος ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπίθει γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεί γίνεται μετ' ἄλλῳ

reason: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw the greatest vision. [2] He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, grand and costly (the same house I just mentioned), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins worked in white marble; this house was struck by a thunderbolt. And though the house burnt to the ground, Scyles none the less performed the rite to the end. [3] Now the Scythians reproach the Greeks for this Bacchic revelling, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men to madness. [4] So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: "You laugh at us, Scythians, because we play the Bacchant and the god possesses us; but now this deity has possessed your own king, so that he plays the Bacchant and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." [5] The leading men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly onto a tower; from which, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him playing the Bacchant; thinking it a great misfortune, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.<sup>296</sup> After this Scyles rode off to

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ν παίδων Σκύλης: ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγγωρίης: τὸν ἢ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. [2] μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον Ἀριαπεΐθης μὲν τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπεΐθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέως, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιληϊὴν παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρὸς, τῇ οὐ νομα ἦν Ὀποίη: ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἢ Ὀποίη ἀσθή, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ὀρικος Ἀριαπεΐθει παῖς. [3] βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτῃ οὐδαμῶς ἡρέσκετο Σκυψικῇ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδευτοῦ τῆς ἐπιμαίετο, ἐποίησε τε τοιοῦτο: εὐτε ἀνάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθέων ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενείτων ἄστυ (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὗτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους), ἐς τοὺτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλίσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἂν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα, ἔχων δ' ἂν ταύτην ἡγόραζε οὐτὲ δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὐτὲ ἄλλου οὐδενός: τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τις μιν Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολὴν: καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρᾶτο διαίτῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ ἐποίησε κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. [5] ὅτε δὲ διατρίψειε μῆνα ἢ πλεον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδύς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολὴν, ταῦτα ποιεέσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκίαν τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθενείῳ καὶ γυναῖκα ἔγχευε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

<sup>296</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.79&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01>

26 Ηρόδοτος 4.79

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔδεε οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε, ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσω Βακχείῳ τελεσθῆναι: μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. [2] ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενείτων τῇ πύλῃ οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολῇ, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν περὶ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρύπες ἕστασαν: ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος, καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκᾶν πάσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ἥσσαν ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετὴν. [3] Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν περὶ Ἑλλήσι ὀνειδίζουσι: οὐ γὰρ φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. [4] ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐτέλῃ ἐσθῇ τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστανε τῶν τις Βορυσθενείτων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων ἡμῖν γὰρ κατὰ ἀγέλας, ὧ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει: νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα ἐλάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω. [5] εἶποντο τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ προεστέωτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενεΐτης λάθρῃ ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε

his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres, for their king. [2] Scyles, learning what had happened concerning him and the reason why it had happened, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army there. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were about to engage, Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: [3] “Why should we try each other's strength? You are my sister's son, and you have my brother with you; give him back to me, and I will give up your Scyles to you; and let us not endanger our armies.” [4] Such was the offer Sitalces sent to him; for Sitalces' brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and took his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. [5] Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. This is how closely the Scythians guard their customs, and these are the penalties they inflict on those who add foreign customs to their own.<sup>297</sup> This Herodotean story has been archaeologically confirmed as a gold ring which had the name of Scyles had been found in Thrace.<sup>298</sup> Scyles presence inside Olbia indicates also that the Scythians had already a kind of power inside Olbia.<sup>299</sup> This came from the fact that Scyles participated openly in the Dionysiac rituals.<sup>300</sup>

Herodotus by narrating these two stories points out the Scythians' hostility towards the foreign customs.<sup>301</sup> However, Osborne wonders if the examples of Anacharsis and

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. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρήιε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἰδὼν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμεινον πᾶσιν τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδοιεν.

<sup>297</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.80&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126Hr6doto5.4.80>

ὥς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐσωτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὀκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρὸς, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. [2] ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι' ἣν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὀκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐγένετο, ἠντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρήικες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἐπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὀκταμασάδην λέγων τοιαῦτα. [3] ‘τι δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἴς μεν μεν τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δὲ μεν ἀδελφεόν. σὺ δὲ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὺν Σκύλῃ παρὰ δίδωμι: στρατιῇ δὲ μήτε σὺν κινδυνεύσης μήτ' ἐγώ.’ [4] ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο: ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω πεφηνγός. ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἐσωτοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλκῃ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλῃν. [5] καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερά νόμοι αἱ Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοι σιζεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

<sup>298</sup> Alekseev 2006, 162

<sup>299</sup> Braund 2007, 89

<sup>300</sup> Braund 2007, 89

<sup>301</sup> Osborne 2008, 334

Scyles portray the situation of the people who inhabited Olbia or depict what the citizens of Olbia believed for the Scythians.<sup>302</sup> Did Scyles and Anacharsis behave like Greeks or did they pretend to be Greeks? Moreover, Osborne wonders, if the Scythians had a hidden desire to use the Greek practices on Scythia.<sup>303</sup> On the other hand, what is proved, is that the Scythians tried to not adopt the Greek deities, especially Dionysus.<sup>304</sup> They murdered everybody who joined the Greek rituals.<sup>305</sup> This is the reason why they refused the existence of Anacharsis. Only, during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the Scythians and especially the Scythian elite approved the cult of certain Greek gods.<sup>306</sup> This is confirmed by archeological findings, i.e. gold and silver artefacts which were found in the steppe Scythia.<sup>307</sup> These findings present the Graeco-Scythian relations as some of them have characteristics of both lifestyles.<sup>308</sup> Still, for the Scythians the cult of Dionysus was something different.<sup>309</sup> The reason why the Scythians did not approve the cult of Dionysus was that the god of wine drove people in *ecstasis* during his feasts. *Ecstasis* was the feeling which felt the people who took part in the Bacchic rituals. After wine consumption they felt like gods. For the Scythians, the feasts of Dionysus drove people in madness and this was for them unacceptable and unusual.<sup>310</sup> They were criticized the Olbians negatively due to the cult of Dionysus.<sup>311</sup> Thus, it makes sense the Scythian reaction when they saw their king participated in the Dionysiac cults.<sup>312</sup> (*Herodotus 4.79*) *Now the Scythians reproach the Greeks for this Bacchic revelling, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men to madness. [4] So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: "You laugh at us, Scythians, because we play the Bacchant and the god possesses us; but now this deity has possessed your own king, so that he plays the Bacchant and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." [5] The leading men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up*

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<sup>302</sup>Osborne 2008, 334

<sup>303</sup>Osborne 2008, 334

<sup>304</sup>Rusyayeva 2007, 97

<sup>305</sup>Rusyayeva 2007, 97

<sup>306</sup>Rusyayeva 2007, 97

<sup>307</sup>Rusyayeva 2007, 97

<sup>308</sup>Rolle 2006, 174

<sup>309</sup>Braund 2008, 352

<sup>310</sup>Braund 2008, 352

<sup>311</sup>Braund 2008, 352

<sup>312</sup>Braund 2008, 352

secretly onto a tower; from which, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him playing the Bacchant; thinking it a great misfortune, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.<sup>313</sup> Still, it is surprising the fact that the Scythians did not worship Dionysus, who was the god of wine.<sup>314</sup> The Scythians bought wine from the Greeks and wine is mentioned in their customs.<sup>315</sup>

Still, the Scythians worshipped other Greek deities, (Herodotus 4.59) ‘‘The most important things are thus provided them. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate are these: Hestia in particular, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they believe to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice to Poseidon also. [2] In the Scythian tongue, Hestia is called Tabiti; Zeus (in my judgment most correctly so called) Papaeus; Earth is Apia; Apollo Goetosyrus; the Heavenly Aphrodite Argimpasa; Poseidon Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.’’<sup>316</sup>

As a result, the Greeks who lived everyday next to the Scythians, were the ones to give an essential meaning to the boundaries between the Greek and the Scythian

<sup>313</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.79&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> Ηρόδοτος 4.79

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔδεέ οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσω Βακχείῳ τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. [2] ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεϊτέων τῇ π ὅλι οἰκίῃς· μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολῇ, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν περίξ λευ κοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρῦπες ἔστασαν· ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος, καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκρή παῖσα, Σκύλ ης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ἥσσαν ἐπέτελεσε τὴν τελετὴν. [3] Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν περὶ Ἑλλήσι ὀνειδίζο υσι· οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. [4] ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔτελ ἐσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενεϊτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων· ἡμῖν γὰρ κατ αγγελᾶτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασι λέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω. [5] εἶποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστέωτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενεϊτῆς λάθρῃ ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε . ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρήγε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἰδὼν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐ ποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμαινον πᾶσιν τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδοιεν.

<sup>314</sup>Braund 2007, 90

<sup>315</sup>Braund 2007, 90

<sup>316</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.59&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> Ηρόδοτος 4.59 τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὖ πορα ἐστί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μόνους τούσδε ἱλάσκονται, Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναικα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Ἀπόλλωνα τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλῆες Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. [2] ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῇ δὲ Ἀπί. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγιμασάδας. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν πλὴν Ἀρεῖ. τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

community.<sup>317</sup> The walls of Olbia show the boundaries between the two cultures.<sup>318</sup> Still, Scyles and Anacharces belonged to the Scythian royal class, they were murdered. The distance between the Greeks and the Scythians was obvious.<sup>319</sup> A person cannot be two persons in the same time. Herodotus had in mind that the Greek audience had to feel the frontiers between what was Greek and what was barbarian. This cultural difference was stressed in every way they could by drawing boundaries. This difference also continued to the ritual practices. For the Scythian the *Dionysiac ecstasis* was something unacceptable and enigmatic.<sup>320</sup> The criticism on the cult of Dionysus was a general phenomenon in the Scythian-Greek relations.<sup>321</sup>

It is interesting to analyse the Herodotean paragraphs in which Herodotus writes for the Scythian burial customs and especially for the funeral rites which honoured the dead kings,<sup>322</sup> (Herodotus 4.71-73) ‘ ‘ *the burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. Whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground there; when this is ready, they take up the dead man—his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleaned and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense, and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again—and transport him on a wagon to another tribe. [2] Then those who receive the dead man on his arrival do the same as do the Royal Scythians: that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts around their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. [3] From there, the escorts transport the king's body on the wagon to another of the tribes that they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are at the place of burial, in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant tribe of all under their rule. [4] Then, having laid the body on a couch in the tomb, they plant spears on each side of the body and lay wooden planks across them, which they then roof over with braided osiers; in the open space which is left in the tomb they bury one of the king's concubines, his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, after strangling them, besides horses, and first-fruits of everything else, and golden cups; for the Scythians do not use silver or*

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<sup>317</sup> Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>318</sup> Braund 2008, 352

<sup>319</sup> Ascherson 1995, 56

<sup>320</sup> Braund 2008, 352

<sup>321</sup> Braund 2008, 353

<sup>322</sup> Hartog, 1988 p.4

bronze. [5] Having done this, they all build a great barrow of earth, vying eagerly with one another to make this as great as possible.’<sup>323</sup> Herodotus provided these strange customs of the Scythians, that after the death of a member of the upper-class Scythian, their servants and their horses had to be killed.<sup>324</sup> In addition, the burial rites portray the Scythian life.<sup>325</sup> The same type of grief i.e. cutting their hair and harming themselves were also referred in the ancient Greek tragedies, ‘ (Euripides), *Helen, enters from the palace, clad in mourning. You there, why have you put black robes instead of white on your body, and cut the hair from your noble head with a sword, and why do you drench your cheeks with pale tears, [1190] lamenting? Do you mourn, persuaded by dreams in the night, or have you broken your heart with grief because you heard some voice within?*’<sup>326</sup>

The findings of burials testified the presence of the Scythians in the wooden steppe.<sup>327</sup> Scholars examine the fact that these burials could give a piece of information about the

<sup>323</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.71&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126Hr.>, 4.71-

73. ‘ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός· ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπεὰν σφί ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸ νεκρόν, κατακεκρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλήν κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμῆματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συνερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. [2] οἱ δὲ αὖ παραδέζονται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρόν, ποιεῦσι τὰ περ οἱ βασιλῆες Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὧτος ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικείρονται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥίνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς οἰστοὺς διαβνέονται. [3] ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι· οἱ δὲ σφί ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον· ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἔν τε Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι. [4] καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπῆζαντες αἰχμὰς ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τὸν νεκροῦ ζύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίπῃ καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλαιῶν τε μίαν ἀποπνίζαντες θάπτουσιν καὶ τὸν οἶνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἱπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγεληφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσῆας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρύεονται. [5] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμώμενοι ὥς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.’

<sup>324</sup>Rolle 2006, 173

<sup>325</sup>Rolle 2006, 174

<sup>326</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Eur.+Hel.+1190&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0100Eurypidēs, 'Ελένη>,

αὕτη, τί πέπλους μέλανας ἐξήψω χροὸς λευκῶν ἀμείψασ’ ἐκ τε κρατὸς εὐγενοῦς κόμας σίδηρον ἐμβαλοῦσ’ ἀπέθρισας χλωροῖς τε τέγγεις δάκρυσι σὴν παρηίδα 1190 κλαίουσα; πότερον ἐννύχοις πεπεισμένη στένεις ὀνείροις, ἢ φάτιν τιν’ οἴκοθεν κλύουσα λύπῃ σὰς διέφθαρσαι φρένας;

<sup>327</sup>Murzin 2005, 36

relationship between the Scythians and the Greeks.<sup>328</sup> In many burials dated in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, impressive painting motives have been found. In Nymphaion there are some burials dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC which present characteristics of Greek art but the burial motives (eight horses, terracotta satyrs fragments from a red-figured cater, and a ceramic vessel full of bone animals) testify that the dead were not Greeks.<sup>329</sup> During excavations, Veselovskij discovered women skeletons and a panathenaic amphora dated in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>330</sup> This evidence probably indicates trade relations between the Scythians and the Greeks. The trade between the Greeks and the natives flourished the growth of the colonies in the Black Sea region. Especially, in the area of Black Sea trade flourished between the Greeks and the non-Greeks. Firstly, there were commercial exchanges between the Greek colonies in the Black Sea area and the indigenous people who lived in the hinterland of the Black Sea.<sup>331</sup> Secondly, the Black Sea colonies created a trade axis between each other.<sup>332</sup> In addition, there was a commercial connection between the ports of the Aegean Sea and the Black sea area.<sup>333</sup> This also proved by archaeologically, amphorae have been found inside two royal Scythian tombs in Solokha kurgan.<sup>334</sup> Solokha seems to be the first kurgan which found in the North Pontic area and it is dated approximately in 420/410-400 BC.<sup>335</sup> The stamps which have been found on the amphorae show a north Aegean port.<sup>336</sup> In addition, there are some important burials from Cimblaka, Dejev Kurgan and Geremes from the Dnieper River during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>337</sup>

The Herodotean text is archeological proved by the findings of the royal tombs of the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the Crimea.<sup>338</sup> The Kul-Oba burial mound was situated in the eastern Crimea.<sup>339</sup> This burial is dated approximately during 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>340</sup> In the area of

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<sup>328</sup>Bouzek<Σκυθικοί τύμβοι>, Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Εύξεινος Πόντος ρ.2

<sup>329</sup>Petersen 2009, 219

<sup>330</sup>Bouzek<Σκυθικοί τύμβοι>, Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Εύξεινος Πόντος ρ.3

<sup>331</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>332</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>333</sup>Mitchell 2002, 41

<sup>334</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 471

<sup>335</sup>Alekseev 2006, 161

<sup>336</sup>Rutishauser 2007, 471

<sup>337</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 46

<sup>338</sup>Maslennikov 2005, 159

<sup>339</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 46

<sup>340</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 47



Kul - Oba has been found a vase of the Echidna (ἔχιδναν).<sup>341</sup> Moreover, in Dort – Oba region there have been excavated gold ornaments which show the Greek influence.<sup>342</sup> In a small region nearby Kerch there was excavated a burial in which the dead body worn two bracelets and a necklace which had the shape of the Scythian horseback.<sup>343</sup> Next to that burial there was another one woman burial who worn jewelry with the characteristics symbols of the goddess Athena.<sup>344</sup> Thus, it could be assumed another Greek – Scythian connection. Moreover, other excavations in the Taman peninsula revealed three independent women burials.<sup>345</sup> The women must have been the priestesses of the goddess Demeter since objects of worship were excavated.<sup>346</sup> Moreover, these burials indicated the relationships between the Bosphorus state and the Scythian steppe of the northern Black Sea region.<sup>347</sup> These evidence also testified the cultural and economical links between the Bosporean state and Athens.<sup>348</sup> The economical relationships between the Black Sea area, (especially the Bosporean area) and Athens were known and the reason of these links was the wheat.<sup>349</sup> Demosthenes writes as follows, ‘‘20.31*For you are aware that we consume more imported corn than any other nation. Now the corn that comes to our ports from the Black Sea is equal to the whole amount from all other places of export. And this is not surprising; for not only is that district most productive of corn, but also Leucon, who controls the trade, has granted exemption from dues to merchants conveying corn to Athens, and he proclaims that those bound for your port shall have priority of lading. For Leucon, enjoying exemption for himself and his children, has granted exemption to every one of you.*’’ Thus, the Kerch vases indicated the strong influence from Athens to the Bosporean kingdom.<sup>350</sup> There was an exchange system between Athens and Bosphorus; Bosphorus exported the vital wheat for Athens and Athens influenced culturally by the artistic works.<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> Bouzek<Σκυθικοίτύμβοι>, Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Εύξεινος Πόντος p.3

<sup>342</sup> Minns 1913, 145

<sup>343</sup> Alekseyev 2005, 46

<sup>344</sup> Bouzek<Σκυθικοίτύμβοι>, Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Εύξεινος Πόντος p.4

<sup>345</sup> Bouzek<Σκυθικοίτύμβοι>, Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Εύξεινος Πόντος p.4

<sup>346</sup> Bouzek<Σκυθικοίτύμβοι>, Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Εύξεινος Πόντος p.4

<sup>347</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 146

<sup>348</sup> Bouzek 2000, 11

<sup>349</sup> Bouzek 2000, 11

<sup>350</sup> Bouzek 2000, 11

<sup>351</sup> Bouzek 2000, 11

It is of a great importance to include the herodoeteian text which refers to the Darius invasion to Scythia because the historian from Halicarnassus believes that nomadism is not a lifestyle but a military plan and direction.<sup>352</sup> Moreover, the aftermath of the Persian invasion is remarkable, because after the Persian loss, the Scythians managed to control the area from the river Don to Danube.<sup>353</sup> Due to their nomadic life, the Scythians can won every enemy because they retreated in the hinterland of their land and then the enemy cannot confront them inside their land.<sup>354</sup> The enemy faced many difficulties i.e. starvation inside the Scythia.<sup>355</sup> Thus, Herodotus admires them because of their ability in strategical plans, while they did not fortify their cities with walls and like the Greeks cities.<sup>356</sup> Chronology of the Darius campaign is not accurately known.<sup>357</sup> The invasion is dated approximately in 513 BC.<sup>358</sup> The location of the battle is estimated to be Turkestan.<sup>359</sup> Herodotus explains why Darius fought against the Scythians, (*Herodotus 4.1 -4.118*) *The kings of the aforesaid nations having gathered, then, the Scythian messengers came and laid everything before them, explaining how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the neck of the Bosphorus, and how having crossed it and subjugated the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, so as to make that whole region subject to him like the Other. [2] "By no means stand aside and let us be destroyed," they said; "rather, let us unite and oppose this invader. If you will not, then we shall either be driven out of our country or stay and make terms. [3] For what is to become of us if you will not help us? And afterward it will not be easy for you, either; for the Persian has come to attack you no less than us, and when he has subjugated us he will not be content to leave you alone. [4] We will give you a convincing proof of what we say: if indeed the Persian were marching against us alone, wanting vengeance for our former enslavement of his country, he ought to leave Other alone and make straight for us, and would show everyone that Scythia and no other country was his goal. [5] But as it is, from the day he crossed over to this continent, he has been taming all that come in his way, and he*

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<sup>352</sup>Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>353</sup>Georges 1987, 139

<sup>354</sup>Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>355</sup>Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>356</sup>Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>357</sup>Cook 1983, 62

<sup>358</sup>Georges 1987, 139

<sup>359</sup>Wade – Gery 1951, 215

*holds in subjection not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbors the Getae.*”<sup>360</sup>

The reason of the Persian invasion to Scythia seems to be the piece of advice that the queen Atossa gave to Darius, i.e. to make war in order to establish his rule. Moreover, the Persians would not organize conspiracies against him.<sup>361</sup> However, the expansive plan of Darius was the real reason.<sup>362</sup>

Herodotus also writes for the seize of army and navy, (*Herodotus 4.87 – 88*) *After having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, whose architect was Mandrocles of Samos; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up two pillars of white marble by it, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army: all the nations subject to him. The full census of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, including horsemen, and the number of ships assembled was six hundred. [2] These pillars were afterward carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian<sup>L</sup> Artemis, except for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning is correct, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosphorus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea. After this, being pleased with his bridge of boats, Darius made a gift of ten of everything<sup>L</sup> to Mandrocles the*

<sup>360</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.118&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> (Ηρόδοτος, 4.1 – 4.118) μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἶρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἑλασις· ἀνθ' ἐύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνδράσιν καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροί ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικῆσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπὲρ ζανὰ δίκης. ἐπὶ τοῦτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνῶν τοὺς βασιλέας ἀλίσμενους ἀπὸ κόμενος τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ ἀγγελιοὶ ἐλεγόνε' κδιδάσκοντες ὥς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τὴν δετὴν ἡπειρον, διαβάς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροῖ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τὰ δεπάντα ὑπ' ἐϋντοῦ ποιήσασθαι. [2] 'ὅμοις ὧν μηδὲν ἰτρόφω ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περὶ δὴ τῆς ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τούτων ὁρῶσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπὶ ὄντα. οὐκ ὡν ποιήσεται ταῦτα; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρῆσόμεθα. [3] τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων νύμεν τι μωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ τρωέσται ἐλαφρότερον. ἡκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψάμεν ὧν μένοντες ἀπέχεσθαι. [4] μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μὲν οὐκ ἐστρατηλάτεσθαι ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρὴ αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχόμενον νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ νήμετέρῃ, καὶ ἂν ἐν δὴ λουπᾷ σὺς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλάνει καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἄλλους. [5] νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ τεταχίστα διέβη ἐς τὴν δετὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐϋντοῦ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Ἰέτας. '

<sup>361</sup> Macan 1895, 39

<sup>362</sup> Bury 1897, 278

Samian, the architect of it; Mandrocles took the first-fruits of these and had a picture made with them, showing the whole bridge of the Bosphorus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; he set this up in the temple of Hera, with this inscription: [2] "After bridging the Bosphorus that teems with fish, Mandrocles dedicated a memorial of the floating bridge to Hera, Having won a crown for himself, and fame for the Samians, Doing the will of King Darius."<sup>363</sup> (Herodotus 4,137-8) The majority of the soldiers derived from the recessive Greek cities of Asia Minor, Then the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and sovereign of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, advised that they do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. [2] But Histiaeus of Miletus advised the opposite. He said, "It is owing to Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power is overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, I in Miletus or any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." [3] When Histiaeus explained this, all of them at once inclined to his view, although they had first sided with Miltiades. Those high in Darius' favor who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, [2] all from the Hellespont and sovereigns of cities there; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristagoras of Cymae.<sup>364</sup> The numbers are excessive, so they might not be real.

<sup>363</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.87&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> *Ηρόδοτος* 4.87 – 88

ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐνένετο Μανδροκλέη Σάμιος· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἦρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἑξήκριθμῆθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἵππεσσι, νῆες δὲ ἑξακόσiai συνελέχθησαν. [2] τῇσι μὲν νυνστήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος, τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ γῶρος τὸν ἔζευσεν βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἰεροῦ. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλῆς ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γράψας ἀνάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐνπροεδρίῃ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γράψας ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἱεραῖον, ἐπιγράψαστάδε. [2] "Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γέφυρῶσας ἀνέθηκε

Μανδροκλῆς Ἡρῇ μνημόσυνον σχεδίσας,

αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῶδος,

Δαρεῖον βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

<sup>364</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.138&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> (*Ηρόδοτος* 4.137 – 4.138) πρὸς ταῦτα Ἴωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου,

Herodotus admires the fact that Darius did everything in order to defeat the Scythians but in the end Persians were defeated.<sup>365</sup>

The most remarkable point of Herodotus is the reference of the river Ister and the actions of Darius after he passed the river.<sup>366</sup> It seems to me that the river Ister was constituted a boundary for the Scythians, (*Herodotus 4.85 – 4.96*) *But Darius, when he came to that place in his march from Susa where the Bosphorus was bridged in the territory of Calchedon, went aboard ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks<sup>1</sup> (as they are called), which the Greeks say formerly moved; there, he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. [2] For it is the most wonderful sea of all. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stades, and its breadth three thousand three hundred stades at the place where it is widest.<sup>2</sup> [3] The channel at the entrance of this sea is four stades across; the narrow neck of the channel, called Bosphorus, across which the bridge was thrown, is about one hundred and twenty stades long. The Bosphorus reaches as far as to the Propontis; [4] and the Propontis is five hundred stades wide and one thousand four hundred long; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven stades and four hundred long. The Hellespont empties into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegean. These measurements have been made in this way: a ship will generally accomplish seventy thousand orguiae<sup>1</sup> in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. [2] This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, the length of it will be one million one hundred and ten thousand orguiai, which make eleven thousand stades. [3] From the Sindic region to Themiscyra on the Thermodon river (the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of three days and two nights; that is, of three hundred and thirty thousand orguiai, or three thousand*

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στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννέοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἣν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην, [2] Ἰστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτη, λέγοντος ὥς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρεῖον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννέει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος κατατρεθείσης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἷος τε ἔσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν· βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἑκάστην τῶν πολιῶν δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννέεσθαι. [3] Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλιτιάδῳ αἰρέόμενοι. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἔοντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέως, Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἴπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνὸς καὶ Μητροδόωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. [2] οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράτις τε Χίος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς καὶ Ἰστιάος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἣν γνώμη ἢ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλιτιάδῳ. Αἰολέων δὲ παρὴν λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης, Κυμαῖος.

<sup>365</sup> Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>366</sup> Vlassopoulos 2013, 53

three hundred stades. [4] Thus have I measured the Pontus and the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and they are as I have said. Furthermore, a lake is seen issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus. After having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, whose architect was Mandrocles of Samos; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up two pillars of white marble by it, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army: all the nations subject to him. The full census of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, including horsemen, and the number of ships assembled was six hundred. [2] These pillars were afterward carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian<sup>1</sup> Artemis, except for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning is correct, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosphorus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea. After this, being pleased with his bridge of boats, Darius made a gift of ten of everything<sup>1</sup> to Mandrocles the Samian, the architect of it; Mandrocles took the first-fruits of these and had a picture made with them, showing the whole bridge of the Bosphorus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; he set this up in the temple of Hera, with this inscription: [2] ““After bridging the Bosphorus that teems with fish, Mandrocles dedicated a memorial of the floating bridge to Hera, Having won a crown for himself, and fame for the Samians, Doing the will of King Darius.” ” This memorialized the builder of the bridge. Darius, after rewarding Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe; he had told the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the Ister river, and when they got to the Ister, to wait there for him, bridging the river meanwhile; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. [2] So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and sailed straight for the Ister and, after a two days' voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel of the river where its various mouths separate. [3] But Darius, passing over the Bosphorus on the floating bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the Tearus river, where he camped for three days. The Tearus is said by those living on it to be the best river of all for purposes of



healing, especially for healing mange in men and horses.<sup>367</sup> After that, Herodotus narrates (Herodotus 4.102) Convinced that they alone were not able to repel Darius' army in open warfare, the Scythians sent messengers to their neighbors, whose kings had already gathered and were deliberating on the presumption that a great army was marching against them. [2] The assembled kings were those of the Tauri, Agathyrsi,

<sup>367</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.96&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.01.26> (Ηρόδοτος 4.85 -

4.96) καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλείποντο· Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπῆκε το τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλλήνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἐζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἄζιοθέητον. [2] Πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δεῦρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐωντοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. [3] τοῦτου τοῦ πελάγους τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὐροστέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ, τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὲ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὲ ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐπισταδίου εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ. τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· [4] ἢ δὲ Προποντίς ἐοῦσα εὐρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντα στενιότητα μὲν ἐπὶ σταδίου, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγους τὸ δὲ Αἰγαῖον καλεῖται· μετρήσεται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηὶς ἐπίπαν μάλιστα κῆ κατανύει ἐν μὲν ἀκρημερίῃ ὀργυῖας ἐπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐξακισμυρίας. [2] ἤδη ὦν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὐταὶ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τούτων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσὶ. [3] ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὐταὶ δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. [4] ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὗτω τ' ἐμοὶ μεμετράεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασιν, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἐλάσσῳ ἐωντοῦ, ἢ Μαιήτις τε καλεῖται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου, Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὲ Μανδρὸς οὐκ ἐκλῆς ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζευζίν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐνπροεδρίῃ κατ' ἡμέρον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, ἐπιγράψαστάδε. [2] "Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε Μανδροκλέης Ἡρῇ μνημόσυνον σχεδῆς, αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίῳσι δὲ κῆδος, Δαρεῖον βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζευζαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο. Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐστὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἰωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστρὸν, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν, τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἰωνεὺς τε καὶ Αἰολεὺς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. [2] ὁ μὲν δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀναποταμὸν δυὼν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἐξέυννε. [3] Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηκῆς, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστράτο πεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ὃ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἅ κεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψόρην ἀκέσασθαι, εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυὼν δέουσαι τερσεν ἀράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί. [2] ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἐστὶ ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περὶνθῳ καὶ ἐξ Απολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, δυὼν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρῃ. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὃ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὃ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἑβρον, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴνῳ πόλιν, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστράτο πεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. [2] 'Τέαρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλὰ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀπῆκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεὺς.' ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

*Neuri, Maneaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae.*<sup>368</sup> *The kings of the aforesaid nations having gathered, then, the Scythian messengers came and laid everything before them, explaining how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the neck of the Bosphorus, and how having crossed it and subjugated the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, so as to make that whole region subject to him like the Other. [2] “By no means stand aside and let us be destroyed,” they said; “rather, let us unite and oppose this invader. If you will not, then we shall either be driven out of our country or stay and make terms. [3] For what is to become of us if you will not help us? And afterward it will not be easy for you, either; for the Persian has come to attack you no less than us, and when he has subjugated us he will not be content to leave you alone. [4] We will give you a convincing proof of what we say: if indeed the Persian were marching against us alone, wanting vengeance for our former enslavement of his country, he ought to leave Other alone and make straight for us, and would show everyone that Scythia and no other country was his goal. [5] But as it is, from the day he crossed over to this continent, he has been taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbors the Getae.”*<sup>369</sup> However, these facts could be fictional. It seems impossible that Darius had decided to destroy the bridge, he had built in order to leave the country.<sup>370</sup>

<sup>368</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.102&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> *Ηρόδοτος 4.102 οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἶοί τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μούνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους: τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλεῖς συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. [2] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλεῖς Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαρχλαίων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.*

<sup>369</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.118&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> *Ηρόδοτος 4.118 ἐπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀλισμένους ἀπικόμενος τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, διαβάς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροῖ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. [2] ‘ὕμεῖς ὧν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιίδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τῷτο νοήσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρησόμεθα. [3] τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν τιμωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον. ἦκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ’ ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμῶν ἀπέχεσθαι. [4] μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεις ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἰέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρεην, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. [5] νῦν δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδῶν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας: τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας.’*

<sup>370</sup>Macan 1895, 47



Furthermore, it is not wise to break his connection with his army.<sup>371</sup> On the other hand, Herodotus writes about an occurrence between the Scythians and the Ionians who fought with Darius (recessive cities of Asia Minor).<sup>372</sup> *Herodotus 4.142* ‘*Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are regarded as free men they are the basest and most craven in the world; but if they are reckoned as slaves, none love their masters more, or desire less to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians.*’<sup>373</sup>

The Scythians accused the Ionians that they desired slavery.<sup>374</sup> The historian of Halicarnasus narrates, ‘(Herodotus 4.128) *So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were filled with anger when they heard the word “slavery”. [2] They then sent the division of the Scythians to which the Sauromatae were attached, and which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians guarding the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who remained behind, it was decided that they should no longer decoy the Persians, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius’ men were foraging, and did as they had planned. [3] The Scythian horse always routed the Persian horse, and when the Persian cavalry would fall back in flight on their infantry, the infantry would come up to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned back for fear of the infantry. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.*’<sup>375</sup> ‘Herodotus 4.133 *The Persians reasoned thus about the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—the division that had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, [2] “Ionians, we have come to*

<sup>371</sup>Macan 1895, 49

<sup>372</sup>Bury 1897, 278

<sup>373</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.142&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>

<sup>374</sup>Braund 2008, 356

<sup>375</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.142&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> ‘*Ἡρόδοτος 4.128* ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχὼν κεεῖν ἀγγέλλοντα τὰ Δαρεῖφι, οἷδ’ Ἐσκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τοῦ νομαδὸς ῥῆξ ἐπλήσθησαν. [2] τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ἤρχης Σκόπασις, πέμπουσι Ἰωσικελεύοντες ἐξ λόγου ἀπικέσθαι, τοῦτο ἰσίοι τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένους ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νομῶν δὲ τῶν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένων τοὺς Δαρεῖου ἐποίουν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. [3] ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἷδ’ ἐτῶν Περσέων ἵπποιταιφύγοντες ἐσεπιπτον ἐστὸν πεζόν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἀνέπεκούρει· οἷδ’ Ἐσκύθαι ἐσαράζαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποίουν το δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίως προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.’

bring you freedom, if you will only listen to us. We understand that Darius has directed you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he does not come within that time, then to go away to your homes. [3] Now then, do what will leave you guiltless in his eyes as in ours: stay here for the time appointed; and after that, leave.” So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all haste.’<sup>376</sup> Darius was defeated by the Scythians. In general, we could probably draw a similarity between the Scythians and the Greeks. Both of them defeated the Persians.

(Herodotus 4.46) Nowhere are men so ignorant as in the lands by the Euxine Pontus (excluding the Scythian nation) into which Darius led his army. For we cannot show that any nation within the region of the Pontus has any cleverness, nor do we know of (overlooking the Scythian nation and Anacharsis) any notable man born there. [2] But the Scythian race has made the cleverest discovery that we know in what is the most important of all human affairs; I do not praise the Scythians in all respects, but in this, the most important: that they have contrived that no one who attacks them can escape, and no one can catch them if they do not want to be found. [3] For when men have no established cities or forts, but are all nomads and mounted archers, not living by tilling the soil but by raising cattle and carrying their dwellings on wagons, how can they not be invincible and unapproachable?<sup>377</sup> As a result, Herodotus praised the Scythian nomadism because it helped Scythians to defeat the Persians.<sup>378</sup> It could be

<sup>376</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.133&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>” Ηρόδοτος 4.133

Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δῶρα εἵκαζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μίαι μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιήτιν λίμνην φρουρεῖν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον Ἰωσιέσι λόγου ἐλθεῖν, ὥς ὅτι κίετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τὰ δε. [2] ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἐλευθερίην ἡ κομὲν ὑμῖν φέροντες, ἣν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἑσάκουειν.

πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐν τεύχεσσι μὴν ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρῆσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεισθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεην. [3]

νῦν ὧν μείζονα δὲ πολεῦντες ἐκ τὸς μὲν ἔσθαι πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίας, ἐκ τὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμῶν:

τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεισθε.

οὗτοι μὲν νῦν ποδεζόμενοι Ἴωνων ποιήσονται ταῦτα ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέιγοντο.”

<sup>377</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.46&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>

26 “Ηρόδοτος 4.46 ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξεινος, ἐπ’ ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος,

χωρῶν πασέων παρέχεται ἕξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα.

οὕτε γὰρ ῥῆθος τῶν ἐν τὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχοντες προβαλέσθαι σοφίης περὶ οὗτε ἀνδράλογιοι οἰδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. [2]

τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μέντοι μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν μείζονων,

τὰ μὲν τοῖα ἀλλοῦ κἀγαταί: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὗτω σοφίαν ἐύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδὲν ἀπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας,

μηβουλομένους τε ἐξυρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μηλοῖον τε εἶναι. [3] τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄσπεα μήτε ἰχέα ἡ ἐκτισμένα,

ἀλλὰ φερέοικε ὄντες πάντες ἔωσι πίποτο ζόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ’ ἀρότου ἀλλ’ ἀποκτηνέων,

οἰκήματα τε σφιγῆ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἀνείησαν οὗτοι ἰαμαχοί τε καὶ ἰαποροί προσμίσγειν.”

<sup>378</sup> Braund 1999, 522

assumed that he approves the nomad style of life without city walls and an organized society.<sup>379</sup> Due to their lifestyle nobody can win them.<sup>380</sup> Except of their differences there is a similarity between the Scythians and the Athenians. They both defeated the Persians.<sup>381</sup> After their victory against the Persians, the royal Scythians created a state over the area of the river Don to Danube.<sup>382</sup> They controlled the Greek and the non-Greek communities who lived there.<sup>383</sup>

To conclude with Herodotus, it is interesting to wonder if the historian from Halicarnassus visited the Black Sea area. From where did he get his information? His evidence mostly came from other travelers and people who lived in the Black Sea colonies. In addition, Some scholars examine the fact that Herodotus was influenced by Hecataeus' work and this is the reason why Herodotus analyzes the Black Sea dimensions.<sup>384</sup> *Herodotus 4.85* For it is the most wonderful sea of all. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stades, and its breadth three thousand three hundred stades at the place where it is widest.<sup>2</sup> [3] The channel at the entrance of this sea is four stades across; the narrow neck of the channel, called Bosphorus, across which the bridge was thrown, is about one hundred and twenty stades long. The Bosphorus reaches as far as to the Propontis; [4] and the Propontis is five hundred stades wide and one thousand four hundred long; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven stades and four hundred long. The Hellespont empties into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegean.<sup>385</sup> Moreover, many scholars state that Herodotus travelled himself to the Black Sea area. They testified their reports because Herodotus refers

<sup>379</sup>Braund 1999, 522

<sup>380</sup>Rolle 2005, 177

<sup>381</sup>Ascherson 1995, 54

<sup>382</sup>Vlassopoulos 2013, 61

<sup>383</sup>Georges 1987, 139

<sup>384</sup>Armayor 1978, 47

<sup>385</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.85&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> "Ἡρόδοτος 4.85

*καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐλείποντο: Ἀρεῖος δὲ ἐπεῖτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκητο τῇ ἑκαταχθονίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔκρυπτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλεούμενας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλλήνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἔξομενος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἔοντα ἀζιοθέητον. [2] πελαγέων γὰρ πάντων πέφυκε θαυμασιώτατος: τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιοι εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. [3] τούτου τοῦ πελάγους τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὐροστέσσες στάδιοι: μήκος δὲ, τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὲ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὲ ἔκρυπτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπισταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ. τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος: [4] ἡ δὲ Προποντίς ἐοῦσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μήκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδού ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔοντα στενότητα μὲν ἐπὶ σταδίων, μήκος δὲ τετρακοσίων, ἐκδιδού δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάλμα πελάγους τὸ δὲ Αἰγαῖον καλεῖται."*

throughout his work, to Tymnes who worked as commissioner for the Scythian king in Olbia.<sup>386</sup> (4.76) *But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was an uncle of Idanthyrsus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then let him know he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrsus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who killed Anacharsis*’’.<sup>387</sup> The lines which referred to Tymnes showed that Herodotus probably had his own knowledge about the Black Sea area.<sup>388</sup> Thus, it could be assumed that Herodotus visited the North Black Sea region and especially Olbia.<sup>389</sup> To estimate the time when Herodotus visit Olbia is problematic.<sup>390</sup> In general is placed during 455-444 BC.<sup>391</sup>

### **b) The Scythians in Thucydides**

Thucydides is the popular Athenian historian and General of the Army who was born in Athens, in the borough of Alimounta. He was born between 460 B.C. and 455 BC. His parents were Oloros and Igisipolis. His father’s name shows a Thracian origin. He writes for the greatest war of his time, the Peloponnesian War (the battle between Athens and Sparta, 431 BC – 404 BC). During the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Peloponnesian war and while he was still the General of Army, he was sent by the Athenians to the Thracian shores in order to stop the Spartan General Vrasidas, who besieged Amphipolis. He was unable to help the citizens of Amphipolis. He was expelled by the Athenians. During his exile he wrote his books.

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<sup>386</sup>Braund 2008, 349

<sup>387</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+4.76&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126> *Ηρόδοτος* 4.76

[6] *ὥς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ Ἀριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος πατρὸν, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ ὧν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἵστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανόν· Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.*

IV.

<sup>388</sup>Braund 2008, 349

<sup>389</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 43

<sup>390</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 43

<sup>391</sup>Alekseyev 2005, 43

As far as the issue of Greek and barbarian differentiation concerns, Thucydides has a different perspective from Herodotus.<sup>392</sup> In his eight books he does not deal with the issue of barbarian and Greek polarization.<sup>393</sup> In his *Archaeology* he declares that his goal is to show the magnitude of the Greek culture.<sup>394</sup> Moreover, Thucydides underlines the catastrophe that the Peloponnesian war brought to Greece.<sup>395</sup>

As far as this thesis is concerned, the work of Thucydides is different from the Herodotean texts. That means that Thucydides writes for the consequences of the Persian wars and the damages which the Persians did to the Athenians but his main focus is the facts and events of the Peloponnesian war. Thucydides tries to keep the Athenians strong and to remind them the beauty and the greatness of Athens.

The references which Thucydides does for the Scythians are less than the Herodotean ones. Thucydides writes as follows ‘(2.9) *Pericles also showed them that they had twelve hundred horse including mounted archers, with sixteen hundred archers unmounted, and three hundred galleys fit for service.*<sup>396</sup> Here, Thucydides observes that in the catalogue of deceased there were some barbarian archers.<sup>397</sup> Hornblower states that the archers were barbarian citizens.<sup>398</sup> During the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Scythian archers were responsible for the order during the meetings of the Assembly.<sup>399</sup> They were something like police. Thucydides includes the Scythians in his work regarding their social status in ancient Athens, they were public slaves.<sup>400</sup> The Athenians considered them as people of lower class.

As far as the Scythian archers are concerned they appeared in Athens after the battle of Salamis and the Athenians used them in order to build the North Wall of Piraeus. The Scythian archers' role was of the Athenian policemen. Many ancient authors of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC present in their works the Scythian archers. In the comedies of

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<sup>392</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 127

<sup>393</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 127

<sup>394</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 127

<sup>395</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 127

<sup>396</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Thuc.+2.13&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0200>Θουκυδίδης 2.13 ἰππέας δὲ ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ζῶν ἵπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας.

<sup>397</sup>Hornblower 2006, 479

<sup>398</sup>Hornblower 2006, 479

<sup>399</sup>Braund 2005, 90

<sup>400</sup>Hall 1989, 138

Aristophanes there are several passages which prove the function of the Scythian archers in the Athenian society. Still, the title “Scythian archer” means that these archers had specific Scythian weapons with them, which characterized them as Scythians. Especially the ancient poets comments on the Scythian composite bow which was so special. Aeschynes narrates as follows(Aeschines, *On the Embassy* 2.173) *During this period we fortified the Peiraeus and built the north wall; we added one hundred new triremes to our fleet; we also equipped three hundred cavalymen and bought three hundred Scythians; and we held the democratic constitution unshaken. But meanwhile men who were neither free by birth nor of fit character had intruded into our body politic, and finally we became involved in war again with the Lacedaemonians, this time because of the Aeginetans.*<sup>401</sup> The same point is made by Andocides who defines that these archers who built the fortification of Piraeus were of Scythian origin, (Andocides 3.5 *On the Peace*)*To begin with, we fortified Peiraeus in the course of this period1: secondly, we built the Long Wall to the north2: then the existing fleet of old, unseaworthy triremes with which we had won Greece her independence by defeating the king of Persia and his barbarians—these existing vessels were replaced by a hundred new ones3: and it was at this time that we first enrolled three hundred cavalry and purchased three hundred Scythian archers4. Such were the benefits which Athens derived from the peace with Sparta, such the strength which was added thereby to the Athenian democracy.*<sup>402</sup> However, this is a moot point. Some scholars believe that the date which the Scythians appears in Athens is not accurate.<sup>403</sup>

<sup>401</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0002%3aspeech%3d1>

Αισχύνης (ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ 2.173) ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐτειχίσαμεν μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ὥκοδομήσαμεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ τριήρεις πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ἐναυπηγησάμεθα, τριακοσίους δ' ἰππέας προσκατεσκευασάμεθα, καὶ τριακοσίους Σκύθας ἐπριάμεθα, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαίως εἶχομεν. Παρεμπεσόντων δ' εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς τρόποις οὐ μετρίων, πάλιν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους δι' ἑλπίδος εἰς πόλεμον κατέστημεν.

<sup>402</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Andoc.+3+5&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0018>(Ανδοκίδης 3.5 Περὶ Εἰρήνης) πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐτειχίσαμεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, εἴτα τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ βόρειον: ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν τριήρων αἱ τότε ἡμῖν ἦσαν παλαιαὶ καὶ ἄπλοι, αἷς βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους<sup>2</sup> καταναυμαχῆσαντες ἡλευθερώσαμεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀντὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν ἑκατὸν τριήρεις ἐναυπηγησάμεθα, καὶ πρῶτον τότε τριακοσίους ἰππέας κατεστησάμεθα καὶ τοξότας τριακοσίους Σκύθας ἐπριάμεθα. καὶ<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγαθὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμει τῇ δῆμῳ τῷ<sup>4</sup> Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο.

<sup>403</sup>Ivanchik 2005, 113

The Scythian archers were famous because they were able to use the composite bow.<sup>404</sup> This bow was so special because the Scythians could use it both hands.<sup>405</sup> Even from the archaic period are the majority of the Scythians archers portrayed.<sup>406</sup> Thus, it could be assumed that the Scythian archers theme was very famous for Attic painters.<sup>407</sup> There are two examples which indicate that there were two vase painters called Scythes.<sup>408</sup> Archaeology, also testifies the use of this ‘*clever bow*’ and in general the heavy army equipment of the Scythians.<sup>409</sup> The importance of the bow is evident in the ancient Greek tragedy.<sup>410</sup> However, some scholars believe the Scythian bow was a mythical weapon from them.<sup>411</sup> Thus, the bow symbolizes their mythical ancestor of the Scythians Heracles.<sup>412</sup> (*Aeschylus Choephoroe 155-162*) *Chorus Pour forth your tears, splashing as they fall for our fallen lord, to accompany this protection against evil, this charm for the good [155] against the loathsome pollution. Hear me, oh hear me, my honored lord, out of the darkness of your spirit. Woe, woe, woe! Oh for a man mighty with the spear to deliver our house, [160] an Ares, brandishing in the fight the springing Scythian bow and wielding his hilted sword in close combat. As they conclude, Electra discovers the lock of Orestes' hair.*<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Hall 1989, 138

<sup>405</sup> Hall 1989, 138

<sup>406</sup> Ivanchik 2005, 101

<sup>407</sup> Ivanchik 2005, 101

<sup>408</sup> Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders 2012, 5

<sup>409</sup> Rolle 2006, 175

<sup>410</sup> Hall 1989, 138

<sup>411</sup> Ivanchik 2005, 113

<sup>412</sup> Ivanchik 2005, 113

<sup>413</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aesch.+Lib.+162&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0008> (*Αισχύλος Χοηφόροι 155- 162*)

’Χορός

ἴετέ δ’ ἀκρυκαναχῆς ὀλόμενον

ὀλομένῳ δεσπότη

πρὸς ἔρματα δέκακων, κεδνῶντ’

155 ἀπότροπον ἄγος ἀπέχετον

κεχυμένων χοῶν. κλύε δέ μοι, κλύε, σέ-

βας ὦ δέσποτ’, ἐξ ἀμαυρᾶς φρενός.

ὀτοτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ,

ἴτω τις δορυ-

160 σθενῆς ἀνὴρ, ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων,

Σκυθικά τ’ ἐν χεροῖν παλίντον’

ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη ’πιπάλλων Ἄρης

σχέδιά τ’ αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν ζίφη.’’

Returning to Thucydides does not criticize the Scythians but he writes what he believes for their powers. In his second reference Thucydides describes the Scythians. He mentions their cultural level. It is interesting the fact that Thucydides does not call them barbarians on the contrary he does a comparison between the Greek developed society and the Scythian civilization (*Thucydides*2.97) *The empire of the Odrysians extended along the seaboard from Abdera to the mouth of the Danube in the Euxine. The navigation of this coast by the shortest route takes a merchantman four days and four nights with a wind astern the whole way: by land an active man, travelling by the shortest road, can get from Abdera to the Danube in eleven days. [2] Such was the length of its coast line. Inland from Byzantium to the Laeaeans and the Strymon, the farthest limit of its extension into the interior, it is a journey of thirteen days for an active man. [3] The tribute from all the barbarian districts and the Hellenic cities, taking what they brought in under Seuthes, the successor of Sitalces, who raised it to its greatest height, amounted to about four hundred talents in gold and silver. There were also presents in gold and silver to a no less amount, besides stuff, plain and embroidered, and other articles, made not only for the king, but also for the Odrysian lords and nobles. [4] For there was here established a custom opposite to that prevailing in the Persian kingdom, namely, of taking rather than giving; more disgrace being attached to not giving when asked than to asking and being refused; and although this prevailed elsewhere in Thrace, it was practised most extensively among the powerful Odrysians, it being impossible to get anything done without a present. [5] It was thus a very powerful kingdom; in revenue and general prosperity surpassing all in Europe between the Ionian gulf and the Euxine, and in numbers and military resources coming decidedly next to the Scythians, [6] with whom indeed no people in Europe can bear comparison, there not being even in Asia any nation singly a match for them if unanimous, though of course they are not on a level with other races in general intelligence and the arts of civilized life.*<sup>414</sup> Here, Thucydides comments the

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<sup>414</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Thuc.+2.97&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0200> ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ: αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα, ἣν αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἰσθίεται τὸ πνεῦμα, νηὶ στρογγύλῃ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν: ὁδὸν δὲ τὰ ξυντομώτατα ἐξ Ἀβδήρων ἐς Ἰστρον ἀνὴρ εὐζώνος ἑνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ. [2] τὰ μὲν πρὸς θάλασσαν τοσαύτη ἦν, ἐς ἡπειρον δὲ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐς Λαϊαίους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα (ταύτη γὰρ διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἐγένετο) ἡμερῶν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἀνύσαι. [3] φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ὅσον προσήξαν ἐπὶ Σεῦθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἦει: καὶ δῶρα οὐκ



progress of the Odrysian kingdom and its expansive movement. He emphasizes their power as they broadened their kingdom to the area nearby the Scythians. The remarkable thing is that Thucydides distinguishes the Scythians from all other nations of Europe. He separates the Scythians from the others, since he believes that they had special characteristics from all the other tribes, which are culturally inferior compared to other races. Another characteristic remark is that Thucydides does not make a straight forward comparison between the Athenians (or the Greeks) and the Scythians, as Herodotus does. He only mentions what he knows about the Scythians.

Thucydides writes his books in a very perturbed period for Greece. The Peloponnesian war had broken out. Thus, he cannot clearly do a comparison between the barbarians and the Greeks since the Greeks fought each other (the Athenian League against the Peloponnesian League). As we all known in every war there is only cruelty, even in the most culturally developed societies. When, Herodotus writes his books, Greece was at its zenith. The Greeks had defeated the Persians and they had established their superiority.

In 430s is referred Pericles expedition to the shores of Black Sea.<sup>415</sup> What is interesting is the fact that Thucydides does not write for Pericles campaign to the Black Sea area.<sup>416</sup> Plutarch writes for Pericles expedition to the Black Sea area (*Plutarch, Pericles 20 He also sailed into the Euxine Sea<sup>L</sup> with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighboring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under*

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ἐλάσσω τούτων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου προσεφέρετο, χωρὶς δὲ ὅσα ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή, καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσιν τε καὶ γενναίοις Ὀδρυσῶν. [4] κατεστήσαντο γὰρ τοῦναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τὸν νόμον, ὄντα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θραξί, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ διδόναι (καὶ αἰσχίον ἢν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ τυχεῖν), ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο: οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξι οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἡ βασιλεία ἦλθεν ἰσχύος. [5] τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ, ἰσχύϊ δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν. [6] ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνος ἐν πρὸς ἐν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατόν Σκυθαῖς ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ζῦνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται.

<sup>415</sup>Braund 2005, 8

<sup>416</sup>Braund 2005, 81

command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesileos. [2] When the tyrant and his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a bill passed providing that six hundred volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopians, dividing up among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied). But in other matters he did not accede to the vain impulses of the citizens, nor was he swept along with the tide when they were eager, from a sense of their great power and good fortune, to lay hands again upon Egypt and molest the realms of the King which lay along the sea. [3] Many also were possessed already with that inordinate and inauspicious passion for Sicily which was afterwards kindled into flame by such orators as Alcibiades. And some there were who actually dreamed of Tuscany and Carthage, and that not without a measure of hope, in view of the magnitude of their present supremacy and the full-flowing tide of success in their undertakings.<sup>417</sup> Plutarch presents Pericles as a winner of Hellenism since now Athens gained the power in the sea of Pontus.<sup>418</sup> This expedition proves that the Athenians knew well the Black Sea region.<sup>419</sup> Pericles chooses to travel to the Black Sea area in order to give an example of the naval – power of Athens.<sup>420</sup> Moreover, many of the Black Sea colonies including Olbia were members of the first Athenian League.<sup>421</sup> After the Persian wars, Athens succeeded to rule the Black Sea area, where Persians had been expended.<sup>422</sup> Once more, the Athenians presented their hegemony

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<sup>417</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Plut.+Per.+20&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0055> (Πλούταρχος Περικλῆς 20)

εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς ταῖς μὲν Ἑλληνίσιν πόλεσιν ὧν ἐδέετο οὐκ ἐπιδόξατο καὶ προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοῖς δὲ περιοικοῦσι βαρβάροις ἔθνεσιν καὶ βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάσταις ἐπέδειξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἢ βούλοιντο πλεόντων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς πεποιημένων τὴν θάλασσαν, Σινωπεῦσι δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀπέλιπε μετὰ Λαμάρχου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ Τιμησίων τυράννον. [2] ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐψηφίσατο πλεῖν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων ἐβελοντὰς ἑξακοσίους καὶ συγκαιοικεῖν Σινωπεῦσι, νειμαμένους οἰκίας καὶ χώραν ἣν πρότερον οἱ τυράννοι κατεῖχον. τᾶλλα δ' οὐ συνεχώρει ταῖς ὁρμαῖς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐδὲ συνεξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης τοσαύτης ἐπαιρομένων Ἀιγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχῆς τὰ πρὸς θαλάσση. [3] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὃ δούσεως ἐκεῖνος ἤδη καὶ δύσποτος ἔρωσ εἶχεν, ὃν ὕστερον ἐξέκαυσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες, ἦν δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδὼν ἐνίοις ὄνειρος οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὴν εὐροίαν τῶν πραγμάτων.

<sup>418</sup> Braund 2005, 81

<sup>419</sup> Braund 2005, 9

<sup>420</sup> Braund 2005, 81

<sup>421</sup> Braund 2008, 349

<sup>422</sup> Braund 2005, 98

and superiority to the defeated Persians.<sup>423</sup> In addition, Pseudo-Xenophon testifies that Pontus paid the tribute to the Delian League from 425 BC, (*Pseudo-Xenophon* 2.7) *And if we must consider lesser matters, on account of the rule of the sea, first, they devised ways of festive celebrations by mixing together various things of different origin. In consequence, whatever is sweet in Sicily or Cyprus or Egypt or Lydia or the Pontus or the Peloponnese or anywhere else, that has all been brought together as one on account of the rule of the sea.*<sup>424</sup>

It is obvious that after the Pericles expedition to the Black Sea region, Athens and the Greeks who lived in the Black Sea area created new relationships.<sup>425</sup> Because of the Peloponnesian war, Pericles went to the Black Sea area in order to charge the Black Sea colonies with their tribute to the Delian League.<sup>426</sup> There existed several findings from inscriptions which testify that the Athenians established in the Greek Black Sea settlements the Athenians institution of *proxenos*.<sup>427</sup> In Heraclea was Sotimus, thus in Olbia had to be a *proxenos* there too.<sup>428</sup> Thus, the Athenians had relationships with the Black Sea cities.<sup>429</sup> The aftermath was that Athens became more familiar with the people who lived in the Black Sea area.<sup>430</sup>

Pericles travelled to the Black Sea for the wheat.<sup>431</sup> Pericles knew that the Scythians planted the grain.<sup>432</sup> This is the reason why, Pericles let a controlled Scythian tyranny over the Olbia ''*Scythia protectorate*''.<sup>433</sup> It is interesting to consider how the Athenians react to the expedition of Pericles in the Black Sea area, in the edges of the known ancient world.<sup>434</sup> To conclude, the in 430 and 420 BC, Black Sea became part

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<sup>423</sup>Braund 2005, 98

<sup>424</sup>Braund 2005, 98

(*Ψεῦδο-Ξενοφών*-2.7) εἰδὲ δεῖ καὶ σμικροτέρων μνησθῆναι,

διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης πρῶτον μὲν τρόπους ἐὺ ὠχιῶν ἐξ ἡδρονέπιμι σγόμενοι ἅλλῃ ἄλλοις:

<ὥστε> ὅτι ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ ἤ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἢ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ ἄλλοθι πον, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς ἐν ἥθροισται διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης.

<sup>425</sup> Braund 2005, 99

<sup>426</sup> Braund 2005, 85

<sup>427</sup> Braund 2005, 99

<sup>428</sup> Braund 2005, 99

<sup>429</sup> Braund 2005, 999

<sup>430</sup> Braund 2005, 99

<sup>431</sup> Ascherson 1995, 53

<sup>432</sup> Ascherson 1995, 53

<sup>433</sup> Braund 2007, 75

<sup>434</sup> Braund 2005, 90

of the Athenian Empire.<sup>435</sup> Pericles initiated a new era in the relationships between the Black Sea area and Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>436</sup>

### c. The Scythians in Hellanikos

Hellanikos was a logographer from Lesbos who prospered during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. There is another version saying that Hellanikos was born when Greeks won the Persians in the battle of Salamis, in 480 BC.<sup>437</sup> Hellanikos took his name from the Greek victory.<sup>438</sup> His works exist only fragmentary.<sup>439</sup> His interests focus on the Libyan and the Scythian nomads, the Hyperboreans and the Thracians.<sup>440</sup>

Hellanikos deals with the Scythians in his *Scythika*.<sup>441</sup> The context of works of Herodotus and Hellanikos may have similarities but they have completely different style of writing.<sup>442</sup> This is testified by Strabo who refers to Hellanikos apart from Herodotus.<sup>443</sup> Hellanikos offers a tribal segregation of the people who lived in Pontus area.<sup>444</sup> Kullmer notes a passage from Hellanikos which is referred to the Maiotai Scythians.<sup>445</sup> This note was taken by Apollonios Rhodios ‘’ Hellanikos in his *Peri Ethnon* says ‘’As one sails through the Bosphorus, these are the Sindoi, above these the Maiotai Scythians’’.<sup>446</sup> The ancient sources located the Maiotai on the eastern side of the Sea of Azov.<sup>447</sup> However, Anfirmov supports that the Maiotai expanded their settlement to the river Hypanis.<sup>448</sup> Thus, it is assumed that they were intermingled with the Scythians. The archeological findings showed no sign of co-existence between the Maiotiai and the Scythians.<sup>449</sup>

### d. The Scythians in Aristophanes

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<sup>435</sup> Braund 2005, 99

<sup>436</sup> Braund 2005, 99

<sup>437</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 113

<sup>438</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 113

<sup>439</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 114

<sup>440</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 114

<sup>441</sup> Kullmer 1902, 551

<sup>442</sup> Pearson 1939, 206

<sup>443</sup> Jakoby 1956, 119

<sup>444</sup> Aly 1929, 49

<sup>445</sup> Kullmer 1901, 679

<sup>446</sup> Kullmer 1901, 679

<sup>447</sup> Braund 1996, 1201

<sup>448</sup> Braund 1996, 1201

<sup>449</sup> Braund 1996, 1202

Aristophanes was a comedian poet during 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The plots of his works denounced the Peloponnesian war and tried to unify the Athenians and the Spartans. Furthermore, Aristophanes criticizes on the Persian invasion to the Greek politics.

He writes for the Scythian policemen in his comedies in a more analyzed way.<sup>450</sup> The Scythian archers are depicted inferior to the Athenians. *Aristophanes Lysistrata* (188)Line 188LYSISTRATA *Of course....Well then Where is our Scythianess? Why are you staring? First lay the shield, boss downward, on the floor. And bring the victim's inwards.*<sup>451</sup> A question that has arisen is, if the Scythian, who lived in Athens, had with them Scythian women.<sup>452</sup> There are some findings during the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC namely a black-glazed bowl from Agora with the female word *Scythaina* painted on it. Moreover, Aristophanes in his *Lysistrata* refers to a Skythaina. From this statement several conclusions could be drawn. For example, *the Scythianess* could be an Aristophanean joke referring to the Scythian men and the fact that they acted like women.<sup>453</sup> Moreover, the Scythian woman could also be an invention of Aristophanes which suits to this play.<sup>454</sup> However, if we consider the reaction of the Scythian public slave in *Thesmophoriazousai*, when he saw that girl dancing, it could be assumed that there were no Scythian women in Athens.<sup>455</sup> Aristophanes narrates as follows, *Thesmophoriazousae* 1160 ‘‘The Scythian has fallen asleep during the previous ode. At the end of it Euripides returns, thinly disguised as an old procuress; the Chorus recognizes him, the Scythian does not; he carries a harp, and is followed by a dancing girl and a young flute-girl. Euripides: [1160] Women, if you will be reconciled with me, I am willing, and I undertake never to say anything ill of you in future. Those are my proposals for peace. Leader of the Chorus: And what impels you to make these overtures? Euripides to the Chorus [1165] This unfortunate man, who is chained to the post, is my father-in-law; if you will restore him to me, you will have no more cause to complain of me; but if not, I shall reveal your pranks to your husbands when

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<sup>450</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>451</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Lys.+188&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0242> 188 *Λυσιστράτη*

*καλῶς λέγεις. ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ Σκύθαινα; ποῖ βλέπεις;*

*185θὲς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπῆιαν τὴν ἀσπίδα,*

*καὶ μοι δότω τὰ τόμιά τις.*

<sup>452</sup>Bäbler 2005, 120

<sup>453</sup>Bäbler 2005, 120

<sup>454</sup>Dover 1972, 185

<sup>455</sup>Bäbler 2005, 120

*they return from the war. Leader of the Chorus [1170] We accept peace, but there is this barbarian whom you must buy over. Euripides I'll take care of that. Come, my little wench, bear in mind what I told you on the road and do it well. Come, go past him and gird up your robe. [1175] And you, you little dear, play us the air of a Persian dance. Scythian Archer waking What is this music that makes me so blithe? Euripides Scythian, this young girl is going to practise some dances, which she has to perform at a feast presently. Scythian Archer Very well! let her dance and practise; I won't hinder her. [1180] How nimbly she bounds! just like a flea on a fleece. Euripides Come, my dear, off with your robe and seat yourself on the Scythian's knee; stretch forth your feet to me, that I may take off your slippers Scythian Archer Ah! yes, seat yourself, my little girl, ah! yes, to be sure. What a firm little titty! [1185] it's just like a turnip. Euripides to the flute-girl An air on the flute, quick! Are you afraid of the Scythian? Scythian Archer What a nice arse! Hold still, won't you? Pop it out and pull it back. A nice twat, too. Euripides That's so! To the dancing girl Resume your dress, it is time [1190] to be going. Scythian Archer Give me a kiss. Euripides Come, give him a kiss. Scythian Archer Oh! oh! oh! my god, what sweet lips! like Attic honey. But might she not go to bed with me? Euripides Impossible, officer; good evening. Scythian Archer Oh! oh! old hag, [1195] do me this pleasure. Euripides Will you give a drachma? Scythian Archer Aye, that I will. Euripides Hand over the money. Scythian Archer I have not got it, but take my quiver in pledge. Euripides Then bring her back. Scythian Archer To the dancing girl Follow me, my fine young wench. Old woman, you keep an eye on this man. [1200] But what's your name? Euripides Artemisia. Scythian Archer I'll remember it. Artemuxia. He takes the dancing girl away. Euripides aside Hermes, god of cunning, receive my thanks! everything is turning out for the best. To the flute-girl As for you, friend, go along with them. Now let me loose his bonds. To Mnesilochus And you, [1205] directly I have released you, take to your legs and run off full tilt to your home to find your wife and children. Mnesilochus I shall not fail in that as soon as I am free. Euripides releasing Mnesilochus There! It's done. Come, fly, before the Scythian lays his hand on you again. Mnesilochus That's just what I am doing. Both depart in haste. Scythian Archer returning [1210] Ah! old woman! what a charming little girl! Not at all a prude, and so obliging! Eh! where is the old woman? Ah! I am undone! And the old man, where is he? Hi, old woman, old woman! Ah! but this is a dirty trick! Artemuxia! she has tricked me, that's what the little old woman has done! Get clean out of my sight,*

you cursed quiver! Picks it up and throws it across the stage. [1215] Ha! you are well named quiver, for you have made me quiver indeed. Oh! what's to be done? Where is the old woman then? Artemuxia! Leader of the Chorus Are you asking for the old woman who carried the lyre? Scythian Archer Yes, yes; have you seen her? Leader of the Chorus She has gone that way along with the old man. Scythian Archer [1220] Dressed in a long robe? Leader of the Chorus Yes; run quick, and you will overtake them. Scythian Archer Ah! rascally old woman! Which way has she fled? Artemuxia! Leader of the Chorus Straight on; follow your nose. But, hi! where are you running to now? Come back, you are going exactly the wrong way. Scythian Archer [1225] Ye gods! ye gods! and all this while Artemuxia is escaping. He runs off.<sup>456</sup> The Scythians in *Thesmophoriazusae* are portrayed as idiot and people who

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<sup>456</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Thes.+1160&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0042>

Ευρυπίδης Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι 1160

Ευρυπίδης

1160 γυναικες εἰ βούλεσθε τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον

σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι πρὸς ἐμέ, νυνὶ πάρα,

ἐφ' ᾧ τ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδαμὰ

κακὸν τὸ λοιπόν. ταῦτ' ἐπικηρυκεύομαι.

Χορός

χρεῖα δὲ ποίᾳ τόνδ' ἐπесφέρεις λόγον;

Ευρυπίδης

1165 ὅδ' ἐστὶν οὖν τῇ σανίδι κηδεστὴς ἐμός.

ἦν οὖν κομίσωμαι τοῦτον, οὐδὲν μὴ ποτε

κακῶς ἀκούσῃτ': ἦν δὲ μὴ πίθησθέ μοι,

ἃ νῦν ὑποικουρεῖτε τοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν

ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς παροῦσιν ὑμῶν διαβαλῶ.

Χορός

1170 τὰ μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν ἴσθι σοι πεπεισμένα:

τὸν βάρβαρον δὲ τοῦτον αὐτὸς πεῖθε σύ.

Ευρυπίδης

ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστίν: καὶ σὸν ὠλάφιον ἅ σοι

καθ' ὁδὸν ἔφραζον ταῦτα μεμνησθαι ποιεῖν.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δῖελθε κἀνακάλασσον.

1175 σὺ δ' ὦ Τερηδὼν ἐπαναφύσα Περσικόν.

Τοξότης

τί τὸ βόμβο τοῦτο; κῶμο τίς ἀνεγεῖρί μοι

Ευρυπίδης

ἡ παῖς ἐμελλε προμελετᾶν ὦ τοξότα.

ὀρχησομένη γὰρ ἔρχεθ' ὡς ἄνδρας τινάς.

Τοξότης

ὀρκῇσι καὶ μελετῇσι, οὐ κωλύς' ἐγώ.

1180 ὡς ἐλαπρός, ὥσπερ ψύλλο κατὰ τὸ κῶδιο.

Ευρυπίδης

φέρε θοιμάτιον ἄνωθεν ὦ τέκνον τοδί:

καθιζομένη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι γόνασι τοῦ Σκύθου  
 τὼ πόδε πρότεινον, ἵν' ὑπολύσω.  
 Τοξότης  
 ναῖκι ναῖ  
 κάτησο κάτησο, ναῖκι ναῖκι τυγάτριον.  
 1185οἴμ' ὥς στέριπο τὸ τιττῖ, ὥσπερ γογγύλη.  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 αὐλὲι σὺ θᾶπτον· ἔτι δέδοικας τὸν Σκύθην;  
 Τοξότης  
 καλὸ γε τὸ πυγῇ. κλαῦσί γ' ἂν μὴ ἔνδον μένης.  
 ἀνακύπτει καὶ παρακύπτει ἀπεψωλημένος·  
 εἶεν· καλὴ τὸ σκῆμα περὶ τὸ πόστιον.  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 καλῶς ἔχει. λαβὲ θεοίματιον· ὥρα 'στὶ νῶν  
 1190ἤδη βαδίζειν.  
 Τοξότης  
 οὐκὶ πιλῆσι πρῶτά με;  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 πάνυ γε· φίλησον αὐτόν.  
 Τοξότης  
 ὃ δ' ὃ παπαπαπαῖ,  
 ὥς γλυκερὸ τὸ γλῶσσ', ὥσπερ Ἀττικὸς μέλις.  
 τί οὐ κατεύδει παρ' ἐμέ;  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 χαῖρε τοξότα,  
 οὐ γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν τοῦτο.  
 Τοξότης  
 ναῖ ναῖ γράδιο.  
 ἐμοὶ κάρισσο σὺ τοῦτο.  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 δώσεις οὖν δραχμήν;  
 Τοξότης  
 1195ναῖ ναῖκι δῶσι.  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 τὰργύριον τοίνυν φέρε.  
 Τοξότης  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκώδέν· ἀλλὰ τὸ συμβήνην λαβέ.  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 ἔπειτα ἥ κομίζεις αὐτοῖς· ἥ  
 Τοξότης  
 ἀκολουθεῖ τέκνον.  
 σὺ δὲ τοῦτο τήρει τὴ γέροντο, γράδιο.  
 1200ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἔστιν;  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 Ἀρτεμισία.  
 Τοξότης  
 μεμνήσι τοίνυν τοῦνομ': Ἀρταμουζία.  
 Εὐριπίδης  
 Ἑρμῇ δόλιε ταυτὶ μὲν ἔτι καλῶς ποιεῖς.  
 σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπότηρεχε παιδάριον τουτὶ λαβών·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω τόνδε. σὺ δ' ὅπως ἀνδρικῶς



could be easily defeated.<sup>457</sup> Hall observes that this line presents the cultural inferiority of the Scythians.<sup>458</sup>

The Scythians who lived in Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC were responsible also to consensus of the Athenians in the Assembly. They sometimes had to force the Athenians to participate in the Assembly. As a result the Scythian public slaves did

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1205 ὅταν λυθῇς τάχιστα θεύξει καὶ τενεῖς  
ὥς τὴν γυναιῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδί οἴκαδε.  
Μνησίλοχος  
ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτά γ' ἦν ἅπαξ λυθῶ.  
Εὐριπίδης  
λέλυσσο. σὸν ἔργον, φεῦγε πρὶν τὸν τοξότην  
ἤκοντα καταλαβεῖν.  
Μνησίλοχος  
ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο δρῶ.  
Τοξότης  
1210 ὦ γράδι' ὥς καρίεντό σοι τὸ τυγάτριον,  
κοῦ δύσκολ' ἀλλὰ πρᾶο. ποῦ τὸ γράδιο;  
οἴμ' ὥς ἀπόλωλο· ποῦ τὸ γέροντ' ἐντευτενί;  
ὦ γράδι', ὦ γρά. οὐκ ἐπαινώ γράδιο.  
Ἀρταμουζία.  
διέβαλλέ μ' ἡ' γραῦς. ἀπότρεκ' ὥς τάκιστα σύ·  
1215 ὁρτῶς δὲ συμβήνη 'στί· καταβηνῇσι γάρ.  
οἴμοι,  
τί δρᾷσι; ποῖ τὸ γράδι'; Ἀρταμουζία.  
Χορός  
τὴν γραῦν ἐρωτᾷς, ἥ 'φερειν τὰς πηκτίδας;  
Τοξότης  
ναὶ ναῖκι. εἶδες αὐτό;  
Χορός  
ταύτη γ' οἴχεται  
αὐτὴ τ' ἐκείνη καὶ γέρων τις εἵπετο.  
Τοξότης  
1220 κροκῶτ' ἔκοντο τὴν γέροντο;  
Χορός  
φήμ' ἐγώ.  
ἔτ' ἂν καταλάβοις, εἰ διώκοις ταυτηί.  
Τοξότης  
ὦ μιαρὸ γράο· πότερα τρέξι τὴν ὁδό;  
Ἀρταμουζία.  
Χορός  
ὀρθὴν ἄνω δίωκε. ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ πάλιν  
τηδὲ διώξει; σ' τοῦμπαλιν τρέχεις σύ γε.  
Τοξότης  
1225 κακόδαιμον, ἀλλὰ τρέξι. Ἀρταμουζία.

<sup>457</sup> Plockmeyer 2009, 35

<sup>458</sup> Hall 1989, 52

exist during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>459</sup> Aristophanes narrates an incidence when a Scythian archer forced out a man outside the Assembly, (*Knights*, 665) *Sausage-Seller* So when I saw myself defeated by this ox dung, I outbade the fellow, crying, "Two hundred!" And beyond this [660] I moved that a vow be made to Diana of a thousand goats if the next day anchovies should only be worth an obol a hundred. And the Senate looked towards me again. The other, stunned with the blow, grew delirious in his speech, [665] and at last the Prytanes and the Scythians dragged him out. The Senators then stood talking noisily about the anchovies.<sup>460</sup>

In addition, the savage way of the Scythians is presented in *Thesmophoriazusae*, line 1002-1015 *Scythian Archer* He speaks with a heavy foreign accent  
You shall stay here in the open air to wail. *Mnesilochus*  
*Archer*, I adjure you. *Scythian Archer* You're wasting your breath. *Mnesilochus* Loosen the wedge a little. *Scythian Archer*  
Aye, certainly. *Mnesilochus* Oh! by the gods! why, you are driving it in tighter. *Scythian Archer* [1005] Is that enough? *Mnesilochus*  
Oh! Oh! Ow! Ow! May the plague take you! *Scythian Archer*  
Silence! you cursed old wretch! I am going to get a mat to lie upon, so as to watch you close at hand at my ease. *Mnesilochus*  
Ah! what exquisite pleasures Euripides is securing for me! But, oh, ye gods! oh, Zeus the Deliverer, all is not yet lost! [1010] I don't believe him the man to break his word; I just caught sight of him appearing in the form of Perseus, and he told me with a mysterious sign to turn myself into Andromeda. And in truth am I not really bound? It's certain, then, that [1015] he is coming to my rescue; for otherwise he would not have steered his flight this way.<sup>461</sup> In this paragraph the Scythians are savage and had a very

<sup>459</sup>Bäbler 2005, 120

<sup>460</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Kn.665&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0034> (Αριστοφάνης *Ἰππείς* 665) καὶ θ' εἰλκον αὐτὸν οἱ πρυτάνεις χοῖ τοξόται.

οἱ δ' ἐθορύβουν περὶ τῶν ἀφύων ἐστηκότες:

ὁ δ' ἤντε βόλει γ' αὐτοὺς ὀλίγον μεῖναι χρόνον,

ἔνθ' ἄθ' ὁ κῆρυξ οὐκ Λακεδαιμόνος λέγει

πύθησθ', ἀφίκται γὰρ περὶ σπονδῶν, ἔλεγον.

670 οἱ δ' ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἅπαντες ἀνέκραγον:

ἔννι περὶ σπονδῶν; ἐπειδὴ γ' ὃ μέλε

ἥσθοντο τὰς ἀφύας παρ' ἡμῖν ἀζίας.

<sup>461</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Thes.+1002&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0042> Αριστοφάνης *Θεσμοφορίαζουσαι* 1002-1015 Τοξότης

aggressive behaviour.<sup>462</sup> Aristophanes underlines the cruelty of Scythians and he identifies the Scythians as the barbarians. *Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae Line 1128* Euripides ‘Ah! what can be done? what arguments can I use? This savage will understand nothing! [1130] The newest and most cunning fancies are a dead letter to the ignorant. Let us invent some artifice to fit in with his coarse nature.’<sup>463</sup> However, few lines afterwards the Scythian archer, who was so cruel and ready to defend the state of Athens, changed his behaviour when he met the woman.<sup>464</sup> In order to obtain the girl, he did not care about his weapons and his work as an archer.<sup>465</sup>

Moreover, Aristophanes satirizes the way that Scythians speak the ancient Greek language.<sup>466</sup> Aristophanes writes as follows, (*Thesmophoriazusae 1100*) Euripides ‘Oh!

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ἐνταῦτα νῦν οἰμῶζι πρὸς τὴν αἰτρίαν.

Μνησίλοχος

ὦ τοξότης ἰκετεύω σε. Τοξότης μή μ' ἰκετεύσι σύ. Μνησίλοχος  
χάλασον τὸν ἦλον.

Τοξότης

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δρᾷς' ἐγώ.

Μνησίλοχος

οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, μᾶλλον ἐπικρούεις σύ γε.

Τοξότης

1005 ἔτι μᾶλλο βοῦλις;

Μνησίλοχος

ἀτταταῖ ἰατταταῖ:

κακῶς ἀπόλοιο.

Τοξότης

σῖγα κακοδαίμων γέρον.

πέρ' ἐγὼ 'ξινίγκι πορμός, ἵνα πυλάξῃ σοι.

Μνησίλοχος

ταυτὶ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀπολέλαυκ' Εὐριπίδου.

ἔα: θεοί, Ζεῦ σῶτερ, εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες.

1010 ἀνὴρ ἔοικεν οὐ προδώσειν, ἀλλὰ μοι

σημεῖον ὑπεδήλωσε Περσεὺς ἐκδραμών,

ὅτι δεῖ με γίγνεσθ' Ἀνδρομέδαν: πάντως δέ μοι

τὰ δέσμ' ὑπάρχει. δῆλον οὖν τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ὅτι

1015 ἥξει με σώσων: οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρέπτετο.

<sup>462</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 36

<sup>463</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Thes.+1128&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0042> Αριστοφάνης, Θεσμοφορίαζουσαι 1128 Εὐριπίδης

αἰαῖ: τί δράσω; πρὸς τίνας στρεφθῶ λόγους;

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξαιτο βάρβαρος φύσις.

1130 σκαιοῖσι γάρ τοι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ

μάτην ἀναλίσκοις ἄν, ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ

τούτῳ πρέπουσαν μηχανὴν προσοιστέον.

<sup>464</sup>Sommerstein 1994, 235

<sup>465</sup>Sommerstein 1994, 235

<sup>466</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

ye gods! to what barbarian land has my swift flight taken me? I am Perseus; [1100] I cleave the plains of the air with my winged feet, and I am carrying the Gorgon's head to Argos."Scythian Archer "What, are you talking about the head of Gorgos, the scribe." Euripides: "No, I am speaking of the head of the Gorgon" Scythian Archer: "Why, yes! of Gorgos!" Euripides [1105] "But what do I behold? A young maiden, beautiful as the immortals, chained to this rock like a vessel in port?"Mnesilochus: "Take pity on me, oh stranger! I am so unhappy and distraught! Free me from these bonds."Scythian Archer: "You keep still! a curse upon your impudence! you are going to die, and yet you will be chattering!" Euripides: [1110] "Oh! virgin! I take pity on your chains."Scythian Archer: " But this is no virgin; he's an old rogue, a cheat and a thief." Euripides: "You have lost your wits, Scythian. This is Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus." Scythian Archer: "lifting up Mnesilochus' robe" But look at his tool; it's pretty big.Euripides: "[1115] Give me your hand, that I may descend near this young maiden. Each man has his own particular weakness; as for me I am aflame with love for this virgin." Scythian Archer: "Oh! I'm not jealous; and as he has his arse turned this way, [1120] why, I don't care if you make love to him." Euripides: "Ah! let me release her, and hasten to join her on the bridal couch."Scythian Archer: "If you are so eager to make the old man, you can bore through the plank, and so get at him." Euripides: " [1125] No, I will break his bonds." Scythian Archer: "Beware of my lash!" Euripides: " No matter." Scythian Archer: "This blade shall cut off your head." Euripides: "Ah! what can be done? what arguments can I use? This savage will understand nothing! [1130] The newest and most cunning fancies are a dead letter to the ignorant. Let us invent some artifice to fit in with his coarse nature."He departs.Scythian Archer: " I can see the rascal is trying to outwit me." Mnesilochus: "Ah! Perseus! remember in what condition you are leaving me." Scythian Archer: "[1135] Are you wanting to feel my lash again!"<sup>467</sup> From this passage of Aristophanes could be drawn some conclusions

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<sup>467</sup> Αριστοφάνης Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι 1100

Εὐριπίδης

ὦ θεοὶ τίν' ἐς γῆν βαρβάρων ἀφίγμεθα

ταχεῖ πεδίλῳ; διὰ μέσου γὰρ αἰθέρος

1100 τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημι' ὑπόπτερον

Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἄργος ναυστολῶν τὸ Γοργόνο

κάρᾳ κομίζων. Τοξότης

τί λέγει; τῇ Γόργος πέρι

τὸ γραμματέο σὺ τῇ κεφαλῇ;

Εὐριπίδης τὴν Γοργόνοσ ἔγωγε φημί.

Τοξότης Γόργο τοι κάγῳ λέγι.

Εὐριπίδης

1105ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρᾷ καὶ παρθένον

θεαῖς ὁμοίαν ναῦν ὅπως ὀρμισμένην;

Μνησίλοχος

ὦ ξένε κατοίκτιρόν με τὴν παναθλίαν,

λῦσόν με δεσμῶν

Τοξότης

οὐκὶ μὴ λαλήσι σύ;

κατάρατο τολμᾶς ἀποτανουμένη λαλᾶς;

Εὐριπίδης

1110ὦ παρθέν' οἰκτίρω σὲ κρεμαμένην ὀρῶν.

Τοξότης

οὐ παρτέν' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλὴ γέρων

καὶ κλέπτο καὶ πανοῦργο.

Εὐριπίδης

ληρεῖς ὦ Σκύθα.

αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν Ἀνδρομέδα παῖς Κηφέως.

Τοξότης

σκέψαι τὸ κύστο· μὴ τι μικτὸν παίνεται;

Εὐριπίδης

1115φέρε δεῦρό μοι τὴν χεῖρ', ἵν' ἄψωμαι κόρης·

φέρε Σκύθ'· ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ νοσήματα

ἅπασιν ἐστίν· ἐμὲ δὲ καὐτὸν τῆς κόρης

ταύτης ἔρωσ ἐΐληφεν.

Τοξότης

οὐ ζηλώσῃ σε·

ἀτὰρ εἰ τὸ πρωκτὸ δεῦρο περιστραμμένον,

1120οὐκ ἐπτόνησά σ' αὐτὸ πυγίζεις ἄγων.

Εὐριπίδης

τί δ' οὐκ ἔῃς λύσαντά μ' αὐτὴν ὦ Σκύθα

πεσεῖν ἐς εὐνὴν καὶ γαμήλιον λέχος;

Τοξότης

εἰ σπόδρ' ἐπιτυμεῖς τὴ γέροντο πύγισο,

τὴ σανίδο τρήσας ἐξόπιστο πρῶκτισον.

Εὐριπίδης

1125μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ λύσω δεσμά.

Τοξότης

μαστιγῶ σ' ἄρα.

Εὐριπίδης

καὶ μὴν ποιήσω τοῦτο.

Τοξότης

τὸ κεφαλὴ σ' ἄρα

τὸ ξιπομάκαιραν ἀποκεκόψι τουτοῖ.

Εὐριπίδης

αἰαῖ· τί δράσω; πρὸς τίνας στρεφθῶ λόγους;

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξαιτο βάρβαρος φύσις.

1130σκαιοῖσι γὰρ τοι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ

μάτην ἀναλίσκοις ἄν, ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ

τούτῳ πρέπουσαν μηχανὴν προσοιστέον.

according to what the Athenian audience felt about the Scythians during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. First of all, some of them might have enjoyed the Scythians mistakes in the Greek language and felt sympathy for the Scythian public slave and his incorrect use of Greek.<sup>468</sup> Others probably mocked the Scythians as Aristophanes did.

In addition in the *Acharnians*, Aristophanes blames that the Scythian origin archers. Due to that Scythian origin the Scythians are culturally inferior to the Athenians, (*Acharnians* 707) *CHORUS* *What an injustice that a man, bent with age like Thucydides, should be brow-beaten by this braggart advocate, Cephisodemus, I who is as savage as the Scythian desert he was born in! Is it not to convict him from the outset? I wept tears of pity when I saw an Archer<sup>2</sup> maltreat this old man, who, by Ceres, when he was young and the true Thucydides, would not have permitted an insult from Ceres herself! At that date he would have floored ten orators, he would have terrified three thousand Archers with his shouts; he would have pierced the whole line of the enemy with his shafts. Ah! but if you will not leave the aged in peace, decree that the advocates be matched; thus the old man will only be confronted with a toothless greybeard, the young will fight with the braggart, the ignoble with the son of Clinias;<sup>3</sup> make a law that in the future, the old man can only be summoned and convicted at the courts by the aged and the young man by the youth.*<sup>469</sup> Furthermore, they had different

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Τοξότης

μιαρὸς ἀλώπηξ, οἷον ἐπιτήκιζι μοι.

Μνησίλοχος

μέμνησο Περσεῦ μ' ὥς καταλείπεις ἀθλίαν.

Τοξότης

1135 ἔτι γὰρ σὺ τῇ μάστιγιαν ἐπιτυμεῖς λαβεῖν;

<sup>468</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>469</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Ach.+707&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0240> (*Αχαρναί* 707) *Χορός*

τῷ γὰρ εἰκότος ἀνδρακυφὸν ἡλίκον Θουκυδίδην

ἐξολέσθαι συμπλακέντα τῇ Σκυθῶν ἐρημίᾳ,

705 τῷ δετῷ Κηφισοδῆμω τῷ ἀλάφῳ ξυνηγόρω;

ὥστ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡλέησα καὶ ἀπεμορξάμην νιδῶν

ἀνδραπρεσβύτην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τοξότου κυκώμενον,

ὁς μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἐκεῖνος ἡνίκ' ἦν Θουκυδίδης,

οὐδ' ἀναυτὴν τὴν Ἀχαϊὰν ῥαδίως ἡνέσχετο,

710 ἀλλὰ κατεπάλαισε μέντ' ἄν πρῶτον Εὐάθλους δέκα,

κατεβόησε δ' ἂν κεκραγὼς τοξότας τρισηλίου,

περιετόξευσεν δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς.

ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γέροντας οὐκ ἔαθ' ὕπνου τυχεῖν,

ψηφίσασθε χωρὶς εἶναι τὰς γραφάς, ὅπως ἂν ἧ

715 τῷ γέροντι μὲν γέρων καὶ νωδὸς ὁ ξυνήγορος,

customs from the Athenians and this also mentioned in the ancient texts. In general, the Scythians are presented as softy person who can be easily defeated. Moreover, they were weaker than the women as Aristophanes writes in *Ecclesiazusae* (259) *First Woman But there is one thing we don't think of. If the Scythians drag you away, what will you do? Praxagora With my arms akimbo [260] like this, I will never, never let myself be taken round the middle. Second Woman If they seize you, we will bid them let you go. First Woman That's the best way. But how are we going to remember to lift our arms in the Assembly [265] when it's our legs we are used to lifting? Praxagora It's difficult; yet it must be done, and the arm shown naked to the shoulder in order to vote. Quick now, put on these tunics and these Laconian shoes, [270] as you see the men do each time they go to the Assembly or for a walk. When this is done, fix on your beards, and when they are arranged in the best way possible, [275] dress yourselves in the cloaks you have stolen from your husbands; finally start off, leaning on your staffs and singing some old man's song as the villagers do.*<sup>470</sup> In addition, Hall underlines that in Aristophanes 'Lysistrata' there is a reference about the Scythian drunkenness.<sup>471</sup> Aristophanes narrates, as follows 'MYRRHINE By Phosphor, if your hand moves out her way You'd better have a surgeon somewhere handy. MAGISTRATE You too! Where is that archer? Take that woman. I'll put a stop to these surprise-parties. STRATYLLIS By the Tauric Artemis, one inch

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τοῖς νέοις δ' εὐρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος χῶ Κλεινίου.  
 κάζελαύνειν χρὴ τὸ λοιπόν, κἄν φύγη τις ζημιῶν,  
 τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι, τὸν νέον δὲ τῷ νέῳ.

<sup>470</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Eccl.+259&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0030> (Λυσιστράτα Αριστοφάνης)

Πραξάγορα

255 τοῦτ' ἔγωγε μὲν εἶπον ἐς κινδὺν πυγῆν ὄραν.

Γυνή Α

τί δ' ἦν ὑποκρούωσιν σε;

Πραξάγορα

προσκινήσομαι

ἅτ' οὐκ ἄπειρος οὔσα πολλῶν κρουμάτων.

Γυνή Α

ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἄσκεπτον, ἦν σ' οἱ τοξόται

ἔλκωσιν, ὅ τι δράσεις ποτ'.

Πραξάγορα

ἐξαγκωνιῶ

260 ὥδι: μέση γὰρ οὐδέποτε ληφθήσομαι.

Γυνή Β

ἡμεῖς δὲ γ', ἦν αἴρωσ', ἐὰν κελεύσομεν.

<sup>471</sup>Hall 1989, 46

*nearer My fingers, and it's a bald man that'll be yelling. MAGISTRATE*  
*Tut tut, what's here? Deserted by my archers....*  
*But surely women never can defeat us;*  
*Close up your ranks, my Scythians. Forward at them. LYSISTRATA*  
*By the Goddesses, you'll find that here await you*  
*Four companies of most pugnacious women*  
*Armed cap-a-pie from the topmost luring curl*  
*To the lowest angry dimple. MAGISTRATE On, Scythians, bind them. LYSISTRATA*  
*On, gallant allies of our high design, Vendors of grain-eggs-pulse-and-vegetables,*  
*Ye garlic-tavern-keepers of bakeries,*  
*Strike, batter, knock, hit, slap, and scratch our foes,*  
*Be finely imprudent, say what you think of them....*  
*Enough! retire and do not rob the dead''.*<sup>472</sup> According to their customs, as it had already been pointed out the Scythians used to drink their wine without adding any water. Whilst, the Athenians drunk their wine always mixed with water, and believed that this Scythian custom was uncivilized and this is the reason why Aristophanes characterizes the Scythians as ‘others’ and ‘non- Greek people’.

Aristophanes writes Ecclesiazusae approximately in 392 BC.<sup>473</sup> This indicates that the Scythians during 4<sup>th</sup> century BC where in Athens.<sup>474</sup> Furthermore, as Praxagora

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<sup>472</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Aristoph.+Lys.+458&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0242><sup>445</sup> Πρόβουλος

445 τουτὶ τί ἦν; ποῦ τοζότης; ταύτης ἔχου. παύσω τιν' ὑμῶν τῇ σδ' ἐγὼ τῆς ἐξόδου.  
 Γυνὴ Γεῖτ' ἀρανὴ τὴν Ταυροπόλον ταύτη πρόσει, ἐκκοκκιῶ σου τὰς στενοκακύτους τρίχας. Πρόβουλος οἶμοι  
 κακοδαίμων: ἐπιλέλοιφ' ὁ τοζότης. 450 ἄτὰρ οὐ γυναικῶν οὐδέ ποτ' ἔσθ' ἡττητέα ἡμῖν: ὁ μόσε χωρῶμεν αὐταῖς  
 ὧ Σκύθαι ζινταζάμενοι. Λυσιστράτην τῷ θεῷ γνώσεσθ' ἄρα ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι τέτταρες λόχοι μαχίμων  
 γυναικῶν ἐνδονέζω πλισμένων. Πρόβουλος  
 455 ἀποστρέφετε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ὧ Σκύθαι. Λυσιστράτη  
 ὧ ζῦμμαχοι γυναικες ἐκθεῖτ' ἐνδοθεν,  
 ὧ σπερμαγοραιολεκιθολαχανοπώλιδες,  
 ὧ σκοροδοπανδοκευτρίαρτοπώλιδες,  
 οὐχ' ἔλζετ', οὐ παύσετ', οὐκ ἀράζετε;  
 460 οὐ λοιδορήσετ', οὐκ ἀναισχυντήσετε;  
 παύσασθ', ἐπαναχωρεῖτε, μὴ σκυλεύετε.

<sup>473</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117



declares, if she would like to hit the Scythians police, it would be easy for her.<sup>475</sup> As a result, Aristophanes opinion for the Scythians who lived in Athens had not change during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>476</sup> Thus, the Athenians during 4<sup>th</sup> century BC believe that the Scythians were inferior comparing with them, an enemy who could easily be defeated.<sup>477</sup>

Some scholars believe that the Scythians vanished from Athens during the Peloponnesian war because the Athenians could not to pay them as public slaves.<sup>478</sup> This argument is refuted because as it has already been said, Aristophanes in his play *Ecclesiazusae* in 492 BC writes that the Scythian policemen still existed until the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>479</sup> Furthermore, there are some archaeological findings dated in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, which referred to the Scythians who lived in Athens.<sup>480</sup> Specifically, two *torsos* of memorial tombs have been found in the cemetery of Cerameicus.<sup>481</sup> These two statues are connected to the Scythians because there have been found some Scythian costumes, too.<sup>482</sup> The male dead body was wearing his *gorytus*.<sup>483</sup> The scholars have concluded that these two people at the time of their death they were learning how to shoot.<sup>484</sup> In general, about half a dozen of Scythian grave-monuments have been found in Athens during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>485</sup>

In general, Old Comedy presents the Scythians as barbarians.<sup>486</sup> This Aristophanean attitude proves what the Athenians believed for the Scythians during the late 5<sup>th</sup> and the early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>487</sup> Still, we must consider the year in which Aristophanes writes the two plays (*Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*). The oligarchic coup of the 400 hundred was established in Athens in 411 BC and this is the reason why the year

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<sup>474</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>475</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>476</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>477</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>478</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>479</sup>Bäbler 2005, 118

<sup>480</sup>Bäbler 2005, 118

<sup>481</sup>Bouzek 2000, 11

<sup>482</sup>Bäbler 2005, 118

<sup>483</sup>Bouzek 2000, 11

<sup>484</sup>Bäbler 2005, 119

<sup>485</sup>Bäbler 2005, 120

<sup>486</sup>Hall 1989, 40

<sup>487</sup>Bäbler 2005, 121

411 BC was a very hard year for the Athenians.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, the Peloponnesian war was in progress and the Athenians tried to negotiate with the Persians. After the defeat of the Athenians in the battle of Sicily, the oligarchic Athenians believed that they had to change the polity from democracy to oligarchy in order to win the Spartans. Moreover, the Athenians who support oligarchy they found their chance to get involved to the Athenian power. Thus, the Scythians who lived in Athens and were public slaves they had to cooperate with the supporters of oligarchy who took the rule.<sup>489</sup> It can be assumed that the Athenians in 411 BC hated and detested the Scythians because they satisfied the demands of the rulers of oligarchy.<sup>490</sup>

Mocking the barbarians was a common practice in Athens after the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Before Aristophanes, Aeschylus and Euripides had already commented on the barbarian customs. As a result, the Athenian audience used to listen of this kind of description of the foreigners. Still, Aristophanes' aim was to make the Athenians and the Spartans forget their differences and be unified.<sup>491</sup> Moreover, Aristophanes tries to persuade both the Athenians and the Spartans that they should put aside Persia and avoid the negotiations with the Persians, because these negotiations would threatened the future of Hellas. As a result, Aristophanes in his plays criticizes and mocks the Scythians.<sup>492</sup> This is a good exegesis in order to explain why the Scythians were portrayed as inferior and stupid in all Aristophanean texts.<sup>493</sup> This is the reason why the Scythians in the whole play had a second role which was always used for the comic purposes of the play.<sup>494</sup> This also indicates that the Scythians archers did not belong to the Athenian society.<sup>495</sup>

## **Chapter 2. Historiography during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC**

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<sup>488</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>489</sup>Hall 1989, 40

<sup>490</sup>Bäbler 2005, 117

<sup>491</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 50

<sup>492</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 45

<sup>493</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 47

<sup>494</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 48

<sup>495</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 51

During the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Scythia changed and it is observed a decline of Great Scythia. Moreover, the relations between the Scythians and the Bosporian Greeks became hostile. This is recorded by Demosthenes in his speech 34.8 *When he came, then, to Bosporus, having letters from me, which I had given him to deliver to my slave, who was spending the winter there, and to a partner of mine,—in which letter I had stated the sum which I had lent and the security, and bade them, as soon as the goods should be unshipped, to inspect them and keep an eye on them,—the fellow did not deliver to them the letters which he had received from me, in order that they might know nothing of what he was doing; and, finding that business in Bosporus was bad owing to the war which had broken out between Paerisades I and the Scythian, and that there was no market for the goods which he had brought, he was in great perplexity; for his creditors, who had lent him money for the outward voyage, were pressing him for payment.*<sup>496</sup> As a result this hostile relation affects the trade relations between the Scythians and the Bosporian Greeks.<sup>497</sup>

#### **a. The Scythians in Xenophon**

As far as Xenophon is concerned I will use his book *Anabasis*. In this book there is a reference about the Scythians. In *Anabasis* Xenophon describes the participation of 10.000 Greeks mercenaries who they took part in the struggle between Cyrus and his brother Artaxerxis who has the king of Persia. Cyrus won but he died during the battle. After this the 10.000 Greeks mercenaries had a hard return to their homeland. Xenophon followed the return route and passed the southern shores of the Black Sea. Firstly, they passed Trabzon which was a Greek colony. Secondly, the citizens of Sinop (another Greek colony) volunteered to transfer Xenophon and the 10.000 mercenaries to Heraclea of Pontos, in order to reach Greece easily. Geographically speaking it was difficult to meet the Scythians. There are some paragraphs in Xenophon's work which mention the barbarian archers. It is not clear if this reference indicates the Scythians but from other ancient texts which already have been included, the Scythians were famous archers.<sup>498</sup> (Xen.Anab. 4.2.28) *As bowmen they were most excellent; they had bows nearly three cubits long and their arrows were more than two*

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<sup>496</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Dem.+34.8&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0069>

<sup>497</sup> Vinogradov 1989, 11

<sup>498</sup> Braund 2005, 90

cubits, and when they shot, they would draw their strings by pressing with the left foot against the lower end of the bow; and their arrows would go straight through shields and breastplates.<sup>499</sup> Whenever they got hold of them, the Greeks would use these arrows as javelins, fitting them with thongs. In these regions the Cretans made themselves exceedingly useful. They were commanded by a Cretan named Stratocles.<sup>499</sup> In that passage the Greeks mercenaries had to face the brutality of the barbarian (Scythian) archers in their way back to Greece.

### **b. The Scythians in Ephorus and Theopompus of Chios**

Ephorus and Theopompus of Chios were Greek historians and pupils of Isocrates. Ephorus wrote the most famous universal history in antiquity.<sup>500</sup> His works covers the period from the return of Heracleidae until the reign of King Philip II.<sup>501</sup> His research was influenced by Herodotus, Thucydides and Ephorus.<sup>502</sup> Diodorus Siculus and Strabo were influenced by Ephorus.<sup>503</sup> Ephorus has a negative and hostile view of the Scythians in his work.<sup>504</sup> Ephorus describes the Scythians with a negative example. Athenaeus cites Ephorus declaration that the Scythians lived in luxury.<sup>505</sup> He writes that the Scythians were very vulnerable and could be easily defeated because of their luxurious way of life.<sup>506</sup> Specifically, Ephorus uses the example of the Milesians; due to their thrifty way of life the Milesians could win the Scythians.<sup>507</sup> Here, the luxurious lifestyle is depicted as a negative aspect by the Greek historians. If the Milesians were tempted to luxury they would loose their strength. Thus, they would be defeated by the Scythians.

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<sup>499</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Xen.+Anab.+4.2.28&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0202> (Ξενοφών 4.2.28) ἄριστοι δὲ καὶ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπλήχει, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπλήχει· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς ὅποτε τοξεύοιεν πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

<sup>500</sup>Alonso – Nunez 1990, 173

<sup>501</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 161

<sup>502</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 161

<sup>503</sup>Xydopoulos 2007, 161

<sup>504</sup>Braund 1999, 526

<sup>505</sup>Flower 1997, 132

<sup>506</sup>Flower 1997, 132

<sup>507</sup>Flower 1997, 132

Theopompus was also a historian of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. He wrote the *History of Philip*, which was the history of Greece divided in 58 books.<sup>508</sup> For his work Theopompus used many references from Herodotus and Thucydides.<sup>509</sup> From of his work only some fragments are saved.<sup>510</sup> As a result, passages from his work were taken from other later historians such as Trogus Pompeius, Satyrus, Plutarch, Strabo, Frontinus, Lucian, Clement of Alexandria and Jordanes.<sup>511</sup> These historians included in their texts the period of Philip's siege of Perinthus and the facts after the war.<sup>512</sup> The facts of the 4<sup>th</sup> century were not described by the historians of that period, but from later ones.<sup>513</sup> This is a totally different practice from the historians of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC who wrote what had happened during their time. It is obvious from the title of his work *Phillippica*; Theopompus admired Philip II of Macedonia.<sup>514</sup> He also wrote the history of Greece which is called *Hellenica*.<sup>515</sup> This book covered the events of 410/411 until the Knidos naval warfare.<sup>516</sup> The fragments of his work reveal that he included information for the Scythian man Ateas or Atheas between 340 – 339 BC.<sup>517</sup> The scholars proposed two possible versions about Ateas.<sup>518</sup> According to the first version Ateas was one of the Scythian kings of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and his kingdom extended from Dobrudja to the Sea of Azov.<sup>519</sup> It is said that the king Ateas unified all the Scythian tribes between Maioitis and Danube. During the leadership of Ateas the tribal system was restricted. The second version claims that Ateas was the leader a Scythian tribe which had broken into Dobrudja.<sup>520</sup> The version that Ateas was a Scythian king is verified from various ancient historians such as Plutarch, Justin, Frontinus, Polyaeus, Lucian and Strabo.<sup>521</sup> Theopompus cited the historical events of the siege of Perinthus by the king of Macedonia Philip II.<sup>522</sup> These events talk about Ateas and the Scythian migration into

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<sup>508</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 161

<sup>509</sup> Xydopoulos 1997, 164

<sup>510</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 164

<sup>511</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 33

<sup>512</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

<sup>513</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

<sup>514</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 164

<sup>515</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 165

<sup>516</sup> Xydopoulos 2007, 165

<sup>517</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

<sup>518</sup> Alekseev 2006, 163

<sup>519</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>520</sup> Alekseev 2006, 163

<sup>521</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 39

<sup>522</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

the region south of the lower Danube.<sup>523</sup> Moreover, Ateas is known for his fight with the Triballi.<sup>524</sup> The Triballi were people of Thracian origin.<sup>525</sup> This battle is known by the texts of Frontinus and Polyaeus.<sup>526</sup> According to these texts the battle probably took place in Danube.<sup>527</sup> Gardiner – Garden claims that the facts of the battle between Ateas and the Triballi were chronicled by Theopompus first.<sup>528</sup>

The relationship between Ateas and Philip II of Macedonia is also analysed. Many scholars examine this point of view.<sup>529</sup> Some of them believe that Ateas and Philip made an alliance.<sup>530</sup> On the other hand, others believe that a coalition between Ateas and the king of Macedonia never existed.<sup>531</sup> Justin states as follows, *the king of Scythia (Ateas) asked for Philip's help in order to face the Histriani.*<sup>532</sup> *Ateas promised Philip that he would give to Philip the land of Scythia. Thus, Philip sent a Macedonian force. After the end of the battle, Philip asked from Ateas what they have agreed. Ateas refused to pay back as he claimed that Scythian is a poor land Later Philip claimed to be marching to the Danube only to erect a statue of Heracles and fulfil a vow, and Ateas suggested that he himself should erect the statue for Philip and forbade Philip to enter his territory.*<sup>533</sup> Watson also in his work *Marcus Junianus Justinus, Cornelius Nepos, Eutropius*, quotes, ‘ ‘ *alluding to the rigour of their climate and the bareness of their soil, which, far from enriching the Scythians with wealth, scarcely afforded them sustenance, (he) replied, that he had no treasury to satisfy so great a king, and that he thought it less honourable to do little than to refuse altogether; but that the Scythians were to be estimated by their valour and hardiness of body, not by their possessions* ’ ’.<sup>534</sup> In addition, in *Moralia* 174, Ateas wrote to Philip the II: ‘ ‘ *You are the ruler of Macedonians who have learned to fight both hunger and thirst.* ‘ ‘<sup>535</sup> Then, in 339 BC, a conflict followed between the Scythians of Ateas and the Macedonian

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<sup>523</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

<sup>524</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

<sup>525</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/604707/Triballi>

<sup>526</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 29

<sup>527</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 30

<sup>528</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 30

<sup>529</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 33

<sup>530</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 33

<sup>531</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 33

<sup>532</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 32

<sup>533</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 32

<sup>534</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 34

<sup>535</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 33

troops of Philip the II.<sup>536</sup> Philip II of Macedonia used as a pretext the fact that Ateas had not paid him back for his aid.<sup>537</sup> The main goal of Philip II was to expand his kingdom to the Black Sea area.<sup>538</sup> In the end of the fourth century BC, the Scythian king Ateas was killed in a battle against Macedonians.<sup>539</sup> There are some clues that his burial is on the mounds of the lower Dnieper.<sup>540</sup> After the death of Ateas begun the decline period of Scythia.

After his death, Scythia totally changed.<sup>541</sup> The powerful Scythian state collapsed and three smaller states were created.<sup>542</sup> These were Crimean Scythia (which had as capital the modern Simferopol), Scythia in the Dnieper region and Lesser Scythia in Dobrudja.<sup>543</sup> Especially, the Crimean Scythia had great importance on the North Pontic region.<sup>544</sup> Furthermore, the kingdom of the Crimea Scythia became more powerful during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>545</sup> Crimea Scythia existed until the invasions of Goths and Huns.<sup>546</sup>

### **c. The Scythians in Plato**

*Protagoras* is one of Plato's works which also includes a dialogue between Socrates and the famous sophist *Protagoras*. The sophists were a philosophical movement during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in the Athens of Pericles. This movement was characteristic because it started doubting traditional Athenian ideas such as the faith to the gods. The sophists tried to explain the world's function through logic.

In *Protagoras* there is a reference about the archers. *‘Plato Protagoras which are considered learnable and teachable: but if anyone else, whom the people do not regard as a craftsman, attempts to advise them, no matter how handsome and wealthy and well-born he may be, not one of these things induces them to accept him; they merely laugh him to scorn and shout him down, until either the speaker retires from*

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<sup>536</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 35

<sup>537</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 35

<sup>538</sup> Gardiner-Garden 1989, 35

<sup>539</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>540</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>541</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>542</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>543</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>544</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>545</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

<sup>546</sup> Murzin 2005, 38

*his attempt, overborne by the clamor, or the tipstaves pull him from his place or turn him out altogether by order of the chair. Such is their procedure in matters which they consider professional. But when they have to deliberate on something connected with the administration of the State,*'<sup>547</sup> To my point of view these archers are the Scythians who lived in Athens. As I have already said the Scythian archers were responsible for the law and enforcement in ancient Athens.<sup>548</sup> Except of that they had to force the Athenians to take part on the Assembly. The general view of the sophists was that there were no barbarians and Greeks, no powerful and inferior people. As I have already mentioned, they doubted the traditional ideas so they might have doubted the traditional view of the Greeks and the barbarians.

In addition, Plato in his work 'Laws' contrasts the Scythians with the Spartans. *'Plato 637e I am now referring not to the drinking or non-drinking of wine generally, but to drunkenness pure and simple, and the question is—ought we to deal with it as the Scythians and Persians do and the Carthaginians also, and Celts, [637e] Iberians and Thracians, who are all warlike races, or as you Spartans do; for you, as you say, abstain from it altogether, whereas the Scythians and Thracians, both men and women, take their wine neat and let it pour down over their clothes, and regard this practice of theirs as a noble and splendid practice; and the Persians indulge greatly in these and other luxurious habits which you reject, albeit in a more orderly fashion than the others.'* Again the issue of wine as a sign which defines the Greeks and the 'Others' as the main difference between the Spartans and the Scythians. The Spartans drank wine mixed with water as the Athenians. Thus, drinking wine with water was a common practice for the Greeks. In addition, Plato seems that he criticizes the Scythians and the other races who drunk pure wine because for the Greeks drinking unmixed wine was a sign of drunkenness. The people who drank wine unmixed, considered as uncivilised from the Greeks. Moreover, another remarkable thing is that Plato writes that the Scythian women drunk wine, too. For the Greeks, a woman to drink wine was unacceptable.

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<sup>547</sup>[<sup>548</sup> Braund 2005, 90](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Plat.+Prot.+319C&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0178(ΠλάτωνΠρωταγόρας 319c)ὅσα ἡγοῦνται μαθητά τε καὶ διδασκὰ εἶναι: εἴαν δέ τις ἄλλος ἐπιχειρῇ αὐτοῖς συμβουλευεῖν ὃν ἐκεῖνοι μὴ οἶονται δημιουργὸν εἶναι, κἄν πάνυ καλὸς ᾗ καὶ πλούσιος καὶ τῶν γενναίων, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἀποδέχονται, ἀλλὰ καταγελῶσι καὶ θορυβοῦσιν, ἕως ἄν ἡ αὐτὸς ἀποστῇ ὁ ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν καταθορυβηθείς, ἢ οἱ τοζόται αὐτὸν ἀφελκύσωσιν ἢ ἐξάρωνται κελευόντων τῶν πρυτάνεων. περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἶονται ἐν τέχνῃ εἶναι, οὕτω διαπράττονται: ἐπειδὴν δέ τι περὶ τῶν τῆς</a></p>
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#### d. Alexander the Great and the Scythians.

Arrian, Plutarch, Curtius Rufus and Justin write about the conflict between the Scythians and Alexander the Great. Still, in their works there are many contradictions. What is interesting, during Alexander the Great time is the fact that the Scythians continued to be divided. It was around 329 BC when Alexander the Great had just defeated the Sogdian revolution that an enormous army of the Scythians of Asia came from the Jaxartes River. This term was given by Arrian. He states that Alexander the Great reached the borders of Asia with Europe. Arrian supports his argument by narrating an incident between Alexander the Great and the Scythian ambassador. In that scene the Scythian ambassador told Alexander the Great that his country (*Scythia*) belonged to Europe.<sup>549</sup> The Scythian ambassador by telling *Scythia* meant the region north to the river Jaxartes where is nowadays Kazakhstan. Then, Alexander the Great passed the river Tanais. There, he built a city *Alexandria Eschate*, which was an area northern to the river Jaxartes, in the state of modern Tajikistan, in 20 days. Archaeologically, this city may not have been found yet but the archaeologists assume that the city belonged to the modern Tajikistan. During the creation of *Alexandria Eschate*, the Scythians kept on challenging him from the northern shore of the river Jaxartes.<sup>550</sup> This is the reason why Alexander decided to invade against the Scythians.

<sup>549</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text;jsessionid=95A02F077EB83CF446E8D2C137AA94B8?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0530%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D1>

Αρριανός 4.1.1 – 4.3.1

οὐ πολλὰ ἰδὲ νῆμαί μιν ἐπὶ στερνῶν φικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις παρά τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων ἰκαλουμένων, οὐδ' καὶ Ὀμηροῦ δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐπὶ ἥνεσεν:

οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι,

οὐ χῆκιστα διὰ πένιαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Σκυθῶν, οἳ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος

[Σκυθικὸν] ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐποικοῦσιν. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,

παράγγειλας τοῖς πεζοῖς κατὰ λόχους κλίμακας ποιεῖσθαι ὅσα ἐκάστω λόχῳ ἐπηγγέλησαν,

αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρῶτην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὁρμηθέντι πόλιν προύχουρει, ἥ ὄνομα ἦν Γάζα:

ἐς γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεις ζυμπεφευγῆναι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας βαρβαροί:

οὕτω δὲ τὰς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυνὶ ἡμέραις ἐλὼν τε καὶ ἐξ ἀνδραποδισάμενος ἤγειρε πτῆν μέγιστην αὐτῶν τὴν Κύρου πόλιν.

ἡ δὲ τετελιχισμένη τῇ νύκτι ὑπὸ τῷ ἡμέτερον [p. 151] τείχει ἡπεραίῳ ἄλλαι, οἳ δὲ ὑπὸ Κύρου οἰκισθεῖσαι,

καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ μαχίμοι τὰ τοῦ τῶν αὐτῆς βαρβάρων ἐστὶν τὴν συμπεφευγόντων πόλιν αὐτῶν ῥαδία ἐξέφιδον ἐλε

ἴν τοις Μακεδόσιν ἐγίνετο. ἀλλὰ μηχανὰς γὰρ προσάγων τῷ τείχει Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὴν μὲν κατασεῖν ἐπένοει τὸ τείχος καὶ κατὰ τὸ αἶμα παραρρηγνύμενον αὐτοῦ τὰς προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι.

<sup>550</sup> <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text;jsessionid=0B1515D1232682F93E9FA42862BB04F0?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0530%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D1>

Αρριανός 4.4.1-4.4.3

αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐπένοει, τειχίσας ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ ζυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων

μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅσους τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐβελοντὴς μετέσχε τῆς ζυνοικήσεως καὶ τινας καὶ

τῶν [p. 153] ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἤδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος αὐτῶν

Firstly, the troops of Alexander the Great started to throw their bows against the Scythians. The Scythians realised that the battle was unequal and they fled. Alexander with his Macedonians run after them.<sup>551</sup> After that, the Scythians tried to negotiate with Alexander the Great.

### **Chapter 3. The Scythians during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.**

In general there is lack of ancient sources regarding the Scythians regarding the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>552</sup> Generally, the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is connected with the destruction of the Scythia.<sup>553</sup> The Sarmatian immigration during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC eliminated the Scythians.<sup>554</sup> As far as the Sarmatians is concerned there are historical texts which

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καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας, ὥς οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐώρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, [2] ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐωρῶντο οὐ πλατὺν ταύτη ὄντα, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύναντο, ὥς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἄψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅτι περ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, — ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς διφθέρας παρεσκεύαζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. [3] θυομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο: ὁ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν οὐ γιγνομένων, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταν οἱ Σκύθαι, αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν: ὁ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἔφη ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον ζύμπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις, καθάπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ πάλοι ἐγένετο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαινόμενα ἄλλα ἀποδείξεσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος.

<sup>551</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text;jsessionid=0B1515D1232682F93E9FA42862BB04F0?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0530%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D2>

Ἀρριανός 4.4.2-4.4.5 ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐωρῶντο οὐ πλατὺν ταύτη ὄντα, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύναντο, ὥς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἄψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅτι περ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, —

ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς διφθέρας παρεσκεύαζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. [3] θυομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο: ὁ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν οὐ γιγνομένων, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταν οἱ Σκύθαι, αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν: ὁ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἔφη ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον ζύμπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις, καθάπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ πάλοι ἐγένετο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαινόμενα ἄλλα ἀποδείξεσθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. [4] ὁ δέ, ὥς αἶτε διφθεραὶ αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ποταμῷ, αἶτε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ζυνθήματος ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας παριππεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ καὶ ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν ἐπιτρώσκοντο ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, εἷς δὲ δὴ διὰ τοῦ γέρρου τε καὶ τοῦ θώρακος διαμπαλὺς πληγεῖς πίπτει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, οἱ μὲν ἐξεπλάγησαν πρὸς τε τῶν βελῶν τὴν διὰ μακροῦ ἄφασιν καὶ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς αὐτοῖς τετελευτήκει, καὶ ὀλίγον ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ [p. 154] τῆς ὄχθης: [5] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδὼν ὑπὸ σαλπύγων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος: εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ἀποβιβάσας σφενδονῶν τε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας, ὥς μὴ πελάζειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν πεζῶν ἐκβαίνουσῃ, πρὶν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῷ διαβῆναι πᾶσαν.

<sup>552</sup>Rostowzew 1931, 105

<sup>553</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 17

<sup>554</sup>Vinogradov 2003, 221

depicted them as hawkish people who came from the East.<sup>555</sup> Except of the Sarmatians, the Scythians had to face another threat which came from the west, the Celts.<sup>556</sup> The river Don, probably became the area of the conflict between the Celtic and the Sarmatian expansion.<sup>557</sup> Rostovtzeff believed that the Sarmatians were nomads as the Scythians were.<sup>558</sup> He wrote that the Sarmatians controlled the land of the steppe Don from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>559</sup> On the other hand, Vinogradov observes that neither Sarmatians nor the Celts won and the Black Sea area remained ‘‘empty’’ until the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>560</sup>

However, the Russian school of archaeologists believed that the Sarmatians came not from the East, whereas their base was the steppe between the Volga and Ural rivers.<sup>561</sup> Still, there archaeological evidence from that period does not confirm the opinion of the Russian archaeologists.<sup>562</sup>

The Scythians during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC faced the attacks of the Sarmatians.<sup>563</sup> They were forced to abandon their place, steppe.<sup>564</sup> Diodorus Siculus in his book *Bibliotheca Historica* writes for the Sarmatian attacks to the area of Scythians. ‘‘2.43 At a later time, as the Scythians recount the myth, there was born among them a maiden sprung from the earth; the upper parts of her body as far as her waist were those of a woman, but the lower parts were those of a snake. With her Zeus lay begat a son whose name was Scythes. This son became more famous than any who had preceded him and called the folk Scythians after his own name. Now among the descendants of this king there were two brothers who were distinguished for their valour, the one named Palus and the other Napae.<sup>21</sup> 4 And since these two performed renowned deeds and divided the kingship between them, some of the people were called Pali after one of them and some Napae p29after the other. But some time later the descendants of these kings, because of their unusual valour and skill as generals, subdued much of the territory beyond the Tanaïs river as far as Thrace, and advancing with their armies to the other

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<sup>555</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>556</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 147

<sup>557</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 147

<sup>558</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>559</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>560</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 147

<sup>561</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>562</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>563</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>564</sup> Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

side<sup>22</sup> they extended their power as far as the Nile in Egypt.<sup>23</sup> 5 And after enslaving many great peoples which lay between the Thracians and the Egyptians they advanced the empire of the Scythians on the one side as far as the ocean to the east, and on the other side to the Caspian Sea and Lake Maeotis; for this people increased to great strength and had notable kings, one of whom gave his name to the Sacae, another to the Massagetae, another to the Arimaspi, and several other tribes received their names in like manner. 6 It was by these kings that many of the conquered peoples were removed to other homes, and two of these became very great colonies: the one was composed of Assyrians<sup>24</sup> and was removed to the land between Paphlagonia and Pontus, and the other was drawn from Media and planted along the Tanais, its people receiving the name Sauromatae. 7 Many years later this people became powerful and ravaged a large part of Scythia, and destroying utterly all whom they subdued they turned most of the land into a desert.’’<sup>565</sup> Vinogradov connects Diodorus Siculus passage with a decree from Chersonesus(IOSPEI<sup>2</sup>,343) which confirms that the Sarmatians during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century invaded in the northern part of the Black Sea area.<sup>566</sup> Still, the Sarmatians won the Scythians but they did not occupy the Scythian steppe during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>567</sup> This time the Sarmatians lived in the area of Don and Kuban rivers.<sup>568</sup> However, Strabo writes that the Sarmatians not only one tribe but a

<sup>565</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Diod.+2.43&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0540>

Διόδωρος Σικελιώτης 2.43 ὕστερον δὲ μυθολογοῦσι σκῦθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι γηγενῆ παρθένον· ταύτην δ’ ἔχειν τὰ μὲν ἄνω μέρη τοῦ σώματος μέχρι τῆς ζώνης γυναικεῖα, τὰ δὲ κατώτερα ἐχίδνης. ταύτῃ δὲ Δία μίγνεντα γεννῆσαι παῖδα σκῦθην ὀνόμα. τοῦτον δὲ γενόμενον ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ σκῦθας προσαγορεύσαι. τῶν δὲ ἀπογόνων τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοὺς δύο γενέσθαι διαφόρους ἀρετῇ, καὶ τὸν μὲν Πάλλον, τὸν [p. 240] [4] δὲ Νάπην ὀνομάσθαι. τούτων δ’ ἐπιφανεῖς πράξεις κατεργασμένων καὶ διελομένων τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφ’ ἑκατέρου τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς μὲν Πάλους, τοὺς δὲ Νάπας προσαγορευθῆναι. μετὰ δέ τινας χρόνους τοὺς ἀπογόνους τούτων τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδρεία καὶ στρατηγία διενεγκόντας πολλὰ κέρει πέραν τοῦ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ χώραν καταστρέψασθαι μέχρι τῆς Θράκης, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα μέρη στρατεύσαντας διατείνειν τῇ δυνάμει μέχρι τοῦ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον Νείλου. [5] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων ἐθνῶν καταδουλωσαμένους προβιβάζει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν σκυθῶν τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὠκεανόν, τῇ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλατταν καὶ Μαιωτινὴν λίμνην· ἡ δὲ ζήθη γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔσχεν ἄξιολόγους, ἀφ’ ὧν τοὺς μὲν Σάκας προσαγορευθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας, τινὰς δ’ Ἀριμασπούς, καὶ τοῦτοις ὁμοίους ἄλλους πλείονας. [6] ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν βασιλέων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν μετὰ κίσθαι, δύο δὲ μεγίστας ἀποικίας γενέσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μετασταθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν μετὰ τὴν χώραν τῆς Παφλαγονίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου, τὴν δ’ ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας παρὰ τὸν Τάναϊν καθιδρυθεῖσαν, ἧς τοὺς λαοὺς Σαυρομάτας ὀνομασθῆναι. [7] τούτους δ’ ὕστερον πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν αὐξήθέντας πορθῆσαι πολλὴν τῆς σκυθίας, καὶ τοὺς καταπολεμηθέντας ἄρδην [p. 241] ἀναιροῦντας ἔρημον ποιῆσαι τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς χώρας.

<sup>566</sup> Vinogradov 2003, 218

<sup>567</sup> Vinogradov 2003, 218

<sup>568</sup> Vinogradov 2003, 218

group of tribes.<sup>569</sup> (Strabo 7.3.17) *Then comes the Borysthenes River,<sup>1</sup> which is navigable for a distance of six hundred stadia; and, near it, another river, the Hypanis,<sup>2</sup> and off the mouth of the Borysthenes, an island<sup>3</sup> with a harbor. On sailing up the Borysthenes two hundred stadia one comes to a city of the same name as the river, but the same city is also called Olbia;<sup>4</sup> it is a great trading center and was founded by Milesians. Now the whole country that lies above the said seaboard between the Borysthenes and the Ister consists, first, of the Desert of the Getae;<sup>5</sup> then the country of the Tyregetans;<sup>6</sup> and after it the country of the Iazygian Sarmatians and that of the people called the Basileians<sup>7</sup> and that of the Urgi,<sup>8</sup> who in general are nomads, though a few are interested also in farming; these people, it is said, dwell also along the Ister, often on both sides. In the interior dwell, first, those Bastarnians whose country borders on that of the Tyregetans and Germans—they also being, one might say, of Germanic stock; and they are divided up into several tribes, for a part of them are called Atmoni and Sidoni, while those who took possession of Peuce, the island in the Ister, are called “Peucini,” whereas the “Roxolani” (the most northerly of them all) roam the plains between the Tanaïs and the Borysthenes.<sup>570</sup> In addition a decree of Protogenes (IOSPEI<sup>2</sup>32) mentions that there existed the Saioi who were the royal Sarmatians.<sup>571</sup> Furthermore, the decree mentions that the Saioi did several assaults against the area of the north Black Sea.<sup>572</sup>*

<sup>569</sup>Vinogradov 2003, 218

<sup>570</sup><http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0198%3Abook%3D7%3Achapter%3D3%3Asection%3D17> Στράβων 7.3.17 εἴτα Βορυσθένης ποταμὸς πλωτὸς ἐφ’ ἑξακοσίους σταδίου καὶ πλησίον ἄλλος ποταμὸς Ὑπανίς καὶ νῆσος πρότοῦ στόματος τοῦ Βορυσθένους ἔχουσα λιμένα. πλεύσαντι δὲ τὸν Βορυσθένη σταδίου διακοσίους ὁμώνυμος τῷ ποταμῷ πόλις· ἡ δ’ αὐτὴ καὶ Ὀλβία καλεῖται, μέγα ἐμπόριον, κτίσμα Μιλησίων. ἡ δὲ ὑπερκειμένη πᾶσα χώρα τοῦ λεχθέντος μεταξὺ Βορυσθένους καὶ Ἰστροῦ πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία, ἔπειτα οἱ Τυρεγῆται, μεθ’ οὓς οἱ Ἰάζυγες Σαρμάται καὶ οἱ Βασίλαιοι λεγόμενοι καὶ Οὐργοί, τὸ μὲν πλεοννομάδες, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ γεωργίας ἐπιμελούμενοι· τούτους φασὶ καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκεῖν, ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα πολλάκις. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Βαστάρναι μὲν τοῖς Τυρεγῆταις ὁμοιοὶ καὶ Γερμανοῖς, σχεδόντι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες, εἰς πλείω φύλα διηρημένοι. καὶ γὰρ Ἀτμονοὶ λέγονται τινες καὶ Σιδόνες, οἵ δὲ τὴν Πεύκην κατασχόντες τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰστροῦ νῆσον Πευκῖνοι, Ῥωξολανοὶ δ’ ἀρκτικώτατοι τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τανάιδος καὶ Βορυσθένους νεμόμενοι πεδία. ἡ γὰρ προσάρκτιος πᾶσα ἀπὸ Γερμανίας μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας [p. 421] πεδιάς ἐστίν, ἡνίσμεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Ῥωξολανῶν εἰ τινες οἰκοῦσι νοῦ κ’ ἴσμεν. οἵ δὲ Ῥωξολανοὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος στρατηγὸς ἐπολέμουν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα Τάσιον· ἦκον δὲ Παλάκῳ συμμαχήσοντες τῷ Σκιλοῦρον, καὶ ἐδόκουν μὲν εἶναι μάχιμοι, πρὸς μέντοι συντεταγμένην φάλαγγα καὶ ὠπλισμένην καλῶς τὸ βάρβαρον φύλον ἀσθενεῖς πᾶν ἐστι καὶ τὸ γυμνητικόν.

<sup>571</sup>Vinogradov 2003, 218

<sup>572</sup>Vinogradov 2003, 219

Except of the Scythia, the Greek settlements experienced disturbance, too.<sup>573</sup> Many Greek colonies devastated.<sup>574</sup> Probably, the Scythian, who were forced to live from the northern Black Sea area (because of the Sarmatian attack) to the Crimea.<sup>575</sup> There, they created there new kingdom during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Thus, the Scythians searched new areas in order to settle and they tried to recover the settlements in the northern Black Sea region.<sup>576</sup> In addition, the Greek Bosporian settlements faced a period of economic difficulty, monetary financial problems and difficulties with the grain trade due to the upheaval which was caused by the Sarmatian and Celtic expansion.<sup>577</sup> The same situation existed in the river Don where the Sarmatians passed.<sup>578</sup> During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Olbia regained the control of grain trade.<sup>579</sup> Due to the stabilization procedure of the northern Black Sea area during the 3<sup>rd</sup>- first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, a cultural reappearance noted in the Bosphorus area, too.<sup>580</sup> Especially, in the area of Bosphorus rural settlements recovered financially and they had their own fortification systems.<sup>581</sup>

### **Conclusion**

To conclude with the ancient Greek written sources wrote the differences between the world they knew and the strange customs of the steppe people (the Scythians).<sup>582</sup> As it is proved the Scythians and their life was one of the most discussed issues of the ancient Greek historians, poets and orators. This is logic because they were aware of the Scythians. There were Scythian archers who worked as public slaves in Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. In addition, Black Sea area was the main supplier of wheat in Athens. Moreover, the main source of Scythian analysis is Herodotus in his 4<sup>th</sup> book observed the special relationship between the native people and the Greeks colonists. Herodotus had travelled a lot and had met a variety of cultures.<sup>583</sup> Thus, Herodotus was open to the non-Greek cultures and he could

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<sup>573</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 17

<sup>574</sup> Maslennikov 2005, 163

<sup>575</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 18

<sup>576</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 18

<sup>577</sup>Vinogradov 1997, 18

<sup>578</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 148

<sup>579</sup>Mordvintseva 2008, <<http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10780>>

<sup>580</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 148

<sup>581</sup> Vinogradov 2000, 148

<sup>582</sup>Μανωλεδάκης 2009, 784

<sup>583</sup>Ascherson 1995, 51

understand the difference between the various cultures.<sup>584</sup> Herodotus wrote more for the customs and beliefs of the natives as he believed that custom is everybody's king and this is the reason why he gives an ethnographical report.<sup>585</sup> He was watching all these exotic things from the Greek point of view. Thucydides does not criticize the Scythians, whereas describes their characteristics, too. He also adds the Scythian presence as public slaves in Athens.

The cultural mix of Greek and Scythian identity is depicted by Herodotus with the examples of Anacharsis and Scyles. They acquired a twofold identity which indicates the interaction between the Scythians and the Greeks of the Black Sea area.<sup>586</sup> They lived so close, so they influenced each other. They wore Greek or Scythian clothes depended on the place in which they were and the rituals they participated.<sup>587</sup> They felt that they were both Scythians and Greeks and to participate to the both lives, too.<sup>588</sup> The conclusion of these two stories is that a person cannot have two identities simultaneously and that the Scythians draw the line at the Greeks who settled the northern Black Sea region.<sup>589</sup> The Scythians defined boundaries between them and their neighbours in order to secure their identity.

On the other hand, many Greek intellectuals and historiographers wished to stress the difference between the Greeks and the ‘‘Other’’. The differences between the Greeks and the non-Greeks were in their mind. What the ancient historiographers commented on, was directly connected with the historical circumstances and facts, i.e. the Greek historiography during 5<sup>th</sup> century BC glorifies the Greeks and their victory against the Persians. They lived in the edges of the ancient world. During the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the different and ‘‘the Other’’ became inferior in the Athenian Greek mind.<sup>590</sup> The Athenians established their hegemony during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Thus, considering the historical criteria defined what was Greek and what was Other, i.e. Aristophanes mocks the Scythians in his play because it was a very difficult time for Athens. So the Scythians represent the other, the foreigner for Aristophanes. The Scythians were in

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<sup>584</sup>Μανωλεδάκης 2009, 784

<sup>585</sup>Braund 2008, 348

<sup>586</sup>Ascherson 1995, 56

<sup>587</sup>Ascherson 1995, 57

<sup>588</sup>Ascherson 1995, 58

<sup>589</sup>Ascherson 1995, 58

<sup>590</sup>Ascherson 1995, 50

the Greek mind the ‘‘Other’’, people who never could be categorized as Greeks. They had many different strange customs which were strange and unfamiliar to the Athenians.<sup>591</sup> The Athenians after their victory in the Persian wars tried to define their place in the world.<sup>592</sup> They asked themselves who they were.<sup>593</sup>

Thus, the Athenian had won the superpower of the ancient world and so they became powerful.<sup>594</sup> This is the reason why the distinguished themselves from the other people.<sup>595</sup> They desired to find their different in order to prove their superiority. The Scythians played that role. As Braund has stated, the Scythians represented the cultural inferiority in relation to the Athenians.<sup>596</sup> The Greeks have created certain stereotypes for the Scythians.<sup>597</sup> As a result, every people from the East considered for the Greeks as barbarians and inferior.

A very interesting question is if the picture of the Scythians was adopted by the ancient Greeks authors, the Roman historian and the Byzantine writes, signaled the beginning of the Orientalism? Orientalism is a discourse which was developed by Edward Said.<sup>598</sup> Said’s focus is on the division between the West and the East.<sup>599</sup> As Said writes Orientalism was born in Greece and especially in Ancient Athens.<sup>600</sup> Orientalism is the European thinking of the Asia.<sup>601</sup> The European people think for the Asian people as defeated, inferior and dangerous.<sup>602</sup> The Persians of Aeschylus conceptualize the Persians as the non- Greek people who had all the negative characteristics, i.e. Greece is powerful, whereas Asia is defeated.<sup>603</sup> For instance, the Greeks are brave, free people and powerful, whereas the ‘‘others’’ are obsequious, awful, feeble and always beaten by the Greeks.<sup>604</sup> Civilization and barbarism were twins gestated and born in

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<sup>591</sup>Mitchell 2002, 47

<sup>592</sup>Ascherson 1995, 50

<sup>593</sup>Ascherson 1995, 53

<sup>594</sup>Ascherson 1995, 50

<sup>595</sup>Ascherson 1995, 50

<sup>596</sup>Braund 2005, 7

<sup>597</sup>Plockmeyer 2009, 34

<sup>598</sup>Said 1979, 56

<sup>599</sup>Said 1979, 56

<sup>600</sup>Said 1979, 875

<sup>601</sup>Said 1979, 57

<sup>602</sup>Said 1979, 57

<sup>603</sup>Said 1979, 57

<sup>604</sup>Said 1979, 875



the Greek mind but above all in the Athenian imagination because of its supremacy after the Persian wars victory.<sup>605</sup>

The Greeks who settled their colonies in the shores of the Black Sea area met the steppe nomads.<sup>606</sup> Two peoples who had different mentalities met.<sup>607</sup> As some ancient authors refer the Scythians had different custom, lifestyles and behaviour than the Greeks of the Black Sea. However, the Scythians held the people who had colonized the shores of the Black Sea area to be Greeks, as those who lived in the centre of Athens, Hellas.<sup>608</sup> On the other hand, the Athenians did not consider them as Greeks, but they thought of them as people who were culturally connected to the Scythians.<sup>609</sup> They lived too far from them and this is the reason why the Athenians perceived the Black Sea Greeks as people more connected to the Scythians. Still, the Greek colonists in the Pontic area perceived the Scythian nomads as ‘Others’ as the Greeks from the mainland did. The Greeks who colonized the Black Sea area felt like the Greeks of the mainland. They felt that they belonged to an extended Greek community. Actually, the Greeks colonists in the Black Sea area established a special relationship between the Scythians. Possibly their relationship changed several times, but the Black Sea Greeks and the Scythians created a commercial network which influenced mainland Greece, too. Especially, in the northern regions of the Black Sea area the Scythians and the Greeks came into contact with the Scythians. The trade flourished and with it cultural and diplomatic relations between the Scythians and the Greeks. Moreover, the Scythian and the Greeks established strong bonds sometimes even intermarriages i.e. Scyles. Thus, the offsprings of the Black Sea Greek could not consider as Greeks.

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<sup>605</sup>Ascherson 1995, 50

<sup>606</sup>Ascherson 1995, 49

<sup>607</sup>Ascherson 1995, 49

<sup>608</sup>Braund 2005, 10

<sup>609</sup>Braund 2005, 10

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