Pausanias

Description of Greece

English Translation

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Part I

Book 1: Attica

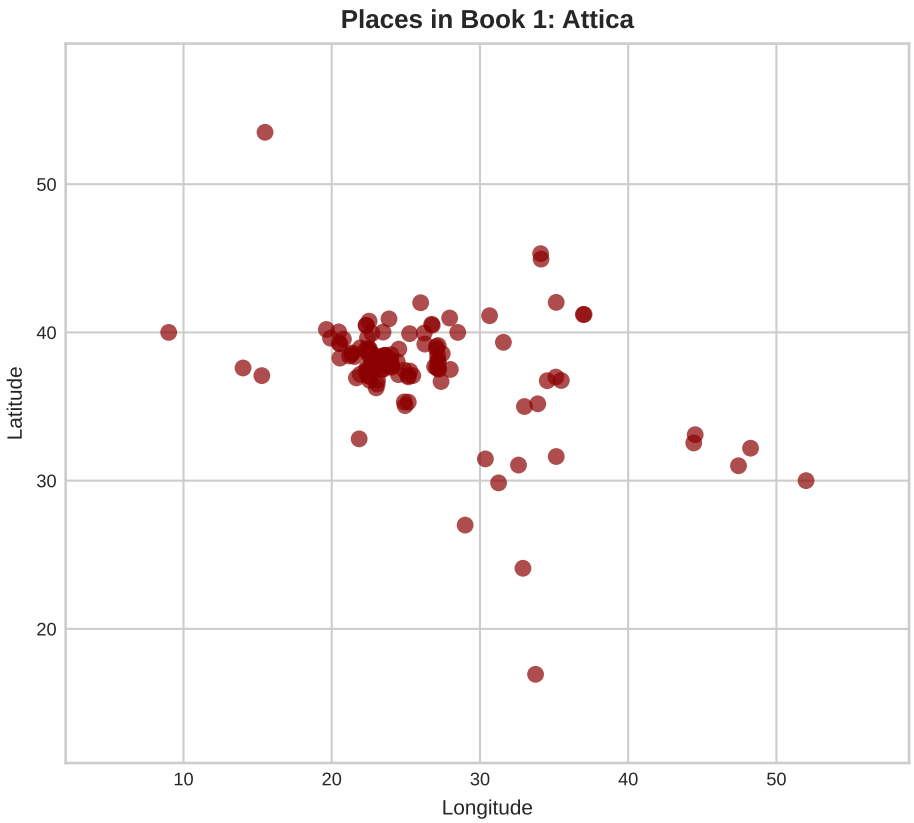

Figure 0.1: Places mentioned in Book 1: Attica

Chapter 1

1.1.1

Off the Greek mainland, opposite the islands called the Cyclades and the Aegean Sea, lies the promontory of Sounion, belonging to the land of Attica. After sailing around this headland, there is a harbor, and on the summit of the promontory a temple of Athena Sounias. Sailing onward, one reaches Laurion, where once were the silver mines belonging to the Athenians, and a small, deserted island called Patroklos. For Patroklos, commander of the Egyptian ships, built a fortification and erected a palisade on this island. Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, had sent these Egyptian vessels to aid the Athenians when Antigonos, son of Demetrios, had invaded Attica with an army, ravaging the land and blockading it from the sea simultaneously with his fleet.

1.1.2

Peiraeus was a deme from ancient times, but before Themistocles came to power among the Athenians, ★
it was not their harbor. Instead, Phalerum–which is there where the sea is nearest to the city–served as their harbor. It is said that from this very place Menestheus set sail with his ships for Troy, and even before him, Theseus, as he journeyed to deliver justice to Minos for the death of Androgeos. But when Themistocles attained power–seeing clearly that Peiraeus was more advantageous for navigation and that it offered three harbors instead of the one at Phalerum–he established this place as their harbor. Even down to my own day, there persisted ship-sheds and houses, as well as the tomb of Themistocles beside the largest harbor. For it is said that the Athenians came to regret their treatment of Themistocles, and his relatives recovered his bones from Magnesia and brought them home. Moreover, his descendants returned and dedicated a painting in the Parthenon, in which Themistocles himself is depicted.

1.1.3

Of the things most worthy to see in Piraeus is especially the sanctuary of Athena and Zeus. Their statues are both of bronze; Zeus holds a sceptre and a Nike, while Athena holds a spear. Here Arcesilaus depicted Leosthenes and his children–Leosthenes, who commanded the Athenians and all the Greeks, overcame the Macedonians in battle in Boeotia, defeated them again outside Thermopylae, and then compelled them into Lamia opposite Mount Oeta.

Near the long colonnade, where a marketplace has been established for those at sea (for there is another market further away from the harbour), stand behind the maritime Stoa images of Zeus and the People (Demos), the work of Leochares. Near the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after overwhelming the triremes of the Lacedaemonians around Cnidus at the Carian peninsula. The people of Cnidus especially honour Aphrodite, and have sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess: the oldest

belongs to Aphrodite Doritis, the next oldest to Aphrodite Akraia, while the latest and generally named Cnidia–though the people of Cnidus themselves call her Euploia.

1.1.4

★ The Athenians have also other harbors: one at Munychia, along with the temple of Artemis Munychia, and the other at Phalerum, as I have previously mentioned, where nearby stands a sanctuary of Demeter. Here there is also a temple of Athena Sciras, and farther off one of Zeus, as well as altars dedicated to gods called Unknown, to heroes, to the sons of Theseus, and to Phalerus. This Phalerus, according to the Athenians, sailed with Jason to Colchis. There is also an altar dedicated to Androgeus, the son of Minos, which is named the altar of the Hero. Those who carefully study local traditions know more precisely than others that this altar belongs to Androgeus.

1.1.5

? Cape Colias is twenty stadia distant; to this promontory the waves carried the wreckage when the Persian fleet was destroyed. Here at Colias there is a statue of Aphrodite, and deities called the Genetyllides. I believe that goddesses worshipped by the Phocaeans in Ionia, whom they call Gennaides, are identical with those at Colias. On the road from Phalerum to Athens there is a temple of Hera which has neither doors nor roof; it is said to have been burned by Mardonius, the son of Gobryas. But the image currently set up there, according to report, is the work of Alcamenes–one which the Persian surely did not injure.

Chapter 2

1.2.1

When one enters the city, there is the tomb of Antiope the Amazon. Pindar says that this Antiope was seized by Pirithous and Theseus, but Hegias of Troezen has composed the following account about her: that while Heracles was besieging Themiskyra on the Thermodon and was unable to take it, Antiope, having fallen in love with Theseus (as Theseus was campaigning together with Heracles), surrendered the city. Such is Hegias's account. However, the Athenians themselves say that when the Amazons came, Antiope was shot by Molpadia, and Molpadia was killed by Theseus. And the Athenians also possess the tomb of Molpadia.

1.2.2

Going up from the Piraeus, there are ruins of the walls which Konon later rebuilt after the naval battle of Knidos; for those walls built by Themistocles after the withdrawal of the Persians had been destroyed during the regime of the so-called Thirty. Along this road stand prominent tombs, notably that of Menander, son of Diopeithes, and an empty memorial to Euripides. Euripides himself is buried in Macedon, where he had gone to King Archelaos. As for the manner of his death–this has been described by many–I shall leave it as it is commonly reported.

1.2.3

At that time too, then, poets accompanied kings, just as even earlier Anacreon had attended Polycrates when he was tyrant of Samos, and Aeschylus and Simonides were sent to Hieron at Syracuse. Philoxenus was present with Dionysius, who later became tyrant in Sicily, and Antagoras of Rhodes and Aratus of Soli stayed with Antigonus, ruler of the Macedonians. Hesiod and Homer either had no good fortune to associate with kings or deliberately neglected it, Hesiod through his rusticity and reluctance to travel, and Homer because he ventured abroad very widely indeed, preferring fame among the people above the profit of wealth from the powerful. Indeed, Homer himself described how Demodocus attended Alcinous, and how Agamemnon left a certain poet behind with his wife. Close by the city gates there is a tomb bearing the relief of a soldier standing beside a horse; who this man is I do not know, but Praxiteles made both the horse and the soldier.

1.2.4

When one has entered the city, there is a building used for the preparation of processions, some of which they celebrate every year, while others occur at intervals. Near this building stands a temple of Demeter; the statues inside include the goddess herself, her daughter, and Iacchus bearing a torch.

An inscription written in Attic letters upon the wall declares the works to be those of Praxiteles. Not far from this temple is a statue of Poseidon on horseback, hurling a spear against the giant Polybotes, who figures in the legend which the Koans tell concerning their promontory of Chelone; however, the inscription in our time attributes the image to another, rather than to Poseidon. From the gates, colonnades stretch into the Ceramicus, and in front of these colonnades are bronze statues both of women and men, those who had achieved some notable distinction.

1.2.5

★ The other of the porticoes contains sanctuaries of gods, and also a gymnasium called the Gymnasium of Hermes. Within it stands the house of Polytion. Here they say not the least distinguished among the Athenians performed rites similar to the mysteries enacted at Eleusis; in my own time this house was dedicated to Dionysus. This Dionysus they call Melpomenos ("The Singer") for a reason similar to that for which Apollo is surnamed Mousgets ("Leader of the Muses"). There is here a statue of Athena Paionia, and of Zeus, Mnemosyne, and the Muses, as well as an offering of Apollo, a work of Euboulides, and a daemon named Akratos, who belongs to the retinue of Dionysus. His face alone is built into the wall. Next to the precinct of Dionysus is a building containing clay images representing Amphictyon, king of the Athenians, entertaining Dionysus along with other gods. Here also is found Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the god to the Athenians, aided by the oracle at Delphi, which reminded the Athenians of the god's former visitation at Icaria.

1.2.6

★ Amphictyon gained the kingdom in the following manner. They say Actaeus was the first to reign over the region now called Attica. Upon Actaeus' death, Cecrops succeeded to power, having married the daughter of Actaeus; they had daughters named Herse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus, and a son, Erysichthon. But this Erysichthon did not rule the Athenians, for he died while his father was still living. After Cecrops, Cranaus assumed authority, becoming preeminent among the Athenians. It is further said that Cranaus had daughters, including Atthis, and it is from her that the territory, previously called Actaea, received the name Attica. Amphictyon then rose up against Cranaus–though he had married Cranaus' daughter–and deprived him of his rule. Amphictyon himself was later expelled by Erichthonius and his allies, who rebelled against him. As for Erichthonius, they claim he had no human father, but was the offspring of Hephaestus and Earth.

Chapter 3

1.3.1

The place called Cerameicus obtains its name from the hero Ceramus, who is said to be the son of Dionysus and Ariadne. Upon entering, the first structure on the right is a stoa known as the Royal Portico, in which sits the king who holds the yearly office termed the monarchy. On the terracotta roof of this portico are statues made of baked clay, depicting Theseus casting Sciron into the sea, and Day carrying off Cephalus, who was said to be exceptionally handsome, and whom Day, becoming enamored of him, carried away. They say he was the father of Phaethon, who afterwards Aphrodite herself seized and appointed guardian of her temple. This account is also narrated by Hesiod and by others in the poems dedicated to women.

1.3.2

Near the portico stand statues of Conon, his son Timotheus, and Evagoras, the king of Cyprus. Evagoras was responsible for urging King Artaxerxes to grant Phoenician triremes to Conon; he acted thus as an Athenian, descended from the ancient line of Salamis, tracing his ancestry back on one side to Teucer and on the other to a daughter of Cinyras. Here also stand statues of Zeus surnamed Eleutherios ("the Liberator") and Emperor Hadrian, who bestowed exceptional kindness upon the peoples he governed and, above all, upon the city of Athens itself.

1.3.3

Behind is built a colonnade containing paintings of the gods called the Twelve. Upon the opposite wall there are painted figures of Theseus, Democracy, and the People (Dmos). The painting indicates that Theseus was the one who established equal governance among the Athenians. A common tradition has spread extensively among many people that Theseus handed over authority to the people, and from that time onward they governed democratically until Peisistratos rose up and established his tyranny. Indeed, many other stories told by the mass of people are also untrue, since they are unfamiliar with history, and they regard as reliable all they have heard from childhood in choruses and dramatic performances. Such is also the case concerning Theseus, who himself ruled as king, and whose descendants after Menestheus remained rulers until the fourth generation. And if it were pleasing to me to pursue genealogies, I could have enumerated those rulers descending from Melanthos down to Cleidicus, the son of Aisimidos.

1.3.4

Here also is depicted the action of the Athenians near Mantineia, who were sent to aid the Lacedaemonians. Various historians, including Xenophon, have described this entire war–the capture of

the Cadmeia, the defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra, the Boeotian invasion of the Peloponnese, and the alliance the Athenians entered into on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. In this picture is a cavalry engagement, where the prominent figures are Grylus, the son of Xenophon, among the Athenians, and Epaminondas the Theban among the Boeotians. These paintings Euphranor executed for the Athenians, and near to them he placed in the temple a statue of Apollo surnamed "Patroos" (Paternal). Of the statues before the temple, the one is by Leochares, and the other, called Alexikakos ("Averter of Evil"), is by Calamis. They say the god received this epithet because, upon the advice of the Delphic oracle, he brought an end to the plague that afflicted them along with the Peloponnesian War.

1.3.5

There is also a sanctuary built to the Mother of the Gods, a work created by Pheidias, and near it is the Council Chamber of those called the Five Hundred, who advise the Athenians for a year. Within this chamber stands a wooden image of Zeus Boulaios, as well as an Apollo crafted by Peisias and a representation of the People by Lyson. Protogenes of Caunus painted the Thesmothetai, and Olbiades painted Callippos, who led the Athenians to Thermopylae to repel the invasion of Greece by the Gauls.

Chapter 4

1.4.1

These Galatai dwell at the furthest reaches of Europe, near a vast sea whose extremities cannot be navigated. This sea produces tides of ebbing and flowing, and contains beasts unlike any found in other seas. Through their country flows the river Eridanos, on the banks of which they say the daughters of Helios lament the fate of their brother Phaethon. Only at a much later time did the name Galatai prevail for these people; formerly they were called Keltoi, both by themselves and among other peoples.

Having assembled an army, they turned towards the Ionian Sea, ravaged the Illyrians and everything inhabited as far as the Macedonians, caused devastation among the Macedonians themselves, and invaded Thessaly. When they approached Thermopylae, most Greeks were indifferent to the barbarians' incursion, because previously they had suffered greatly under Alexander and Philip, and afterwards Antipater and Cassander had further suppressed Greece, with the result that, through weakness, each city considered it no dishonor to neglect sending aid for the common defense.

1.4.2

The Athenians, more than all the other Greeks, had been exhausted by the protracted nature of the Macedonian war, and having suffered frequent defeats in battle, they nevertheless resolved to march out with the remaining Greeks toward Thermopylae, having selected Kallippos as their leader. When they reached the narrowest part of the pass, they blocked the barbarians from entering Greece. However, the Celts found the hidden path, the same one through which once the Trachinian Ephialtes led the Medes; and having overwhelmed the Phocians who had been stationed there, they secretly crossed Mount Oeta unnoticed by the Greeks.

1.4.3

Here indeed the Athenians showed themselves most worthy among the Greeks, for they defended ?
themselves bravely against the barbarians who surrounded them from both sides. The barbarians especially suffered hardship on their ships, since the bay near Thermopylae, belonging to the Lamian Gulf, is swampy. It seems to me the cause of this is the warm water which flows into the sea at this place. Thus, the barbarians endured greater hardships; for having taken the Greeks onto their decks, they were compelled to sail through mud, their ships heavily laden with armor and troops.

1.4.4

These, then, were the men who saved the Greeks in the manner just described, while the Gauls were ★
within Thermopylae and, having disregarded the remaining towns, sought only to seize Delphi and

plunder the treasures of the god, upon which they particularly set their desires. Against them stood the Delphians themselves, as well as the Phocians who inhabited the cities around Parnassus, and besides these arrived a force of Aetolians–for at that time the Aetolian nation was at the peak of youthful vigor. When the two sides joined battle, lightning bolts fell upon the Gauls and rocks, suddenly torn loose from Parnassus, crashed down upon them; terrifying armed figures appeared to face the barbarians. It is said that among these warriors were two who came from the Hyperboreans–Hyperochus and Amadocus–and a third who was Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. In honor of this aid given to them, the Delphians henceforth sacrificed to Pyrrhus, though previously, as a former enemy, his tomb had been subjected to dishonor.

1.4.5

★ But most of the Gauls crossed over by ships into Asia and plundered its coastal regions. Later on, however, those who held Pergamon–previously called Teuthrania–drove these Gauls away from the sea into the interior. The Gauls gained control of the territory beyond the river Sangarios, capturing the Phrygian city of Ankyra, which had earlier been settled by Midas, son of Gordias. The anchor which Midas discovered was still there within my own time, preserved in the sanctuary of Zeus, as was a spring known as "the spring of Midas." It is said that Midas mixed wine from this spring when hunting Silenus. These Gauls also captured this Ankyra, and Pessinous beneath Mount Agdistis, where they say Attis lies buried.

1.4.6

★ The Pergamenes possess spoils taken from the Galatians, and also a painting depicting the battle against the Galatians. The territory they now occupy, the Pergamenes claim was originally sacred to the Cabeiri. They themselves wish to be considered Arcadians, descended from those who crossed over to Asia together with Telephus. Regarding the other wars they may have fought, their fame has not survived equally in every case; but three achievements in particular stand out prominently for them: their rule over Lower Asia, the repulse of the Galatians from their lands, and the heroic struggle of Telephus against Agamemnon's forces, at the time when the Greeks, having lost their way to Troy, ravaged by mistake the plain of the Mysians, assuming it was Trojan soil. Now I shall return to the starting point from which I departed from my narrative.

Chapter 5

1.5.1

Near to the Council House of the Five Hundred stands the building called the Tholos, where the Prytanes perform sacrifices; there are also some small statues here made of silver. Higher up stand statues of the heroes from whom the Athenian tribes later derived their names. Herodotus already tells us who it was who established ten tribes instead of four and transferred to them these new names in place of the old.

1.5.2

Of the Eponymoi–as they call them–one is Hippothoön, the son of Poseidon and Alope, daughter ★
of Kerkyon; another is Antiochos, one of the sons of Herakles, born to Herakles by Meda, daughter of Phylas; the third is Ajax, son of Telamon. Of the Athenians is Leos, who is said to have given his daughters as an offering for the common safety, in obedience to an oracle of the god. Erechtheus also is counted among the Eponymoi; he defeated the Eleusinians in battle and slew Immarados, the son of Eumolpos, their leader. Also included are Aegeus, Oineus (the illegitimate son of Pandion), and Akamas, one of the sons of Theseus.

1.5.3

As for Cecrops and Pandion–for indeed I saw statues of these men also among the eponymous heroes–I ★
am not sure to which ones exactly they are paying honor. The earlier Cecrops ruled first and took to wife the daughter of Actaeus; the later one, who migrated to Euboea, was the son of Erechtheus, who was the son of Pandion, the son of Erichthonius. And indeed Pandion also became king–the son both of Erichthonius, and of Cecrops the second. This Pandion was expelled from his rule by the sons of Metion, and when he fled to Megara–for he had married the daughter of Pylas, who had reigned in Megara–his children departed together with him. Pandion himself, it is said, fell ill there and died; his tomb lies by the sea in the Megarid upon the rock known as Athena Aethyia.

1.5.4

But the sons, having expelled the sons of Metion, returned from Megara; and Aegeus, being the eldest, ★
obtained the kingship over the Athenians. Yet Pandion reared his daughters under no good fortune, nor did any avenging son remain from their union; yet he had made the marriage-alliance with the Thracian on account of his power. But there is no way for a man to escape the ordained will of the god. They say that Tereus, though living with Procne, dishonored Philomela, doing this contrary to Greek

law; and after further mutilating the maiden's body, he compelled the women to take vengeance upon him. There is also another statue of Pandion situated on the Acropolis, worthy of viewing.

1.5.5

These, then, are the ancient eponymous heroes of the Athenians; later, they established tribes also from the following figures–Attalus the Mysian, Ptolemy the Egyptian, and, in my own time, the emperor Hadrian, who carried reverence for the gods to the utmost degree, and provided very great benefits to each of his subjects in achieving their prosperity. He willingly entered no war, yet subdued the Hebrews who had revolted against the Syrians. How many temples of the gods he built from the foundations, or adorned with offerings and various constructions, or how many gifts he bestowed upon Greek cities, and even upon those among barbarians who sought his aid, all these acts of his are recorded in Athens in the common sanctuary of the gods.

Chapter 6

1.6.1

Concerning the actions of Attalus and Ptolemy–they were of such a great age that their fame no longer endures, and even those who associated with the kings and wrote the accounts of their deeds had previously shown insufficient care. For these reasons it has occurred to me also to relate their deeds–of what nature they were and how the kingdoms of Egypt and Mysia, as well as those of nearby peoples, came into the power of their forefathers. ?

1.6.2

The Macedonians say that Ptolemy was the son of Philip, the son of Amyntas, though nominally he was considered the son of Lagus; for his mother, already pregnant, was given in marriage by Philip to Lagus. They say further that Ptolemy distinguished himself notably by significant achievements in Asia, and especially amongst Alexander's companions protected him when he was in danger among the Oxydracae. After Alexander's death, Ptolemy strongly opposed those assigning full power to Arrhidaeus, Philip's son, and was particularly instrumental in causing the division of nations into separate kingdoms. ?

1.6.3

He himself crossed over into Egypt and killed Cleomenes, whom Alexander had appointed satrap of Egypt, believing him loyal to Perdiccas and therefore untrustworthy to himself. He also persuaded the Macedonians who had been appointed to carry Alexander's body to Aegae to hand it over to him. He buried the body in Memphis according to Macedonian custom; and knowing that Perdiccas would wage war against him, he kept Egypt well guarded. Perdiccas, for outward appearance, took with him on campaign Philip's son Arrhidaeus and the child Alexander, son of Alexander himself and Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes; but in reality he plotted to seize for himself Ptolemy's rule over Egypt. He was driven out of Egypt, and lost his former prestige in military affairs; furthermore, having fallen under suspicion among the Macedonians on other grounds, he was ultimately killed by his own bodyguards.

1.6.4

The death of Perdiccas at once brought Ptolemy into affairs of state. He immediately secured Syria and Phoenicia, and offered refuge to Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, who had been driven out by Antigonus and fled to him. Ptolemy himself began preparing to resist Antigonus, and persuaded Cassander, son of Antipater, and Lysimachus, the king ruling in Thrace, to enter the war, pointing to Seleucus's flight and urging that Antigonus, grown in power, had become a great danger to them all.

1.6.5

For a time Antigonus was engaged in war preparations and was not entirely confident about the outcome. But when he learned that Ptolemy had marched into Libya because the Cyrenaeans had revolted, he immediately seized Syria and Phoenicia by a swift attack. Having entrusted these lands to his son Demetrius, who, although still young in age, already seemed capable in judgment, he moved down toward the Hellespont. However, before crossing, he turned his army back upon hearing that Demetrius had been defeated by Ptolemy in battle. Yet Demetrius had not quite yielded all of the territory to Ptolemy, for he had ambushed and killed some few Egyptians. But as soon as Antigonus arrived, Ptolemy refused to face him, and withdrew back into Egypt.

1.6.6

When winter had passed, Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and defeated Menelaus, the satrap of Ptolemy, in a naval battle, and later vanquished Ptolemy himself when he crossed over to assist. After Ptolemy fled into Egypt, both Antigonus by land and Demetrius by sea laid siege to him simultaneously. Ptolemy, brought to extreme danger, nonetheless preserved his rule by positioning his army defensively around Pelusium and resisting with his fleet on the river. Antigonus, having no further hope of capturing Egypt given the present circumstances, dispatched Demetrius with numerous troops and ships against Rhodes, hoping that, if the island were subdued, it could serve him as a base from which to attack the Egyptians. However, the Rhodians themselves exhibited daring actions and devised ingenious stratagems against their besiegers, and Ptolemy as well contributed assistance to the extent of his abilities for their war.

1.6.7

Antigonus, having earlier failed in Rhodes and Egypt, and not long afterward daring to oppose Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus' army, lost most of his power and died himself, having been weakened especially by the length of the war against Eumenes. Of the kings who overthrew Antigonus I judge Cassander to have been the most impious, who, having regained through Antigonus the sovereignty of Macedon, nevertheless proceeded to wage war against a man who had been his benefactor.

1.6.8

? After Antigonus died, Ptolemy again seized both Syria and Cyprus; he also brought back Pyrrhus to Thesprotian Epirus. When Cyrene revolted, Magas, the son of Berenice, after this woman had married Ptolemy, captured Cyrene in the fifth year following its rebellion. Now, if this Ptolemy truly was a son of Philip, the son of Amyntas, he inherited from his father a notorious passion for women. While living with Eurydice, Antipaters daughter, although children had been born to him by her, he fell in love with Berenice, whom Antipater had sent off to Egypt together with Eurydice. Having become enamored of this woman, he fathered children with her as well. When his end approached, he left Ptolemy, his son by her, to reign over Egypt; it was from this Ptolemy, the child of Berenice and not of Antipaters daughter, that the Athenians derived the name of their tribe.

Chapter 7

1.7.1

This Ptolemy fell in love reciprocally with his sister Arsinoe and married her, doing thus things entirely alien to Macedonian practice, but consistent with Egyptian traditions, of the people over whom he ruled. Furthermore, he put to death a second brother, Argaeus, who, it is said, had plotted against him, and it was this Ptolemy who transferred the corpse of Alexander from Memphis. He likewise killed another brother, the son of Eurydice, when he discovered that he was planning a revolt among the Cyprians. However, Magas, his maternal half-brother by his mother, Berenice–who had been designated governor of Cyrene (Magas was born to Berenice by Philip, a Macedonian otherwise obscure, from among the common people)–this Magas rebelled against Ptolemy, having won over the Cyreneans, and marched against Egypt.

1.7.2

Ptolemy, having secured the entrance, awaited the approaching Cyrenaeans. But a report came to Magas along the way that the Marmaridae had revolted. These Marmaridae are nomadic Libyans. Thus at that time he withdrew to Cyrene. But when Ptolemy was ready to pursue him, he was prevented by the following circumstance. When constructing his defenses against the advance of Magas, he had brought in foreign mercenaries, including some four thousand Galatians. Learning that these intended to seize control of Egypt, he conveyed them to a deserted island by way of the river. There they perished, partly at each other's hands and partly through famine.

1.7.3

Now, Magas, having already married Apame, the daughter of Antiochus son of Seleucus, persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty his father Seleucus had made with Ptolemy and to march against Egypt. But when Antiochus prepared to invade, Ptolemy dispatched forces throughout all the territories under Antiochus' rule; against the weaker lands he sent raiders who devastated the country, while against those stronger he brought armies to attack, so that Antiochus was never able even to begin his campaign against Egypt. This Ptolemy, as I mentioned earlier, had once sent a naval force to assist Athens in their alliance against Antigonus and the Macedonians, though from him nothing significant resulted in the salvation of the Athenians. His children were born to him from Arsinoë, not Arsinoë his sister, but the daughter of Lysimachus. His sister, whom he had also married, had previously died childless, and an Egyptian district, the Arsinoite nome, is named for her.

Chapter 8

1.8.1

The account requires also mentioning matters concerning Attalus, as he too is among those from whom the Athenians name their tribes. A Macedonian man named Docimus, a general of Antigonus, afterward surrendered himself and his possessions to Lysimachus, and he had in his service a eunuch, Philetaerus, a Paphlagonian by birth. The actions of Philetaerus regarding his rebellion against Lysimachus and how he brought Seleucus against him will be included in my excursus on Lysimachus. Attalus, son of Attalus and nephew of Philetaerus, obtained rule when the power was handed over to him by his cousin, Eumenes. Attalus's greatest achievement was that he forced the Gauls away from the coast into the land which they still possess today.

1.8.2

After the statues of the eponymous heroes are images of gods: Amphiaraus and Peace carrying the child Plutus. Here too is set up in bronze Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, and Callias, who, according to most Athenians, negotiated peace with Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, on behalf of the Greeks. There is also Demosthenes, whom the Athenians forced to withdraw to Calaureia, an island off Troezen, only later to welcome him back, pursuing him once more after the defeat at Lamia.

1.8.3

When Demosthenes went into exile for the second time, he crossed at that time also to Calaureia, ? where indeed he ended his life by taking poison. He alone among the Greek exiles was not surrendered by Archias to Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias, though a native of Thurii, undertook an impious task: all those Greeks who had opposed the Macedonians before the decisive defeat in Thessaly, Archias delivered up to Antipater for punishment. Demosthenes' exceeding goodwill toward the Athenians led him to this end; and it seems well said that he was a man who plunged recklessly into public affairs and believed faithfully that nothing connected with democracy could ever conclude happily.

1.8.4

Near the statue of Demosthenes stands a sanctuary of Ares, where there are two images of Aphrodite; ★ the image of Ares was made by Alcamenes, while Athena was the work of a Parian named Locros. Here, too, is a statue of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. Around the temple stand statues of Heracles, Theseus, and Apollo, who is binding his hair with a ribbon. Also there are statues of Calades–who, it is

said, composed laws for the Athenians–and of Pindar, who, among other reasons, is honored by the Athenians with a statue because he praised them in one of his songs.

1.8.5

Not far off stand Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the men who slew Hipparchus. The reason for their action and the particular manner in which they carried it out have already been described by others. Of their statues, some are the work of Critius, whereas the original ones were made by Antenor. When Xerxes captured Athens after the Athenians had abandoned the city, he took away these statues among the other spoils of war; later, Antiochus returned them to the Athenians.

1.8.6

In front of the theater called the Odeion are statues of Egyptian kings by the entrance. All of them are named alike, Ptolemy, but each has his own additional surname. Thus one they call Philometor, another Philadelphos, and the title Soter ("Savior") was given to the son of Lagos by the Rhodians. Another Philadelphos among them is the one whom I have previously mentioned in my account of the Eponymous Heroes, and close by stands an image of his sister, Arsinoe.

Chapter 9

1.9.1

The one called Philometor is the eighth descendant from Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and received this title ?
in mockery. For we know of no king who was so deeply hated by his own mother. Although he was the eldest of her sons, his mother refused to summon him to the throne. Earlier, she had even arranged that his father send him away to Cyprus. As regards Cleopatra's hostility toward her son, other causes are mentioned, and especially that she expected greater obedience from Alexander, the youngest of her children. For this reason, she sought to persuade the Egyptians to accept Alexander as king.

1.9.2

When the populace opposed her, she dispatched Alexander again to Cyprus, in name as a general, but in fact aiming through him to inspire greater dread in Ptolemy. Eventually, having deliberately wounded those eunuchs she considered most loyal, she brought them before the people, claiming that she herself had been plotted against by Ptolemy and that her eunuchs too had suffered similarly at his hands. The Alexandrians rushed forward intending to kill Ptolemy, but since he anticipated them by embarking on a ship, they proclaimed Alexander, who had arrived from Cyprus, their king.

1.9.3

Justice overtook Cleopatra for the exile of Ptolemy when she was put to death by Alexander, whom she herself had set up as king over the Egyptians. When the plot was revealed, and Alexander fled in fear of the citizens, Ptolemy thus returned and gained Egypt a second time. He made war on the Thebans who had revolted; having forced their surrender in the third year after their revolt, he reduced them utterly, so that no remembrance at all was left to the Thebans of their past prosperity, which had previously advanced to such a degree that in wealth they surpassed even the richest among the Greeks–the temple at Delphi and the Orchomenians. Shortly after these things, deserved fate overtook Ptolemy himself. As for the Athenians, who had received from him many great kindnesses and numerous favors undeserving of particular mention, they set up bronze statues honoring both him and Berenice, who alone of his children was legitimate.

1.9.4

After the Egyptians are placed Philip and Alexander, son of Philip. They indeed possessed achievements ?
far greater than to be mentioned merely as a side matter in another account. The honors and gifts conferred upon the Egyptians were motivated by genuine respect and gratitude for their benefactions, but those accorded to Philip and Alexander were due rather to the people's flattery toward them.

For similarly, Lysimachus was honored not so much from goodwill as from a sense of his immediate usefulness.

1.9.5

This Lysimachus was by descent a Macedonian and a bodyguard of Alexander. Once, in anger, Alexander had confined him in a chamber with a lion, but later found that Lysimachus had overpowered the beast. Henceforth Alexander continually admired him greatly, and honored him equally with the most distinguished Macedonians. After Alexander's death, Lysimachus became king of those Thracians neighboring Macedonia, whom Alexander and, before him, Philip had subdued; these, however, comprised but a small portion of Thrace. Now the Thracians as a whole are more numerous than any other people except the Celts, if compared nation for nation, and for this reason no one before the Romans had completely subjugated the entire Thracian race. But now all Thrace is subject to Rome, and even among the Celts they willingly neglect those parts which they deem worthless because of the severe cold and poor soil, controlling only the lands that seem valuable enough for possession.

1.9.6

? At that time Lysimachus first went to war against the Odrysians, inhabitants of the surrounding region, and subsequently marched against Dromichaetes and the Getae. When he fought against men who were not inexperienced in warfare, who also greatly outnumbered him, Lysimachus himself, having reached the extremity of danger, narrowly escaped; but his son Agathocles, who was accompanying him on campaign, was then captured by the Getae–for the first time. Later, having stumbled again in battles, Lysimachus took seriously the captivity of his son and came to terms of peace with Dromichaetes. He relinquished to the Getan ruler the territories of his realm beyond the Danube, and was largely compelled by necessity to give his daughter to him in marriage. Others claim that it was not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself who was captured, and that he returned safely home when Agathocles intervened with the Getan ruler on his behalf. Upon returning, Lysimachus arranged for Agathocles to take as wife Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy son of Lagus and Eurydice.

1.9.7

? He crossed by ship into Asia and overthrew the dominion of Antigonus. He also gathered together the city of the Ephesians, extending it down to the sea, and brought inhabitants from Lebedus and Colophon, abandoning their original cities, so much so that Phoenix, a poet of iambic verse from Colophon, lamented its capture. Hermesianax, however, who composed elegiac poetry, was, I think, no longer alive; otherwise he, too, would certainly have mourned for Colophon's fall. Lysimachus also entered into war against Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides; having awaited the latter's departure from Epirus–since Pyrrhus was usually engaged in wandering expeditions elsewhere–Lysimachus then ravaged the rest of Epirus and even approached the tombs of its kings.

1.9.8

? From this point onward I myself find the account untrustworthy. However, Hieronymus of Cardia wrote that Lysimachus destroyed the tombs of the dead and cast their bones away. Now this Hieronymus generally has the reputation of writing hostile accounts against kings except Antigonus, whom he favors undeservedly. Concerning his statements about the tombs of the Epirotes, he is obviously inventing a slander, claiming that a Macedonian would defile the tombs of the dead. Surely even Lysimachus himself well knew that these men were ancestors not only of Pyrrhus but also of Alexander, for Alexander too was an Epirote through his mother and from the Aeacid family. Furthermore, the later alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus itself demonstrates clearly that, despite their warfare,

no irreconcilable enmity ever arose between them. Hieronymus presumably had other complaints against Lysimachus as well, but primarily he held it against him that he destroyed the Cardian city and founded Lysimacheia on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese in its place.

Chapter 10

1.10.1

Under Lysimachus, as long as Aridaeus ruled and afterward Cassander and his sons, friendship with the Macedonians endured. But when sovereignty passed to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Lysimachus then anticipated attack from Demetrius and resolved to be the first himself to initiate war; for he knew it to be Demetrius' hereditary disposition to strive always after something more, and moreover he observed that Demetrius, when summoned into Macedonia by Alexander son of Cassander, upon his arrival had murdered Alexander himself and seized with his own hands the throne of Macedon.

1.10.2

Because of these events, when Lysimachus fought Demetrius near Amphipolis, he came very close to losing Thrace; but thanks to the support afforded him by Pyrrhus, he retained Thrace and later gained control over the Nestians and Macedonians. Nevertheless, Pyrrhus himself held most of Macedonia, since he had come with a powerful force from Epirus and at the time maintained friendly relations with Lysimachus. When Demetrius crossed into Asia and began to wage war against Seleucus, as long as Demetrius was able to hold his own, the alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus endured. But once Seleucus had overcome Demetrius, friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus dissolved. Conflict ensued, and Lysimachus, fighting against Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, and Pyrrhus himself, was victorious and claimed Macedonia by a large margin, forcing Pyrrhus to withdraw to Epirus.

1.10.3

Through love, it is customary that many misfortunes befall mortals. For Lysimachus, being already ? advanced in age and esteemed fortunate in respect to his children–Agathocles among them, born of Lysandra–married Arsinoë, Lysandras sister. This Arsinoë, fearing for her own children, lest after Lysimachus' death the power should pass into the hands of Agathocles, is said, for these reasons, to have plotted against Agathocles. Others recorded that Arsinoë conceived a passion for Agathocles, and after being rejected by him, devised death against him. It is also told that Lysimachus later became aware of the daring deed done by his wife, but he was already so utterly bereft of friends that no advantage remained for him thereafter.

1.10.4

When Lysimachus handed over Agathocles at that time to Arsinoë to be killed, Lysandra fled to Seleucus, taking with her both her children and her own brothers; after fleeing, they came to Ptolemy for refuge. Alexander, the son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman, also joined them in flight to Seleucus. Having

thus come up to Babylon, these persons urged Seleucus earnestly to make war against Lysimachus. At the same time Philetaerus, whom Lysimachus had entrusted with the management of his treasury, distressed by the death of Agathocles and suspicious of Arsinoë's machinations, seized Pergamum on the upper Caïcus. He then sent a herald to Seleucus, placing himself and the treasury at his disposal.

1.10.5

But Lysimachus, upon learning all these things, quickly crossed over into Asia, initiated war himself, engaged Seleucus in battle, was decisively defeated and met his death. Alexander, his son by his wife Odrysis, after many entreaties obtained Lysimachus' body, brought it to the Chersonesus and buried it, where his tomb is still visible today between the village of Cardia and Pactye.

Chapter 11

I.II.1

Such were the fortunes of Lysimachus. The Athenians also have a statue of Pyrrhus. This Pyrrhus was ★
in no way related to Alexander, except by lineage; for Pyrrhus was the son of Aeacides, who was the son of Arybbas, while Alexander was the son of Olympias, who was the daughter of Neoptolemus. Both Neoptolemus and Arybbas were sons of Alcetas, who was the son of Tharypus. From Tharypus upward to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, there are fifteen generations of men. Indeed, this Pyrrhus, the first one, after the fall of Troy, declined the return voyage to Thessaly and settled instead in Epirus due to curses disclosed there through the oracles of Helenus. He had no child by Hermione, but from Andromache he had Molossus and Pielus, and Pergamus, who was the youngest. Helenus also had a son named Cestrinus, for Andromache lived with him after Pyrrhus died at Delphi.

I.II.2

When Helenus died, having delivered authority to Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, Cestrinus, taking with ★
him those Epeirotes who consented, occupied the territory beyond the river Thyamis; Pergamus went into Asia and, having engaged and slain Areius, who ruled in Teuthrania, in single combat over the sovereignty, gave the city its current name after himself. Andromache–for she accompanied him–still has a heroön in the city. Pielus remained behind in Epirus, and from this ancestor, rather than from Molossus, Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, and his forefathers derived their lineage.

I.II.3

Now until the time of Alcetas, the son of Tharypus, Epirus also was governed by a single king. But the sons of Alcetas, after quarreling among themselves, agreed that they would henceforth rule as equals; and thereafter they remained loyal towards one another. Later, after Alexander the son of Neoptolemus had died among the Lucanians, and Olympias, because of fear of Antipater, had returned to Epirus, Aeacides, the son of Arybbas, continued in all else obedient to Olympias, and even aided her with an army against Arrhidaeus and the Macedonians, though the Epirotes were unwilling to follow him.

I.II.4

When Olympias rose to power–she having committed impious acts, going so far even as the death of Aridaeus, and others yet more unholy against Macedonian men, and therefore later judged to have suffered deservedly at the hands of Cassander–initially even the Epeirotes themselves, because of their hatred toward Olympias, refused to accept Aeacides. Over time, however, when he had obtained their forgiveness, Cassander still opposed his return into Epirus. Later, a battle having taken place near

Oeniadae between Philip, Cassander's brother, and Aeacides, Aeacides, wounded in this encounter, met shortly thereafter the destined fate.

I.II.5

The Epeirots accepted Alcetas as their king, who was the son of Arybbas and older brother of Aeacides, but otherwise uncontrollable in his temper, a trait for which he had been banished by his father. On arriving, he immediately became violent against the Epeirots, until at length they rose up at night against him and killed both him and his children. After his death, they recalled Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides. Immediately after Pyrrhus had returned, Cassander launched an expedition against him, for Pyrrhus was still young and had not yet secured his rule firmly. Faced with the advancing Macedonians, Pyrrhus fled to Egypt, to Ptolemy son of Lagus. Ptolemy gave him in marriage his own step-sister, who was the maternal sister of his children, and restored him to his kingdom with an Egyptian fleet.

I.II.6

Pyrrhus, after he became king, first attacked the Corcyraeans among all Greeks, seeing their island situated in front of his own country and unwilling that it should serve as a base of operations against him for others. After Corcyra was captured, regarding what he suffered in the war against Lysimachus, and how he expelled Demetrius and ruled Macedonia until he was again driven out by Lysimachus–these greatest events of Pyrrhus in that period, so far as they involve Lysimachus, I have already made clear.

I.II.7

? As for the Romans, we know of no Greek who waged war against them before Pyrrhus. Indeed, it is said that no battle ever took place between Diomedes and his Argives and Aeneas thereafter, and although the Athenians, among their other great ambitions, hoped even to subdue all of Italy, the disaster at Syracuse prevented them from making trial of the Romans. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus–who belonged to the same family as Pyrrhus but was older in age–died in the land of the Lucanians before he could encounter the Romans in battle.

Chapter 12

1.12.1

Thus Pyrrhus was the first Greek to cross from Hellas beyond the Ionian Sea against the Romans. He crossed over at the invitation of the Tarentines, for they had previously begun a war with Rome. Unable to hold out by themselves, they recalled their earlier good deed toward him–since in his naval engagement against Corcyra they had come to his assistance with ships–but above all the Tarentine ambassadors convinced Pyrrhus by describing Italy as a land surpassing all Greece in wealth and prosperity. Additionally, they argued that it was not just for him now to neglect friends and suppliants who were seeking his help. As the ambassadors spoke these words, Pyrrhus recalled the sack of Troy and became hopeful that his own war would turn out the same way, since the campaign he was undertaking was directed against descendants of the Trojans, while he himself was descended from Achilles.

1.12.2

When he had decided upon this course–for Pyrrhus delayed over nothing that he resolved upon–he immediately began filling warships and preparing merchant vessels to transport cavalry and infantry. There exist certain books composed by otherwise obscure authors, bearing the title "Memoirs of Deeds." While reading these, it especially impressed upon me to admire Pyrrhus–both for the bravery he personally demonstrated in battle and for his foresight concerning campaigns yet to come. Even on that occasion, though crossing by sea to Italy with his forces, he had escaped the notice of the Romans, and upon his arrival he was not immediately visible to them. But later, when a battle erupted between the Romans and the Tarentines, he first appeared with his army and, attacking the Romans unexpectedly, caused great confusion, as one might naturally expect.

1.12.3

Since he knew very well that he was no match for the Romans, he prepared to unleash elephants against them. Alexander was the first of the Europeans to acquire elephants, when he defeated Porus and subdued the Indian force. After Alexander's death, other kings also obtained elephants, with Antigonus having the greatest number. Pyrrhus himself gained these beasts as spoils from his battle with Demetrius. When they appeared at that time, the Romans were struck with terror, imagining them to be creatures of another kind and not mere animals.

1.12.4

For ivory, at least so far as concerns its use in craftsmanship and human workmanship, has long been ? known clearly to everyone; yet as for the beasts themselves, no one, prior to the Macedonian invasion of

Asia, had ever seen them at all, apart from the Indians themselves, the Libyans, and those neighboring them. Homer provides evidence for this, who made mention of kings having couches inlaid with ivory as well as houses adorned with it among the wealthiest men, but made no mention whatsoever of the beast itself–the elephant. Had he actually seen or even heard of it, it seems to me that he surely would have described it, and this long before the combat between the pygmy warriors and the cranes.

1.12.5

An embassy from Syracuse drew Pyrrhus away into Sicily. For the Carthaginians, having crossed over, laid waste to the Greek cities there and, besieging Syracuse, the only place still remaining, pressed it closely. When Pyrrhus heard the ambassadors' request, he left Tarentum and the other cities of southern Italy, and crossed into Sicily, where he compelled the Carthaginians to abandon their siege of Syracuse. But filled with proud confidence against the Carthaginians, who among the barbarians of that time were most skilled on the sea–which was natural, since they were originally Tyrian Phoenicians–he rashly determined to fight a naval battle against them, relying upon his Epirotes, most of whom, even at the time of Troy's fall, neither knew the sea nor how to use salt. And the line of Homer from the Odyssey testifies to this point for me: "Men who do not know the sea, nor do they eat food seasoned with salt." (Hom. Od. 11.122)

Chapter 13

1.13.1

Then Pyrrhus, having been defeated, sailed back to Tarentum with the ships that remained to him. Thereupon he encountered great difficulty, and because he knew that the Romans would not allow him to withdraw unopposed, he contrived the following stratagem for his retreat. After returning from Sicily and suffering defeat, he first sent letters to Asia and to Antigonus, requesting from some of the kings troops, from others money, and from Antigonus both of these. When the messengers returned and delivered to him the replies, summoning the leading men of the Epirotes and of the Tarentines, he read out none of the documents he had actually received, but instead announced that support would soon arrive. The rumour quickly reached the Romans as well, that Macedonians and other peoples from Asia were crossing to aid Pyrrhus. On hearing this, the Romans temporarily remained quiet, and Pyrrhus took advantage of the following night to cross over secretly to the mountains called Ceraunia.

1.13.2

After the defeat in Italy, Pyrrhus rested his forces and then declared war upon Antigonus, bringing forward several accusations, and above all citing his failure to provide assistance in Italy. Having overcome both Antigonus's own troops and the Gallic mercenaries serving under him, Pyrrhus drove him to the coastal cities, and himself gained possession of Upper Macedonia and Thessaly. The magnitude of this battle and Pyrrhus's decisive victory, indicating how severe the conflict had been, is best demonstrated by the Celtic armor dedicated in the temple of Athena Itonia, situated between Pherae and Larissa, and by the inscription upon these weapons:

"The Molossian dedicated these shields to Athena Itonia."

1.13.3

Pyrrhus hung these shields taken from the daring Gauls after defeating Antigonus entire army. Nor is this greatly surprising–for the Aiakidai have always been skilled warriors, both now and in former times. These shields, then, he dedicated here, while those of the Macedonians he consecrated to Zeus at Dodona. An inscription is likewise placed upon them:

"These shields once devastated the gold-rich land of Asia; these shields bestowed servitude upon the Greeks. Now they lie ownerless beside the columns of Zeus temple, the spoils from boastful Macedonia."

Cleonymus became responsible, however, that Pyrrhus fell short by only a little of completely subduing Macedonia, although he had advanced very near to doing so.

1.13.4

He was in any case the more ready to take what lay easily within his grasp. This Cleonymus, who persuaded Pyrrhus to leave Macedonian affairs behind and come to the Peloponnese, being himself a Lacedaemonian, brought an enemy army against the Lacedaemonians into their own land, for a reason which I shall explain when I later speak of Cleonymus's family. Pleistoanax was the son of that Pausanias who had led the Greeks at Plataea; Pausanias was the son of Cleombrotus, who fell fighting against Epaminondas and the Thebans at Leuctra. Cleombrotus had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis died childless, so Cleomenes inherited the kingship.

1.13.5

? Cleomenes had two sons, the elder named Acrotatus, the younger Cleonymus. Acrotatus died first, and after Cleomenes himself passed away, a dispute arose over the kingship between Areus, the son of Acrotatus, and Cleonymus, who attempted by various means and eventually brought Pyrrhus into the country. Before the battle at Leuctra, the Lacedaemonians had never faced defeat and did not even concede that their infantry had ever been bested in battle. They asserted that the companions of Leonidas, though victorious, were insufficient to bring about the complete destruction of the Medes, while the exploit of the Athenians and Demosthenes at the island of Sphacteria was merely a stratagem in war, not a genuine victory.

1.13.6

After their first disaster in Boeotia, they subsequently suffered greatly at the hands of Antipater and the Macedonians, and thirdly came the war with Demetrius, which brought unexpected misfortune to their land. When Pyrrhus invaded, bringing the fourth hostile army down upon them, they set themselves in battle array along with the allies who arrived from Argos and Messene. Pyrrhus, when he had gained the upper hand, almost took the city by a direct assault; however, having ravaged the territory and driven off booty, he paused briefly. The Spartans then prepared themselves for a siege. Still earlier, during their war against Demetrius, Sparta had been fortified with trenches, deep moats, and strong palisades, and at its most vulnerable points even buildings had been constructed as fortifications.

1.13.7

Around this same time, when the protraction of the Spartan war continued, Antigonus, having restored the cities of the Macedonians, hastened toward the Peloponnese, knowing well that if Pyrrhus succeeded in capturing Sparta and most parts of the Peloponnese, he would move not back toward Epirus but instead against Macedonia, thus renewing war in that region. As Antigonus was preparing to lead his army from Argos towards Laconia, Pyrrhus himself arrived at Argos. Although victorious on that occasion as well, Pyrrhus pursued the fleeing soldiers right into the city, and consequently, as might be expected, his formation was thrown into disorder.

1.13.8

? While the fighting was already taking place around temples, houses, narrow streets, and scattered places throughout the city, Pyrrhus became isolated and was wounded in the head. They say Pyrrhus died when struck by a roof-tile thrown by a woman; the Argives, however, claim it was not a woman who killed him, but Demeter herself, disguised in the form of a woman. The Argives themselves recount these details about Pyrrhus' death, and the local guide Lyceas has recorded them in verse. At the spot

where Pyrrhus died there is a sanctuary of Demeter, as the oracle of the god had previously instructed them.

1.13.9

Pyrrhus is buried there as well. Indeed, I greatly marvel that three of those called Aeacidae encountered their deaths in the same way by divine intervention. Homer says that Achilles perished at the hands of Alexander, Priam's son, and Apollo. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, was commanded by the Pythian oracle to be slain at Delphi, while the circumstances surrounding the death of the third Aeacid occurred as the Argives relate and as Lyceas has depicted. Yet these accounts differ from the version recorded by Hieronymus of Cardia; for a man closely connected to a king must necessarily write in a flattering way. And if Philistus can justly be censured for concealing Dionysius' most impious acts through hopes of returning to Syracuse, then surely much pardon must be granted to Hieronymus for writing what pleased Antigonus.

Chapter 14

1.14.1

The power of the Epeirotes had thus come to an end. As one enters Athens, in the Odeion, among other things, there is an image of Dionysus worthy of seeing. Nearby there is a fountain called Enneakrounos ("Nine-Spouted"), thus ornamented by Peisistratus; for while there are wells throughout the entire city, this alone is a natural spring. Above the fountain stand temples–one dedicated to Demeter and Kore, and another containing a statue of Triptolemus. Of Triptolemus I shall record such stories as are told, passing over what concerns Deiope.

1.14.2

Of all the Greeks, those who especially dispute with the Athenians over their antiquity and the divine gifts they claim to possess are the Argives–just as among the barbarians, the Egyptians dispute with the Phrygians. It is therefore said that when Demeter came to Argos, Pelasgus received her into his home, and that Chrysanthis, knowing about the abduction of Kore, related these events. They later claim that Trochilus, a hierophant fleeing Argos because of hostility from Agenor, came into Attica, married a woman from Eleusis, and had children, Eubouleus and Triptolemus. Such is the Argive account; but the Athenians, and those who agree with them, hold that Triptolemus, the son of Celeus, was the first to sow cultivated grain.

1.14.3

Epic verses attributed to Musaeus–if indeed these truly belong to Musaeus–sing of Triptolemos as being the child of Oceanus and Earth. Other verses, attributed to Orpheus–though to me even these do not seem genuinely Orphic–say that Dysaules was father to Eubouleus and Triptolemos, and that after these two revealed what had happened to her daughter, Demeter gave them the gift of sowing grain. Choerilus of Athens, who composed a drama called 'Alope,' states that Kerkyon and Triptolemos were brothers, born of the daughter of Amphiktyon: the father of Triptolemos being Raros, and the father of Kerkyon being Poseidon. As I had intended to pursue this account further and to describe fully all that pertains to the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinion, I was halted by a vision in my dreams. Therefore, I turn aside from these things and proceed only with what it is proper for everyone to know.

1.14.4

Before this temple, where also stands the statue of Triptolemus, there is a bronze ox, appearing as if led to sacrifice, and a seated figure made of bronze representing Epimenides of Knossos. It is said that Epimenides once went into the countryside, entered a cave, and fell asleep; sleep did not release him

until the fortieth year of his slumber had passed. Afterward, he composed poetry and purified cities, among them Athens. Thales, who ended the plague among the Spartans, was neither related by kinship nor was he from the same city as Epimenides; Epimenides was from Knossos, while Thales, according to Polymnastus of Colophon, who composed poetry about him for the Spartans, was from Gortyn.

1.14.5

Still further away is the temple of Eukleia ('Good Fame'), an offering also dedicated from the spoils of the Medes who had landed in Marathon. I suppose that the Athenians felt the greatest pride in this victory above all. Indeed Aeschylus himself, when the end of his life was approaching, although by then he had acquired great fame from poetry and had fought at Artemisium and in the naval battle at Salamis, mentioned none of these events but rather recorded only his name, his father's name and his city, declaring as witnesses to his valor the grove at Marathon and the Persians who disembarked there.

1.14.6

Above the Kerameikos and the portico known as Basileios is a temple of Hephaistos. That a statue of Athena stands beside him did not surprise me, knowing as I do the story regarding Erichthonios; yet, upon seeing that the statue of Athena had grey-blue eyes, I recognized in this the tale told by the Libyans. For according to them, Athena is the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis, and for this reason her eyes, like Poseidon's, are grey-blue.

1.14.7

Nearby is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania. The Assyrians were the first of mankind to worship Ourania; after the Assyrians, the practice passed to the Paphian Cyprians and to the Phoenicians who inhabit Ascalon in Palestine. From the Phoenicians, the people of Cythera learned and adopted her worship. Among the Athenians, Aegeus established her cult, believing that his lack of offspring–for at that time he had none–and the misfortune which befell his sisters were due to the anger of Ourania. The statue that exists in my day is of Parian marble and is a work by Pheidias. Among the Athenians there is a deme known as Athmonia, whose inhabitants say that Porphyrion, who ruled even before Actaeus, founded the sanctuary of Ourania among them. Indeed, the traditions recounted in the demes differ considerably from those held by the inhabitants of the city itself.

Chapter 15

1.15.1

As you proceed towards the colonnade called "Painted" from its pictures, you will see a bronze Hermes named Agoraeus ("of the Market") and a gate nearby. Upon it stands a trophy raised by the Athenians when they defeated in a cavalry battle Pleistarchus, who had been entrusted with the command of Cassander's cavalry and foreign troops, being Cassander's brother. This portico first depicts Athenians arrayed at Oenoe in Argive territory, opposite the Lacedaemonians. The battle scene portrayed is not at the height nor stage when bold deeds can already be fully demonstrated, but at its very beginning, with the fighters still advancing together into combat.

1.15.2

In the middle of the paintings, the Athenians and Theseus are depicted fighting against the Amazons. ★
Indeed, reckless bravery in dangers did not exempt even the women alone from disasters; for, after Themiscyra had been captured by Heracles, and subsequently after the army they sent against Athens had been destroyed, nevertheless they came to Troy to fight the Athenians themselves along with all the Greeks. Adjacent to the Amazons are the Greeks who captured Ilium, and the kings assembled due to the outrage of Ajax against Cassandra; the painting includes Ajax himself and some of the captive women, Cassandra among them.

1.15.3

At the end of the painting are those who fought at Marathon, including the Plataeans from Boeotia ★
and all the forces from Attica who engaged in direct combat against the barbarians. Here the two sides are evenly matched in the fighting. Within the scene of battle itself, the barbarians are depicted fleeing and pushing one another into the marsh. At the very edge of the painting appear the Phoenician ships and the Greeks killing those of the barbarians who rush aboard. Here is painted also the hero Marathon, from whom the plain has taken its name, and Thereus, represented emerging from the earth, as well as Athena and Heracles. For, according to the Marathonian people themselves, they were the first to worship Heracles as a god. Among the combatants shown most prominently in the painting are Callimachus, who was chosen polemarch by the Athenians, Miltiades, one of the generals, and a hero named Echetlos, whom I will have occasion to mention later.

1.15.4

Here lie bronze shields; some of them bear inscriptions stating they are from the Sicyonians and their allies. But those covered with pitch–to protect them from time and rust–are said to belong to the

Lacedaemonians taken prisoner on the island of Sphacteria.

Chapter 16

1.16.1

Bronze statues are set up before the Stoa; Solon, who wrote the laws for the Athenians, stands in front of it, and a short distance away is Seleucus, for whom clear signs of his future good fortune appeared even before he achieved it. When Seleucus was setting out from Macedonia with Alexander, while sacrificing at Pella to Zeus, the wood placed upon the altar moved spontaneously towards the statue and caught fire by itself without any flame. After Alexanders death, Seleucus, fearing Antigonus who had arrived at Babylon, fled to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, but later returned again to Babylon. Having returned, he defeated the army of Antigonus, killed Antigonus himself, and afterward captured Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who had campaigned against him.

1.16.2

When these undertakings had progressed successfully for Seleucus, and shortly afterward he had also finished off Lysimachus's affairs, he transferred the entire rule of Asia to his son Antiochus, and hastened himself towards Macedonia. Seleucus had with him an army of both Greeks and barbarians. Now Ptolemy–brother of Lysandra, who had fled from Lysimachus to Seleucus, being naturally daring and therefore called "Ceraunus" (the Thunderbolt)–when Seleucus's army reached the vicinity of Lysimacheia, secretly slew Seleucus. After allowing the kings to plunder Seleucus's treasures, this same Ptolemy reigned over Macedonia, until he became the first king known to us to dare resistance against the Gauls, and he was slain by these barbarians. Afterward, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, recovered the kingdom.

1.16.3

Among kings, I am particularly inclined to believe that Seleucus was both just in character and pious toward the divine. For it was Seleucus who restored to the Milesians the bronze Apollo at Branchidae, originally carried off by Xerxes to Ecbatana in Media. It was also Seleucus who built Seleucia beside the river Tigris and transferred the Babylonians to inhabit it. Nevertheless, he permitted the wall of Babylon itself to remain, and allowed the sanctuary of Bel, together with the Chaldeans living around it, to continue there.

Chapter 17

1.17.1

The Athenians have in their market-place other things too, not all of which are notable to everyone, and an altar of Mercy, whom alone of the Greeks the Athenians honor, considering this deity especially beneficial to human life and its changing fortunes. Among them, it is established not only to practice humanity toward people, but they also worship the gods more devoutly than others. For indeed they possess altars of Shame, Rumor, and Impulse; it is clearly evident that those who have greater piety than others equally enjoy favorable fortune.

1.17.2

In the gymnasium, which is situated not far from the agora and is called Ptolemy's after the man who built it, there are stone images of Hermes worthy of viewing and a bronze statue of Ptolemy. Here lie buried the Libyan Juba and Chrysippus of Soli. Near the gymnasium is a sanctuary of Theseus. Here are paintings depicting the Athenians in battle against the Amazons. This same conflict is depicted both on the shield of Athena and on the pedestal of Zeus Olympios. Painted also in the temple of Theseus is the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths; Theseus himself is represented as having already slain a Centaur, while the struggle between the others remains evenly balanced.

1.17.3

The painting on the third wall is not clear for those who have not heard the story, partly because of its age and partly because Mikon did not portray the entire narrative. It depicts Minos when he was taking Theseus and the rest of the band of youths to Crete. Minos was enamored of Periboea, and since Theseus vehemently opposed him, Minos angrily cast various insults at him, declaring that he was not the son of Poseidon. He said Theseus could not recover for him the seal-ring which Minos himself happened to be wearing, if he threw it into the sea. Minos is said to have spoken thus and then flung the ring into the deep. But they say that Theseus emerged from the sea bearing both that ring and a golden crown, the gift of Amphitrite.

1.17.4

Regarding the death of Theseus, many different and contradictory accounts have already been told. For some say he remained imprisoned until rescued by Heracles. But the most credible version I heard is this: Theseus, invading the land of the Thesprotians to seize the wife of their king, lost the greater part of his army and was himself captured, along with Pirithous–for he had marched into battle also

eager to arrange a marriage for Pirithous. The Thesprotian king bound them and held them captive at Cichyrus.

1.17.5

In the land of Thesprotia there are indeed other sights worth seeing, notably the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona and the sacred oak-tree of this god. Near Kichyros is a lake named Acherousia and the river Acheron; the Cocytus also flows there, a stream of most dismal water. Homer, I believe, having himself seen these places, ventured in his poetry to describe the underworld and even adopted the names of these rivers from those in Thesprotia. At that time, while Theseus was absent, the sons of Tyndareus marched against Aphidna, captured the town, and established Menestheus as king.

1.17.6

Now Menestheus paid little heed to the sons of Theseus, as they had departed to Euboea to Elephenor. But fearing that Theseus himself might someday return from the Thesprotians, and judging him an opponent difficult to contest, he worked diligently to win the favor of the people so that, even if Theseus should indeed survive and return, he might still be thrust aside later. Theseus sailed to Deucalion in Crete, but winds drove him off course to the island of Skyros. Though the Skyrians welcomed him magnificently because of his familys renown and the fame of his own deeds, yet Lycomedes plotted his death on that account. Thus the sanctuary of Theseus at Athens was established later than the Persian occupation of Marathon, after Cimon, the son of Miltiades, had laid waste Skyros–thus avenging the death of Theseus–and had brought his bones home to Athens.

Chapter 18

1.18.1

The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient; the Dioscuri themselves are standing, and their sons are seated upon horses. Here Polygnotus painted the marriage of the daughters of Leucippus, including the Dioscuri's role in it, while Micon depicted the expedition of Jason and his companions sailing to Colchis. The painting particularly emphasizes Acastus and the horses of Acastus.

1.18.2

Above the sanctuary of the Dioscuri is the precinct of Aglauros. It is said that Athena entrusted Erichthonios, whom she had placed in a chest, to Aglauros and her sisters, Herse and Pandrosos, instructing them not to pry into the entrusted charge. Pandrosos, they say, obeyed this instruction, but the other two opened the chest, and upon viewing Erichthonios, they went mad and flung themselves from the steepest part of the Acropolis. It was at this very place that the Persians climbed up and slaughtered those Athenians who thought they understood the oracle better than did Themistocles and had fortified the Acropolis with timber and palisades.

1.18.3

Near by is the Prytaneion, in which stand the written laws of Solon and statues of the goddesses Peace and Hestia. There are also statues of various other persons, including Autolykos the pancratiast; but the images of Miltiades and Themistocles have been re-inscribed as a Roman and a Thracian.

1.18.4

As you go from here down into the lower parts of the city, there is a sanctuary of Serapis, a god whom the Athenians introduced from Ptolemy. Among the Egyptians, the most famous sanctuary of Serapis is in Alexandria, but the oldest is in Memphis. Into this sanctuary at Memphis neither foreigners nor even priests may enter until the time they bury Apis. Near the sanctuary of Serapis in Athens, there is a place where they say that Peirithous and Theseus made an agreement to journey first to Lacedaemon, and afterwards to the Thesprotians.

1.18.5

Nearby was built a temple of Eileithyia, who, according to tradition, came from the Hyperboreans to Delos to assist at Leto's childbirth. They say it was from the Delians themselves that the other peoples learned the name of Eileithyia. The Delians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing the hymn composed by Olen.

But the Cretans of the territory of Knossos maintain that Eileithyia was born at Amnisos, and that she is the daughter of Hera. The Athenians alone cover the wooden images of Eileithyia down to their feet. The women said that two of these statues are Cretan in origin and dedicated by Phaedra, while the oldest one was brought from Delos by Erysichthon.

1.18.6

Before entering the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus–it was Hadrian, emperor of the Romans, who dedicated the temple and the statue worthy of viewing. In its size, apart from the colossi of the Rhodians and Romans, it surpasses all other statues; it is crafted from ivory and gold, and the skill demonstrated in its creation is worthy of admiration for such a scale.–Before this sanctuary stand four statues of Hadrian, two made of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian marble; and bronze figures, called "colonies" by the Athenians, stand in front of the columns. The entire enclosure measures approximately four stades in circumference and is full of statues: for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian. The Athenians themselves surpassed them in erecting the colossal statue behind the temple, one worthy indeed of being seen.

1.18.7

★ Within the enclosure there is an ancient bronze statue of Zeus, as well as a temple dedicated to Cronus and Rhea, and a precinct sacred to Earth, surnamed Olympias. Here, the ground is split apart for about a cubit, and they say that after the deluge in the time of Deucalion the water drained away through this fissure. Into it every year they pour wheat meal mixed with honey.

1.18.8

★ On a column stands the statue of Isocrates, who left behind him three notable memorials: the most painstaking, that he continued to have pupils without interruption until nearly one hundred years old; the most prudent, that he steadfastly refrained from politics and avoided meddling in public affairs; yet the noblest of all, that when he received news of the defeat at Chaeroneia, he grieved and voluntarily ended his life. Nearby stand Persians carved of Phrygian marble, holding aloft a bronze tripod–both they and the tripod itself are worthy of observation. As for the temple of Olympian Zeus, they say that the original sanctuary was founded by Deucalion, citing as evidence the fact that Deucalion lived in Athens and pointing out his grave not far from the present temple.

1.18.9

Hadrian constructed also other buildings for the Athenians, including a temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios; and a common sanctuary for all the gods. The most remarkable features of it are the hundred columns of Phrygian marble, and the walls of the porticoes built of the same material. There are rooms there whose ceilings are adorned with gilt and alabaster, decorated further with statues and paintings, and furnished with books. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian, which likewise has a hundred columns from quarries in Libya.

Chapter 19

1.19.1

Beyond the temple of Olympian Zeus, close by, there is a statue of Apollo Pythios; there is also another sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Delphinios. They say that when this temple had been completed except for the roof, Theseus arrived in the city, still unknown to all. And since he was wearing a long robe reaching down to his feet, and his hair was arranged in an attractive manner, as he happened to pass by the temple of Apollo Delphinios, the builders who were engaged in constructing the roof mocked him, asking sarcastically why a maiden, ready for a wedding, wandered about alone. Theseus said nothing in reply, but, as the story goes, he loosed the oxen from a nearby cart they had with them, and hurled the cart up onto the building, higher even than where the builders were making the roof of the temple.

1.19.2

Concerning the place they call the Gardens and the temple of Aphrodite there, there is no account recorded among them; nor even regarding the Aphrodite who stands near that temple. Indeed, this latter figure is square in shape, resembling the Herms; and the inscription indicates that the Heavenly Aphrodite is the eldest of those known as the Fates (Moirai). The statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens is a work by Alcamenes, and among the few objects at Athens worthy of seeing.

1.19.3

There is a sanctuary of Heracles called Cynosarges. Those who have chosen to consider the oracle may learn what concerns the white dog. There are altars to Heracles and to Hebe, who is considered a daughter of Zeus and is believed to dwell with Heracles; there are also altars dedicated to Alcmena and to Iolaus, who labored with Heracles in most of his exploits. The Lyceum got its name from Lycus, the son of Pandion, but originally and still in our day it is regarded as a sanctuary of Apollo; it was here that this god was first called Lyceius. It is also said that Lycus, fleeing from Aegeus, came to the Termilae, and that it is due to him that the Termilae changed their name to Lycians.

1.19.4

Behind the Lyceum there is a tomb of Nisus, whom the Athenians brought and buried here after he died, having been king of Megara and slain by Minos. The story about him says Nisus had hairs on his head that were purple in color, and it was fated that he would die if these were shorn away. When the Cretans invaded his country, they captured the other cities in the territory of Megara by raids, but Nisus took refuge in Nisaea. While they were besieging him there, the story goes that Nisus' daughter fell in love with Minos, and that she cut off her father's magical hairs.

1.19.5

★ These things, then, are said to have happened in this way. There are rivers flowing through Athens, both the Ilissus and the Eridanus, the latter having the same name as the Celtic river and flowing into the Ilissus. It is by the Ilissus where, as they say, Oreithyia was playing when she was seized away by Boreas, the North Wind. Boreas lived with Oreithyia as his wife, and on account of this marriage, he aided the Athenians by destroying most of the barbarian fleet of triremes. The Athenians also make the Ilissus sacred to other gods, and upon it is an altar of the Muses known as the Ilissiads. It is also shown as the place where the Peloponnesians killed Codrus, son of Melanthus, who ruled the Athenians.

1.19.6

★ Upon crossing the Ilisos, there is a place called Agrai and a temple of Artemis Agrotera (the Huntress). Here they say Artemis first hunted when she came from Delos; for this reason, the statue holds a bow. Close by is a stadium made of white marble, which, while not particularly impressive to hear about, is a marvel to behold. One may best judge its size as follows: above the Ilisos, a crescent-shaped hill slopes straight down, extending in a double form toward the riverbank. An Athenian named Herodes built it, and most of the marble from the quarries at Pentelicus was exhausted on this construction.

Chapter 20

1.20.1

There is a street running from the Prytaneion, known as the "Street of the Tripods." The place is named after it, and temples stand there which, although not especially large, support bronze tripods containing reliefs particularly worthy of remembrance. Among them is a satyr, of which Praxiteles is said to have held a very high opinion. Once, when Phryne asked him which of his own creations he thought most beautiful, they say that, as her lover, he agreed to give it to her, yet was unwilling to state directly which seemed best to him. So a servant of Phryne ran in and announced to Praxiteles that most of his works had been destroyed by fire which had broken out at his workshop–though not all of his works had perished.

1.20.2

Immediately Praxiteles rushed out through the doors, saying that he had labored in vain if indeed the flames had taken both the Satyr and the Eros. But Phryne urged him to be calm and remain, since no harm had occurred, yet by his agitation he unknowingly revealed to her clearly which pieces he considered the most beautiful of all he had made. By this stratagem, Phryne chose for herself the Eros. As for the Satyr, it is represented in the nearby temple of Dionysus–the figure of a boy offering a drinking-cup. And Thymilos created the group showing the standing figures of Eros and Dionysus together.

1.20.3

The oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is beside the theatre, and within its enclosure there are two temples and two images of Dionysus: Dionysus Eleuthereus and another made of ivory and gold by Alcamenes. There are paintings here as well, depicting Dionysus guiding Hephaestus up to heaven. The Greeks also recount this story: after Hera cast Hephaestus out at his birth, he harboured resentment against her and sent her, as a gift, a golden throne furnished with invisible bonds, and when she sat upon it she was immediately bound fast. None of the gods could persuade Hephaestus to free her except Dionysus, whom Hephaestus trusted above all others. Dionysus, therefore, made him drunk and brought him back to heaven. These scenes are depicted here, along with Pentheus and Lycurgus paying the penalty for their insults against Dionysus, Ariadne asleep, Theseus setting sail, and Dionysus arriving to carry off Ariadne.

1.20.4

Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theater there is a structure said to have been formed to imitate Xerxes' tent. It was built a second time, the original having been burned by Sulla, a Roman general, when he captured Athens. The cause of this war was as follows. Mithridates ruled over the barbarians around the Euxine Sea. Concerning the pretext by which he waged war against the Romans, how he crossed into Asia, and how many cities he seized by force of arms or won over as allies–let these matters be the concern of those who wish to know Mithridates' affairs. I shall relate only what pertains to the capture of Athens.

1.20.5

Aristion was an Athenian employed by Mithridates on embassies to the Greek cities. It was Aristion who persuaded the Athenians to side with Mithridates against the Romans. Yet he did not convince them all, but only the populace and the turbulent faction among them; those Athenians of reputation went voluntarily over to the Romans. When battle ensued, the Romans prevailed decisively. Aristion and the Athenians fled into the city, pursued by the Romans, while Archelaus and the barbarians withdrew into Piraeus. Archelaus also was one of Mithridates' generals; earlier, he had invaded the territory of the Magnesians dwelling around Sipylus, where these Magnesians wounded Archelaus himself and slew most of his barbarian forces.

1.20.6

The Athenians were under siege, and Taxilus, a general of Mithridates, was at that time besieging Elateia in Phocis. But upon the arrival of messengers, he withdrew his forces from there and began leading them toward Attica. Learning of these events, the Roman general left part of his army to continue the siege of Athens, while he himself, commanding the greater strength of his forces, advanced into Boeotia to confront Taxilus. On the third day afterward, messengers reached both Roman camps: to Sulla came the news that the Athenians' wall had fallen, and to those besieging Athens word came that Taxilus had been defeated in a battle near Chaeronea. When Sulla returned to Attica, he imprisoned those Athenians who had resisted him in the Cerameicus, and then ordered one from every ten of them, drawn by lot, to be led away to execution.

1.20.7

? As Sulla was relentless in his anger against the Athenians, certain men secretly fled to Delphi. When they asked if it were now fated that Athens itself should perish utterly, the Pythia gave them that oracle about the wineskin. Later, Sulla was afflicted with the very disease that, as I learn, also seized Pherecydes of Syros. Now, Sulla indeed had treated the majority of Athenians more cruelly than might have been expected even from a Roman. Nevertheless, I myself do not think that this was the cause of his misfortune, but rather the wrath of Hikesios, because Sulla forcibly removed Aristion, who had sought refuge in the sanctuary of Athena, and put him to death. Athens, thus sorely afflicted by the Roman war, once again flourished under the reign of Emperor Hadrian.

Chapter 21

1.21.1

The Athenians have statues in their theatre of poets both of tragedy and comedy, most of whom are relatively obscure. For aside from Menander, there was no comic poet worthy of notable fame. Among the famous tragedians represented there are Euripides and Sophocles. They say that upon Sophocles' death the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica, and their commander had a vision of Dionysus standing over him and commanding him to honor with customary funeral rites the new Siren; and this dream seemed clearly to refer to Sophocles and his poetry, for even now it remains customary to liken the charm of poetry and eloquence to a Siren.

1.21.2

The portrait of Aeschylus, I believe, was made much later than his death and later than the painting showing the battle at Marathon. Aeschylus, it is said, while still a youth, fell asleep as he kept watch over grape clusters in a field. Dionysus appeared, standing beside him, and commanded him to compose tragedy. At daybreak–for Aeschylus was eager to obey–he immediately set about attempting to compose it.

1.21.3

These things he related. Upon the wall known as the Southern, which faces toward the theater from the Acropolis, there is placed a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and around it is fashioned an aegis. At the very top of the theater, under the Acropolis and among the rocks, is a cave. Above this also stands a tripod. Within the cave, Apollo and Artemis are depicted slaying the children of Niobe. This same Niobe I myself saw when I ascended Mount Sipylus: from near at hand it is simply a rock and cliff, showing no resemblance whatsoever either to a woman or to one grieving; but if you go a little further away, it seems indeed like a woman bowed down in sorrow, shedding tears.

1.21.4

On the road leading to the Acropolis in Athens from the theatre is buried Kalos. Daedalus, having slain this Kalos, who was his sister's son and pupil in his craft, fled to Crete, and some time later escaped to Sicily, to the court of Cocalus. The sanctuary of Asclepius is worthy of viewing both for the statues–those depicting the god and his children–and for the paintings it contains. Within it there is a spring, by which they say Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon, was slain by Ares, after he molested Alcippe, the daughter of Ares, and that this was the first trial held concerning homicide.

1.21.5

Here among other objects is placed a Sarmatian breastplate; whoever sees this will declare that the barbarians are no less ingenious in craftsmanship than the Greeks themselves. The Sarmatians neither have iron ore mined in their own land nor do they import it from abroad; for they are especially isolated among the barbarians in these parts. Therefore they have devised the following solution to this shortage: instead of iron, they fit their spearheads with bone points, and use bows made of horn, arrows, and bone-tipped darts. They also throw ropes around their enemies and, when they catch them, they wheel their horses about and overturn those thus entangled.

1.21.6

Their breastplates they fashion in the following manner. Each man rears many horses, since, as nomads, their land is neither divided into private holdings nor producing anything except wild woodlands. These horses they use not only for warfare but also sacrifice to their local gods and, additionally, use as food. Gathering the hoofs, they clean and split them, then make from these pieces something resembling serpent scales. If someone has never before seen a serpent, certainly he has seen the still-green cone of a pine tree. Thus, comparing this work made from hoofs to the overlapping scales visible on a pine cone, one would not be mistaken. Piercing these scales and sewing them together using horse or ox sinews, they produce breastplates that are neither inferior in beauty nor weaker than the Greek ones; indeed, they withstand blows both at close quarters and from afar.

1.21.7

The linen corselets, however, are not equally useful in warfare, for iron weapons can pierce through them when forced. But for hunting purposes they are beneficial, since even the teeth of lions and leopards become entangled in them. Linen corselets may be seen dedicated in various sanctuaries, notably at Gryneium, where there is a most beautiful grove of Apollo, with trees both cultivated and fruitless varieties offering either fragrance or a pleasing appearance.

Chapter 22

1.22.1

Past the sanctuary of Asclepius, on the way up toward the Acropolis this way, there is a temple of Themis. Before it lies a tomb dedicated to Hippolytus. They say his death resulted from curses. Indeed, whoever has learned the language of the Greeks–even among foreigners–knows well the love of Phaedra and the boldness of her nurse in attempting to assist her desire. The people of Troezen also possess a tomb of Hippolytus, and their account about him runs as follows.

1.22.2

When Theseus was about to marry Phaedra, unwilling–should children be born to him–to have Hippolytus either subject to them or reigning instead of them, he sent him away to Pittheus, to be raised by him and to become king of Troezen. Later, after some time, Pallas and his sons revolted against Theseus. Having slain them, he went to Troezen for purification, and there Phaedra first beheld Hippolytus. She fell desperately in love, and thus plotted his death. The Troezenians have a myrtle whose leaves are pierced throughout. They say that it did not originally grow this way, but that this came about because of the pains of love and due to the pin that Phaedra wore in her hair.

1.22.3

Theseus, after bringing together the Athenians from the demes into one city, established the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos ("of all the people") and of Peitho ("Persuasion"). The ancient statues were no longer in existence in my own time, but the ones existing then were works by artists not the least celebrated. There is also a sanctuary of Earth Kourotrophos ("Nurse of Youth") and of Demeter Chloe ("the Green"). As for the significance of these epithets, one may learn it by entering into conversation with the priests.

1.22.4

There is only one way leading up into the acropolis; no other approach is possible, as it is steep on all sides and has a strong wall. The entrance gate (Propylaea) has a roof built of white stone, and down to my day surpassed all others both in the beauty and the size of its stones. As for the statues of horsemen, I cannot say exactly whether they are meant to represent the sons of Xenophon or were created simply as decorative figures. On the right-hand side of the Propylaea is the temple of Wingless Victory (Nike Apteros). From there the sea is clearly visible, and it is from that place, they say, that Aegeus threw himself down and died.

1.22.5

★ For the ship that carried the youths to Crete sailed out with black sails, but Theseus–who was voyaging with the intention of attacking the bull called the Minotaur–had arranged beforehand with his father that he would use white sails if he sailed back victorious. However, being distracted by Ariadne, Theseus forgot this. Thus, when Aegeus saw the ship returning with black sails, believing his son had perished, he threw himself down and was killed. Among the Athenians there is accordingly a sanctuary called the Heroön of Aegeus.

1.22.6

★ On the left side of the Propylaea is a building containing paintings. Among those that have not been destroyed by time are depictions of Diomedes–one carrying off the bow of Philoctetes on Lemnos, and another taking the image of Athena from Troy. Also here in the paintings is Orestes killing Aegisthus, and Pylades slaying the sons of Nauplius who had come to Aegisthus's aid. Near the tomb of Achilles, Polyxena is depicted about to be sacrificed. Homer did well in omitting this cruel deed, and equally well, I think, in portraying Scyros as captured by Achilles, rather than following others who say Achilles lived among the maidens on Scyros–a scene that Polygnotus has indeed painted. Polygnotus also depicted Odysseus encountering Nausicaa and her maidens washing clothes beside the river, exactly as Homer himself composed the scene. There are other paintings as well, including Alcibiades;

1.22.7

★ In the painting there are also indications of his victory with horses at Nemea. Perseus is depicted as being borne to Seriphos, carrying the head of Medusa to Polydectes. However, I have no desire to discuss the story of Medusa in this Attic description. Moreover, among the paintings present is a depiction of a boy carrying water jars and the wrestler painted by Timainetos; this figure is Mousaios. Personally, I have read certain epic lines wherein Mousaios is said to fly through the air by a gift from Boreas. Yet it seems to me that these poems were composed by Onomakritos, and there is nothing truly authentic by Mousaios except the hymn to Demeter written for the Lykomidai.

1.22.8

At the very entrance to the Acropolis itself is a Hermes, whom they call Propylaios, and the Graces; these figures, they say, were made by Socrates, son of Sophroniscus. That he surpassed all men in wisdom is attested by the Pythian oracle, which did not pronounce this of Anacharsis, even though he wished it and for this very reason came to Delphi.

Chapter 23

1.23.1

The Greeks say various things, among them that there arose seven wise men. Of these they also mention ? the Lesbian tyrant and Periander, son of Cypselus. And yet Peisistratus and his son Hippias were more humane than Periander and wiser both in military matters and in whatever related to the good order of their citizens, until, because of Hipparchus' death, Hippias gave way to rage in various ways, including against the woman named Leaena.

1.23.2

For after Hipparchus had been killed, Hippias–so it is said in a story not previously recorded, but ? nevertheless believed by the majority of Athenians–held this woman under torture until she died, because he knew she was Aristogeiton's mistress and assumed she must have had knowledge of the conspiracy. In recognition of these events, when the sons of Peisistratus had been expelled from their tyranny, the Athenians dedicated a bronze statue of a lioness in memory of this woman, and beside it stands a statue of Aphrodite, which is said to have been both a dedication by Callias and the work of Calamis.

1.23.3

Nearby is a bronze statue of Diitrephes, pierced through with arrows. This Diitrephes performed several notable deeds, according to the Athenians, and among them was his handling of the Thracian mercenaries who arrived too late–after Demosthenes had already sailed away towards Syracuse. Being thus delayed, Diitrephes led these Thracians back again, and on their way he reached the Euripus in Chalcidice, near the inland Boeotian city Mycalessus. Landing there from the sea, Diitrephes captured the city. The Thracians, attacking Mycalessus, killed not only the fighting men but also the women and the children. I have evidence of this, since among the Boeotian towns destroyed by the Thebans, only those cities still inhabited in my day were ones whose people survived despite the destruction. Had the foreigners not killed all of the Mycalessians as they advanced through the town, those who remained alive would later have recovered their city.

1.23.4

What especially surprised me about the image of Diitrephes was that he had been pierced by arrows, ★ because among Greeks, except for the Cretans, archery was not customary. For though we know that the Opuntian Locrians already fought as heavy infantry in the Persian Wars, Homer depicted them as having come to Troy equipped with bows and slings. Nor did archery continue to be practiced among

the Malians; indeed, I think they had been unfamiliar with the bow until Philoctetes, and not long afterward they ceased from its use. Near the statue of Diitrephes–I prefer not to describe the more obscure sculptures–stand images of gods, including Hygieia, said to be the daughter of Asclepius, and Athena, bearing the surname Hygieia as well.

1.23.5

There is a stone, not large indeed, but just large enough for a small man to sit upon; on this stone, they say, Silenus rested when Dionysus came into the land. For those among the Satyrs who are older in age are given the name Sileni. Concerning the Satyrs, who they really are, I have spoken at greater length elsewhere, wishing to know more about them precisely for these reasons. Euphemus, a Carian man, reported that while sailing towards Italy he was driven off course by winds, and carried out into the open sea, into waters where people no longer travel. He stated that there were many islands lying desolate, but that on others savage men dwell.

1.23.6

The sailors are unwilling to put ashore on these islands, as previously, when they landed there lacking knowledge of the inhabitants, they had been violently attacked. Even on this occasion they had trouble. These islands the sailors call the Satyrides, and their inhabitants are tawny-haired, having tails at their hips not much smaller than those of horses. On perceiving the ship, these creatures ran down to it, making no vocal sound, and started laying hands on the women who were aboard. Finally, in their fear, the sailors turned loose on the island a foreign woman, upon whom the satyrs then outraged not only as is natural, but indeed upon her whole body indiscriminately.

1.23.7

I have also seen other things on the Acropolis of the Athenians: the bronze figure of a boy by Lycius, son of Myron, holding the basin for ritual purification, and Perseus by Myron, a work crafted in reference to Medusa. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, and the statue is by Praxiteles; the goddess takes her name from the deme of Brauron, and the ancient wooden image is at Brauron, where, as they say, Artemis is worshipped as she is in Tauris.

1.23.8

There is a bronze horse there called the Trojan Horse. That this contrivance of Epeius was built for the purpose of breaching the city's walls no one doubts, unless he attributes complete folly to the Phrygians. It is told regarding this horse how the best warriors of the Greeks lay hidden inside, and the bronze work itself reflects this very arrangement. Menestheus and Teucer are depicted peering out of it, as well as the sons of Theseus.

1.23.9

Of the statues which stand beyond the horse, Kritias fashioned the likeness of Epicharinos, who had trained himself in the race of heavy-armed men. There is also a noteworthy deed of Oinobios concerning Thucydides, the son of Oloros: for Oinobios carried a decree that allowed Thucydides to return to Athens, and having been treacherously killed as he was returning, Thucydides has a tomb situated not far from the Melitid gate.

1.23.10

I pass over what others have already written concerning Hermolykos the pancratiast and Phormio the son of Asopichos; however, I have more to record regarding Phormio. This Phormio, though equal in nobility to the most distinguished Athenians and descended from ancestors of notable reputation, happened nevertheless to be burdened by debt. Thus, withdrawing to the deme of Paiania, he lived there in retirement. When the Athenians elected him admiral, he declared he would not set sail, asserting he owed debts and that, until he had repaid them, he could not maintain proper authority among his troops. The Athenians, who by all means wished Phormio to command, accordingly settled for him all the debts he owed.

Chapter 24

1.24.1

Here is represented Athena striking Marsyas the Silenus, because he had taken up the flutes which ★ the goddess intended to discard after casting them away. Beyond these things I have described is the depiction of what is known as Theseus' battle against the bull called the Minotaur–whether it was a man or beast according to the prevailing tradition; for even in my own time women have given birth to monstrosities far more wondrous than this creature.

1.24.2

There is also a depiction of Phrixus, son of Athamas, who was carried away to the Colchians by the ram. ★ Having sacrificed the ram to whichever deity it may have been–presumably the one called Laphystios by the Orchomenians–Phrixus is shown performing the prescribed Greek ritual, cutting out its thighs and burning them. Next to him stand other statues, including one of Heracles, who, according to tradition, is strangling the serpents. Athena is also depicted, rising from the head of Zeus. There is furthermore a bronze bull, dedicated by the Council of the Areopagus–for what reason the Council made this offering is not clear.

1.24.3

One could speculate upon many things if willing. I have said previously, too, that the Athenians have ★ greater earnestness regarding divine matters than other people. It was they who first gave Athena the surname Ergane ("Worker"), and they who first erected Hermae without limbs. And among them in the sanctuary there is a deity of earnestness. Whoever places a higher value upon works made with skill than upon those belonging to antiquity will have here objects to behold. There is a man wearing a helmet, the work of Cleoetas; Cleoetas also fashioned his fingernails from silver. There is also a statue of Earth, beseeching Zeus to rain upon her, either because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because drought had afflicted all the Greeks collectively. In this place are laid to rest Timotheus, son of Conon, and Conon himself. Alcamenes made the dedication of Procne, planning her crime against her son, and of Itys himself. Sculpted also are Athena's olive tree and Poseidon, manifesting a wave.

1.24.4

There is also a statue of Zeus, one made by Leochares and another called Polieus. Though I record the ? established customs connected to the sacrifice for Zeus Polieus, I omit writing down the explanation traditionally offered for them. They place barley grains mixed with wheat on the altar of Zeus Polieus without setting any guard over them. The ox prepared for sacrifice, however, is carefully guarded;

nonetheless, it goes up to the altar and touches the grains. One of the priests, whom they call the bouphonos ("ox-slayer"), kills the ox and immediately throws away the axe–for such is the custom–and flees swiftly away. Those present, pretending not to know who performed the deed, put the axe on trial. They perform these rites in the manner described. Next, they enter the temple known as the Parthenon.

1.24.5

★ Everything depicted on what are called the pediments relates entirely to the birth of Athena, while on the rear is the contest between Poseidon and Athena over the land. The statue itself is made from ivory and gold. In the middle of her helmet is placed the figure of a Sphinx–I shall write about what is said regarding the Sphinx when my account comes to Boeotia–and on each side of the helmet are fashioned griffins.

1.24.6

★ Concerning these griffins, Aristeas of Proconnesus in his verses says that they fight for the gold against the Arimaspi, who dwell beyond the Issedones; and that the gold guarded by the griffins is produced by the earth itself. He relates that all Arimaspi are men with one eye from birth, and that griffins are beasts resembling lions, but having the wings and beaks of eagles. Let thus much suffice regarding the griffins.

1.24.7

★ The statue of Athena stands upright, robed in a garment reaching down to her feet; upon her breast is a head of Medusa worked into ivory. The figure of Nike is about four cubits tall, and in Athena's hand is a spear. At her feet lies a shield, and, close to the spear, a serpent. This serpent may represent Erichthonius. Carved upon the pedestal of the statue is the Birth of Pandora. According to Hesiod and others, this Pandora was the first woman, and the race of women did not yet exist before Pandora came into being. Here I saw also only one statue of the emperor Hadrian, and near the entrance is Iphicrates, who accomplished many remarkable deeds.

1.24.8

★ Beyond the temple stands a bronze Apollo; they say this statue was crafted by Phidias, and they call the god Parnopius because he declared that he would drive locusts (parnopes) harming their land away from their territory. That he successfully drove them off is known, but they do not say precisely how. I myself know that locusts have already perished three times on Mount Sipylus, but not in the same manner each time: once they were driven off by a violent prevailing wind; another time a sudden intense heat sent by the god came upon them and destroyed them; and finally, some perished after being suddenly overtaken by sharp cold.

Chapter 25

1.25.1

Such, then, were the things I saw happening to them. On the Acropolis of the Athenians there stand ★ statues both of Pericles, son of Xanthippus, and of the elder Xanthippus himself, who fought in the sea-battle against the Persians off Mycale. The statue of Pericles, however, is set up separately at a different spot, but near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, who was, next after the Lesbian poetess Sappho, the first to compose mostly poems on love. His image is posed in such a way as to suggest a man singing in a state of drunkenness. Beside these figures are statues of women made by Deinomenes: Io, daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, daughter of Lycaon; these two have altogether similar stories, love from Zeus, wrath from Hera, and transformation–the one into a cow, Callisto into a bear.

1.25.2

Near the southern wall, Attalus dedicated statues, each approximately two cubits in height, showing ★ the legendary war against the Giants, who once inhabited Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene, as well as the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons, their deed at Marathon against the Persians, and the rout of the Gauls in Mysia. There also stands a statue of Olympiodorus, highly esteemed for the brilliance of his achievements and especially for his timing, since he inspired continual courage among men at a critical moment, when they had completely given way and had no hope remaining for the future.

1.25.3

For the disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of great trouble for all the Greeks, and especially reduced to slavery those who had shown indifference, as well as those who had sided with the Macedonians. Indeed, Philip captured most of the cities, and though he had made peace with the Athenians by word, he harmed them most of all in deeds, depriving them of the islands and ending their empire at sea. And the Athenians remained quiet for a time during the reigns of Philip and afterwards Alexander; but when Alexander died, the Macedonians chose Arrhidaeus as king, and all authority was entrusted to Antipater. At this point, it no longer seemed tolerable to the Athenians that Greece should forever remain subject to the Macedonians. Thus, they themselves were eager for war, and stirred others to join them in this enterprise.

1.25.4

The cities that participated were, from the Peloponnese, Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, Elis, Phlius, and Messene. Of those outside the Isthmus of Corinth, there were the Locrians, Phocians, Thessalians,

Carystus and the Acarnanians who were joined with the Aetolian league. But the Boeotians, occupying the Theban territory, left deserted by the Thebans and fearful that the Athenians might resettle Thebes against their will, neither joined the alliance nor, as far as their power allowed, ceased augmenting the strength of Macedonia.

1.25.5

The allies, arranged city by city, were led each by their own generals, and the Athenians had chosen Leosthenes to be commander-in-chief over all, both because of the prestige of his city and because he himself was considered experienced in war. Moreover, he had done a great service to all the Greeks: for when Alexander intended to settle in Persia the many Greeks who had served as mercenaries for Darius and the Persian satraps, Leosthenes preemptively brought them back to Europe by ship. At this very time also, after displaying brilliant achievements from which the Greeks had anticipated yet greater deeds, he died, causing universal despondency, and this loss contributed greatly toward their ultimate failure. Consequently, a Macedonian garrison entered Athens, occupying Munichia, and afterwards also the Peiraeus and the Long Walls.

1.25.6

Upon the death of Antipater, Olympias crossed over from Epirus, and for a time she held power, having killed Aridaeus. But soon afterward, being besieged closely by Cassander, she surrendered herself to the people. Cassander, having established himself as king–though my account will mention only those events concerning the Athenians–captured the fortification of Panactum in Attica and the island of Salamis, and arranged that the Athenians be ruled by a tyrant, Demetrius, the son of Phanostratus, who had already attained a reputation for wisdom. This man was removed from the tyranny by Demetrius, son of Antigonus, who was then youthful and well-disposed toward the Greeks through his ambition.

1.25.7

Cassander–for he harbored a fierce hatred toward the Athenians–on seeing Lachares again taking a prominent position in leadership among the people, befriended this man and persuaded him to assume tyranny, a tyranny that, among those known to us, proved exceptionally brutal toward men and most irreverent toward the divine. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, also had quarrels with the democracy of Athens by this time; nevertheless, he was responsible for overthrowing the tyranny of Lachares. As the city walls were being captured, Lachares escaped and fled to the Boeotians. Since he had removed golden shields from the Acropolis and stripped the very image of Athena of its detachable adornments, he was suspected of possessing a great abundance of wealth.

1.25.8

For these reasons, Lachares was killed by men from Coronea. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, after liberating the Athenians from tyranny, did not immediately restore to them the Piraeus following the flight of Lachares; later, after prevailing in war, he introduced a garrison into the city itself, fortifying the place called the Museum. Within the ancient enclosure, opposite the Acropolis, there is a hill called the Museum, where they say Musaeus used to sing and, when he died of old age, was buried. Later, a memorial was also erected there to a certain Syrian. At that time, Demetrius fortified it and held it.

Chapter 26

1.26.1

Some time afterward, a small group of men were inspired by the memory of their ancestors and by reflecting upon how greatly the prestige of Athens had declined; immediately, acting as they could under the circumstances, they chose Olympiodorus as their general. He led them against the Macedonians, taking with him older men and youths alike, believing that in war success depends more upon enthusiasm than upon brute strength. When the Macedonians marched out to meet them, he defeated them in battle and, after they had fled to the place called the Mouseion, captured it.

1.26.2

Thus was Athens freed from the Macedonians. Among the Athenians who, all alike, fought in a manner worthy of mention, Leokritos, the son of Protarchos, is said to have been especially bold in action. He was the first to climb upon the wall and the first to leap into the Mouseion. When he fell in battle, the Athenians honored him with various distinctions, and they dedicated his shield in the temple of Zeus Eleutherios, inscribing upon it the name of Leokritos and the record of his deed.

1.26.3

For Olympiodorus, aside from the accomplishments of recovering Piraeus and Munychia, the following exploit was his greatest deed: when the Macedonians made an incursion into Eleusis, Olympiodorus organized the Eleusinians and defeated the Macedonians. Even earlier than these events, when Cassander invaded Attica, Olympiodorus sailed to Aetolia, persuaded the Aetolians to provide aid, and secured this alliance which particularly enabled the Athenians to escape the war against Cassander. For these actions, Olympiodorus was honored at Athens on the Acropolis and in the Prytaneion, and in Eleusis an inscription commemorates him. The Phocians who occupied Elateia also dedicated a bronze statue of Olympiodorus at Delphi, because he had aided them when they revolted against Cassander.

1.26.4

Near the image of Olympiodorus there stands a bronze statue of Artemis, surnamed Leukophryene, ★ which the sons of Themistocles dedicated. For the Magnesians, whom Themistocles governed after receiving them from the Persian king, hold Artemis Leukophryene in honor. But I must proceed further in my account, dealing similarly with all the Greek memorials. Endoios was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daidalos, who followed Daidalos when he fled to Crete on account of the death of Kalos. Here stands a seated statue of Athena by him, bearing an inscription stating that Kallias dedicated it and Endoios made it.

1.26.5

There is also a building called the Erechtheion. Before the entrance stands an altar to Zeus Hypatos; here no living thing is sacrificed–they simply place cakes upon it, and they consider it unlawful to use wine. Upon entering, there are altars: first of Poseidon, on which, by an oracle, they also sacrifice to Erechtheus; then one to the hero Boutes, and a third to Hephaistos. On the walls are paintings relating to the lineage of the Boutadai; and–for the building is double–within there is a well containing seawater. This latter fact, indeed, is no great marvel, since inland peoples possess such wells–as, for instance, the inhabitants of Aphrodisias in Caria–but this particular well elicits mention because when the south wind blows, it produces the sound of waves. Moreover, in the rock there is the mark of a trident: these things are said to have appeared as testimonies for Poseidon in his dispute over possession of the land.

1.26.6

Sacred to Athena is not only the rest of the city but equally the whole region itself; for even those who, within their demes, have other established gods whom they worship, nonetheless hold Athena in honor no less than these. But the holiest thing of all, revered in common by many people for years before they came together from the demes, is the statue of Athena upon what is now the Acropolis, but in those days called simply "the city." The tradition about it is that it fell from heaven. Whether this account is true or otherwise, I do not propose to examine; but a lamp of gold dedicated to the goddess was made by Callimachus.

1.26.7

Having filled the lamp with oil, they await the very same day in the following year, and that oil suffices in the meanwhile, with the lamp burning continuously by day and night. It has a wick of Carpasian linen, which alone among linens is imperishable by fire. Above the lamp, reaching upward to the ceiling, is a bronze palm tree, which draws off the smoke. Callimachus, who made the lamp, although he fell short of supreme excellence in the primary art itself, yet was so remarkably skilled in craftmanship that he was the first who pierced stone and gave himself the title "refiner of art," or else adopted it from others who first coined it.

Chapter 27

1.27.1

In the temple of Polias there stands a wooden image of Hermes, said to have been dedicated by Cecrops, which is not clearly visible due to the myrtle boughs. Of the votive offerings that are worthy of mention, among the ancient ones there is a folding chair, the work of Daedalus. Among spoils taken from the Persians are the breastplate of Masistius, who commanded their cavalry at Plataea, and a dagger said to have belonged to Mardonius. I know that Masistius was killed by the Athenian horsemen. As for Mardonius, however, after fighting against the Lacedaemonians he fell by the hand of a Spartan; and I do not think that the Lacedaemonians would have allowed the Athenians to possess his dagger if they themselves had acquired it.

1.27.2

Concerning the olive tree, they have nothing else to say but that this was a testimony given by the goddess herself regarding the contest for the land. They also relate the following: when the Mede set fire to the city of the Athenians, the olive tree was burned down; however, on the very same day that it was burned, it sprouted anew, growing as much as two cubits. Adjacent to the temple of Athena stands the temple of Pandrosos. Pandrosos alone among her sisters was guiltless regarding the trust she had received.

1.27.3

But what caused me the greatest wonder–though it is not fully understandable to all–I will nevertheless describe as it occurs. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of Athena Polias, whom the Athenians call Arrephoroi. They remain for a certain period in service to the goddess, and when the festival arrives, they perform the following rite at night. They put upon their heads what is handed to them by the priestess of Athena, who gives without knowing herself exactly what it is she gives, nor do the maidens themselves comprehend what they carry. Within the city, not far away, is an enclosure sacred to the goddess known as Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there, descending through it, is a natural underground passage. By this way the maidens go down. Below they leave what they carried, and take up some other hidden object, bringing it back covered up. Afterward they are released and depart, and other maidens are chosen in their stead and taken up to the Acropolis.

1.27.4

Near the temple of Athena stands a small, elderly woman, about a cubit high, called the handmaid of Lysimache. There are also large bronze statues of men arrayed against each other for battle: one

is named Erechtheus, the other Eumolpus. Yet those among the Athenians who have knowledge of ancient tradition have not forgotten that it was in fact Immaradus, son of Eumolpus, who was slain by Erechtheus.

1.27.5

? Upon the pedestal are also statues of Theaenetus, who gave prophecies to Tolmides, and of Tolmides himself. It was Tolmides who, commanding the Athenian fleet, did great harm to various peoples and ravaged those regions of Peloponnesus inhabited along the coast. He burned the Lacedaemonians' dockyards at Gythium, captured Boeae from the Perioeci, and also took the island of Cythera. After making a landing in the territory of the Sicyonians, he encountered resistance while devastating the land; he defeated his opponents and pursued them closely up to the city itself. Later, upon returning to Athens, he sent out Athenian colonists to settle in Euboea and Naxos. Then he invaded Boeotia with an army and, having ravaged much of the land there and attacked Chaeroneia with siege, proceeded to the territory of Haliartus, where he fell in battle himself, and his entire army was decisively defeated. Such, I learned, were the actions of Tolmides. There are also statues of Athena here.

1.27.6

★? These sculptures are very ancient, and although none of them melted, they became darker in color and weaker to withstand blows. For these too were touched by flames when the Persian king captured a city deserted by all those of military age, since the Athenians had already embarked upon their ships. Among them is depicted a boar hunt, about which I do not know for sure whether it represents the Calydonian one. Also shown is Cycnus fighting against Heracles. This Cycnus, it is said, killed various other men, including Lycus the Thracian, competing in contests of single combat set before them, but near the river Peneius he himself was slain by Heracles.

1.27.7

★ Among the stories told in Troezen about Theseus, they say that when Heracles came to Troezen as a guest of Pittheus, he laid down the lion's skin during dinner. Then some of the Troezenian children entered the room, including Theseus, who was just reaching his seventh year. All the other boys, on seeing the skin, fled in fear, but Theseus, slipping out quietly and without great fright, seized an axe from one of the attendants and quickly returned toward it, believing the lion skin to be a living lion.

1.27.8

★ This is the first of the traditions held concerning him by the Troezenians. The one following it is that Aegeus placed sandals and a sword under a rock as tokens for his child, and sailed away to Athens; and that Theseus, when he reached his sixteenth year, pushed the rock aside, departed, and carried with him the deposit left by Aegeus. A representation of this story has been made on the Acropolis; all of it is of bronze alike, except the rock.

1.27.9

★? They also dedicated another deed of Theseus; and the account runs thus. In Crete a bull was ravaging both the main land and the region around the river Tethris. In olden times, indeed, wild beasts were more terrifying to men, such as the lion at Nemea, the serpent of Parnassus, and dragons in many places throughout Greece, and the boars around Calydon and Erymanthus, and at Crommyon in the territory of Corinth. Therefore it was said that some beasts appeared to torment the land, others were sacred to gods, and still others were sent forth as punishments upon mortals. And the Cretans say that

Poseidon sent this bull upon their land, because although Minos ruled the sea, he honored no other deity among the Greeks more than Poseidon himself.

1.27.10

They say that this bull was brought from Crete into the Peloponnese, and that capturing it was also ★ one of the so-called twelve labours of Heracles. When it was set free in the plain belonging to the Argives, it fled through the Isthmus of Corinth and made its way into Attica, finally reaching the territory of Marathon. There it slew whomever it encountered, including Androgeos, a son of Minos. Consequently Minos, sailing with his fleet against Athens–since he refused to accept that the Athenians were blameless in the death of Androgeos–caused them so much distress that it was ultimately agreed that they would send seven maidens and an equal number of youths to Crete, to feed the bull reputedly belonging to Minos that inhabited the Labyrinth in Knossos. Later, they say, Theseus drove the bull from Marathon to the Acropolis and sacrificed it to the goddess, and the offering belongs to the people of Marathon.

Chapter 28

1.28.1

Regarding Cylon, I have nothing certain to say about the precise reason why they dedicated a bronze statue of him, though he plotted to seize tyranny. However, my inference is based on these points: he was supremely handsome in appearance, gained considerable fame by winning the Olympic victory in the double foot-race, and married a daughter of Theagenes, who ruled as tyrant over Megara.

1.28.2

Apart from those which I have mentioned, there are two dedications in Athens made from the spoils of war: a bronze statue of Athena, taken as a tithe from the Medes who landed at Marathon (the work of Pheidias–although they say the battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs depicted on the shield and the rest of the carving were wrought by Mys, while Parrhasios, son of Euenor, drew these and other images for Mys). The point of this Athena's spear and the crest of her helmet can already be seen by those sailing in from Sounion. There is also placed there a bronze chariot, a tithe dedicated from the victory over the Boeotians and the Chalcidians in Euboea. In addition, two other dedications can be found: a statue of Pericles, son of Xanthippos, and a sculpture of Athena known as the Lemnian from those who dedicated it, the most worthy of Phidias' works to behold.

1.28.3

It is said that the Pelasgians, who once inhabited under the Acropolis, built the wall around it, except the portions constructed later by Cimon the son of Miltiades. They also say that Agrolas and Hyperbius were its builders. When I inquired who these men were, I was able to gather nothing else except that they were originally Sicilians who migrated to Acarnania.

1.28.4

When you descend, not to the lower city, but just beneath the Propylaia, there is a spring of water and, close by, a sanctuary to Apollo in a cave. It is believed that here Apollo lay with Kreousa, the daughter of Erechtheus. They say that Philippides was sent as a messenger to Sparta when the Persians had landed on the Greek mainland. Upon his return, he reported that the Lacedaemonians had delayed their departure, as it was their custom not to march out for battle until the moon was at its full. Philippides also related how Pan appeared to him on Mount Parthenion, declaring his goodwill toward the Athenians and promising to come and aid them in battle at Marathon. Thus, due to this announcement, the god Pan has been honored since that time.

1.28.5

★ Hence also the Areopagus. It is called the "Hill of Ares" because Ares was the first to be tried there; the story has also informed me of these matters, that he killed Halirrhothius and why he slew him. They say that afterwards Orestes too was tried here for the murder of his mother. There is an altar dedicated to Athena Areia, which Orestes set up after being acquitted. As for the rough stones upon which defendants and their accusers stand during their trial, these they have named Respectively the Stone of Insolence (Hybris) and the Stone of Shamelessness (Anaideia).

1.28.6

★ Nearhere is a sanctuary of goddesses whom the Athenians call Semnai ("Revered ones"), though Hesiod in his Theogony called them Erinyes ("Furies"). Aeschylus was the first to represent them with snakes entwined in their hair; but these statues here exhibit nothing terrifying, nor do any of the other subterranean gods depicted. Statues of Pluto, Hermes, and Earth also stand here. Here, sacrifices are offered by those who have been acquitted of murder at the Areopagus; but sacrifices are offered also, generally, by both foreigners and local citizens alike.

1.28.7

★ Within the enclosure there is also a tomb of Oedipus. In my careful investigation, I found that his bones had been brought from Thebes; for the account Sophocles composed about the death of Oedipus did not appear credible to me, since Homer did not allow me to accept it as true, having said that after the death of Mecisteus, Oedipus himself went to Thebes and participated in funeral games.

1.28.8

★ The Athenians also have other law courts, but they have not reached such renown. One is called Parabyston, another Trigonon: the first is in an obscure part of the city, and only a very few gather there, while the second derives its name from its shape. Batrachion ("Frog") and Phoinikion ("Red") have their names from their colors, and one of them continues to be known as such to this day. The largest court, where most gather, they call the Heliaia. There are additional courts dealing specifically with murderers; among these is one called "At the Palladion," established to judge those who have committed involuntary homicide. And no one disputes that Demophon was the first to stand trial in this place.

1.28.9

★ As to why there are differing accounts about it, various things are said. They relate that when Troy had fallen, Diomedes was sailing homeward with his fleet and that night had already come upon them as they reached the area off Phalerum. The Argives landed on hostile territory, believing mistakenly in the night that it was some other land, not Attica. Then, it is said, Demophon came out against them, equally ignorant that they, the men from the ships, were Argives; he killed some of them and carried off the Palladium. During this attack an Athenian was inadvertently knocked down and trampled to death by Demophon's horse. Because of this incident, Demophon was compelled to stand trial; some claim he was prosecuted by the relatives of the man trampled, while others say he was accused publicly by the Argives as a whole.

1.28.10

★ At the Delphinion, a trial is established for those claiming to have committed homicide with just cause– a plea such as Theseus successfully offered and thereby escaped penalty when he had slain Pallas and

his sons who rose against him. Before Theseus received acquittal for such acts, it had been customary for anyone who committed homicide either to flee universally or remain and suffer death in equal retribution. As for the procedure called the "trial in the Prytaneion," wherein judgments are passed upon iron implements and all other lifeless objects alike, I believe its origin to be as follows: during the reign of Erechtheus as king of the Athenians, the first ox was slain by a certain ox-killer at the altar of Zeus Polieus; the man, abandoning the axe there, fled from the country in exile, but the axe itself, when adjudicated, was immediately acquitted, and even up to the present it undergoes a judgment each year.

1.28.11

Indeed, it is said that even certain inanimate objects have spontaneously executed just vengeance against men; but of these the sword of Cambyses provided the finest and most celebrated example. There is a place by the sea in Piraeus known as Phreattys, where exiles, if another accusation is brought against them when they have gone abroad, make their defense from a ship to those listening from the shore. Tradition says Teucer first used such means to defend himself before Telamon, pleading that he had committed no wrong regarding the death of Ajax. Thus I have related these things for the benefit of those who take a serious interest in matters of judicial procedure.

Chapter 29

1.29.1

Near the Areopagus there is shown a ship constructed for the procession of the Panathenaia. Someone, I believe, has already made one even larger than this; but as for the ship at Delos, I know of none yet that has surpassed it, as it holds nine banks of rowers from the decks.

1.29.2

The Athenians also have sanctuaries of gods and heroes, and tombs of men, both outside the city in the demes and along the roads. Nearest of these is the Academy, once the estate of a private man, but in my time a gymnasium. As one descends into it, there is an enclosure sacred to Artemis, containing wooden images of Ariste ("Best") and Calliste ("Fairest"). In my opinion–and indeed the verses of Pamphos agree–these are epithets of Artemis; I am aware that another story is told about them, but I pass over it. There is also a small temple into which, on appointed days of every year, they bring the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

1.29.3

Such are the sanctuaries hereabouts; and among tombs, first is that of Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, a man who surpassed in every excellence all Athenians noteworthy both before and after him–my following brief statement will sufficiently confirm this assertion: for it was he who, first setting out from Thebes with only sixty men, overthrew the tyranny of those called the Thirty, and persuaded the Athenians, who were then afflicted with civil strife, to reconcile and abide by the agreements made. This tomb stands first; after it come those of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio.

1.29.4

There is also a monument for all Athenians who happened to fall both in naval engagements and land battles, except for those who fought at Marathon; for these have tombs at the place itself because of their bravery. The others lie along the road to the Academy, and on their graves stand pillars bearing the names and deme of each man. The first to be buried were those who, while once victorious in Thrace up to the region of Drabeskos, were unexpectedly attacked and killed by the Edonians.

1.29.5

It is said also that thunderbolts fell upon them. The commanders among others included Leagros, upon whom chiefly the command of the army was conferred, and Sophanes from Deceleia, who had

killed Eurybates of Argos, a victor in the pentathlon at the Nemean games, when Eurybates came to aid the Aeginetans. This army was the third which the Athenians had dispatched outside Greece. For the war against Priam and the Trojans had been undertaken jointly by all the Greeks, but the Athenians alone, first with Iolaus, waged a campaign against Sardinia, secondly sailed against what is now Ionia, and thirdly now made this expedition into Thrace.

1.29.6

In front of this tomb is a stele depicting horsemen engaged in battle. Their names are Melanopos and Makartatos, who fell facing the ranks of the Spartans and Boeotians, at the boundary of the Eleonian land adjacent to the Tanagraeans. Here also is the grave of Thessalian cavalrymen, who had come out of ancient friendship at the time when the Peloponnesians, under Archidamus, first invaded Attica with their army. Nearby are buried the Cretan archers; and further off are the tombs of the Athenians, including Cleisthenes, who created the tribal divisions still established today, and of the horsemen who fell when the Thessalians assisted them in the danger of battle.

1.29.7

Here also lie Cleonaeans who came into Attica alongside the Argives; the reason for this I shall explain when my narrative reaches the Argives. Also there is a tomb here for Athenians who fought against the Aeginetans before the Persian invasion. Indeed, there was a just decree of the people, inasmuch as the Athenians permitted even slaves publicly to be buried and their names inscribed upon a monument; this clearly shows they had distinguished themselves valiantly in battle alongside their masters. There are here also the names of other men who fought in various places and under different circumstances: among them are the most notable of those who went against Olynthus, and also Melesandros, who led ships into upper Caria sailing up the Maeander. Buried too are those who died there.

1.29.8

While Cassander was at war, the Athenians had also formed an alliance with the Argives at that time. They recount that their alliance with the Argives had come about in the following manner: after the god had shaken Sparta with an earthquake, the Helots revolted and withdrew to Ithome. On account of this revolt, the Spartans sent entreaties for help, both to others and to Athens. The Athenians dispatched chosen warriors under the leadership of Cimon, son of Miltiades; the Spartans, however, dismissed them out of mistrust.

1.29.9

To the Athenians, being subjected to such humiliation seemed intolerable. Accordingly, upon their return home, they made an alliance with the Argives, who had always been hostile towards the Lacedaemonians. Later, when the Athenians were about to engage in battle at Tanagra against the Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, the Argives came to aid the Athenians. At first, the Argives had the upper hand, but the onset of night obscured the clear outcome of the victory. On the next day, however, the Lacedaemonians prevailed, since the Thessalians betrayed the Athenians.

1.29.10

I was also moved to mention the following: Apollodoros, a leader of foreign auxiliaries, who was an Athenian by birth, sent out by Arsites, satrap of the Phrygia along the Hellespont, safeguarded for the Perinthians their city when Philip invaded Perinthian territory with his army. He is buried here, together with Euboulos, son of Spintharos, and certain other men who, though brave and honorable,

had no favorable fortune–some who rose against the tyrant Lachares, and others who planned to capture the Peiraeus when it was guarded by the Macedonians, but before they accomplished the deed they were betrayed by informers aware of the conspiracy, and thus perished.

1.29.11

Here lie also those who fell around Corinth. Here, as again at Leuctra, the deity made especially clear that those whom the Greeks call brave accomplish nothing without Fortune. For the Lacedaemonians at that time defeated Corinthians, Athenians, Argives, and Boeotians, yet later at Leuctra were seriously humbled by the Boeotians alone. After describing those who died at Corinth, the elegiac verses show that the same monument commemorates those who perished in Euboea and Chios as well, and state also that some perished at the remotest parts of the Asian mainland, others in Sicily.

1.29.12

Inscribed upon the monument are the names of all the generals except Nicias, as well as those of the Plataean soldiers who fought alongside the citizens. Nicias was excluded for the following reason–and here my account does not differ from that of Philistus, who claimed that Demosthenes arranged terms of surrender for all except himself and, when he was about to be captured, attempted suicide. Nicias, however, willingly surrendered himself. Because of this, Nicias was not recorded on the stele, having been judged a voluntary captive and a man ill-suited to warfare. ?

1.29.13

On another stele are commemorated also those who fought in Thrace, and at Megara, and those who fell when Alcibiades persuaded the Mantinean Arcadians and the Eleans to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, as well as those who conquered the Syracusans before the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily. Buried here, too, are the Athenians who fought the naval battle near the Hellespont; those who opposed the Macedonians at Chaeronea; those who marched to Amphipolis with Cleon; those who fell at Delium in the Tanagran territory; those whom Leosthenes led into Thessaly; those who sailed to Cyprus alongside Cimon; and finally, the men who together with Olympiodorus expelled the Macedonian garrison–the thirteen in number and no more.

1.29.14

The Athenians say that also when the Romans were waging war against a neighboring people, Athens sent them a small force; and that later, when a naval battle between the Romans and Carthaginians occurred, five Attic triremes arrived in support. Here, then, is the tomb of these men as well. The deeds of Tolmides and those who fell with him, and the manner in which they died, I have already recounted; and whoever wishes may learn that their graves lie along this road. Buried here too are those who, accompanying Cimon, achieved the great feat of winning victories both by land and by sea on the very same day.

1.29.15

Buried here also are Conon and Timotheus, father and son, who after Miltiades and Cimon were the second pair to achieve illustrious deeds. Here too lies Zeno, son of Mnaseas, Chrysippus from Soli, and Nicias, son of Nicomedes, the finest painter of animals in his day; and Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus; and the orators Ephialtes, who especially curtailed the privileges of the Areopagus, and Lycurgus, son of Lycophron.

1.29.16

Lycurgus secured for the public treasury a sum of money exceeding that collected by Pericles, son of Xanthippus, by 6,500 talents. He made for the goddess processional equipment and golden statues of Victory, and provided ornaments for a hundred maidens. For warfare he furnished arms and missiles, and prepared four hundred triremes equipped for naval battle. As for building projects, he completed the theatre, whose construction had been initiated by others before him; among the edifices built during his administration were the dockyard-arsenals at Piraeus and the gymnasium near the place called the Lyceum. All the articles made of silver and gold were plundered later by the tyrant Lachares, but the buildings themselves still survived even to my time.

Chapter 30

1.30.1

Before the entrance to the Academy there is an altar of Eros bearing an inscription stating that Charmus was the first Athenian who dedicated an offering to Eros. The altar within the city called that of Anteros, they say, was dedicated by the resident aliens, because an Athenian named Meles, having harshly treated a foreign man, Timagoras, who had fallen in love with him, ordered him, as a form of humiliation, to climb to the summit of a certain rock and throw himself off. But Timagoras, indeed, being entirely unafraid for his life and eager to gratify the youth in all things, complied immediately and hurled himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras had truly died, he was seized by such remorse that he himself jumped from the same rock, ending his life in the same manner. Subsequently, the resident aliens instituted the worship of the daemon Anteros, the avenger of Timagoras.

1.30.2

In the Academy there is an altar of Prometheus, and from this altar runners race toward the city, carrying burning torches. The contest involves running while maintaining the flame of one's torch alight. If one's torch is extinguished, victory no longer belongs to the first runner, but passes instead to the second; if even the second man's torch goes out, the winner is the third runner. But if all the torches become extinguished, victory belongs to no one. There also stands an altar of the Muses, another one dedicated to Hermes, and one within dedicated to Athena; the latter was made by Heracles. There is also an olive tree, said to be the second that appeared.

1.30.3

Not far from the Academy is the tomb of Plato, whom the god revealed beforehand would excel in philosophy. The manner of this revelation was as follows: Socrates, during the night preceding the day Plato was about to become his student, dreamed that a swan flew into his bosom. Now, the swan among birds has a reputation connected with music, because they say that across the river Eridanus, in the land of the Celts, there was once a musical man named Cycnus who became a king among the Ligurians, and after his death, by Apollo's will, he was transformed into a bird. As for myself, I am persuaded that indeed a musical man did rule over the Ligurians, but I find it difficult to believe that a human could become a bird.

1.30.4

In this part of the land appears the tower of Timon, who alone saw that no man is ever happy except by fleeing from other people. There is also shown a place called the Hill of Horses, where they say

Oedipus first arrived in Attica–although these events too differ from Homers poetry, yet nevertheless they tell them so–as well as an altar dedicated to Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippia, and a hero-shrine dedicated to Peirithous, Theseus, Oedipus and Adrastus. As for Poseidon's grove and temple, Antigonus invaded and set them on fire, having at other times also devastated the land of the Athenians with his army.

Chapter 31

1.31.1

The small demes of Attica, founded each according to chance, provide the following noteworthy places: the Halimousians have a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore. In Zoster, near the sea, there stands an altar dedicated to Athena, Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. They do not say that Leto actually bore her children here, but rather that she loosened her girdle at this spot, preparing herself for childbirth; hence the district received its name. At Prospalta too, there is a temple sacred to Kore and Demeter, and at Anagyrus a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods. Among the Kephalenses, the Dioskouroi receive special veneration, and the people here call them the "Great Gods."

1.31.2

In Prasiai there is a temple of Apollo. It is said that the first offerings from the Hyperboreans arrive here. The Hyperboreans hand them over first to the Arimaspians, the Arimaspians then pass them to the Issedones, and from them the Scythians carry them on to Sinope; from Sinope they are brought through Greece to Prasiai, and finally the Athenians convey them to Delos. These offerings are said to be hidden within stalks of wheat, and thus remain unknown to anyone. In Prasiai there is also the tomb of Erysichthon, who died during his return journey from Delos after performing the sacred embassy.

1.31.3

I have already related earlier that Cranaus, who ruled over the Athenians, was expelled by Amphictyon, despite being his kinsman by marriage. They say that, fleeing with his supporters to the deme Lamptrae, Cranaus there died and was buried. His tomb remains among the people of Lamptrae even to my days. As for Ion, the son of Xuthus–since he too lived among the Athenians and served as their commander in the war against the Eleusinians–his tomb is located in the region belonging to the deme of Potamoi.

1.31.4

Such then are the accounts thus related. Among the Phlyans there are altars dedicated to Apollo Dionysodotes and Artemis Selasphoros, and to Dionysus Anthios, and to the Ismenian Nymphs, and to Earth, whom they call the Great Goddess. Another temple contains altars of Demeter Anesidora, Zeus Ktesios, Athena Tithrone, Kore Protogene, and the goddesses known as the Semnai. At Myrrhinous there is a wooden cult-statue of Kolainis. The Athmonians worship Artemis Amarysia.

1.31.5

When I inquired about them, I found that the guides could offer no definite information at all, but my own conjecture is this: there is a place called Amarynthos in Euboea, and indeed the inhabitants there honor Amarysia. The Athenians themselves also celebrate the festival of Amarysia, no less prominently than the Euboeans. I suppose, therefore, that the place-name among the Athmonians originated from this. The site called Kolainis in the deme of Myrrhinous, I believe, derived its name from Kolainos. I have already stated in my account of the demes that many assert there were rulers prior even to the reign of Kekrops; and Kolainos, according to the people of Myrrhinous, was the name of a man who ruled before Kekrops began his kingship.

1.31.6

There is a deme called Acharnai; these people honor among the gods Apollo Agyieus and Heracles. There is also an altar of Athena Hygieia; and they call Athena by the name Hippia, and honor Dionysus with the titles Melpomenos (“the singer”) and Kissos (“ivy”), asserting that the ivy plant first appeared there.

Chapter 32

1.32.1

The Athenians have the mountains Pentelicon, where there are quarries, and Parnes, which provides hunting of wild boars and bears, and Hymettus, which produces pastures especially suitable for bees, except those of the Alazones. For among the Alazones there are bees accustomed to going freely to pasture along with other creatures, nor do the people keep them enclosed in hives. Rather, the bees perform their work at random throughout the land, and their labor comes naturally to them; from it, however, one cannot individually gather either wax or honey. Such is the nature of this matter. But the mountains belonging to the Athenians also contain statues of the gods–

1.32.2

On Pentelicus there is a sanctuary of Athena; upon Hymettus is a statue of Zeus Hymettius, and altars of Zeus Ombrius and Apollo Proopsios. On Parnes there is a bronze image of Zeus Parnethius and an altar of Zeus Semaleus. There is also another altar on Mount Parnes, on which sacrifices are offered at one time to Zeus Ombrius ("Rain-giver"), at another to Zeus Apemius ("Averter of harm"). Also, there is Mount Anchesmus, a hill not very large, and a statue of Zeus Anchesmius.

1.32.3

But before turning to a narrative about the islands, I will return once again to what concerns the demes. Marathon is a deme that lies equidistant from the city of Athens and from Carystus in Euboea. It was at this place in Attica that the barbarians landed, where they were defeated in battle and lost some ships during their retreat. In the plain there is a tomb of the Athenians, and upon it stand slabs inscribed with the names of the fallen, arranged according to their tribes. Another grave is for the Plataeans of Boeotia and for the slaves, because slaves fought then for the first time.

1.32.4

There is also a separate monument to one man, Miltiades son of Kimon, who later met his end, having ?
failed at Paros and subsequently being brought to trial by the Athenians for this reason. At this place, throughout every night, one may perceive the neighing of horses and the fighting of men. However, for someone deliberately seeking a clear view no good comes of it, yet for one who witnesses the events unintentionally and without anticipating, there is no wrath from the divine powers. The Marathonian people honor those who died in the battle by calling them heroes, as well as Marathon–from whom the district took its name–and Heracles, claiming that they were the first among Greeks to recognize Heracles as a god.

1.32.5

They say that during the battle there appeared a man of rustic appearance and equipment, who slew many of the barbarians with a plough, and after the encounter vanished altogether. When the Athenians inquired about him, the god gave no other response but commanded them to honor him as the hero Echetlaeus. A trophy of white stone has also been erected. The Athenians claim that they buried the Persians, as they believed it absolutely sacred to conceal human bodies in the earth; but I myself could not find their tomb, since there was neither any mound to be seen nor any other memorial; instead, the Athenians gathered their bodies and flung them into a pit at random.

1.32.6

In Marathon there is a spring called Macaria, and about it they tell the following story. When Heracles was fleeing from Eurystheus out of Tiryns, he settled with his friend Ceyx, who was the king of Trachis. But after the death of Heracles, Eurystheus demanded his children, and the Trachinian, claiming his own weakness and that Theseus would likely be strong enough to defend them, sent them forth to Athens. Upon their arrival as suppliants, the Peloponnesians then for the first time made war against the Athenians, because Theseus refused to give the children over to Eurystheus who demanded them. The Athenians say an oracle was delivered to them, that victory could not otherwise come unless one of Heracles children willingly died. At this point Macaria, the daughter of Heracles and Deianeira, slew herself willingly, thus giving victory to the Athenians in battle and naming the spring after herself.

1.32.7

In Marathon there is a lake that is marshy for the most part; into this lake the foreigners fell when fleeing, through ignorance of the roads, and it is said that this was largely responsible for the great slaughter among them. Beyond the lake are stone mangers of the horses of Artaphernes, and marks of his tent remain upon the rocks. A river flows out of the lake, near which it provides water suitable for cattle, but at its mouth flowing into the sea it becomes salty and is filled with sea fish. A little way further from the plain is the hill of Pan, where there is a cave worthy of seeing; the entrance to this cave is narrow, but once inside there are chambers and baths, and the place called the goat-shed of Pan–stones that mostly resemble goats.

Chapter 33

1.33.1

Marathon is distant from Brauron, the place where they say that Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, landed when fleeing from the Taurians, carrying with her the statue of Artemis. They say that she left the statue there, and afterwards came first to Athens and then went to Argos. Indeed, there is also at Brauron an ancient wooden image of Artemis; about the statue brought from the barbarians, and who those barbarians are according to my own opinion, I will explain in another account.

1.33.2

Rhamnus is at a distance of about sixty stades from Marathon for those traveling along the coast toward Oropus. The dwellings of the inhabitants lie along the shore, but a short distance inland up from the sea stands the sanctuary of Nemesis, a goddess who, above all others, is relentless toward humans guilty of hubris. It is said that it was the wrath of this goddess which fell upon the barbarians who landed at Marathon; for in their contempt, believing nothing could hinder them from capturing Athens, they brought with them Parian marble, intending to erect it into a trophy as if their victory had already been accomplished.

1.33.3

This stone was worked by Pheidias into a statue of Nemesis. Upon the head of the goddess rests a crown bearing figures of deer and small images of Nike; in her hands she holds in the one an apple branch and in the right hand a bowl, on which Ethiopians are carved. I myself could neither fully understand nor accept the explanation given by those who tried to interpret why these Ethiopians are depicted on the bowl. They say that the Ethiopians were made upon it because of the river Oceanus, asserting that the Ethiopians dwell by Oceanus, who they claim is the father of Nemesis.

1.33.4

For Iberians and Celts dwell by the ocean–not a river, but the outermost sea navigated by men–and Ocean contains the island of Britain. As for the Ethiopians living beyond Syene, those bordering the Red Sea's farthest shore are inhabited by the Ichthyophagi ("fish-eaters"), and the bay around which they live is named after these Ichthyophagi. The most just Ethiopians dwell in the city of Meroë and upon the land called the Ethiopian plain; these are the very people who show the Table of the Sun, and for them there is neither sea nor river other than the Nile itself.

1.33.5

There are also other Ethiopians neighboring the Mauri, extending as far as the Nasamones. For the Nasamones–whom Herodotus calls "Atlantes," and others, who claim knowledge of measuring the earth, name "Lixitae"–are the westernmost Libyans living near Mount Atlas. They sow nothing, but live from wild vines. Neither these Ethiopians nor the Nasamones have any river; for the water by Atlas, though providing a source for three distinct streams, does not form a true river from any of them, since the sand immediately swallows and hides all. Thus the Ethiopians there dwell near no river whatsoever, only by Ocean itself.

1.33.6

The water from the Atlas is muddy, and near the spring crocodiles were seen, no less than two cubits long; whenever humans approached, they plunged into the spring. Not a few people were convinced that this water, after reemerging from the sand, formed the Nile for the Egyptians. Mount Atlas is indeed so high that its peaks are said to touch the sky, and it is rendered inaccessible by water and trees which grow densely everywhere. On the side facing the Nasamones it is somewhat known, but on the side toward the ocean we know of no one who has ever sailed past it.

1.33.7

Let these things suffice for now. Neither this statue of Nemesis nor any other ancient one has wings; indeed, even the holiest wooden images among the Smyrnaeans have no wings. But those who came afterward–since the goddess is believed to appear mostly to lovers–put wings upon Nemesis for that very reason, as they do for Eros. Now I will proceed to describe clearly everything crafted upon the pedestal of the statue, but first clarifying this particular matter: the Greeks say Nemesis is the mother of Helen, though Leda gave her breast to rear and nourish the child. In agreement on the rest of the tale, these and all others hold Zeus–rather than Tyndareus–to be the father of Helen.

1.33.8

Having heard these stories, Pheidias depicted Helen being led by Leda to Nemesis; he also made Tyndareus and his children, and nearby a man standing with a horse named Hippeus. There are also Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Pyrrhus, son of Achilles–this Pyrrhus was the first husband of Helen's daughter Hermione. As for Orestes, because of his daring deed against his mother, he is left aside; still, Hermione stayed with him always and bore him a child. Next on the pedestal there is one named Epochus and another youth as well; about these two I have heard nothing else, but they are said to be brothers of Oinoe, after whom the deme is named.

Chapter 34

1.34.1

The Oropian territory that lies between Attica and Tanagra, originally belonging to Boeotia, is occupied in our time by the Athenians. They continually fought for it, but did not firmly obtain possession until Philip conquered Thebes and granted it to them. The city itself lies by the sea and offers nothing noteworthy for recording; but about twelve stades distant from the city is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus.

1.34.2

They say that when Amphiaraus was fleeing from Thebes, the earth opened up and received both him and his chariot; yet they affirm that this event occurred not at this spot, but at a place called Harma ("Chariot") on the road leading from Thebes to Chalcis. It was the Oropians who first established the worship of Amphiaraus as a god, but afterwards all the Greeks respected him as divine. I could also list other men of past times who have received divine honors among the Greeks and even have cities dedicated to them–for instance, Protesilaus at Elaeus in the Chersonese and Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boeotia. Likewise, the Oropians have a temple for Amphiaraus and a statue of him made from white stone.

1.34.3

The altar is divided into sections: one portion belongs to Heracles, Zeus, and Apollo Paeon; another is consecrated to heroes and to the wives of heroes; a third portion is for Hestia, Hermes, Amphiaraus, and the children of Amphiaraus. Alcmaeon, however, on account of his deed against Eriphyle, receives no honors either with Amphiaraus himself or with Amphilochus. A fourth part of the altar is dedicated to Aphrodite and Panacea, and also to Iaso, Hygieia and Athena Paeonia. The fifth portion is assigned to the Nymphs, Pan, and the rivers Achelous and Cephisus. Amphilochus, moreover, has an altar among the Athenians in their city, and at Mallus in Cilicia an oracle, which in my day was the most truthful of all.

1.34.4

Near the temple, the Oropians have a spring they call the Spring of Amphiaraus. They neither cast any sacrifices into it nor deem it proper to use its water for purification or cleansing purposes. When someone has been cured of a sickness in accordance with an oracle, it is customary for him to throw silver coins and stamped gold into the spring; for tradition says that here Amphiaraus ascended from the earth and became a god. Iophon of Knossos, one of the interpreters, delivered oracles in hexameter verses, claiming that Amphiaraus had prophesied to the Argives who marched upon Thebes. These

verses possessed an extraordinary attraction for the crowds. Apart from certain legendary persons said to have been inspired by Apollo himself in ancient times, none of the seers composed oracles; rather, they excelled at interpreting dreams, understanding the flight of birds, and examining the entrails of sacrificial animals.

I.34.5

★ I think Amphiaraus is especially skilled in interpreting dreams; clearly so, since the belief in his divinity was established largely through divination by dreams. The people hold that whoever comes to Amphiaraus seeking an oracle must first undergo purification. It is customary for purification rites to sacrifice to the god, offering not only to Amphiaraus himself but also to all the deities whose names appear on the altar. After these preliminary rites, they sacrifice a ram, spread out its skin, and lie down upon it, sleeping there in expectation of a prophetic dream.

Chapter 35

1.35.1

Not far from Attica lie certain islands belonging to the Athenians, one of which is called Patroclus' Island–I have already described what pertains to this one. Another lies off Attica beyond Sunium, on the left as you sail past. They say that after the capture of Ilium, Helen landed upon this island, and for this reason the island bears the name Helen.

1.35.2

Salamis lies opposite Eleusis and extends as far as Megaris. It is said that the island was first named by Cychreus after his mother Salamis, daughter of Asopus, and later inhabited by the Aeginetans who came with Telamon. Further, tradition states that Philaeus, son of Eurysaces, son of Ajax, handed the island over to the Athenians and became an Athenian citizen himself. Many years later, the Athenians expelled the Salaminians from the island, having convicted them of willful negligence in the war against Cassander, charging them with having voluntarily yielded the greater part of their city to the Macedonians. They also sentenced to death Aeschetades, who was then chosen general for Salamis, and swore an everlasting oath to remember the treachery of the Salaminians.

1.35.3

There are still to be seen ruins of the marketplace, as well as a temple of Ajax, with its statue made of ebony wood. Ajax continues even now to receive honors from the Athenians, both he himself and Eurysaces; indeed there is also an altar dedicated to Eurysaces at Athens. On Salamis they point out a stone not far from the harbor, upon which, they say, Telamon sat watching his sons sailing away towards Aulis to join the common expedition of the Greeks.

1.35.4

The inhabitants around Salamis relate that upon the death of Ajax, the flower first appeared on their land; it is white, tinged slightly with crimson, smaller than a lily, as are its leaves. On it too, as with the hyacinth, letters appear. Regarding the judgment made over the arms, I have heard the account given by those Aeolians who later inhabited Ilium: they say that Odysseus, after being shipwrecked, had his weapons washed ashore at the tomb of Ajax. A certain Mysian, however, spoke concerning the greatness of Ajax's stature.

1.35.5

? He said that the sea had washed up against the tomb on the side facing the coast, making access into the tomb itself not difficult; and he gave me a point from which to judge the size of the dead man's body. He claimed that the kneecaps (called by doctors "myloi") were about the size of the discus of a boy-competitor in the pentathlon. Now, for my part, having seen those among the Celts who dwell furthest away, bordering that wilderness of frost and called the Cabares, I was not astonished at their great stature, since their dead are no different at all from the Egyptians in this regard. But whatever else seemed to me worthy of note I will describe.

1.35.6

★ Protophanes, among the citizens of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, gained victory at Olympia in both the pankration and wrestling on the same day. Robbers, believing perhaps that they could profit in some way, broke into his tomb; however, people soon entered the tomb after these robbers and saw clearly that the dead man's ribs were not separated, but rather joined together continuously from the shoulders down to the lowest ribs, which are called "false" by physicians.

To the Milesians, opposite their city, lies an island called Lade; a group of smaller islets are detached from it. One of these islands they call Asterius, and they say that Asterius was buried upon it. This Asterius, they say, was the son of Anax, and Anax himself was a son of Earth. The dead body measures no less than ten cubits in length.

1.35.7

★ But what struck me as remarkable is this: there is a small city called Temenothyrae in Upper Lydia. Here, when a hillside had collapsed due to heavy rainfall, bones were exposed, appearing in their form plainly human; however, their size was so extraordinary that no one could reasonably consider them human. Immediately among the common people spread the story that the remains belonged to Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, and that his throne was there as well. Indeed, there is a throne carved into a rocky projection of the mountain in the shape suitable for a man. Moreover, they named a torrent nearby the Ocean, and some even claimed that men, while ploughing their fields, encountered horns of cattle, since tradition holds that Geryon reared cattle of surpassing excellence.

1.35.8

★ When, however, objecting to them, I pointed out that Geryon was in Gadeira, where no tomb existed, but only a tree taking various forms, the Lydian interpreters related here the real tradition: that the corpse belonged rather to Hyllus, and that Hyllus was a son of Earth, and from him the river was named. They further claimed that, because of his former stay with Omphale, Heracles later named his own son Hyllus after this river.

Chapter 36

1.36.1

On Salamis–for I now return to the subject at hand–there is, in one place, a sanctuary of Artemis, ★
and nearby stands the trophy set up after the victory obtained for the Greeks through the agency of Themistocles son of Neocles; also there is a shrine of Cychreus. It is said that when the Athenians were fighting the Persians at sea, a serpent appeared among the ships, concerning which the god declared to the Athenians through an oracle that this serpent was the hero Cychreus.

1.36.2

There is an island before Salamis called Psyttaleia; they say about four hundred of the barbarians disembarked onto it, and when the fleet of Xerxes was defeated, these men, too, perished, as the Greeks crossed over afterward to Psyttaleia. On the island there is a statue, having no artistic excellence, merely a roughly hewn image of Pan, made in the simplest possible fashion.

1.36.3

On the road leading from Athens to Eleusis, which the Athenians call the Sacred Way, there is a tomb dedicated to Anthemokritos. Against him the Megarians committed a most unholy deed, for when he came as a herald, urging them not to cultivate any longer the disputed land, they slew Anthemokritos. Because of this crime, divine anger persists against them even to the present day–anger which even Emperor Hadrian, who was otherwise alone among benefactors able to enrich all the Greeks, could not succeed in relieving.

1.36.4

Next to the stele of Anthemokritos is the tomb of Molottos, who was deemed worthy by the Athenians ★
of serving as general, when they crossed over into Euboea to aid Plutarchos. There is also a place called Skiros, named thus for the following reason: When the Eleusinians were at war with Erechtheus, a seer named Skiros arrived from Dodona, and it was he who established the ancient shrine of Athena Skiras at Phaleron. After he had fallen in battle, the Eleusinians buried him next to a seasonal river; the area as well as the river took their name from this hero.

1.36.5

Nearby is made the tomb of Kephisodoros, constructed by decree of the people, who in particular opposed Philip, son of Demetrios, king of the Macedonians. Kephisodoros brought as allies to assist the

Athenians the kings Attalos the Mysian and Ptolemy the Egyptian, and the autonomous peoples–the Aetolians and from among the islanders, the Rhodians and the Cretans.

1.36.6

But as aid from Egypt, Mysia, and Crete came mostly too late, and the Rhodians, powerful only in ships, could offer little effective help against Macedonian infantry, Kephisodoros sailed to Italy with other Athenians and pleaded with the Romans for protection. The Romans sent them a force and a general, who weakened Philip and the Macedonians to such an extent that later Perseus, the son of Philip, lost his kingdom and himself was taken prisoner and brought captive to Italy. This was Philip, the son of Demetrios; for Demetrios was the first of this house who gained rule over Macedon, having killed Alexander, son of Kassander, as I mentioned earlier in my narrative.

Chapter 37

1.37.1

After the tomb of Kephisodoros is buried Heliodoros of Halis, whose portrait can also be seen in the great temple of Athena. There lies also Themistokles, son of Poliarchos, third in descent from that Themistokles who engaged in a naval battle against Xerxes and the Medes. Among his descendants below him, I shall pass over all but Akestios. Akestios had a daughter of Xenokles, who was the son of Sophokles, and he the son of Leon; from him backward to the fourth ancestor, Leon, all had held the office of torch-bearer. During her lifetime, she first saw her brother Sophokles as torch-bearer, then after him her husband Themistokles, and upon his death, her son Theophrastos.

1.37.2

They say that such was the fate which befell her there. But advancing a little further on, there is a ★ sanctuary dedicated to the hero Lacius, and a township that takes its name Laciadae from him. There is also the tomb of Nicocles of Tarentum, who reached the highest renown among all the citharodes. Additionally, there is an altar to Zephyrus and a sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter. Together with them, Athena and Poseidon also receive honors here. At this very place, they say, Phytalus once welcomed Demeter into his house, and the goddess, in return for his hospitality, gave him the fig tree. A confirmation of my account is the inscription on the tomb of Phytalus:

"Here the lord and hero Phytalus once welcomed holy Demeter, when first she revealed the fruit of autumn, that sacred fig tree, as mortals call it; whence Phytalus descendants forever enjoy honor."

1.37.3

Before crossing the Cephisus is the tomb of Theodorus, who excelled beyond all others of his time in ★ the performing of tragedy. By the river stand statues: one of Mnesimache, and another, dedicated as an offering, depicting a boy having his hair cut in honor of the Cephisus. That this custom of haircutting was established from ancient times among all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of Homer, who relates how Peleus vowed to cut Achilles hair for the river Spercheius, should his son return safely from Troy.

1.37.4

After crossing the Cephisus there is an ancient altar of Zeus Meilichios. It was upon this altar that ★ Theseus received purification from the descendants of Phytalos, having slain robbers and other men, including Sinis, who was related by blood to Pittheus. Nearby are tombs: one of Theodektes of Phaselis, and another of Mnesitheus. They say Mnesitheus was a skilled physician who dedicated statues, among

which is represented Iacchos. Beside the road stands a small temple called that of Kyamites. I cannot clearly say whether this figure was the first who sowed beans or merely a hero given this epithet, since they are unable to attribute to Demeter the invention of beans. Whoever has seen the rites at Eleusis or read the so-called Orphic texts will understand what I am saying.

1.37.5

? Of the tombs, those most noteworthy for their size and splendor, one belongs to a man from Rhodes who had settled in Athens; the other was constructed by Harpalus of Macedon. This Harpalus, having fled from Alexander out of Asia, crossed with ships into Europe, and arriving among the Athenians, he was captured by them. After bribing both others and friends of Alexander with money, he escaped. Previously he had married a woman named Pythionice–I do not know her exact origin–but she had been a courtesan in Athens and Corinth. He so greatly loved her that after her death he erected for her a tomb surpassing all ancient tombs among the Greeks in worthiness of seeing.

1.37.6

★ There is a temple in which stand statues of Demeter and her daughter, as well as Athena and Apollo; originally, however, only the statue of Apollo was made. For they say that Cephalus, son of Deion, who had participated with Amphitryon in expelling the Teleboans, was the first to settle the island now called Cephallenia after him. He had moved to Thebes for a time, exiled from Athens because of the murder of his wife Procris. Later, in the tenth generation after him, Chalcinus and Daetus, descendants of Cephalus, sailed to Delphi and asked the god for permission to return to Athens.

1.37.7

★ And he instructed them to sacrifice first to Apollo in that part of Attica where they should see a trireme running across the land. When they had come to the mountain called Poikilon, a serpent appeared before them hastening into its hole. In this place they offered sacrifice to Apollo, and later, upon their arrival in the city, the Athenians made them citizens. Beyond this there is a temple of Aphrodite, and in front of it stands a wall of unworked stones, worthy to be seen.

Chapter 38

1.38.1

The streams called Rheitoi provide only a current of rivers, since their water is actually seawater. Indeed, one might be persuaded also that they flow underground from the Euripus channel at Chalkis, emptying into a deeper sea. The Rheitoi are said to be sacred to Kore and Demeter, and only the priests are permitted to catch the fish from them. As I learn, these Rheitoi streams, in ancient times, formed the boundary between the territory of Eleusis and the rest of Athens, and the first settlement beyond the Rheitoi was inhabited...

1.38.2

Krokon, where even now the place of Krokon is still called the King's House. The Athenians say that this Krokon married Saisara, daughter of Keleos; however, not all Athenians say this, only those belonging to the deme of Skambonidae. I myself was unable to find the tomb of Krokon, but the tomb of Eumolpos was pointed out as identical by both the Eleusinians and the Athenians. They say that this Eumolpos came from Thrace and was the son of Poseidon and Chione; and Chione, according to them, was the daughter of the wind-god Boreas and Oreithyia. Homer did not compose anything concerning his genealogy, but in his verses he does call Eumolpos "lordly."

1.38.3

When the Eleusinians engaged in battle with the Athenians, Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, was slain, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus, also fell. Following these events they made peace under conditions whereby the Eleusinians, while in all other matters subject to Athens, would celebrate their mysteries independently. Concerning the sacred rites of the two goddesses, these were conducted by Eumolpus and the daughters of Celeus, whom both Pamphos and Homer alike call Diogeneia, Pammerope, and the third, Saesara. After the death of Eumolpus, his youngest son, Ceryx, was left behind, though the Ceryces themselves assert that he was not a son of Eumolpus but rather the child of Hermes and Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops.

1.38.4

There is also a hero-shrine of Hippothoön, from whom the tribe takes its name, and beside it one of Zarex. They say that he learned music from Apollo, but I myself am inclined to think that he was a foreigner who came to this land, and was originally a Laconian, and that the town called Zarex by the sea in Laconia was named after him. However, if there is any native Attic hero named Zarex, I have nothing to say concerning him.

1.38.5

★ Near Eleusis the Kephisos river flows with a stronger current than before, and beside it they have a place called Erineos, for they say that here Pluto descended when he carried off the Maiden. Near this Kephisos Theseus slew a robber named Polypemon, known also by the surname Prokrustes.

1.38.6

★ The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemos, as well as temples of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Patr. There is also a well called Kallichoron ("Beautiful Dancing"), where the women of Eleusis first gathered in a dance and sang hymns to the goddess. They say that the Rharian plain was the first land ever sown, and that it first produced crops. For this reason, it has become customary for them to use barley from this plain and to make cakes from it for their sacrifices. Here is shown the threshing-floor called the Haloa of Triptolemos and his altar.

1.38.7

★ Concerning what lies within the wall of the sanctuary, a dream forbade me to write of it, and certainly those who are not initiated are forbidden from seeing many things there; clearly, then, it is not permitted for them even to hear about these things. Regarding Eleusis, the hero from whom the city derives its name, some say he was the son of Hermes and Daeira, a daughter of Oceanus; according to others, it has been invented that Ogygus was the father of Eleusis. For the ancients, lacking poetic accounts, permitted themselves liberty in fashioning various stories, particularly concerning the lineage of heroes.

1.38.8

After leaving Eleusis and turning towards the land of the Boeotians, Plataean territory borders the Athenians. For previously the boundaries of Attica lay next to the Eleutherians; but after these people became allies of the Athenians, Mount Cithaeron came to mark the boundary with Boeotia. The Eleutherians joined the Athenians not through compulsion of war, but because they desired Athenian citizenship and felt hatred toward the Thebans. In this plain there is a temple of Dionysus, and it was from here that the ancient wooden image of the god was carried away to Athens; the statue which exists in Eleutherae in our time is an imitation of that original.

1.38.9

★ A little further on there is a cave, not large, and beside it a spring of cold water. It is said that Antiope, when she had given birth, placed her children in this cave, and that at the spring the shepherd, having found the infants, first washed them after releasing them from their swaddling clothes. As for Eleutherae, some of the city wall still remains, as well as ruins of houses. From these it is clear that this city was built slightly above the plain, towards Mount Cithaeron.

Chapter 39

1.39.1

Another road leads from Eleusis toward Megara. As one follows this road there is a well called Anthion. ★ Pamphos recorded that by this well Demeter sat, after her daughter's abduction, disguised in the form of an old woman. It was from this place, he says, that the daughters of Celeus brought her as though she were an Argive woman to their mother, and thus persuaded Metaneira to entrust to her the rearing of her child.

1.39.2

A short distance away from the well is a sanctuary of Metaneira, and beyond it are the tombs of those ★ who marched against Thebes. For Creon, who at that time ruled in Thebes as guardian for Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, did not allow their relatives to recover the bodies and bury them. When Adrastus entreated Theseus for help, a battle took place between Athenians and Boeotians; after winning this battle, Theseus brought the bodies to Eleusis and buried them there. The Thebans, however, say that they willingly allowed the retrieval of the bodies and deny that any battle was fought.

1.39.3

After the tombs of the Argives is the memorial of Alope, who, it is said, bore Hippothoon to Poseidon, ★ and died there at the hands of her father Cercyon. Cercyon is said also in other ways to have been unjust toward strangers, compelling them to wrestle even if they did not wish it. Thus, this place was called even in my time the wrestling-ground of Cercyon, which lies not far from Alope's tomb. It is said that Cercyon killed those who entered the wrestling-match with him, except Theseus, who overcame him chiefly by skill. Indeed, Theseus was the first to discover the art of wrestling, and from him arose afterward the teaching of wrestling; previously, men relied only upon their size and strength in contests. These things, in my judgment, were very well known to the Athenians, both through reports and their own observations. From the beginning of my narrative onward, however, my account set apart those points suitable for inclusion in my description.

1.39.4

Bordering close upon Eleusis is the region called Megaris. In earlier times this also belonged to the ★ Athenians, for King Pylas relinquished it to Pandion. As evidence I point both to Pandion's tomb in that land and to Nisus himself, who yielded rule over Athens to Aegeus, the eldest of the whole family, but retained for himself Megara and the territory as far as Corinth, ruling as king. Indeed, even now the port Nisaea, which serves the Megarians, bears his name. Later, in the reign of Codrus, the

Peloponnesians attacked Athens; and when they returned home without having achieved any notable success, they captured Megara from the Athenians and gave it to the Corinthians and other allies who wished to settle there.

1.39.5

The Megarians, having thus altered their customs and dialect, became Dorians; they say their city was named after Car, the son of Phoroneus, who once ruled in this land. At that time, they claim, rites of Demeter were first established by them, and at that same period, the inhabitants began to call their city Megara. Thus the Megarians themselves tell the story of their origins. The Boeotians, however, assert at Onchestus that Megareus, a son of Poseidon who lived there, came to Nisos with a Boeotian army to aid him in his war against Minos; Megareus fell in battle and was buried there, and from him the city, previously called Nisa, received the name Megara.

1.39.6

The Megarians say that twelve generations after Car, the son of Phoroneus, Lelex came from Egypt and became king, and that the people were named Leleges from him during his rule. Lelex had a son named Cleson, and from Cleson was born Pylas, and from Pylas, Sciron. This Sciron married the daughter of Pandion, and afterwards entered into a dispute with Nisus, son of Pandion, regarding the kingdom. Aeacus arbitrated between them, awarding the kingship to Nisus and his descendants, but assigning the military command to Sciron. Megareus, who married Iphinoë, the daughter of Nisus, succeeded him on the throne, according to tradition. However, the Megarians refuse to acknowledge the Cretan war and the capture of the city which took place during the reign of Nisus.

Chapter 40

1.40.1

There is in the city a fountain, built for them by Theagenes, whom I previously mentioned as having ★
married his daughter to Cylon the Athenian. This Theagenes, while ruling as a tyrant, constructed the fountain of such great size and splendour, and with such numerous pillars, that it is worthy of being seen. Into it flows water called by the name of the nymphs Sithnides. The Megarians say that these Sithnian nymphs are local to their land, and that Zeus once lay with one of their daughters, and that Megaros, the child born of Zeus and this nymph, escaped the floods in the age of Deucalion by fleeing to the heights of Geraneia. At that time, the mountain did not yet have that name, but–it is said–he was guided by the cries of cranes flying above, and thus from these birds it came to be named Geraneia.

1.40.2

Not far from this spring there stands an ancient sanctuary. In my day there stand in it statues of Roman emperors, and also there is set up a bronze image of Artemis, called "Soteira" (Savior). It is said that certain men from the army of Mardonius who had made incursions into the Megarid were attempting to retreat back toward Mardonius at Thebes, but through Artemis' will night overtook them as they went, and losing their way, they turned instead into the mountainous regions. As they tried to find out if a hostile army was nearby, they released arrows, and when a nearby rock, upon being struck, emitted a groaning noise, they shot again at it with even greater zeal.

1.40.3

They believe that, in their eagerness, they finally exhausted their arrows by shooting them against their enemies. Daylight was already breaking, and the Megarians advanced upon them. Since armored hoplites fought against unarmed men who no longer even had sufficient supply of missiles, most of these were slain. In consequence of this event, they erected a statue of Artemis bearing the name "Saviour." In this place also stand statues of the deities called "the Twelve Gods," said to be works of Praxiteles; but the statue of Artemis herself was made by Strongylion.

1.40.4

After this, if you enter the precinct of Zeus, called the Olympieion, there is a temple worth seeing. However, the statue of Zeus was never completed, as the Peloponnesian War had broken out against the Athenians. During this war, the Athenians with their fleet and army annually ravaged the Megarians' territory, thereby harming their public affairs and reducing the inhabitants' private households to extreme weakness. Of this statue of Zeus, the face is made of ivory and gold, but the rest is of clay and

plaster. They say the creator of the statue was a local man named Theokosmos, assisted by Phidias. Above the head of Zeus stand the Horae ("Hours") and the Moirai ("Fates"). It is obvious to everyone that this god alone obeys destiny, and that he allots the appropriate seasons. Behind the temple lie pieces of partially-worked wood; with these, Theokosmos intended to complete the statue of Zeus, later adorning it with ivory and gold.

1.40.5

? Within the temple itself is dedicated a bronze ram of a trireme. They say that they captured this ship during a naval battle off Salamis, when fighting against the Athenians. Even the Athenians agree that for a certain period the Megarians held the island. Later, according to the Athenians, Solon composed elegiac verses urging them to take it back; a dispute arose from these events, and after prevailing in war, the Athenians occupied Salamis again. The Megarians, however, claim on their part that some exiled men from Megara, called Dorycleans, went to the Athenian cleruchs stationed at Salamis and betrayed the island to Athens.

1.40.6

★? After the precinct of Zeus, on ascending to the acropolis which from Car, the son of Phoroneus, is called Caria even to our day, there is a temple of Dionysus Nyctelius. There is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite Epistrophia, an oracle called the Oracle of Night, and a temple of Zeus Conius which has no roof. The statue of Asclepius and that of Hygieia there were both made by Bryaxis. Here also is the building called the Megaron of Demeter; it is said that Car built it when he ruled as king.

Chapter 41

1.41.1

As you descend from the acropolis, on the side facing north, there is a tomb of Alcmene near the temple of Olympian Zeus. They say that while she was traveling from Argos to Thebes, Alcmene died on the way at Megara. A dispute then arose among the Heracleidae: some wanted to carry her body back to Argos, while others wished to transport it to Thebes. The sons of Heracles already buried at Megara had a tomb there, while Amphitryon's resting place was in Thebes. However, the god at Delphi gave an oracle that it was better for them to bury Alcmene at Megara.

1.41.2

From there, our local guide conducted us to a place which he claimed is called Rous ("Stream"), because once a flow of water descended this way from the mountains above the city. Theagenes, who at that time was tyrant, diverted the water in another direction and established there an altar to Acheloos. Near to it is the tomb of Hyllos, the son of Herakles, who fought in single combat against Echemos, an Arcadian, son of Aeropos. Who this Echemos was that killed Hyllos I shall explain elsewhere, but Hyllos too is buried at Megara. This expedition of the Heracleidae against the Peloponnese in the reign of Orestes might rightly be called their first campaign.

1.41.3

Not far from the tomb of Hyllus is a temple dedicated to Isis, and beside it stands another temple sacred to Apollo and Artemis. Alcathous, they say, built it after killing the lion known as the "Cithaeronian lion." By this lion many had been destroyed, among them Euippus, the son of their king Megareus. An elder son named Timalcus had previously been slain by Theseus, when campaigning together with the Dioscuri against Aphidna. Thus Megareus promised his daughter in marriage and succession to his kingdom to the man who should kill the Cithaeronian lion. It was for these reasons that Alcathous, son of Pelops, undertook the fight against the beast, prevailed against it, and later, when he became king, erected this sacred place, naming Artemis "Agrotera" (the Huntress) and Apollo "Agraeus" (the Hunter).

1.41.4

They say these things happened thus; but while I wish to record what is agreed upon by the Megarians, I cannot find myself believing all their claims entirely. Yet I am convinced that a lion was indeed slain by Alcathous on Mount Cithaeron. But regarding Timalcus, son of Megareus–who ever wrote that he came to Aphidna in company with the Dioscuri? And how could it be imagined that, upon arriving,

he was killed by Theseus, when even Alcman, in composing a hymn for the Dioscuri on how they captured Athens and took captive Theseuss mother, nevertheless says that Theseus himself was absent?

1.41.5

Pindar relates these matters similarly, stating also that Theseus, wishing to be related to the Dioscuri by marriage, carried off Helen and kept watch over her until he departed to join Peirithous in his celebrated bridal expedition. Yet whoever devised this genealogy evidently relied greatly upon the simplicity of the Megarians, if indeed Theseus were a descendant of Pelops. Actually the Megarians, though aware of the true account, conceal it, unwilling to admit that their city fell to hostile capture during the rule of Nisus, and preferring instead the story of its succession passing legitimately from Nisus to his son-in-law Megareus, and subsequently from Megareus to Alcathous.

1.41.6

It appears that after Nisus died and affairs in Megara had been ruined in his time, Alcathous arrived from Elis at this critical moment. As evidence for this, he built the city wall anew, since the original fortification had been demolished by the Cretans. Regarding Alcathous and the lion–whether he killed it on Mount Cithaeron or elsewhere–he founded a temple of Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraeus; let this much stand as the remembrance of it. Descending from this sanctuary is the hero shrine of Pandion. That Pandion was buried on the crag called "Athena Aethyia," my account has already shown; among the Megarians he is also honored within the city itself.

1.41.7

Near the hero-shrine of Pandion is the tomb of Hippolyte. I shall also mention the stories concerning her as told by the Megarians. When the Amazons made war upon the Athenians because of Antiope, they were defeated by Theseus. While the greater number of them perished fighting, Hippolyte, being Antiope's sister and at that time the leader of the women, fled to Megara with a few companions. However, having suffered such calamities with her army, she grieved excessively over their misfortune and was even more deeply troubled by anxiety concerning her safe return home to Themiscyra. In her distress, she died of sorrow. They buried her after her death, and her tomb is shaped like an Amazonian shield.

1.41.8

Not far from here is the tomb of Tereus, the husband of Procne, daughter of Pandion. According to the Megarians, Tereus ruled around the region called Pagae in Megaris, but I myself hold, supported by evidence still available today, that he governed Daulis, a territory situated beyond Chaeronea. For in ancient times most of the regions now called Hellas were occupied by barbarians. After Tereus had committed that deed against Philomela, and subsequently the women had done what they did to Itys, he was unable to capture them.

1.41.9

And he ended his life by his own hand at Megara. Immediately they raised a tomb for him and offer annual sacrifices there, using small pebbles instead of grains during the ritual. They also say the hoopoe bird appeared there for the first time. The women, however, arrived at Athens, but while lamenting their sufferings and deeds, perished from weeping. Because of this, the tale arose of their transformation

into the nightingale and the swallow, possibly since these birds likewise sing songs of pity and mournful lamentation.

Chapter 42

1.42.1

The Megarians have another acropolis named from Alcathous. As you ascend to this acropolis, on your right is the tomb of Megareus, who came as an ally to them from Onchestus during the war against the Cretans. There is also shown here a hearth of gods called Prodomeis ("Builders Beforehand"), first sacrificed to, they say, by Alcathous, when he was about to begin the construction of the wall.

1.42.2

Near this hearth there lies a stone, on which, they say, Apollo laid down his lyre while assisting Alcathous in building the wall. The following also demonstrates to me that the Megarians cooperated with the Athenians: for it appears that Alcathous' daughter Periboea along with Theseus was sent as part of the tribute to Crete. When Alcathous was building the wall, according to the Megarians, Apollo aided him in the task and set his lyre upon the stone. If anyone should strike this stone with a pebble, it emits a ringing sound identical to that of a lyre struck.

1.42.3

This too offered me matter for amazement, but by far the most astonishing thing was the colossus of the Egyptians. In Egyptian Thebes, after crossing the Nile to the so-called Pipes (Syringes), I saw a seated statue that still produced sound. Most people call it Memnon, since they say that Memnon set forth from Ethiopia into Egypt and as far as Susa. However, the Thebans themselves do not call it Memnon; rather they say this statue is of Phamenophis, a native. I have also heard it said that it is a statue of Sesostris, which Cambyses broke apart. Currently, as much as was broken off from the head to the waist has been thrown down, but what remains still sits and makes a sound every day at sunrise; and one might best liken this sound to that of a string breaking on a harp or lyre.

1.42.4

The Megarians have a council chamber, which they say was once the tomb of Timalkos, of whom I stated a little before that he was killed by Theseus. On the summit of their acropolis is built a temple of Athena, whose image is gilded except for the hands and the extremities of the feet; these parts, along with the face, are made of ivory. There is another sanctuary here dedicated to Athena called Nike (Victory), and yet another to Athena Aiantis. Concerning this latter, although the Megarians rely on their local guides for its history, I shall record what I myself consider to have occurred. Telamon, son of Aiakos, married Periboia, daughter of Alkathous, and thus, I suppose, Ajax, succeeding to the sovereignty of Alkathous, made the statue to Athena.

1.42.5

? The ancient temple of Apollo was built of brick; later, however, the Emperor Hadrian constructed it in white marble. The statues called Pythian and the Decatephorus are especially similar to Egyptian wooden images; the one they call Archegetes resembles Aeginetan works. All these statues alike are made of ebony wood. I heard from a Cypriot man skilled in distinguishing plants for medicinal use, who said that ebony bears neither leaves nor any fruit, nor is it ever exposed to sunlight; rather, its roots remain underground, and it is these roots that the Ethiopians dig up. They have certain individuals among them who know how to find ebony.

1.42.6

★ There is also a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros here. Descending from this place, there is the tomb of Callipolis, the son of Alcathous. Alcathous also had another son, older than this one, named Ischepolis, whom his father sent to assist Meleager in overcoming the beast in Aetolia. When Ischepolis died there, Callipolis was the first to hear of his brother's death, and, running up to the acropolis–his father was at that moment offering a burnt sacrifice to Apollo–he scattered the wood from the altar. Alcathous, still ignorant of the death of Ischepolis, judged that Callipolis had acted impiously, and, immediately driven by anger, killed him by striking his head with one of the logs that had fallen from the altar.

1.42.7

★? Along the road leading to the Prytaneion stands a shrine of Ino, enclosed by a stone wall; olive trees also grow upon it. The Megarians alone among the Greeks say that the corpse of Ino washed ashore in their coastal lands, and that Kleso and Tauropolis–daughters of Kleson the son of Lelex–found the body and buried it. They claim further that the Megarians themselves were the first to call her Leukothea, and that they hold sacrifices in her honor every year.

Chapter 43

1.43.1

They say there is also a hero shrine of Iphigenia, since according to them she died in Megara. Yet I have heard from the Arcadians another account concerning Iphigenia; moreover, I know that Hesiod, in his Catalogue of Women, asserted that Iphigenia did not die, but by the will of Artemis became Hecate. Herodotus, agreeing with this tradition, reported that the Taurians near Scythia sacrificed shipwrecked mariners to a maiden, whom they themselves identified as Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. Among the Megarians, Adrastus also receives honors. For they say that he too died among them, while he was leading back his army after having taken Thebes. The reasons for his death were given as old age and the news of the demise of his son Aigialeus. Furthermore, Agamemnon dedicated a sanctuary to Artemis, when he came to Megara with the purpose of persuading Calchas, who was then living there, to accompany him to Ilium.

1.43.2

They say that in the Prytaneion Eupippos son of Megareus is buried, and also Ischepolis, the son of Alcathous, is buried there. Near the Prytaneion there is a rock called Anaclethris ("Recall-rock"), because, if the story is trustworthy, Demeter here called back her daughter when she wandered, searching for her. Even to our time, the women of Megara perform rites appropriate to this tradition.

1.43.3

In the city of the Megarians there are tombs: one they built for those who died in the campaign against the Medes, and another monument called the Aisymnion, which also is a memorial for heroes. Hyperion, the son of Agamemnon–for he was the last king of the Megarians–after this man's death at the hands of Sandion due to greed and hubris, they decided no longer to have a single ruler, but instead to choose magistrates and to obey one another by turns. Then Aisymnos, second to none in reputation among the Megarians, went after the god to Delphi and asked by what means they might prosper. The god delivered to him other oracles as well, including that the Megarians would fare well if they took counsel together with the majority. Regarding this pronouncement as applying even to the dead, they built there a council-house, so that the tomb of the heroes might be within the council-house itself.

1.43.4

From here, as one goes toward the sanctuary of Alcathous is a hero-shrine, which the Megarians used as a record-house during my time. They said it was a tomb, partly for Pyrgo, Alcathous' wife before he married Euaichme, the daughter of Megareus, and partly for his daughter Iphinoe, who, they say, died

while still a maiden. It is customary for young girls to pour libations at the tomb of Iphinoe before their wedding and to offer their hair as an initial dedication, just as the girls of Delos once cut their locks in honor of Hekaerge and Opis.

1.43.5

★ Beside the entrance to the sanctuary of Dionysus there is the tomb of Astycrateia and of Manto. They were daughters of Polyidus, son of Coeranus, son of Abas, son of Melampus, who came to Megara to purify Alcathous from the killing of his son Callipolis. It was Polyidus who built the sanctuary for Dionysus and dedicated the wooden image, which in my time remains concealed except for the face, this portion alone being visible. Standing next to this god is a satyr of Parian marble, a work of Praxiteles. This statue they call Patroos ("Ancestral"); while another Dionysus they name Dasyllius, saying it was dedicated by Euchenor, son of Coeranus, son of Polyidus.

1.43.6

? Next to the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Aphrodite. Inside is a statue of Aphrodite made of ivory, named Praxis. This is the most ancient artifact within the temple. Statues representing Persuasion and another goddess whom they call Comforter are works by Praxiteles. Eros, Himeros ("Desire"), and Pothos ("Yearning") were sculpted by Skopas, if indeed there is a difference between these deities according to their several names and statues. Near Aphrodites temple stands a sanctuary dedicated to Tyche, and this image too is a work of Praxiteles. Lysippos created the bronze statue of Zeus together with the Muses housed within the adjacent temple.

1.43.7

★ The Megarians also possess the tomb of Coroebus; nevertheless, I shall here relate the tale associated with him, though it concerns equally the Argives. It is related that during the reign of Crotopus in Argos, Psamathe, the daughter of King Crotopus, bore a child to Apollo. Through great fear of her father she exposed the infant. The child was discovered and torn apart by Crotopus' shepherd dogs; in retribution, Apollo sent against the Argives a vengeful spirit, named Poine ("Punishment"). They say this being seized children away from their mothers, until Coroebus, seeking to earn the Argives' gratitude, slew Poine. But after he had killed her, a second disaster, a deadly plague, descended upon them and would not relent. Therefore Coroebus willingly journeyed to Delphi, intending to submit himself to the god's judgment for the slaying of Poine.

1.43.8

★ The Pythia did not permit Coroebus to return to Argos; instead, she ordered him to take up a tripod from the sanctuary and carry it off, instructing him to build a temple to Apollo and dwell wherever it should fall from his hands. As Coroebus was carrying the tripod, it slipped unnoticed from him and fell upon Mount Gerania; there he founded the village called Tripodiscus. Coroebus has a tomb in the market-place of Megara, upon which are inscribed elegiac verses explicitly mentioning both Psamathe and Coroebus himself, along with an inscription indicating, "Coroebus, the slayer of Poine." These images are the most ancient statues of stone that I have seen among the Greeks.

Chapter 44

1.44.1

Next to the tomb of Coroebus is buried Orsippus. It was he who, when the athletes in competitions formerly wore loin-cloths according to ancient custom, won the Olympic victory in the foot-race while running naked. They say also that afterwards, while commanding as general, Orsippus annexed territory from his neighbors. I myself suppose that at Olympia he intentionally let his loin-cloth slip off, realizing that a naked man could run with much greater ease than one encumbered by clothing. ?

1.44.2

As you leave the marketplace via the road called Straight, there is on the right-hand side the sanctuary of Apollo Prostaterios ("the Protector"). To find this sanctuary, you must deviate only slightly from the main road. Within it is Apollo himself, worthy of viewing, along with Artemis and Leto, and other statues, among them Leto and her children, created by Praxiteles. Nearby, in the ancient gymnasium, close to gates known as the Nymphades, there is a stone shaped like a small pyramid. This they call Apollo Karinos; here too is a sanctuary of the Eileithyiae (Goddesses of Childbirth). Such were the noteworthy sights that this city offered.

1.44.3

When you descend toward the harbor, which is still called Nisaea even in our time, there is the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros ("Sheep-bearer"). There are other explanations concerning this title; they say, in particular, that Demeter was called "Sheep-bearer" by those who first raised flocks of sheep on the land. The roof of the sanctuary has fallen in, as one might see, from the passage of time. There is also an acropolis here that itself is called Nisaea. When you descend from the acropolis to the sea, there is a tomb of Lelex; it is said that Lelex came from Egypt and became king of the country, and that he was the son of Poseidon by Libya, daughter of Epaphus. Near Nisaea lies a small island, Minoa. During the war against Nisus, the Cretan fleet anchored there. ★

1.44.4

The mountainous region of Megaris borders on the land of the Boeotians. In this area lies Pagai, a city belonging to the Megarians, and another city called Aigosthena. As one travels toward Pagai, turning aside slightly from the highway, there is shown a rock entirely pierced by arrows embedded within it, where the Medes once shot their arrows during the night. Still preserved at Pagai is a bronze statue of Artemis surnamed Soteira ("Savior"), worthy of seeing, equal in size to the one among the Megarians and identical in form. Here too is the hero-shrine of Aigialeus, the son of Adrastos. For when the ★

Argives made their second expedition against Thebes, this Aigialeus was slain fighting at Glisas during the first battle; afterward, his relatives carried his body to Pagai in Megaris and buried him there. The hero-shrine to this day continues to bear the name Aigialeion.

1.44.5

★ In Aigosthena there is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a figure, of no great size, carved upon a stele. They offer sacrifices to Melampus and hold a festival in his honor annually. But they say that he does not offer oracles, neither through dreams nor in any other way. I also heard this other account in Ereneia, a village of the Megarians: Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus, struck by a deeper grief at the death of Actaeon–as tradition relates–and by the general misfortune of her paternal household, migrated from Thebes to this place; and there is a tomb of Autonoe in this village.

1.44.6

★ On the road from Megara to Corinth, among other tombs, lies that of the Samian flute-player Telephanes; it is said that Cleopatra, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas, erected his grave. There is also a memorial to Car, son of Phoroneus, first built as merely an earthen mound, but afterward, in accordance with an oracle from the god, it was adorned with shell-stone. The Megarians alone among the Greeks possess this type of shell-stone, and they have crafted many buildings in the city from it. The stone itself is exceptionally white and softer than other stones, containing throughout its whole composition sea-shells. Such is the nature of this stone. The road called Scironian, named after Sciron, was first made passable, they say, for lightly equipped travelers when Sciron commanded the Megarians in war. Later, the emperor Hadrian improved it, widening the road sufficiently and rendering it suitable even for chariots to pass each other.

1.44.7

★ There are traditions concerning the rocks, which especially rise upon the narrow road, regarding Molouris; it was from there, they say, that Ino, holding her younger son Melicertes, threw herself into the sea. For Athamas, their father, had already slain his elder child Learchus. Some say Athamas acted thus in madness, while others relate that upon realizing that Ino, as stepmother, had plotted against Phrixus–causing the famine that befell Orchomenus and being responsible, though falsely believed, for the supposed death of Phrixus–he became uncontrollably enraged against both her and her children.

1.44.8

★ At that time, fleeing into the sea, she cast herself and her son from the cliff called Molouris. Afterwards, as it is said, the boy was carried by a dolphin to the Isthmus of the Corinthians. Consequently, additional honors were awarded to Melikertes, who was renamed Palaimon, and the Isthmian contests were instituted in his honor. The rock Molouris they considered sacred to Leukothea and Palaimon; but they thought those rocks following it polluted, because Skiron, who dwelled near there, would hurl into the sea any foreigner he happened upon. A turtle swam beneath the cliffs, seizing those thrown down into the waters. These sea-turtles resemble land tortoises except in size and having feet like those of seals. The justice of the gods eventually overtook Skiron himself, as he was thrown into the same sea by Theseus.

1.44.9

★ At the summit of the mountain there is a temple of Zeus, who is called Aphesius (the Releaser). They say that once, during a great drought that came upon the Greeks, Aiakos sacrificed at Aegina to Zeus

Panhellenius in accordance with a certain oracle; and upon performing the sacrifice, relief was granted, and for this reason Zeus is called Aphesius. There are also here statues of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan.

1.44.10

Going forward along the road there is the tomb of Eurystheus. They say that, fleeing from Attica ★
after the battle against the Heracleidae, he was killed here by Iolaus. Descending from this route is a sanctuary of Apollo Latoios; just beyond it are the boundaries of Megara with Corinth, where they say Hyllus, son of Heracles, fought a duel against the Arcadian Echemus.

Part II

Book 2: Corinth

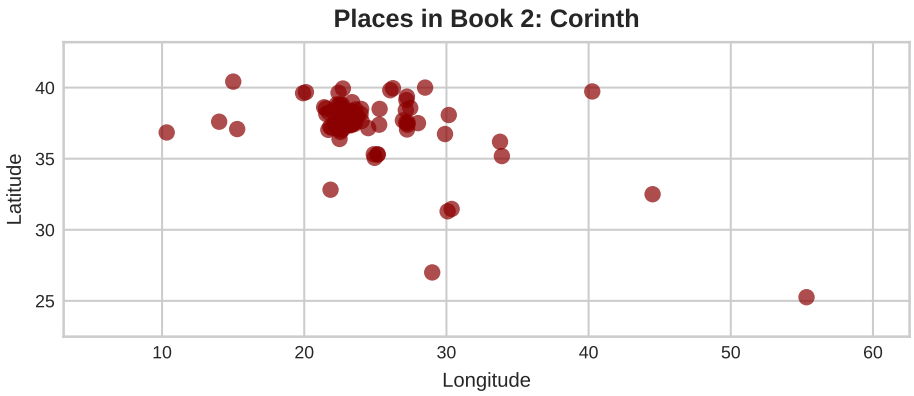

Figure 44.1: Places mentioned in Book 2: Corinth

Chapter 45

Chapter 1

2.1.1

The land of Corinth was originally part of the Argive territory, and took its name from Corinth. That Corinth was a son of Zeus, I know of no one who has seriously asserted, except indeed the generality of the Corinthians themselves. Eumelus, however, the son of Amphilytus, one of the family called the Bacchiadae, who is said also to have composed epic poems, says in his Corinthian History (if indeed this work truly belongs to Eumelus), that Ephyra, daughter of Ocean, was first to dwell in this land, and that afterward Marathon, son of Epopeus, son of Aloeus, son of Helios, fleeing from his fathers lawlessness and insolence, migrated to the sea-coast of Attica; that upon the death of Epopeus he returned to the Peloponnese, divided the kingdom among his sons, and then again withdrew back to Attica. It was from his son Sicyon that the land called Asopia took its name; and from his son Corinth, the region previously known as Ephyraea was renamed.

2.1.2

No one of the ancient Corinthians still dwells in Corinth, but settlers who were sent there by the Romans. The cause of this lies in the Achaean League. For the Corinthians, as they were members of this federation, took part in the war against the Romans, a conflict prepared and incited by the Achaean general Critolaus, who convinced the Achaeans to revolt, along with many others outside the Peloponnese. When the Romans prevailed in this war, they confiscated the weapons from the other Greeks as well and destroyed the fortifications of the formerly walled cities; Corinth, however, was razed to the ground by Mummius, who at that time was the commander of the Roman army. Later, it is said, Corinth was re-founded by Caesar, the first who established the government prevailing in my own day at Rome; and during his rule he also restored Carthage.

2.1.3

Within Corinthian territory lies also the place called Cromyon, named after Cromus, the son of Poseidon. There, they say, the sow Phaea was nurtured, and among the notable deeds of Theseus is his encounter with this sow. Proceeding onward, a pine tree grew by the shore up until my day, and there was an altar of Melicertes. They recount that Melicertes was carried to this spot by a dolphin, and that Sisyphus, who found the boy lying here, buried him on the Isthmus and established the games of the Isthmia in his honor.

2.1.4

At the very entrance of the Isthmus is the spot where the robber Sinis used to bend down pine trees to the ground. Whenever he overcame any man in combat, Sinis would bind him between two pines, after which he released the trees, letting them spring upright. Both trees then violently pulled the tied man toward themselves, and since the bonds yielded neither way but exerted equal force from both sides, the captive was torn apart. In this same fashion Sinis himself was destroyed by Theseus, who cleared of such criminals the road from Troezen to Athens, having slain those whom I previously enumerated, and also Periphetes in sacred Epidaurus, considered the son of Hephaistos, who used a bronze club in battle.

2.1.5

The Isthmus of the Corinthians stretches on one side towards the sea near Cenchreae, and on the other towards the sea at Lechaeum; it is this that makes the inland region a part of the mainland. He who first attempted to turn the Peloponnese into an island abandoned his work of digging through the Isthmus before completion. The place where they began digging is clearly visible, but they failed entirely to proceed into the solid rock, so the region remains as nature formed it, continuing even now as part of the mainland. Even Alexander, the son of Philip, who wished to cut through Mount Mimas, found only in this endeavor that his efforts were unsuccessful. Likewise, the Pythian oracle stopped the Cnidians as they were digging through their isthmus. Thus difficult it is for man to force what the gods ordain.

2.1.6

This boastful claim concerning their land is not unique to the Corinthians; rather, it seems to me the Athenians were the first to extol Attica in such a manner. As for the Corinthians, they also say that Poseidon disputed with Helios over their territory, and that Briareos acted as arbitrator between them, assigning the Isthmus and the territory surrounding it to Poseidon, while granting to Helios the promontory that rises above the city. They say this is why the Isthmus belongs to Poseidon.

2.1.7

Noteworthy sights at this place include a theater and a stadium made of white stone. On the approach to the sanctuary of the god, there are statues of athletes who have won victories at the Isthmian games. There is also a row of pine trees planted in a straight line, most of them standing upright. Near the temple itself, which is of moderate size, stand bronze Tritons. In the pronaos are statues: two of Poseidon and a third of Amphitrite, and also a representation in bronze of the sea (Thalassa). The inner decorations were dedicated in my time by Herodes the Athenian; these include four horses overlaid with gold except for their hooves, which are made of ivory.

2.1.8

Beside the horses there are two golden Tritons, with ivory used in parts of them also. Poseidon and Amphitrite stand upon the chariot, and Palaemon stands upright upon a dolphin; these figures likewise are fashioned from ivory and gold. On the pedestal bearing the chariot a figure of Thalassa ("the Sea") is wrought in the centre, holding up her daughter Aphrodite. On either side are the figures known as the Nereids. I know of altars dedicated to them also elsewhere in Greece, and there are precincts that communities established for them especially near the seashore, where honours are also paid to Achilles. At Gabala in Doton there is a sanctuary held in reverence, wherein was preserved the robe which, according to the Greek tradition, Eriphyle received as payment for betraying her son Alcmaeon.

2.1.9

Upon Poseidon's pedestal there are also carved the sons of Tyndareus, since they too are saviors of ships ★
and of men at sea. In addition, dedicated here are statues of Galene ("Calm") and Thalassa ("Sea"), and
a horse depicted with the hind parts resembling a sea-monster, as well as Ino, Bellerophon, and the
horse Pegasus.

Chapter 46

Chapter 2

2.2.1

Within the enclosure and on the left is the sanctuary of Palaemon, and inside it are statues of Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon himself. There is also another place called the Adyton, to which there is an underground descent; here, they say, Palaemon lies concealed. Whoever, whether Corinthian or foreigner, swears falsely here will find no way at all to escape the consequence of their oath. There is also an ancient sanctuary with an altar called the Altar of the Cyclopes, and at this altar sacrifices are performed to the Cyclopes.

2.2.2

As for the tombs of Sisyphus and of Neleus–for they say that Neleus had come to Corinth and, falling ill, died and was buried near the Isthmus–I doubt whether anyone examining the writings of Eumelus could succeed in locating them. For he says that not even to Nestor was Neleus' tomb revealed by Sisyphus, because it was required to remain unknown equally to everyone. Sisyphus himself, he says, was indeed buried on the Isthmus, but only a few of the Corinthians in his own era knew the location of his tomb. The Isthmian Games, however, did not cease even after the Corinthians had been driven out by Mummius; rather, while the city lay desolate, the Sicyonians undertook their administration. But after the city had been resettled, the privilege returned again to its present inhabitants.

2.2.3

The Corinthians gave to their seaports the names Lechaeum and Cenchreae, after Leches and Cenchrias, who were said to be sons of Poseidon and Peirene, the daughter of Achelous; though in the "Great Eoeae" it is recorded that Peirene was a daughter of Oebalus. At Lechaeum there is a sanctuary of Poseidon and a bronze statue. On the way from the Isthmus toward Cenchreae there is a temple of Artemis with an ancient wooden statue. In Cenchreae itself is a temple of Aphrodite with an image made of stone. Beyond this, upon the mole projecting into the sea, is a bronze image of Poseidon, and at the other end of the harbour there are temples dedicated to Asclepius and Isis. Opposite Cenchreae lies Helen's Bath, a large stream of salt water flowing from a rock into the sea, similar to seawater and slightly warm.

2.2.4

As one ascends toward Corinth, there are other tombs along the way, including near the gate the burial-place of Diogenes the Cynic from Sinope, whom the Greeks surnamed "the Dog." Before the city lies a grove of cypress trees called Kraneion. There is there a sanctuary dedicated to Bellerophon,

and a temple of Aphrodite Melainis, and also the tomb of Lais, upon which stands an image of a lioness holding a ram in her front paws.

2.2.5

? There is also another monument in Thessaly said to be the tomb of Lais; for she journeyed even into Thessaly out of love for Hippostratos. It is said that originally she was from Hyccara in Sicily, and as a young girl she was captured by Nikias and the Athenians, sold into slavery in Corinth, and there surpassed in beauty the courtesans of her time, gaining great admiration. Such is her fame among the Corinthians that even now they compete for her, calling her their own.

2.2.6

The objects in the city worthy of mention are partly those still remaining from ancient times, but the majority were created later during the period of its prosperity. Now, in the marketplace–for there the greatest number of sanctuaries stand–is a temple of Artemis surnamed Ephesia and gilded wooden images of Dionysus, except for their faces, which are decorated with red paint. One they call Lysios ("the Deliverer") and the other Bakcheios.

2.2.7

I will also record the traditions relating to the wooden images. They say that Pentheus insulted Dionysus, dared other outrages against him, and at length came to Mount Cithaeron to spy upon the women. Having climbed a tree, he watched them performing their rites. But they perceived him, and immediately dragged Pentheus down from the tree and tore him limb from limb, each woman pulling away some part of his body while he was still alive. Afterwards, according to the Corinthians, the Pythia commanded them by oracle, once they had found that very tree, to worship it equally with the god himself. For this reason they made these images from that tree.

2.2.8

There is also a temple of Fortune containing an upright statue made of Parian marble, and beside it is a sanctuary devoted to all the gods. Near this temple is constructed a fountain, above which stands a bronze statue of Poseidon, where from beneath his feet a dolphin sends forth water. There is also a bronze statue of Apollo bearing the surname Clarius, and a statue of Aphrodite made by Hermogenes of Cythera. There are two bronze statues of Hermes, both upright figures, and one of these has a temple erected around it. Also present are statues of Zeus, all situated outdoors; one of these had no surname, but the others they call respectively Chthonios (of the Underworld) and Hypsistos (the Highest).

Chapter 3

2.3.1

In the middle of the marketplace is a bronze statue of Athena; upon its pedestal relief sculptures of the Muses have been crafted. Above the marketplace is a temple of Octavia, sister of Augustus, who ruled the Romans after Caesar, the founder of Corinth as it now stands.

2.3.2

As one leaves the Agora by the gateway towards Lechaeum, there stand gilded chariots upon the gates themselves, one carrying Phaethon the son of Helios, the other with Helios himself. A short distance beyond the gates, on the right-hand side as you enter, is a bronze statue of Heracles. After this statue is the entrance leading to the waters of Peirene. They say that Peirene became a spring, flowing from human tears, shed by a woman weeping for her son Cenchrias, who was unintentionally slain by Artemis.

2.3.3

The spring is adorned with white stone, and chamber-like dwellings have been built resembling caves, from which the water flows outward into an open fountain. The water is pleasant to drink, and they say that the Corinthian bronze, though glowing and hot, is tempered by being dipped in this water. For indeed, the Corinthians no longer possess this bronze. Moreover, near Peirene stands a statue of Apollo and an enclosure, within which there is a painting depicting the daring deed of Odysseus against the suitors.

2.3.4

Again, on the straight road toward Lechaeum, there is a bronze statue of Hermes seated, with a ram standing beside him, because of all the gods Hermes is especially thought to watch over and prosper flocks. Homer also portrayed the son of Phorbas as wealthy in sheep, whom Hermes cherished above all the Trojans and enriched with possessions (Hom. Il. 14.490). The story told during the initiation rites of the Mother concerning Hermes and the ram I well know, but will not describe it. Beyond the statue of Hermes stand Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon seated upon a dolphin.

2.3.5

The Corinthians also have many baths elsewhere: some for public use, and one built by the emperor Hadrian. But the most famous of these baths is situated near the temple of Poseidon. This one was

established by Eurycles, a Spartan, who adorned it with various kinds of stone, including the stone quarried in Croceae of Laconia. On the left side of the entrance stands Poseidon, and after him Artemis depicted as a huntress. Numerous fountains have been constructed throughout the whole city, since abundant water flows for them, brought in from Stymphalus by the emperor Hadrian. The fountain especially worth seeing is the one near the statue of Artemis. Upon it is depicted Bellerophon, and the water flows from the hoof of the horse Pegasus.

2.3.6

★ From the marketplace there is another road that goes towards Sicyon; on the right-hand side of this road one can see a temple and a bronze statue of Apollo. A little farther on is a fountain called Glauce. Into this spring, according to tradition, Glauce threw herself, thinking that its water could heal her from the poisons of Medea. Above this spring is constructed the building called the Odeion, and beside it is the tomb of Medea's children. Their names were Mermerus and Pheres; and it is said that they were stoned to death by the Corinthians because of the gifts that supposedly they carried to Glauce.

2.3.7

★ Since their death had been violent and unjust, the infant children of the Corinthians were destroyed by these spirits, until, following the oracle of the god, yearly sacrifices were established in their honor, and an image of Fear (Deima) was set up. This image remains even in our own day, crafted in the form of a woman depicted in a fearful manner. But when Corinth was destroyed by the Romans and the former inhabitants were annihilated, the new settlers no longer continued these sacrifices for the children, nor do they cut their children's hair for them, nor do they clothe them in black garments.

2.3.8

★ Medea, arriving then at Athens, lived together with Aegeus; but later, after being discovered plotting against Theseus, she fled from Athens. Coming afterwards to the land then called Aria, she caused the inhabitants to adopt their name, Medes, after herself. The child whom she brought with her when escaping to the Arians is said to have been born to her from Aegeus, and his name was Medus. But Hellanicus calls him Polyxenus and claims that his father was Jason.

2.3.9

★ There is among the Greeks a poem called the "Naupactia," in which it is related that Jason, after the death of Pelias, migrated from Iolcus to Corcyra, and there his eldest son, Mermerus, was destroyed by a lioness while hunting upon the adjoining mainland. Of Pheres no record whatever is preserved. Cinaethon of Lacedaemon–since he too composed genealogical poetry–relates that Medeius and a daughter, Eriopis, were born to Jason by Medea; but of Jason's children beyond these, even he records nothing further.

2.3.10

★ Eumelus said that Helios granted the Asopian land to Aloeus, and the region of Ephyraea to Aeëtes; and that Aeëtes, upon departing for the land of the Colchians, placed his territory in the care of Bounos, who was the son of Hermes and Alcidameia. When Bounos died, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, thus took over the rule of the Ephyraeans. Later, after Corinthus son of Marathon died without leaving any children, the Corinthians summoned Medea from Iolcus and handed over the kingship to her.

2.3.11

Jason indeed reigned in Corinth through her [Medea]; Medea bore children, but each time she gave ★
birth, she would conceal the infant by carrying it to the sanctuary of Hera, believing that by hiding them there they would become immortal. In the end, however, she realized her hope had been mistaken; at the same time she was discovered by Jason–for he did not pardon her although she begged him, but rather sailed away to Iolcus. Because of these events, Medea departed as well, handing over the rule to Sisyphus.

Chapter 4

2.4.1

Having described these matters as they are, I next speak of a sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis, located not far from this tomb. Of all the gods, they especially say that Athena assisted Bellerophon most notably, both in general ways and particularly by giving him Pegasus, who had been subdued, and herself placing a bridle upon the horse. The statue is a wooden image, but with the face, hands, and feet made of white marble.

2.4.2

I am persuaded, as is anyone who has examined Homer's works not merely superficially, that Bellerophon did not rule as an independent sovereign but was subject to Proetus and the Argives. Moreover, it appears that, even after Bellerophon's migration to Lycia, the Corinthians remained no less subordinate to the rulers in Argos or Mycenae. They themselves did not provide an individual leader for the expedition against Troy; rather, they joined the force under Mycenae and participated in the campaign along with all others whom Agamemnon commanded.

2.4.3

Sisyphus had as sons not only Glaucus, the father of Bellerophon, but another son as well, Ornytion; and Ornytion himself had sons, Thersandrus and Almus. Ornytion had a son, Phocus, surnamed after Poseidon, who migrated to Tithorea in the region now called Phocis, while Thoas, a younger son of Ornytion, remained in Corinth. Thoas was succeeded by Damophon, Damophon by Propodas, and Propodas had two sons, Doridas and Hyanthidas. These two were reigning when the Dorians marched against Corinth, led by Aletes, son of Hippotes, son of Phylas, son of Antiochus, son of Heracles. Doridas and Hyanthidas yielded their kingdom willingly to Aletes and remained in Corinth, but the people of Corinth were driven out after being defeated in battle by the Dorians.

2.4.4

Aletes himself and his descendants ruled Corinth. They reigned five generations down to Bacchis, the son of Prumnis, and from Bacchis the dynasty known as the Bacchiadae continued another five generations until Telestes, son of Aristodemus. Telestes was murdered out of hatred by Arieus and Perantas, after which there were no longer any kings. Instead, from that point forward the Bacchiadae annually appointed magistrates from among their own family, holding office until Cypselus, son of Eetion, became tyrant and expelled the Bacchiadae. Cypselus was descended from Melas, the son of Antasus. This Melas had joined with the Dorians in an expedition against Corinth, coming from

Gonoussa, a town above Sicyon; initially, Aletes, following an oracle, refused to let him join their settlement and ordered him to seek shelter elsewhere among the Greeks, but afterwards, misunderstanding the oracle, allowed him to live with them. Such were the circumstances regarding the kings of Corinth, as I discovered them to have occurred.

2.4.5

★ Near the theater is a sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis ("Bridler") and beside it a wooden image of Heracles depicted naked, said to be a work of Daedalus. In fact, all the works attributed to Daedalus appear rather peculiar to behold, yet there is still something distinguished and divinely inspired about them. Above the theater stands a temple dedicated to Zeus Capitolinus (so named by the Romans), who in the Greek language would be called Coryphaeus ("of the summit"). Not far from this theater is an ancient gymnasium and a spring known as Lerna; around it columns are erected, and benches are arranged, offering refreshment to those who enter during the summer season. Close by this gymnasium stand temples dedicated to the gods, one for Zeus and another for Asclepius. The statues there represent Asclepius and Hygieia, both carved from white marble, while the statue of Zeus is cast in bronze.

2.4.6

★ As you ascend to Acrocorinth–the summit of the mountain above the city, which Briareus gave to Helios when acting as judge, and which Helios, as the Corinthians say, later handed over to Aphrodite–on the ascent to this same Acrocorinth there are sanctuaries dedicated to Isis, whom they surname one Pelagian, the other Egyptian, and two sanctuaries of Serapis, one of which they call Serapis in Canopus. Beyond these stand altars dedicated to Helios, and there is a temple to Necessity and Force; into this temple they do not consider it lawful to enter.

2.4.7

★ Above this is a temple of the Mother of the Gods, along with a stele and a throne. Both the temple itself and the throne are made of stone. The sanctuaries of the Fates, Demeter, and Kore possess images that are concealed from view. Near this place is the sanctuary of Hera Bunaia, established by Bunus, the son of Hermes; hence the goddess is called Bunaia.

Chapter 5

2.5.1

Upon ascending to Acrocorinth there is a temple of Aphrodite. The statues there include Aphrodite herself in armor, as well as Helios and Eros holding a bow. Regarding the spring located behind the temple, it is said to be a gift of Asopus, given to Sisyphus. For Sisyphus, knowing that Zeus had ravished Aegina, Asopus' daughter, refused to reveal this to Asopus, who was seeking his daughter, until water was first provided to him on Acrocorinth. When Asopus granted this favor, Sisyphus told him the truth, and for this informing, according to what is believed, he now pays the penalty in Hades. I have also heard that this spring is called Peirene, and its waters flow underground toward the city.

2.5.2

This Asopus has its source in the territory of Phlius, flows through the land of Sicyon, and empties into the sea near that region. The Phliasians claim that his daughters were Corcyra, Aegina, and Thebe; and they say that from Corcyra and Aegina came the renaming of the islands previously called Scheria and Oenone, while from Thebe came the naming of the city under the Cadmeia. The Thebans, however, disagree, asserting that their Thebe is named after the Boeotian Asopus, rather than after the river from the land of Phlius.

2.5.3

The Phliasians and the Sicyonians relate further traditions about this river, asserting that its water is foreign and not native to their land. They claim that the river Maeander, after flowing down from Celaenae through Phrygia and Caria and discharging its waters into the sea by Miletus, travels underground into the Peloponnese and forms the river Asopus. I have also heard a similar story told differently by the people of Delos, who say that the water of their river called the Inopus originates from the Nile. Indeed, there is even a story told about the Nile itself–that it is really the Euphrates, losing itself in a marsh, and then later emerging above Ethiopia, transforming into the Nile. Such, then, are the tales I have heard concerning the Asopus. But from Acrocorinth–

2.5.4

When you turn toward the mountainous region, there is the gate called Teneatic and a sanctuary of Eileithyia. At a distance from here of roughly sixty stadia is the town called Tenea. The inhabitants there say that they are Trojans, originally captives from Tenedos brought there by the Greeks and settled by the permission of Agamemnon. For this reason, among the gods they honor Apollo particularly.

2.5.5

As one proceeds from Corinth not inland, but along the road towards Sicyon, there is a burnt temple not far from the city, on the left side of the route. There have indeed been other wars around Corinthian territory, and it is probable that fire destroyed houses and shrines outside the city walls. Nonetheless, they say this temple belonged to Apollo and that Pyrrhus son of Achilles burned it down. At a later time, however, I heard another account, that the Corinthians built the temple dedicated to Olympian Zeus, and that suddenly a fire fell upon it from some unknown source and destroyed it.

2.5.6

The Sicyonians–for their land is adjacent to Corinth–say of their own territory that the first inhabitant born there was the indigenous Aigialeus. They add that the region of Peloponnesus still called Aigialos received its name from him during his reign, and that Aigialeus was the first to found a city called Aigialeia upon the plain. Where the sanctuary of Athena now stands, they say, was then its acropolis. They further state that from Aigialeus was born Europs, from Europs Telchis, and from Telchis Apis.

2.5.7

This Apis had grown to such power, before Pelops arrived at Olympia, that the territory within the Isthmus was named Apia after him. The son of Apis was Thelxion, the son of Thelxion was Aigyrus, and his son Thurimachus, and Thurimachus begot Leucippus. Leucippus had no male children, but only a daughter named Calchinia. Poseidon, they say, united himself with this Calchinia, and the child born from her Leucippus reared, and at his death he passed on to him the kingship.

2.5.8

The child's name was Peratus. But what especially seemed to me most worthy of wonder concerning Pleminaeus, the son of Peratus, was as follows: all the children born to him by his wife immediately, upon their first cry, gave up their life. So it continued, until Demeter took pity on Pleminaeus. Visiting Aegialea disguised as a foreign woman, she raised a child for him named Orthopolis. Orthopolis in turn had a daughter, Chrysorthe; Chrysorthe, according to belief, bore a child by Apollo, whom they named Coronus. The children of Coronus were Corax and a younger son named Lamedon.

Chapter 6

2.6.1

Upon the death of Corax, who left no children, Epopeus arrived at that time from Thessaly and took over the kingdom. They say that during his reign an enemy army first invaded their land, whereas before that time they had always lived in peace. The reason for this invasion is as follows: Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, was renowned among the Greeks for her beauty; moreover, a rumor spread that she was the daughter not of Nycteus but of Asopus, the river that forms the boundary between Theban and Plataean lands.

2.6.2

I do not know whether Epopeus first requested this woman in marriage or from the very beginning planned a bolder action, but at any rate, he carried her off. When the Thebans advanced in arms against him, Nycteus was wounded, although Epopeus himself, who won the battle, also received a wound. Nycteus was carried back to Thebes seriously injured, and as he was about to die, he handed over authority over Thebes temporarily to his brother Lycus. Nycteus himself had been guardian to Labdacus, son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, and now, at his death, he left the guardianship likewise to Lycus. Nycteus earnestly begged Lycus to march with a larger army against Aegialeia, to take vengeance upon Epopeus, and, if he succeeded in capturing her, also to punish Antiope herself.

2.6.3

Epopeus, for the time being, offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for the victory and began building a temple to Athena. When it was completed, he prayed to the goddess, asking her to give clear evidence if the temple was built according to her will. Immediately after this prayer, it is said that oil flowed forth in front of the temple. Later, however, Epopeus himself died from a wound which had not initially received proper attention; thus Lycus no longer had need for warfare. For Lamedon, the son of Coronus, who became king after Epopeus, handed Antiope over to him. As she was being led back to Thebes, she gave birth along the way at the place near Eleutherae.

2.6.4

About these two Asius son of Amphiptolemus has composed the following lines:

"And Antiope, daughter of deep-eddying Asopus river, bore Zethus and godlike Amphion, conceiving them of Zeus and of Epopeus, shepherd of peoples."

But Homer has attributed to them a nobler lineage, saying that they first founded Thebes, distinguishing, it seems to me, the lower city from the Cadmeia.

2.6.5

★ Lamedon reigned as king, and took as his wife Pheno, daughter of Clytius from Athens. Later, war arose against Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achaeus. Lamedon brought from Attica Sicyon, who was to become his ally, gave him his daughter Zeuxippe to marry, and after this man succeeded to the throne, the land became known as Sicyonia, and the city that had until then been called Aegiale was renamed Sicyon. They say that this Sicyon was not the son of Marathon, who was descended from Epopeus, but rather the son of Metion, himself the son of Erechtheus. Asius agrees with them in this respect; while Hesiod composed verses making Sicyon the son of Erechtheus, Ibycus asserts he was the son of Pelops.

2.6.6

★ From Sicyon was born Chthonophyle; and from Chthonophyle and Hermes, they say, was born Polybus. Later Phlias, the son of Dionysus, married her, and she bore him a son named Androdamas. Polybus gave his daughter Lysianassa in marriage to Talaus, king of the Argives, son of Bias; and when Adrastus fled from Argos, he came to Polybus at Sicyon. Later, upon Polybus' death, Adrastus became ruler over Sicyon. Once Adrastus had returned down to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius who had accompanied Lamedon, came to Sicyon from Attica and reigned as king. After Ianiscus died, Phaestus, who was said to be one of the sons of Heracles, became king in his turn.

2.6.7

★ When Phaistos, by oracle's advice, settled in Crete, it is said Zeuxippus, son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis, became king. Once Zeuxippus had died, Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon and against its king, Hippolytus, son of Rhopalus, the son of Phaistos. Hippolytus, in fear of the approaching army, submitted himself as a subject of Agamemnon and the Mycenaeans. Hippolytus' own son was Lacestades. When Phalkes son of Temenos, along with the Dorians, seized Sicyon by night, he did no harm to Lacestades, as he too was a Heracleid, but instead made him a partner in his rule.

Chapter 51

Chapter 7

2.7.1

From this time onward, the Sicyonians became Dorians, as also did a portion of Argos. The city of ? Aegialeus on the plain was destroyed by Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who then transferred its inhabitants to the site of the ancient acropolis, establishing the city where it now stands. The Sicyonians were already in a weakened condition–for one would not correctly assign any definite cause, but one might rest content with the Homeric saying referring to Zeus, who indeed destroys the crowns of many cities–and while they were thus greatly enfeebled, an earthquake occurred, which nearly depopulated the city and stripped them of many objects of display. This earthquake also afflicted the cities in Caria and Lycia and particularly shook the island of Rhodes, so that even the prophecy of the Sibyl concerning Rhodes appeared to have been fulfilled.

2.7.2

Coming from Corinthian territory into the land of Sicyon, there is the tomb of Lycus, a Messenian– ? who precisely this Lycus might be, however, I cannot determine. For I find no Lycus of Messenia who was a pentathlete nor any who achieved an Olympic victory. His tomb is simply an earthen mound. The Sicyonians, in most cases, practice burial in the following way: they hide the body beneath the earth and build over it a stone base, setting columns upon this, and then place atop it a monument resembling particularly those acroteria shaped like eagles found on temples. They inscribe no epitaph other than the deceaseds name alone, omitting even his fathers name, and bid a greeting to the dead.

2.7.3

After the tomb of Lycus, when you have crossed the Asopus river, the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus lies on the right-hand side, and shortly ahead on the left side of the way is the tomb of Eupolis, the Athenian composer of comedy. Further along the road, having turned towards the city, there is the tomb of Xenodice, who died in childbirth. Her grave is constructed not according to local custom, but rather fashioned to match a certain painting; and indeed the painting, if ever any, is truly worthy of viewing.

2.7.4

Proceeding onward from here, there is a tomb for the Sicyonians who died in battle around Pellene, Dyme in Achaea, Megalopolis, and Sellasia; concerning these men, I will provide more details in their proper place. Near the gate, there is also a spring located within a cave; its water does not flow upwards

from the ground, but drips from the roof of the cave, and for this reason the spring is called "Stazousa" (Dripping).

2.7.5

★ On the present acropolis there is a sanctuary of Fortune Akraia, and after it one of the Dioskouroi. Both these and the image of Fortune are wooden statues (xoana). Below the acropolis is a theater, and the figure on the stage, representing a man holding a shield, is said to be Aratos, the son of Kleinias. After the theater stands a temple of Dionysos; the god's statue is of gold and ivory, and beside him are Bacchae made of white stone. These women, they say, are holy and possessed by the frenzy of Dionysos. The Sikyonians have other images that are kept secret. Each year, on a single night, they bring them from the building called the Kosmeterion into the sanctuary of Dionysos, carrying them with torches burning and singing local hymns.

2.7.6

★ First among them is the one they call Baccheios–established in their city by Androdamas, son of Phlas. This is followed by the sanctuary called Lysios, which Phanes, a Theban, having consulted the Pythian oracle, brought from Thebes. Phanes came to Sicyon at the time when Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, misunderstood the oracle he had received, causing him thereby to fail in his attempt to enter the Peloponnese. From the precinct of Dionysus you then proceed toward the market-place. Here, on the right-hand side, stands the temple of Artemis Limnaia. It is obvious to the viewer that the roof has fallen in, but concerning the statue itself they cannot say whether it has been carried off elsewhere or in what manner it was destroyed.

2.7.7

★ As you enter the marketplace, there is a sanctuary of Peitho ("Persuasion"), which likewise contains no image. The worship of Peitho was established among them for the following reason. Apollo and Artemis, after killing Python, came to Aigialeia seeking purification. While there, they experienced sudden fear at a place that even now they call "Phobos" ("Fear"); from here, the gods departed to Crete, to Karmanor, whereas the inhabitants of Aigialeia were stricken by plague. The oracles instructed them to appease Apollo and Artemis.

2.7.8

★ They sent seven boys and an equal number of maidens as suppliants to the river Sythas. Persuaded by these suppliants, the gods, it is said, then came into the acropolis. The place where they first arrived is now a sanctuary of Peitho ("Persuasion"). Even today customs corresponding to these events still occur, for boys go to the river Sythas during the festival of Apollo, and after bringing the gods to the sanctuary of Peitho, they say they lead them back again to the temple of Apollo. This temple stands in what is now the market-place, and tradition holds that it was first built by Proetus, since it was here that his daughters were freed from their madness.

2.7.9

★ They also recount the following story: that Meleager dedicated in this temple the spear with which he slew the boar. And they say that here were also dedicated the pipes of Marsyas; for when the calamity befell the Silenus, the river Marsyas carried them into the Maeander, from whence they reappeared in the river Asopus and were cast ashore in Sicyonian territory, where they were found by a shepherd who then offered them to Apollo. Of these dedications, none remained any longer, since they were

destroyed by fire when the temple itself was burned down. The temple existing in my own time and the statue were dedicated by Pythocles.

Chapter 52

Chapter 8

2.8.1

Near the sanctuary of Peitho there is an enclosed precinct sacred to the Roman emperors; this was formerly the house of the tyrant Cleon. For Cleisthenes, son of Aristonymus, grandson of Myron, ruled as tyrant when the lower city still belonged to the Sicyonians, while Cleon was tyrant in the city as it currently stands. Before this house is the hero-shrine of Aratus, who accomplished deeds greater than any other Greek of his time; concerning him, the situation is as follows.

2.8.2

After Cleon had ruled alone, several men of influence were seized by so insatiable a desire for tyranny that even two men, Euthydemus and Timocleidas, held power jointly. However, the people expelled these men and appointed Cleinias, the father of Aratus, as their leader. Not many years afterward, Abantidas established himself as tyrant. Cleinias had already met his end previously; Abantidas caused Aratus to go into exile, or perhaps Aratus himself withdrew of his own accord. Abantidas was later killed by local men, and immediately afterward Paseas, the father of Abantidas, succeeded as tyrant.

2.8.3

Nikokles, having slain him, seized the tyranny himself. Afterwards Aratos attacked this Nikokles, accompanied by Sicyonian exiles and Argive mercenaries; under the cover of darkness–for he undertook the enterprise at night–he escaped the notice of some guards, while others he overcame by force, and thus gained entry within the city walls. By this stage dawn was already breaking, and taking the common people into his party, he advanced swiftly against the tyrant's house. He captured it without difficulty, though Nikokles himself slipped away and fled unseen. Aratos then restored to the Sicyonians an equal constitution, negotiating reconciliation with the returning exiles. He gave back to them their houses and whatever other properties had been sold, himself personally reimbursing those who had purchased them.

2.8.4

As indeed there was fear among all the Greeks of the Macedonians and of Antigonus, when Philip was regent for Demetrius, it was for this reason that he brought the Sicyonians into the Achaean League, though they were Dorians. At once he was appointed general by the Achaeans, led them against the Amphissian Locrians, and ravaged the land of the Aetolians, who were their enemies. While Antigonus held Corinth with a Macedonian garrison established there, he astonished the Macedonians with a

sudden attack, defeated and destroyed many in battle, and killed Persaeus, the man commanding the garrison, who had studied philosophy under Zeno son of Mnaseas.

2.8.5

After Aratus liberated Corinth, the Epidaurians and the Troezenians, who inhabited the Argolic coast, together with the Megarians outside the Isthmus, joined the Achaean league. Ptolemy also formed an alliance with the Achaeans. But the Lacedaemonians, and their king Agis son of Eudamidas, had already swiftly captured Pellene in a sudden raid; nevertheless, when Aratus arrived with his army and battle was joined, they were defeated, abandoned Pellene, and withdrew homeward under a truce.

2.8.6

But Aratus, as his power in the Peloponnese advanced, considered it intolerable that Peiraeus and Munychia, as well as Salamis and Sunium, were still held by the Macedonians. Since he had no hope of taking these strongholds by force, he persuaded Diogenes, who commanded the Macedonian garrison, to surrender them for one hundred and fifty talents, of which sum Aratus himself contributed a sixth on behalf of the Athenians. He likewise convinced Aristomachus, who ruled as tyrant in Argos, to restore democracy to the Argives and thus align the city with the Achaean League; moreover, he also captured Mantineia, then controlled by the Lacedaemonians. However, not all things turn out according to man's intentions, for necessity compelled even Aratus himself to enter into alliance with the Macedonians and Antigonus. This came about in the following manner.

Chapter 53

Chapter 9

2.9.1

Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, who was himself the son of Cleonymus, when he had succeeded to the kingship at Sparta, began to imitate Pausanias, desiring tyranny and dissatisfied with the established laws. But being naturally more impetuous and less concerned with preserving his own life than Pausanias, he swiftly effected all his plans through sheer boldness and daring. Having killed with poison Eurydamidas, the king of the other royal line, while the latter was still a boy, through the agency of the ephors, he transferred the kingship to his brother, Epicleidas. Next, after overthrowing the power of the Council, he set up in its place officials whom he termed Patronomoi (Guardians of the Fathers laws). Aspiring then to greater things and to a leadership over the Greeks, he attacked first the Achaeans, expecting that, once victorious, he would have allies and especially desiring that they should not hinder his designs.

2.9.2

Joining battle near Dyme, which is situated beyond Patrae, with Aratus again commanding the Achaeans, he (Cleomenes) was victorious in the engagement. This forced Aratus, who became fearful for both the Achaeans and his own city of Sicyon, to call upon Antigonus for aid. However, as Cleomenes soon broke the truce he had arranged with Antigonus, openly violating his word and committing other outrages, and causing the people of Megalopolis to be driven from their homes, Antigonus crossed into the Peloponnese. Then the Achaeans confronted Cleomenes in battle around Sellasia. After the victory of the Achaeans, Sellasia was made captive, and Sparta itself fell. Consequently, Antigonus and the Achaeans restored to the Lacedaemonians their ancestral form of government.

2.9.3

Of Leonidas sons, Epicleidas died in the battle. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, and although he initially received honor from Ptolemy, he was subsequently imprisoned after being accused of conspiring with Egyptians against the king. He escaped from prison and stirred up unrest among the Alexandrians, but ultimately, when recaptured, he took his own life. The Spartans, relieved to be rid of Cleomenes, no longer desired kingship; instead, the political order they established thereafter endures among them even to this day. Antigonus remained steadfastly favorable toward Aratus, treating him generously as a benefactor and one who had actively shared in his successes.

2.9.4

Philip, after taking possession of power– for Aratus did not commend him, seeing he governed harshly towards those he ruled, and even restrained Philip from doing some actions he was already set upon–

on this account slew Aratus by administering poison without any forewarning. Aratus was carried from Aegium– for in that place fate overtook him– to Sicyon, where they buried him, and the place is still known as the Arateion hero-shrine. Philip acted similarly also toward the Athenians Eurycleides and Micon, rhetors regarded favorably by the people, whom he likewise killed by poison.

2.9.5

Indeed, the murderous drug was also destined to bring misfortune upon Philip himself. For Perseus, the younger of Philip's sons, destroyed Philip's other son Demetrius with poison, and this act caused their father such grief that it became a reason for his own death. I have cited these things, mindful of Hesiod's divinely inspired words, that whoever plots evil against another man turns it first upon himself.

2.9.6

Beyond the hero-shrine of Aratus there is an altar dedicated to Poseidon Isthmius, as well as (shrines of) Zeus Meilichios and Artemis called Patroia ("Ancestral"), neither of which has been fashioned with any artistic skill. Zeus Meilichios is represented by a pyramid, while Artemis takes the form of a column. Here also stands their council chamber and a stoa called Cleistheneios, named after Cleisthenes who built it. Cleisthenes erected it from the spoils taken when he fought alongside the Amphictyons in the war against Cirrha. In the marketplace, in the open air, there is a bronze statue of Zeus, a work by Lysippos, and beside him stands a gilded Artemis.

2.9.7

Nearby is a sanctuary of Apollo Lycius, already fallen into ruin and scarcely worth seeing. It is said that when wolves continually attacked their flocks, so much that there was no longer any profit from them, the god pointed out a place where lay a certain dry log, and instructed them to place before the beasts some of the bark from this wood, along with meat. Immediately upon tasting it the bark destroyed the wolves. This piece of wood lay in the sanctuary of Lycius; but even the interpreters of Sicyon were unable to determine from what kind of tree it came.

2.9.8

Next to this are bronze statues set up in succession: they say that these represent the daughters of Proetus, though the inscription upon them refers to other women. Here is also a bronze Heracles, made by Lysippos of Sikyon, and close by stands Hermes Agoraios.

Chapter 54

Chapter 10

2.10.1

In the gymnasium near the Agora there is a statue of Heracles reclining, carved of stone, a work by ★
Scopas. Elsewhere also there is a sanctuary of Heracles. The whole surrounding precinct there is called Paedize, and the temple stands in the middle of this space. In the temple is an ancient wooden image, a work of Laphas, a craftsman from Phlius. Concerning the sacrifice there, the Sicyonians observe the following custom. It is said that Phaestus, coming to Sicyon, found them offering sacrifices to Heracles as to a hero; but he refused to perform the same rites, insisting instead on sacrificing to him as to a god. Even to this day the Sicyonians, after slaughtering a lamb and burning its thigh bones on the altar, eat some portions of the meat as from a sacrificial victim offered to a god, while other portions of the flesh they offer to him as to a hero. Of the festival that they hold in honor of Heracles, they call the first of the two days Heracleia, giving it its own name, and the second day has a different name.

2.10.2

From here there is a path leading to the sanctuary of Asclepius. Upon entering the precinct, there stands ★
on the left-hand side a two-chambered structure. In the first chamber lies a statue of Hypnos ("Sleep"), of which nothing remains except the head. The inner chamber is dedicated to Apollo Carneius, into which entrance is permitted exclusively to the priests. Within the stoa lies a very large bone from a sea monster, and beside it stands a statue representing Oneiros ("Dream"), as well as an image of Hypnos who is depicted putting a lion to sleep, called "Epidotes" ("the Giver"). Entering the sanctuary of Asclepius, there are two entrances; at one sits a statue of Pan, while at the other stands a statue of Artemis.

2.10.3

Upon entering, there is the god–a work of Kalamis–crafted without a beard, of gold and ivory; he holds ★
a sceptre and, in his other hand, the fruit of the cultivated pine. They say this god was brought from Epidaurus, depicted as a serpent, on a mule-drawn cart. The one who introduced him, they report, was Nicagora, a woman from Sicyon, daughter of Agasicles and wife of Echetimus. Here also are some small images hanging from the roof. The figure depicted upon the serpent, they say, is Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, and they believe Aratus himself to be a son of Asclepius.

2.10.4

Now this precinct, indeed, contains these monuments as memorials; beyond it lies another precinct ★
sacred to Aphrodite. Inside this precinct is first a statue of Antiope, for they claim that her sons were

Sicyonians, and by virtue of this relationship they desire Antiope herself to be considered as connected to them. After this comes the sanctuary of Aphrodite herself. Admission is permitted only to a woman serving as temple-keeper, who no longer associates with a man, and to a virgin priestess who holds the office for one year; they call this virgin the "Loutrophoros" (Bath-bearer). All others, however, are permitted only to view the goddess from the entrance and to pray from that spot.

2.10.5

The seated statue was created by Kanachos of Sikyon, who also fashioned the Apollo at Didyma of the Milesians, as well as the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes. It is made from gold and ivory; on her head she bears a polos, and in her hands she carries a poppy in one hand and an apple in the other. As for sacrifices, they burn the thighs of victims except those of pigs, and the other portions they consecrate by burning them with juniper wood; along with the thighs they also offer up leaves of the peony plant.

2.10.6

The paideros grows in the open air within the enclosure; it is a plant found nowhere else on earth, neither elsewhere nor in any other part of Sicyonia. Its leaves are smaller than those of the oak, but larger than those of the holm oak, and in shape resemble oak leaves. One side of the leaf is somewhat dark, the other side white; the color could best be likened to that of poplar leaves.

2.10.7

When ascending from these places to the gymnasium, on the right is a sanctuary of Artemis called Pheraia; the image, they say, was brought from Pherai. Kleinias built this gymnasium for them, and even now they educate their ephebes there. There is also a statue of white stone, Artemis depicted only as far as the waist, and Heracles, whose lower portion resembles the square-shaped Hermae.

Chapter 55

Chapter 11

2.11.1

Turning from here toward the gate called the Sacred Gate, not far from this gate there is a temple of ★
Athena, which was once erected by Epopeus, and which surpassed at that time all others in size and beauty. But this temple, too, was destined in time to lose even the remembrance of it; a god destroyed it by lightning. Yet the altar–on which the bolt did not strike down–is preserved even to this day, exactly as Epopeus built it. Before the altar stands the tomb of Epopeus himself, and near his tomb are the gods called Averters ("Apotropaioi"). Here men perform all those rites that the Greeks regard as efficacious for averting evil. It is said that Epopeus also established the nearby sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo, while Adrastus built the sanctuary of Hera next to them; however, no statues remain in these sanctuaries. Behind the temple of Hera, Adrastus erected altars, one of which he built to Pan and the other to the Sun, the latter fashioned of white stone.

2.11.2

As you descend towards the plain, there is here a sanctuary of Demeter. They say that Plemnaios set it ★
up, giving thanks to the goddess for nurturing his child. A little further from the sanctuary of Hera, which Adrastos founded, is the temple of Apollo Karneios. Only columns remain standing inside it; you will find neither walls nor roof, nor indeed will you find them in the temple of Hera Prodromia. For this temple was established by Phalkes, the son of Temenos, who said that the goddess guided him along the route to Sicyon.

2.11.3

Going directly from Sikyon toward Phlius, if one turns off about ten stades to the left of the road, there is a grove called Pyraea, and within it a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter Prostasia ("the Protector") and Kore. Here the men alone hold a festival for themselves, while they entrust to the women the celebration called the Nymphon. In the Nymphon, there are statues of Dionysus, Demeter, and Kore, whose faces alone are visible. The road to Titane is sixty stades long and is impassable by chariots due to its narrowness.

2.11.4

Advancing about twenty stades, as it seems to me, and crossing the river Asopus on one's left, there is a grove of holm-oaks and a temple of the goddesses whom the Athenians call the Semnai ("Venerable Ones") but the Sicyonians call the Eumenides ("Kindly Ones"). Each year they hold a festival for these goddesses lasting one day, sacrificing pregnant sheep; and they customarily use a libation of honeyed

milk and flowers rather than wreaths. They offer similar rites at the altar of the Fates, which stands in the open air within the grove.

2.11.5

★? Turning back to the road, and after again crossing the Asopus and ascending the summit of a mountain, they arrive at a place where the locals say Titan first dwelled. This Titan was said to be a brother of Helios, and from him the region was called Titane. To me, it seems that Titan was renowned for observing carefully the seasons of the year, especially noting when the sun promoted the growth of seeds and trees and ripened their fruits; and for this reason he was thought to be the brother of Helios. At a later time, Alexanor, son of Machaon, who himself was son of Asclepius, came to Sicyonia and established the sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane.

2.11.6

? Others also dwell around the sanctuary, mostly servants of the god; within the enclosure stand ancient cypress trees. As for the cult image, neither the kind of wood nor metal from which it was made can be discerned, nor do they know its maker, unless one attributes it directly to Alexanor himself. Only the face, the tips of its hands, and the feet of the statue are visible, since it is covered with a white woolen chiton and a himation. There is also, near it, a statue of Hygieia, fashioned in the same manner. This one too you would not see easily, so densely is it covered with the hair of women cut as offerings to the goddess, and strips of Babylonian cloth. Anyone who wishes to propitiate the deity in that place is instructed to honor equally that very image which they call Hygieia.

2.11.7

★? To Alexanor and Euamerion–for there are statues of these as well–they perform sacrifices: to the former as to a hero, offering libations after sunset, but to Euamerion as to a god they sacrifice. And if my conjecture is correct, this Euamerion is the same whom the Pergamenes, following an oracle, call Telesphoros, and whom the Epidaurians call Akesis. There is also an image of Koronis, although it is not placed anywhere within the temple itself. But when sacrifices are offered to the god, consisting of a bull, a ram, and a pig, they carry Koronis to the sanctuary of Athena, and there they honor her. Whatever portions of the sacrifices they burn entirely, it is not sufficient for them merely to cut out the thighs; rather, they burn the sacrifices on the ground, except the birds, which they burn upon the altar.

2.11.8

★ On the gables are figures of Heracles and Victories at each extremity. In the portico stand statues of Dionysus and Hecate, as well as Aphrodite, the Mother of the Gods, and Tyche; these are wooden images. There is also a stone statue of Asclepius, surnamed Gortynian. They will not allow the sacred serpents to enter because of fear, but having placed food for them before the entrance they do not trouble about them further. Within the enclosure stands a bronze figure of Granianus of Sicyon, who gained victories at Olympia, two in the pentathlon, a third in the stadion race, and two more in the diaulos, one as a naked runner and one in armor.

Chapter 56

Chapter 12

2.12.1

In Titane there is also a sanctuary of Athena, into which they bring Koronis. Within it stands an ancient wooden statue of Athena, which is said to have been struck by lightning. Descending from this hill (for the sanctuary is built on a hill), there is an altar dedicated to the Winds, on which every year, during one night, the priest sacrifices to the Winds. He also performs other secret rites at four pits, taming the wildness of the winds' spirits; indeed, it is said he recites even the incantations of Medea.

2.12.2

On the road from Titane to Sicyon, as one heads downhill towards the sea, there is, on the left side of the way, a temple of Hera, now lacking both its statue and its roof. The dedicant of this temple is said to have been Proetus, the son of Abas. When one has descended to the harbor of the Sicyonians, as it is called, and turned towards Aristonautae, the harbor of the Pellenians, there stands a shrine of Poseidon a little above the road, on the left. Continuing further along the main road, one comes to a river called the Elisson, followed by another called the Sythas, both of which flow into the sea.

2.12.3

The territory of Phlious borders on that of the Sicyonians. The city of Titane is situated about forty stades away, and the road from Sicyon to Titane is a direct one. That the Phliasians bear no kinship to the Arcadians is clearly shown by the Catalogue of Arcadians in Homer's poetry, in which they are not included with the Arcadians. That originally they were Argives, and afterwards became Dorians when the Heracleidae descended into the Peloponnese, will become clear as my account proceeds. Since I have found many differing statements concerning the Phliasians, I shall chiefly rely on those facts upon which they themselves most agree.

2.12.4

In this land, they say, there first appeared Aras, an autochthonous man. He founded a city around this hill, which even now is called Arantinus, not far distant from another hill, upon which stands the Phliasian acropolis and the sanctuary of Hebe. Here indeed he founded a city, and consequently the land and city were originally named Arantia after him. In his reign, Asopus–said to be the son of Celusa and Poseidon–discovered the water of the river, and from its discoverer the river is now called Asopus. The tomb of Aras is located at a place called Celeae, where they also report that Dysaules, a man from Eleusis, is buried.

2.12.5

★ Aras had a son named Aoris and a daughter named Araithyrea. The Phliasians say these children became skilled hunters and courageous in warfare. When Araithyrea died before her brother, Aoris renamed the land Araithyrea in memory of his sister. It was due to this that Homer, listing the subjects of Agamemnon, composed the verse, "They inhabited Orneae and lovely Araithyrea." (Hom. Il. 2.571). The tombs of the children of Aras, I think, are not situated elsewhere in the country, but on the hill called Arantinus. Conspicuous gravestones stand there as monuments upon them, and before performing the initiatory rite that they celebrate in honor of Demeter, they summon Aras and his children during the libations while gazing upon these memorials.

2.12.6

★ As for Phlias, who thirdly gave his own name to this land, I, for my part, do not in the first place accept at all the Argive account that he was the son of Ceisus son of Temenus; rather, I know that he was called a son of Dionysus and was himself counted among those who sailed on the Argo. In agreement with me are the verses of the poet of Rhodes: Next came Phlias from Araethyrea, where he dwelt in wealth by the grace of his father Dionysus, beside the springs of Asopus. The mother of Phlias, according to Apollonius Rhodius (Argonautica 1.115-117), was Araethyrea and not Chthonophyle; but Chthonophyle was his wife and bore him a son, Androdamas.

Chapter 13

2.13.1

When the Heracleidae returned, the whole Peloponnese was thrown into confusion, apart from Arcadia. ★ Many cities encountered newcomers who settled among them as a result of the Dorian migration, and yet even greater changes befell the inhabitants. The events concerning Phlius took place as follows: Rhegnidas, the son of Phalces, a Dorian from Temenus' family, marched against the city from Argos and Sicyonia. Among the Phliasians, some approved of the proposals Rhegnidas brought forward, choosing to remain in possession of their own lands and thus admitting Rhegnidas and the Dorians who accompanied him on terms of a redistribution of territory.

2.13.2

But Hippasos and those who were with him urged resistance, arguing that they should not yield to the Dorians without fighting for their many and noble possessions. As the people stood firm on the opposite opinion, Hippasos, along with those who were willing, fled to Samos. The fourth descendant of this Hippasos was Pythagoras, who was famed for his wisdom; for Pythagoras was the son of Mnesarchos, the son of Euphron, who was the son of Hippasos. These things the Phliasians relate about themselves, and the Sikyonians agree with them for the most part.

2.13.3

Now I must describe some of those things most worthy of mention among the sights one may come ★ upon. On the acropolis of the Phliasians there is a grove of cypresses and a sanctuary held most sacred from ancient times. Concerning the goddess to whom the sanctuary belongs, the earliest Phliasians name her Ganymeda, but later generations call her Hebe. Homer, too, makes mention of her in the single combat between Menelaus and Alexander, stating that she is the cupbearer of the gods, and again, in the episode of Odysseus's descent to Hades, he says that she is the wife of Heracles. Moreover, in Olen's hymn to Hera, it is said that Hera was nurtured by the Horae, and that she has children Ares and Hebe.

2.13.4

Among the Phliasians this goddess receives other honors as well, but the greatest reverence concerns suppliants. For here they have granted safe refuge to those who seek sanctuary; prisoners, having been freed from their fetters, dedicate their chains on trees within the grove. Furthermore, an annual festival is held in her honor, which they call the Kissotomoi. However, no image of the goddess is kept hidden, nor is any openly displayed; the reason for this practice is the subject of a sacred tradition among them.

As one leaves the precinct, there is, on the left side, a temple of Hera containing a statue of Parian marble.

2.13.5

On the Acropolis there is also another sacred enclosure dedicated to Demeter, and within it are a temple and statues of Demeter and her daughter. The statue of Artemis–for here too there is a bronze statue of Artemis–seemed to me of ancient workmanship. As one descends from the Acropolis, there is on the right a sanctuary of Asklepios and a statue of him depicted as still beardless. Below this sanctuary a theater has been constructed, and not far from it there is a sanctuary of Demeter containing seated statues of ancient workmanship.

2.13.6

★ In the marketplace there stands a bronze goat, largely gilded with gold. Among the people of Phlius, it enjoys honors for the following reason. The constellation they call the Goat, when it rises, tends continually to spoil the vines; so, to prevent any trouble from it, the inhabitants bestow honors upon the bronze goat in the market, adorning the statue with gold and other ornaments. Here too is the tomb of Aristias, son of Pratinas; the satyr-plays composed by this Aristias and by his father Pratinas are held to be, after those of Aeschylus, the most esteemed.

2.13.7

★ Behind the marketplace is a building called by the Phliasians "the prophetic house." According to the Phliasians, it was into this house that Amphiaraus entered and, having lain down at night there to sleep, began for the first time to prophesy; before this event, they say, Amphiaraus had been merely an ordinary man and not yet a seer. Afterward, the building remained closed for all time. Not far away is a place called the Omphalos ("the navel"), reputed to be the center of the entire Peloponnese, assuming their statement is correct. Beyond the Omphalos, as one moves forward, lies an ancient sanctuary of Dionysus; there is also one of Apollo and another dedicated to Isis. The image of Dionysus is clearly visible to all, as likewise is that of Apollo. But the statue of Isis can be seen only by the priests.

2.13.8

★ The Phliasians tell the following story as well: Heracles, when he returned from Libya bringing the so-called apples of the Hesperides, reached Phlius for some private reason. While he was staying there, Oeneus journeyed from Aetolia to see him. Oeneus had been related by marriage to Heracles before, and upon arriving at that time he entertained Heracles or himself was entertained by him. Now Cyathus, the son of Oeneus, who was serving wine, did not please Heracles with the drink he offered; and Heracles struck him on the head with one finger. Cyathus instantly died from the blow, and the Phliasians built a chapel in remembrance of the incident. This structure stands beside the sanctuary of Apollo, and inside it are stone statues portraying Cyathus offering a cup to Heracles.

Chapter 14

2.14.1

The city of Celeae lies roughly five stades from Phlius, and there they observe rites in honor of Demeter every fourth year rather than annually. The hierophant is not appointed for life, but chosen specially for each celebration, and he may even take a wife if he wishes. In these respects they differ from the Eleusinians, but their rites themselves imitate those of Eleusis; indeed, the Phliasians openly acknowledge that they copy the mysteries performed at Eleusis.

2.14.2

They say that Dysaules, the brother of Celeus, came into their land and established their rites; but that he was driven out of Eleusis by Ion, when Ion, the son of Xuthus, was selected by the Athenians as military leader in the war against the Eleusinians. This version, however, I cannot accept from the people of Phlius,–that a fugitive from Eleusis, having been defeated in battle, fled into exile, given that the war ended by a treaty before being fought out to a decisive conclusion, and that Eumolpus himself remained at Eleusis.

2.14.3

Dysaules might well have come here upon some other pretext, and not as the Phliasians assert. Indeed, he does not appear to me to have been related to Celeus, nor otherwise numbered among the prominent Eleusinians; for otherwise Homer would never have overlooked him in his verses. Homer, too, composed poetry concerning Demeter; and yet, enumerating those who were taught the mysteries by the goddess, he knows no Eleusinian called Dysaules. His verses run thus:

"She revealed to Triptolemos and Diocles, tamer of horses, and mighty Eumolpos, and to Celeus, leader of the people, the performance of sacred rites and explained to all the mysteries."

2.14.4

This same Dysaules, say the people of Phlius, established here the mysteries, and it was he who gave the place the name Celeae. As I have said, the tomb of Dysaules is also located here. The tomb of Aras, however, had already existed before this. According to the tradition of the Phliasians, Dysaules arrived later, not during the reign of Aras. For according to the Phliasians, Aras was contemporary with Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, and by three generations of men older than Pelasgus the Arcadian and older than those said by the Athenians to have sprung from the earth itself.–In the building called the Anactoron, near its roof, they say, is dedicated the chariot of Pelops.

Chapter 59

Chapter 15

2.15.1

These were the most noteworthy matters concerning the Phliasians. On the road from Corinth towards Argos lies the city Cleonae, which is not large. They say that Cleonae was a child of Pelops; others assert that, along with his other daughters, Cleonae was born to Asopus, the river flowing by Sicyon; thus, the city received its name from one of these figures. There is here a sanctuary of Athena, and the image within it is a work of the art of Scyllis and Dipoenus. They themselves are said to have been pupils of Daedalus, though others even claim that Daedalus took a wife from Gortyn and that Dipoenus and Scyllis were born to him by this woman. At Cleonae stand this temple and also the tomb of Eurytus and Cteatus. For it was here that Heracles shot arrows and slew them, as they were journeying from Elis as sacred ambassadors to attend the Isthmian Games. He accused them of having sided against him in his war against Augeas.

2.15.2

From Cleonae to Argos there are two roads: one is shorter and suitable for lightly equipped men, while the other passes through the place called Tretus; although narrow itself, being hemmed in by mountains, it is nonetheless more convenient for vehicles. Among these mountains there is still shown the cave of the lion, and the place called Nemea is situated about fifteen stades distant. At Nemea itself is a temple of Nemean Zeus, worthy of being seen, although its roof has collapsed and no statue remains. Around the temple is a grove of cypresses, and here, they say, Opheltes, laid down by his nurse on the grass, was killed by the serpent.

2.15.3

The Argives sacrifice to Zeus also at Nemea, where they appoint a priest of Nemean Zeus, and indeed during the winter festival of the Nemea they hold a race for fully armed men. Here stands the tomb of Opheltes surrounded by a stone enclosure, and within this precinct there are altars; there is also an earthen mound–the monument of Lycurgus, the father of Opheltes. The spring is called Adrasteia, either for some other reason or because Adrastus himself discovered it. It is said that the region was named Nemea after another daughter of Asopus, who bore that name. Above Nemea rises Mount Apesas, where, it is said, Perseus first sacrificed to Zeus Apesantius.

2.15.4

As you ascend to Tretus and again return towards Argos, you find on the left the ruins of Mycenae. The Greeks well know that Perseus was the founder of Mycenae; however, I shall write down both

the reason why the city was founded and the particular cause on account of which the Argives later expelled the Mycenaeans. In the area now called the Argolid they have no memory of the oldest events, but of the time when Inachus was king they say that he gave his name to the river and was the first to make sacrifice to Hera.

2.15.5

★ The story is also told thus: that Phoroneus was the first to be born in this land, and that his father, Inachus, was not a man, but rather the river itself. They say that Phoroneus was chosen to arbitrate between Poseidon and Hera concerning the country, with Cephisus, Asterion, and the river Inachus himself as co-judges. When these ruled the land to belong to Hera, Poseidon in anger dried up their waters. For this reason neither Inachus nor any of these rivers provides water unless it rains, and in summer their streams run dry, except those in the district of Lerna. Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, was the first to gather mankind into a community, whereas before this people had lived scattered and separate from one another. The place into which they first assembled was called the city of Phoroneus.

Chapter 16

2.16.1

After Phoroneus, Argos, his daughter's son, became king and named the land after himself. Argos had a son Peirasus, and another called Phorbas. From Phorbas descended Triopas, and from Triopas came Iasus and Agenor. Io, indeed, was the daughter of Iasus; whether it happened as Herodotus records or according to the Greek account, she arrived in Egypt. After Iasus, Crotopus, the son of Agenor, took power. From Crotopus came Sthenelas; later, Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, a descendant of Sthenelas, and ended the rule of Agenor's line. What followed from this time is universally known– the bold action taken by Danaus' daughters against their cousins, and how Lynceus assumed power upon the death of Danaus.

2.16.2

The sons of Abas, son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom between them; Acrisius remained at Argos itself, while Proetus took possession of Heraion, Midea, Tiryns, and all the coastal regions of the Argolid. Remains of Proetus' settlement at Tiryns survive even to this day. Later, however, when Acrisius heard that Perseus was alive and performing mighty deeds, he withdrew to Larissa on the banks of the Peneius. Perseus, eager above all to see his mother's father and to treat him kindly both by words and deeds, came to meet him in Larissa. Perseus, who was at that time in vigorous youth and delighted with the newly invented discus, was putting on a demonstration for everyone; and Acrisius, guided by an inescapable fate, unknowingly stepped into the path of the flying discus.

2.16.3

For Acrisius, the god's oracle had its fulfillment at last; neither his precautions nor the devices he managed against his daughter and grandson could avert fate. When Perseus returned to Argos, ashamed because of the rumor of the murder, he persuaded Megapenthes, son of Proetus, to exchange kingdoms with him. Taking Megapenthes' kingdom, he founded Mycenae. For here the chape (mykes) had fallen from his sword, and he believed this sign to be an omen for establishing the city. But I have also heard another account: that when Perseus was thirsty, he happened upon a mushroom (mykes) growing from the ground, and plucking it, water immediately gushed forth. Having drunk from it gladly, he was pleased and thus gave the place the name Mycenae.

2.16.4

Homer, in the Odyssey, mentioned the woman Mycene in this verse: "Tyro and Alcmena and fair-crowned Mycene" (Hom. Od., unknown line). Now the verses known among the Greeks as the

Great Eoiae say she was the daughter of Inachus and the wife of Arestor, and that the city derived its name from her. As for the account attributed to Acusilaus, that Myceneus was the son of Sparton, and Sparton the son of Phoroneus, I myself would not accept it, and neither do the Lacedaemonians themselves. For although at Amyclae the Lacedaemonians have an image of the woman Sparta, they would indeed be amazed upon hearing, from the outset, that Sparton was a son of Phoroneus.

2.16.5

? The Argives destroyed Mycenae out of jealousy. For while the Argives remained passive during the expedition against the Mede, the Mycenaeans dispatched eighty men to Thermopylae who shared with the Lacedaemonians in that task. It was this ambition of theirs that provoked the Argives and brought about their ruin. Yet part of the surrounding wall still remains, along with the gate upon which stand lions. These, too, are said to be works of the Cyclopes, who also constructed the walls at Tiryns for Proetus.

2.16.6

★? Among the ruins of Mycenae there is a spring called Perseia, and underground chambers belonging to Atreus and his sons, where they kept their treasures. There is a tomb of Atreus, and there are also tombs of those companions who, returning from Troy together with Agamemnon, were invited to a banquet by Aegisthus and treacherously slain. As for the burial-place of Cassandra, the people around Amyclae in Lacedaemon dispute about it; another tomb is that of Agamemnon himself, and that of Eurymedon, his charioteer. There is also one tomb that belongs equally to Teledamus and Pelops–for they say Cassandra gave birth to these twins.

2.16.7

★ While still infants, Aegisthus slaughtered them upon the bodies of their parents–though Electra was spared, and later lived with Pylades, whom Orestes had given her in marriage. Hellanicus further records that Pylades and Electra had two sons, Medon and Strophius. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were buried a little distance outside the city wall, as they were deemed unworthy of burial within the walls, where Agamemnon himself lay, together with those who were slain alongside him.

Chapter 61

Chapter 17

2.17.1

The Heraion is situated fifteen stades to the left of Mycenae. Along the road flows a stream known ★
as Eleutherion, whose water is used by the women involved in the sanctuary for purification and for the secret rites of the sacrifices. The sanctuary itself lies lower than Euboea; for this mountain they call Euboea, saying that the river Asterion had daughters named Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea, who became nurses of Hera.

2.17.2

The mountain opposite the temple of Hera is named after Acraea, and the region around the sanctuary is called Euboea; the land beneath the Heraeum, however, is known as Prosymna. The river Asterion, flowing above the Heraeum, disappears by plunging into a chasm. By its banks grows an herb, called asterion after the river itself; this plant is brought as an offering to Hera, and its leaves are woven into garlands.

2.17.3

They say that the architect of the temple was Eupolemus of Argos. The sculptures above the columns ★
depict scenes representing the birth of Zeus and the battle between the gods and giants, while others portray episodes from the war against Troy and the capture of Ilium. Before the entrance stand statues of women who have served as priestesses of Hera, as well as those of heroes, among whom is Orestes. Indeed, the statue inscribed as King Augustus, they claim to be Orestes. In the pronaos are ancient statues of the Graces; and on the right, the couch of Hera, and a dedicated shield–the one Menelaus once took from Euphorbus in Ilium.

2.17.4

The statue of Hera sits on a throne and is of great size, made of gold and ivory, and is the work of ★
Polycleitus. On her head is a crown wrought with figures of the Graces and the Hours. In one hand she holds a pomegranate fruit, and in the other a scepter. Now, let me pass over the account relating to the pomegranate, for it involves matters too sacred for me to disclose. But they say that the cuckoo perched upon her scepter represents Zeus, who, when he desired the maiden Hera, changed himself into this bird, and she hunted him for amusement. I record this story–and others similarly related concerning the gods–without accepting them; nevertheless, I record them nonetheless.

2.17.5

★ It is said that near Hera stands a statue of Hebe, a work by Naukydes, also made of ivory and gold; beside it is an ancient statue of Hera standing upon a column. But the oldest image, fashioned from wild pear wood, was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasos of Argos; afterwards, when the Argives destroyed Tiryns, they took it and conveyed it to the Heraion. This statue I myself have also seen: it is seated and not large.

2.17.6

★ Among the offerings worthy of mention is an altar that has been decorated with a representation of what is called the marriage of Hebe and Heracles; this altar is made of silver. Emperor Hadrian dedicated a peacock fashioned of gold and precious shining stones, presenting it because this bird is considered sacred to Hera. Also placed there are a golden crown and a purple robe, both dedicated by Nero.

2.17.7

Above this temple are the foundations of a previous temple, along with whatever else was left untouched by the fire. The fire was caused by Chrysis, the priestess of Hera, who fell asleep when the lamp was burning in front of the wreaths. Afterwards, Chrysis herself moved away to Tegea and there sought refuge with Athena Alea. The Argives, despite the magnitude of such a disaster, did not remove Chrysis' statue; it remains to this day placed in front of the burned temple.

Chapter 18

2.18.1

On the journey from Mycenae to Argos, there is a hero-shrine of Perseus on the left beside the road. ★ He indeed receives honors here from the local inhabitants, but the greatest are paid to him in Seriphos and among the Athenians. The Athenians have a sacred precinct dedicated to Perseus, and within it an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who together with Perseus are named the Saviors. A short distance beyond this shrine, in Argive territory, is the tomb of Thyestes on the right side. Upon it stands a ram fashioned from stone, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb after seducing his brothers wife. Atreus, however, was not satisfied merely with balancing the wrong done to him; instead he carried out the murder of Thyestes sons and the grim banquet described in song.

2.18.2

But afterwards I cannot say clearly whether Aegisthus first committed an act of injustice or whether ★ the murder of Tantalus, the son of Thyestes, preceded this act of Agamemnon. They say that Tantalus had already lived with Clytemnestra while she was still unmarried, taking her from Tyndareus. Yet I do not wish to judge them as by nature wicked; but if to this extent the pollution of Pelops and the vengeful curse of Myrtilus followed upon them, it would confirm what the Pythian priestess said to Glaucus, son of Epicydes, the Spartan, when he sought counsel about swearing a false oath, that the punishment would descend upon his descendants as well.

2.18.3

From the Rams–for this is what they call the tomb of Thyestes–a little further along, on the left, is a ★ place called Mysia and a sanctuary of Demeter Mysia, named after a certain Mysius, who, according to the Argive tradition, was a host to Demeter. This sanctuary has no roof, but within it there stands another temple built of baked brick, containing wooden statues of Kore, Plouton, and Demeter. Going further onward, there is the river Inachus, and after crossing it, an altar to Helios. Beyond this altar, you arrive at a gate named from the nearby sanctuary; and this sanctuary is sacred to Eileithyia.

2.18.4

The Argives are the only Greeks I know who divided their kingdom into three parts. For during the ★ reign of Anaxagoras, son of Megapenthes, madness came upon the women; rushing forth from their homes, they wandered about the countryside. Melampus, son of Amythaon, relieved them of their affliction, upon the condition that he himself and his brother Bias should share power equally with Anaxagoras. From Bias there descended five kings through four generations to Cyanippus, son of

Aigialeus, who were Neleids through their mother. From Melampus descended six generations with an equal number of kings down to Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus.

2.18.5

★ The native royal line is mostly ruled by the family of the Anaxagoridae. For Iphis, the son of Alector, son of Anaxagoras, left the kingship to Sthenelus, son of Capaneus' brother. After Amphilochus moved following the fall of Troy into the region now called Amphilochia, and after Cyanippus died childless, thus Cylarabes son of Sthenelus alone held the royal power. However, he too left no children, so Orestes, son of Agamemnon, obtained Argos, living in proximity and not possessing his hereditary rule, but commanding the allegiance of many Arcadians, having also acquired the kingship at Sparta, while always having at hand a ready alliance with the Phocians for support.

2.18.6

★ After the Spartans appointed him king, Orestes ruled over the Lacedaemonians; for it was not considered proper by them that the sons of the daughter of Tyndareus should hold power, since Nicostratus and Megapenthes had been born to Menelaus by a slave woman. After the death of Orestes, Tisamenus, the son of Orestes and Hermione, Menelaus' daughter, obtained the kingship. As for Orestes' illegitimate son, Penthilus, Cinaethon wrote in his poetry that Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus, was his mother.

2.18.7

★ In the reign of this Tisamenus the Heracleidae came down into the Peloponnese, that is, Temenus and Cresphontes the sons of Aristomachus, and the children of Aristodemus, the third brother, who had already died. They made a truly just claim, it seems to me, to Argos and the royal authority therein; for Tisamenus was a Pelopid, whereas the Heracleidae, on the other hand, were originally Perseids. They pointed out, moreover, that Tyndareus himself had once been driven out by Hippocoon, and that Heracles, after killing Hippocoon and his sons, had entrusted the country to Tyndareus as a sacred trust. Similarly they asserted different claims regarding Messenia, that it had also been left as a trust with Nestor after Heracles had conquered Pylos.

2.18.8

★ Thus they expelled Tisamenus from Lacedaemon and Argos, and from Messenia they drove out the descendants of Nestor–Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, the son of Thrasymedes; Peisistratus, son of Peisistratus; and the sons of Paeon, son of Antilochus; and with them Melanthus, son of Andropompus, son of Borus, son of Penthilus, son of Periclymenus. Consequently, Tisamenus and his sons departed with their army to the region now called Achaia.

2.18.9

★ The Neleids, except for Peisistratus–for him I do not know to whom he withdrew–came to Athens, and from these the family of the Paionidae and that of the Alcmaeonidae were named. Melanthus took the kingship by depriving Thymoites, son of Oxyntes, of it; for Thymoites was the last of the line of Theseus to reign over the Athenians.

Chapter 63

Chapter 19

2.19.1

As for the story of Cresphontes and the sons of Aristodemus, the present account does not urgently compel me to relate it here. Regarding Temenus, openly he entrusted the command of his army in battle to Deiphontes, son of Antimachus, son of Thrasyanor, son of Ctesippus, son of Heracles, employing him instead of his own sons and keeping him as his counsellor in all affairs, firstly because he had earlier made him his son-in-law, and secondly, because among his children, he most favored his daughter Hyrnetho. He had come, however, to be suspected of already diverting the kingdom to her and Deiphontes. For these reasons, plots were devised against him by his sons; and Ceisus, as the eldest of these sons, inherited his rule.

2.19.2

But the Argives, loving equality of speech and autonomy from very ancient times, reduced the authority of their kings to the smallest extent, so that to Medon, son of Ceisus, and his descendants only the title of kingship remained. Later, the people completely abolished the office when they deposed Meltas, son of Lacidas, a descendant of Medon in the tenth generation.

2.19.3

Of the things in the city, the most notable sanctuary for the Argives is that of Apollo Lycius. The statue existing in my time was the work of Attalus the Athenian; originally, however, both the temple and the wooden image were dedicated by Danaus. Indeed, I am persuaded that at that period images everywhere were wooden, especially those of Egyptian origin. Danaus established the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius for the following reason: upon arriving in Argos, he contested the rule with Gelanor, son of Sthenelas. When, before the people, many arguments convincing and just were presented by both sides, and Gelanor seemed no less persuasive in his claims to justice, the people–according to tradition–postponed their decision until the following day.

2.19.4

At daybreak, a wolf fell upon a herd of cattle grazing near the wall. Having attacked them, it fought against the bull who led the herd. To the Argives it became evident that Gelanor was represented by the bull, and Danaus could be likened to the wolf, since this animal was not friendly toward men, just as Danaus had not been friendly toward them up to that time. When the wolf overcame the bull, for this reason Danaus secured the kingship. Believing therefore that Apollo had sent the wolf against the herd of cattle, Danaus founded a sanctuary for Apollo Lykeios (Apollo of the Wolf).

2.19.5

★ Here stands the throne of Danaus, and here also is a statue of Biton, a man carrying a bull upon his shoulders. As Lyceas has shown, when the Argives were holding a sacrifice to Zeus at Nemea, Biton, because of his exceptional strength and vigor, lifted a bull and bore it there on his shoulders. Next to this image they keep burning a fire, claiming it as having belonged to Phoroneus. For they do not admit that Prometheus gave fire to mankind, but prefer rather to attribute the discovery of fire to Phoroneus.

2.19.6

★ As for the wooden images of Aphrodite and Hermes, they say one is the work of Epeius, and the other was a dedication made by Hypermnestra. Indeed, of all his daughters, she alone disregarded Danaus' command and was therefore brought by him to trial, because he considered her sparing Lynceus to pose no small threat to himself, and because by refusing to partake in the crime, she increased the shame upon her sisters and upon him who devised it. Having been judged by the Argives, she was acquitted, and subsequently dedicated to Aphrodite this statue, whom she called Nikephoros ("Bringer of Victory").

2.19.7

★ Within the temple is Ladas, who excelled all of his contemporaries in the swiftness of his feet, and Hermes who has captured a tortoise for making the lyre. Before the temple there is a pit, which portrays in relief a fight between a bull and a wolf, and beside them is a maiden hurling a stone at the bull; this maiden is believed to be Artemis. These things were dedicated by Danaus, who also set up nearby columns and wooden images of Zeus and Artemis.

2.19.8

★ There are tombs, one of Linus, the son of Apollo and Psamathe, daughter of Crotopus, and another tomb said to belong to Linus who composed the poetry. Matters concerning the latter Linus, being more appropriately dealt with elsewhere, I omit from the present account, but concerning Psamathe, this topic was previously covered in my description of Megara. Near these monuments stands a statue of Apollo Agyieus and an altar dedicated to Zeus Hyetius, where those who joined Polynices in his march upon Thebes swore an oath to perish if they did not succeed in taking the city. As to the tomb of Prometheus, the account of the Opuntians seems to me less credible, though they relate it nonetheless.

Chapter 20

2.20.1

Near the statue of Creugas, a man renowned for his skill in boxing, and the trophy raised against the Corinthians, there stands a seated statue of Zeus Meilichios, carved from white stone and the work of Polycleitus. I learned that it was created for the following reason: Once the Spartans began their war with the Argives, there was no relief from hostilities until Philip, son of Amyntas, compelled them to accept the original boundaries of their territories. During the earlier period, the Spartans, busying themselves with no affairs outside the Peloponnese, continually seized parts of Argive land, or, whenever the Spartans were occupied elsewhere with war, the Argives would themselves undertake similar raids into Spartan territory.

2.20.2

Since hatred had already grown to its highest pitch between both parties, the Argives resolved to equip a regiment of one thousand select men. Bryas, an Argive, was appointed commander over them, a man who not only committed various outrages against the common people, but who also dishonored a maiden being escorted to her bridegroom, forcibly seizing her from those accompanying her. When night fell, the girl kept watch until Bryas was asleep and then blinded him. She was discovered when day dawned, and fled as a suppliant to the people for protection. The thousand refused to allow the people to punish her, and from this event hostilities broke out openly between the two factions. Victory fell to the side of the common people, who, carried away by wrath, left none of their opponents alive. Later, they performed various rites of purification, as was customary after shedding kindred blood, and they erected a statue to Zeus Meilichios.

2.20.3

Nearby are statues carved in stone of Cleobis and Biton themselves, depicted pulling the wagon and bringing their mother upon it to the sanctuary of Hera. Directly opposite them is a precinct dedicated to Nemean Zeus, containing an upright bronze statue, the work of Lysippus. Proceeding forward from here, on the right there is the tomb of Phoroneus; even in our time they continue to make offerings to Phoroneus. Beyond the precinct of Nemean Zeus stands a very ancient temple of Tyche (Fortune), said to be the place where Palamedes, upon inventing dice, dedicated them.

2.20.4

The nearby tomb they call that of Choreia, a maenad. They say she and other women marched together with Dionysus against Argos, and that Perseus, having prevailed in battle, slew most of the women.

The rest were buried together in a common grave, but this woman–since indeed she surpassed the others in dignity–they honored with a separate tomb.

2.20.5

★ A short distance further away stands a sanctuary of the Horae (Seasons). Returning from there, one encounters statues of Polynices, son of Oedipus, and those who fell with him fighting as commanders at the wall of Thebes. Aeschylus reduced the number of these men to seven only, although more leaders from Argos, Messene, and certain Arcadians took part in the expedition. In accordance with Aeschylus portrayal - for the Argives also follow his poetry - close by these seven stand also those who took Thebes: Aegialeus, son of Adrastus; Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus, son of Talaüs; Polydorus, son of Hippomedon; Thersander; the sons of Amphiaraüs, Alcmaeon and Amphilochus; as well as Diomedes and Sthenelus. Additionally included among these were Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, Adrastus, son of Polynices, and Timeas.

2.20.6

★ Not far from these statues is shown the tomb of Danaus, as well as an empty burial place of the Argives, honoring those who died either at Troy or on their journey home. There is also here a sanctuary of Zeus the Savior, and near it is a building where the Argive women mourn for Adonis. To the right of the entrance is a sanctuary dedicated to Cephisus; it is said that the waters of this river were hidden from sight by Poseidon, not all at once, but especially at this spot, where its sanctuary stands, they sink underground as the river flows beneath.

2.20.7

★ Beside the sanctuary of Cephisus there is a head of Medusa made of stone; this too, they say, is a work of the Cyclopes. Behind this spot is a place which even today is called Criterion ("Judgment-place"); here, they say, Hypermnestra was judged by Danaus. Not far from here is a theater, and in it there are other noteworthy sights including a sculpture of a man killing another man, Perilaus, the Argive, son of Alcenor, slaying Othryades, the Spartan. This Perilaus had earlier distinguished himself by winning a wrestling victory at the Nemean games.

2.20.8

Above the theater is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and in front of her statue is a stele bearing the figure of Telesilla, the poetess who composed the songs. Her books lie cast down at her feet, and she herself is shown gazing at a helmet, holding it in her hand and about to place it upon her head. Telesilla was esteemed among women for other qualities as well, but even more greatly honored for her poetry. It happened once that the Argives suffered a disaster at the hands of Cleomenes son of Anaxandridas and the Lacedaemonians, an event greater than words can tell. Many fell in the battle itself, and those who fled for refuge to the sanctuary grove of Argus also perished. For at first, when leaving under an agreed truce, they were deceived, and once the Argives learned of the betrayal, those who remained were burned alive with the grove itself. Thus Cleomenes led the Lacedaemonians against an Argos utterly emptied of its men.

2.20.9

Telesilla brought up onto the walls all the slaves and those who, due to youth or old age, were unable to bear arms; meanwhile, she herself collected whatever weapons still remained in the homes and those taken from the temples, armed the women who were in the prime of life, and after arming them

arranged them at that point where she knew the enemy would approach. When the Lacedaemonians came near, the women, neither terrified by their war cries nor falling back, engaged vigorously in battle. Then the Lacedaemonians, reflecting that if they killed the women their victory would bring envy rather than glory, and that if they suffered defeat the disgrace would carry lasting shame, withdrew before the women.

2.20.10

But this contest had been foretold earlier by the Pythia, and the oracle was declared either in a different ?
form or exactly as Herodotus understood it; saying: Yet when the female, having conquered the male, drives him out and wins glory among the Argives, she will then cause many Argive women to tear their cheeks. These were the oracle's words according to Herodotus, dealing with the deed of the women.

Chapter 65

Chapter 21

2.21.1

Going down from this place and turning once again toward the marketplace, there is the tomb of Cerdo, wife of Phoroneus, and a temple of Asclepius. Nearby stands a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Peitho; this sanctuary too was dedicated by Hypermnestra, who established it after defeating in court her father, whom she had defied on Lynceus' account. Here also is a bronze statue of Aeneas, and a place called Delta; concerning the reason for this name–I did not find the current explanations satisfactory–I willingly pass it by.

2.21.2

In front of it has been erected an altar of Zeus Phyxios; nearby is the tomb of Hypermnestra, the mother of Amphiaraus, while another is of Hypermnestra, the daughter of Danaus, and Lynceus is buried with her. Opposite these is the tomb of Talaus, the son of Bias. I have previously spoken concerning Bias and the descendants of Bias.

2.21.3

They say that Hegeleos founded the sanctuary of Athena Salpinx ("Trumpet"). This Hegeleos, they say, was the son of Tyrsenos, who in turn was the son of Heracles by a Lydian woman. Tyrsenos was the first inventor of the trumpet, and Hegeleos son of Tyrsenos taught the Dorians accompanying Temenos how to produce sound upon this instrument; for this reason, Athena received the epithet Salpinx. In front of the temple of Athena, they say, is the tomb of Epimenides; for the Lacedaemonians, while fighting against the Knossians, captured Epimenides alive and subsequently put him to death because he had prophesied ill fortune for them; later, however, repenting of their deed, they themselves claim to have buried him here.

2.21.4

The structure of white stone standing near the very center of the marketplace is not, as the Argives claim, a trophy commemorating victory over Pyrrhus the Epirote; rather, it marks the place where his corpse was cremated, and this can also be recognized by examining it closely. For upon it, among other representations, are carved the elephants and other things used by Pyrrhus in battle. The building was erected over the site of his pyre. As for Pyrrhus' bones themselves, they lie in the sanctuary of Demeter, near which, as I explained in my Attic history, he met his death. At the entrance to this sanctuary of Demeter, above the doors, one can see a bronze shield of Pyrrhus hanging as a dedication.

2.21.5

Not far from the building in the marketplace of the Argives, there is a mound of earth; they say that the head of the Gorgon Medusa lies within it. Apart from the mythical tradition, this other version about her is also recorded: that she was a daughter of Phorcus, and upon her father's death she succeeded him as ruler of the people who dwell around Lake Tritonis; that she habitually went out hunting and led the Libyans into battle, and at that time indeed opposed her army to the force commanded by Perseus–for Perseus, too, was attended by chosen fighters from the Peloponnese. It is said she was treacherously murdered by night, and Perseus, even admiring her beauty in death, cut off her head in this way and brought it back to Greece as a marvel for display.

2.21.6

A Carthaginian named Procles, son of Eucrates, presented another story, which seemed to him to be more credible than the previous one. The desert of Libya produces creatures which are unbelievable to those who hear of them; moreover, wild men and women inhabit it; Procles claimed that he himself saw a man of this sort who had been brought to Rome. He reasoned, therefore, that a certain woman of these people had wandered forth and come to Lake Tritonis, bringing harm upon the local inhabitants, until Perseus killed her. He held the opinion that Athena joined Perseus in this deed because the people dwelling around Lake Tritonis considered her sacred.

2.21.7

In Argos, next to this monument, is the tomb of Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus. The reason why she was given that name is immediately clear to anyone who hears it ("Gorgon Slayer"). They say she was the first among women who, after the death of her husband Perieres son of Aeolus–to whom she had been joined while still a maiden–married again, this time to Oebalus. Previously, it had been customary for women to remain widows when their husbands died.

2.21.8

? In front of the tomb stands a trophy of stone, raised against the Argive Laphes. For this man–here I relate only what the Argives themselves say about their own affairs–when he was tyrant was expelled by an uprising of the people. After he fled to Sparta, the Lacedaemonians tried to restore him to the tyranny, but the Argives prevailed in battle, killing Laphes and most of the Lacedaemonians. The sanctuary of Leto is not far from the trophy, and the statue within is the work of Praxiteles.

2.21.9

The image standing beside the goddess they call Chloris, asserting that she was a daughter of Niobe, though her original name was Meliboea. When the children of Amphion were being destroyed by Artemis and Apollo, she alone among her sisters survived, along with Amyclas, having prayed to Leto for mercy. At that moment fear made Meliboea turn so pale (chlr) that for the rest of her life she continued to show this pallor; thus, due to this incident, her name was changed from Meliboea to Chloris.

2.21.10

The Argives indeed say that these were the ones who first built the temple of Leto. But I–for I attach somewhat greater importance than others to the poetry of Homer–believe that none of Niobe's children survived. Homers verse, "But they destroyed the two remaining though they were among many others,"

confirms my opinion. Homer indeed knows well that the house of Amphion was utterly overthrown from its foundations.

Chapter 22

2.22.1

The temple of Hera Antheia is to the right of the sanctuary of Leto, and in front of it is the tomb of certain women. These women died in battle against the Argives and Perseus, having come from the islands of the Aegean to fight alongside Dionysus. For this reason they are called "the women of the sea" (Haliai). Opposite the tomb of these women is a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Pelasgian after Pelasgus, son of Triopas, who founded it; and not far from the sanctuary is the tomb of Pelasgus himself.

2.22.2

Beyond the tomb there is a bronze structure, not large, which supports ancient images of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena. Lyceas, indeed, in his verses stated that the image of Zeus was the work of Mechanes, and said that at this place the Argives who marched against Ilium took an oath to persevere fighting until they either captured Ilium or death seized them in battle. Others have reported that the bones of Tantalus lie within this bronze structure.

2.22.3

As to whether the Tantalus who was the son either of Thyestes or of Broteas–for both accounts are given–and who lived together with Clytemnestra before Agamemnon married her, was buried here, I will not argue the matter. But concerning the other Tantalus said to be a son of Zeus and Pluto, I myself have seen his tomb on Mount Sipylus–it is indeed worthy of viewing. Moreover, it was not even necessary for this Tantalus to flee from Sipylus, as it later befell Pelops to flee when Ilus the Phrygian drove against him in war. Let these inquiries suffice to this point. It is also related that Nicostratus, a local man, established the rites performed at the nearby pit; even now they continue to throw burning torches into this pit to Kore, the daughter of Demeter.

2.22.4

Here there is a sanctuary of Poseidon surnamed Prosklystios ("Flooder"), for they say Poseidon flooded the greater part of the land because Inachus and his fellow judges decided that the territory belonged to Hera rather than to him. Hera succeeded in obtaining from Poseidon the withdrawal of the sea; and the Argives built a sanctuary to Poseidon Prosklystios at the place from which the wave had withdrawn.

2.22.5

Proceeding a short distance further, there is a tomb said to belong to Argos, reputedly the son of Zeus, and also to Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus; beyond this lies a temple of the Dioscuri. The statues in it represent themselves and their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, along with their mothers, Hilaeira and Phoebe. These statues, carved from ebony, are the work of Dipoenus and Scyllis. The horses also are mostly made of ebony, but with certain parts having been fashioned from ivory.

2.22.6

Near the shrine of the Anakes is a sanctuary of Eileithyia, dedicated by Helen. This occurred when Theseus had departed with Peirithous for the Thesprotians, and Aphidna was captured by the Dioskouroi, and Helen was taken back to Lacedaemon. For they say she was pregnant at the time, and that when she gave birth in Argos, she erected a sanctuary for Eileithyia. The child whom she bore she gave to Clytemnestra–since Clytemnestra was already married to Agamemnon–while Helen herself afterward married Menelaus.

2.22.7

On this matter Euphorion of Chalcis and Alexander of Pleuron, who composed poems, as well as Stesichorus of Himera even earlier, agree with the Argives, claiming similarly that Iphigenia was the daughter of Theseus. Beyond the sanctuary of Eileithyia stands a temple of Hecate, with a statue by Scopas; this one is of stone. Opposite it are bronze statues, also representations of Hecate; one made by Polycleitus, the other by Polycleitus' brother Naucydes of Argos.

2.22.8

Going along the straight road toward the gymnasium called Cylarabis–named after the son of Sthenelus–you find the grave of Licymnius, son of Electryon. Homer says Licymnius was killed by Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, and for this murder Tlepolemus fled from Argos. Not far from the gate on the road to Cylarabis, turning aside slightly from here, is the tomb of Sacadas, who was the first to perform the Pythian flute-melody at Delphi.

2.22.9

The longstanding hostility Apollo bore toward flute-players ever since Marsyas' contest, the silenus, is believed to have ceased because of this Sacadas. In the gymnasium of Cylarabus there is also an image of Athena called Pania, and the tomb of Sthenelus is shown there, as well as that of Cylarabus himself. Not far from the gymnasium stands a common tomb of those Argives who sailed with the Athenians against Sicily, aiming to reduce Syracuse and the whole island under their power.

Chapter 23

2.23.1

From here, as you proceed along the road known as Koile, there is a temple to Dionysus on the right-hand side; they say the statue is from Euboea. For as the Greeks were returning from Troy, a shipwreck occurred near Cape Caphereus: after those Argives who managed to escape to land had reached shore, they were afflicted by cold and hunger. When they prayed to the gods for help in their present desperate situation, immediately as they advanced, a cave of Dionysus appeared to them, and within the cave was a statue of the god. At that time wild goats, fleeing from the winter, had gathered inside. The Argives slaughtered these goats, feasted upon the meat, and used the skins as clothing. Once the storm had ceased and they repaired their ships and sailed again toward their homes, they took with them the wooden image from the cave.

2.23.2

And they continue even to this day to pay him honors. Closest to the temple of Dionysus you will see the house of Adrastus, and farther from it is a sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and beyond this sanctuary the tomb of Eriphyle. Next to these places there is a sacred precinct of Asclepius, and after that a temple of Baton. This Baton was of the same lineage as Amphiaraus, belonging to the family of Melampus, and served as charioteer for the horses as Amphiaraus went forth into battle. Now when the defeat occurred, a chasm in the earth opened near the wall of Thebes, which swallowed up Amphiaraus along with his chariot and at the same time caused this Baton also to vanish.

2.23.3

On returning from Koile, they say there is a tomb of Hyrnetho. Now, if they mean it is empty and erected simply as a memorial to the woman, they speak plausibly; but if they believe that the body of Hyrnetho lies buried here, then I for my part do not trust them; yet let anyone who has not learned the traditions of the Epidaurians accept their belief.

2.23.4

The most famous of the statues of Asclepius among the Argives in our day depicts Asclepius seated and is made of white stone. Beside him stands Hygieia, and also seated are the makers of these statues, Xenophilus and Straton. The sanctuary was originally founded by Sphyrus, son of Machaon and brother of Alexanor, who receives honours from the Sicyonians in Titane.

2.23.5

Concerning Artemis Pheraia–for the Argives also worship Artemis of Pherai, just as the Athenians and Sikyonians do–they likewise claim that the statue was brought from Pherai in Thessaly. However, I cannot agree with some of their claims; for the Argives also say that in Argos there is the tomb of Deianeira daughter of Oineus, as well as that of Helenos son of Priam, and that they have among them the statue of Athena which was carried off from Troy and whose removal caused Troy's capture. But this Palladion–as it is called–is clearly known to have been brought by Aeneas to Italy. Furthermore, we know that Deianeira died near Trachis and not at Argos, and her tomb is situated near Herakleia beneath Mount Oite.

2.23.6

The tradition concerning Helenus, the son of Priam, has already been explained by me: that he went with Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, to Epirus, served as guardian of Pyrrhus' children while living together with Andromache, and that the region called Cestrine derived its name from Helenus's son Cestrinus. Nevertheless, even the Argive guides themselves are aware that not everything they are saying is true; however, they continue to relate it nonetheless, for it is by no means easy to persuade the majority away from the opinions they already hold.

2.23.7

The Argives possess other sights worthy of viewing: an underground structure, upon which formerly stood the bronze chamber that Acrisius had made to guard his daughter, but Perilaus demolished it when he gained power as a tyrant. There is also this same edifice, the tomb of Crotopus, and the temple of Dionysus Cresius. For they say that Dionysus, after waging war against Perseus and later returning to seek reconciliation of their feud, was greatly honored by the Argives in various ways; among other distinctions, this remarkable precinct was allotted to him.

2.23.8

Later the place was named Cretan, because Ariadne, at her death, was buried there. Lyceas says that, while the temple was being reconstructed for a second time, an earthen coffin was discovered, and this coffin was identified as that of Ariadne. He himself declared that he, along with other Argives, had seen the coffin. Near the temple of Dionysus there is also a temple of Aphrodite Urania.

Chapter 24

2.24.1

The acropolis they call Larisa, named after the daughter of Pelasgus; from her also two cities in Thessaly have derived their name, one by the sea and another near the Peneius. As one ascends toward the acropolis, there is a sanctuary of Hera Akraia and also a temple of Apollo, said to have been first built by Pythaeus, who came from Delphi. The statue found there now is made of bronze and stands upright, called Apollo Deiradiotes, since this place too is named Deiras. The oracle there–for it continues even into our own day–is established thus: the prophetess is a woman kept apart from the bed of a man; on one night each month a lamb is sacrificed, and when she has tasted of the blood, she becomes possessed by the god. ★

2.24.2

Next to the sanctuary of Apollo Deiradiotes stands a shrine to Athena, called Oxyderkes ("Keen-sighted"), dedicated by Diomedes, because once, when he was fighting at Troy, the goddess removed the mist from his eyes. Near it lies the stadium, in which they celebrate both the contest held in honor of Zeus Nemeios and the Heraia festival. On the left of the road leading up to the Acropolis, there is also a grave of the children of Aigyptos. The heads alone lie buried here separate from the bodies, while the rest of the bodies are in Lerna. For it was in Lerna that the youths were murdered, and after their deaths, the women cut off the heads and brought them as proof to their father of the deeds they had dared to commit. ★

2.24.3

On the summit of Larisa there is a temple dedicated to Zeus surnamed Larissaios; it has no roof, and the wooden cult statue no longer stood upon its pedestal. There stands also a temple of Athena worthy of notice: within it are various offerings, including notably a wooden image (xoanon) of Zeus, possessing two eyes in the natural place and a third upon the forehead. It is said that this Zeus originally belonged to Priam, son of Laomedon, set up in the open courtyard of his palace, and when Troy was captured by the Greeks, Priam took refuge upon this altar. Later, when the Greeks divided the spoils, Sthenelos, son of Kapaneus, took it for himself, and for this reason it is dedicated here. ★

2.24.4

One might conjecture that he was depicted with three eyes for the following reason. That Zeus reigns in heaven is belief commonly held by all mankind. A Homeric verse applies the name of Zeus also to him whom they say rules beneath the earth: "the underworld Zeus and dread Persephone" (Il. 9.457). ★

Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, calls Zeus also lord of the sea. Therefore whoever fashioned this god gave him three eyes, because the same deity rules the three realms traditionally spoken of.

2.24.5

Roads from Argos extend both towards other parts of the Peloponnesus and toward Arcadia, leading to Tegea. On the right is a mountain called Lycone, especially rich in cypress trees. On its summit stands a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Orthia, with statues of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis crafted from white stone, said to be works of Polycleitus. Upon descending from the mountain, again on the left side of the road, there is a temple of Artemis.

2.24.6

A short distance further, on the right-hand side of the road, there is a mountain named Chaon. At the foot of this mountain grow cultivated trees, and the water of the Erasinus river rises to view clearly there. Until that point, the river flows underground from Stymphalus in Arcadia, just as the streams called Rheitoi flow from the Euripus and emerge near Eleusis into the sea located there. Near where the Erasinus emerges from the mountain, the people sacrifice to Dionysus and Pan, and they conduct a festival for Dionysus as well, called Tyrbe.

2.24.7

Returning again to the road leading to Tegea, on the right hand side is a place called Kenchreai near Trochos. They do not explain from where the place received its name, unless perhaps it was also named after Kenchrias, the son of Peirene. Here stand burial mounds of Argives who defeated the Spartans in battle at Hysiai. I discovered that this encounter occurred when Peisistratos was archon of the Athenians, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, during which Olympiad Eurybotus of Athens won the stadion race. Descending further into lower ground, there are the ruins of Hysiai, once a city within Argolis, and the local tradition is that it was here that the Spartans suffered the defeat.

Chapter 25

2.25.1

The road from Argos to Mantinea is not the same as the one leading toward Tegea, but it begins from ★ the gates near Deiras. Upon this road there is built a double sanctuary, having one entrance facing west and another facing east. In the eastern section stands a wooden statue of Aphrodite, and in the western part, one of Ares. They say that these statues were dedicated by Polynices and by the Argives who joined him in his expedition, seeking vengeance on his behalf.

2.25.2

Advancing onward from here and having crossed over a mountain stream called Charadros, one comes ★ to Oinoe, which, according to the Argives, derives its name from Oineus. For they say that Oineus, who had ruled as king in Aetolia, was expelled from his kingdom by the sons of Agrios and came to Argos to Diomedes. Diomedes avenged him regarding most things, launching a campaign into Calydonia, but stated that he could not remain there himself. Instead, he told Oineus that he could accompany him to Argos, if he wished. When Oineus arrived there, Diomedes honoured him in every way, as was fitting for one to honour a father of one's own father, and upon Oineus' death he buried him here. Because of this, there is among the Argives a place called Oinoe.

2.25.3

Above Oenoe is the mountain Artemision, and on its summit is a sanctuary of Artemis. On this mountain are also the springs of the Inachus–for there are in fact springs here, but their water does not flow far along the surface of the land.

2.25.4

In this direction, indeed, there was no longer anything worth seeing; but another road leads from the ★ gates near Deiras toward Lyrceia. At this spot, it is said, Lynceus alone survived of his fifty brothers; and as soon as he was safe, he raised a torch from there. For he had agreed with Hypermnestra to signal by torchlight if he reached safety, having escaped Danaus; and they say that she herself also, on her part, raised another torch from Larisa, thus plainly indicating that she too was no longer in any danger. For this reason the Argives annually celebrate a festival of torches.

2.25.5

★

At that time, the place was called Lynkeia, but after Lyrkos settled there–he was an illegitimate son of Abas–it received its new name from him. Among the ruins there are other things not much worth mentioning, and also an image of Lyrkos set upon a stone pillar. From Argos to this place is approximately sixty stades, and from Lyrkeia another sixty stades to Orneai. Homer made no mention of the city of Lyrkeia in his catalogue, as by the time of the Greek expedition against Ilium it was already deserted. But Orneai, which was still inhabited, he listed ahead of Phlious and Sikyon, just as it lay nearer in location to Argos.

2.25.6

They were named after Orneus, the son of Erechtheus; the son of this Orneus was Peteos, and Peteos son was Menestheus, who joined Agamemnon in overthrowing Priam's kingdom with the Athenians. From him the city took its name; afterwards the Argives expelled the inhabitants of Orneae, who, after their expulsion, became fellow-residents with the Argives. At Orneae there is a temple of Artemis with an upright wooden image, and another temple consecrated in common to all the gods. Beyond Orneae lie Sicyon and Phlius.

2.25.7

To those traveling from Argos into the territory of Epidaurus, there is a building on the right hand side closely resembling a pyramid, upon which are engraved Argive-shaped shields. At this place, Proetus fought with Acrisius for the kingship. They say that the battle resulted in a draw, and reconciliation followed afterward, as neither could gain a decisive victory. They also claim this was the first occasion when they and their armies fought equipped with shields. The fallen from each side–who were citizens and kinsmen–were jointly buried together there, and a common memorial was made for them at this spot.

2.25.8

Proceeding onward from there and turning to the right are the ruins of Tiryns. For the Argives also displaced the people of Tiryns, wishing to take them as fellow inhabitants and thus enlarge Argos. They say the hero Tiryns, from whom the city took its name, was the son of Argos, who was the son of Zeus. The wall, which alone now remains of the ruins, is the work of the Cyclopes, built of unwrought stones, each stone being so large that even the smallest among them could not begin to be moved by a pair of mules. Long ago the smaller stones were fitted into place in such a way as to perfectly harmonize with the large blocks.

2.25.9

Upon descending toward the sea, there are located here the chambers of the daughters of Proetus. Returning back to the main road, turning left, you will reach Medeia. They say that Electryon, father of Alcmene, ruled in Medeia. In my time, however, nothing of Medeia remained except the site itself.

2.25.10

Along the straight road to Epidaurus lies a village named Lessa. In it stands a temple of Athena, containing a wooden statue quite similar to the one on the acropolis of Larisa. Above Lessa rises Mount Arachnaion, which in ancient times was called Sapyselaton ("Fir-covered"), a name derived from Inachus. On the mountain are altars to Zeus and Hera, and here they offer sacrifices when they seek rain.

Chapter 26

2.26.1

Bordering upon Argolis, near Lessa, lies the territory of Epidauros. But before reaching the city itself, you will arrive at the sanctuary of Asklepios. Concerning the earlier inhabitants of this region, prior to Epidauros settling there, I cannot say who they were, nor was I able to hear anything from the local people about Epidauros' descendants. They say, however, that before the arrival of the Dorians into the Peloponnese, the last king there was Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, the son of Xouthos. They add that he surrendered his land without a fight to Deiphontes and the Argives.

2.26.2

And he, coming to Athens, settled there along with the citizens, while Deiphontes and the Argives occupied Epidauria. These Argives separated themselves from the rest of the Argives after the death of Temenos, since Deiphontes and Hyrnetho were at enmity with Temenos' children, and the army with them more willingly supported Deiphontes and Hyrnetho than Keisos and his brothers. Epidaurus, from whom the land took its name, according to the Eleans was a son of Pelops. But according to the Argive tradition and to the verses of the poem called the Great Eoeae, he was the son of Argos, who was himself the son of Zeus. The Epidaurians, however, claim Epidaurus was a son of Apollo.

2.26.3

The reason why this land is especially sacred to Asclepius is said to be as follows. According to the Epidaurians, Phlegyas came to the Peloponnese ostensibly to view the region, but in reality as a spy, to observe the population and to determine whether most of its people were fit for war. For Phlegyas was indeed the most warlike man of that time, and he made attacks wherever chance led him, carrying off crops and driving away plunder.

2.26.4

When she came into the Peloponnese, her father accompanied her, still unaware that his daughter carried within her womb a child conceived by Apollo. After she gave birth in the land of the Epidaurians, she exposed the infant on the mountain now called Titthion, though it was then named Myrtion. The child, while thus exposed, was fed with milk by one of the goats grazing about the mountain, and was guarded by the watchdog that protected the herd.

2.26.5

★ But Aresthanas–for this was the shepherd's name–as he found the number of his goats not matching up, and as the dog also kept apart from the flock, became, they say, entirely absorbed in searching. When he had found the child, he wished to take him up. Yet, as he approached, he saw a flash of lightning shining forth from the child. Considering this to be something divine, as indeed it was, he turned away. Immediately thereafter, the child became known widely over the entire earth and every sea, both for discovering remedies for the sick according to his will, and also for raising the dead.

2.26.6

★ Another account is also told of him, that Coronis, while pregnant with Asclepius, had intercourse with Ischys, the son of Elatus; and Artemis, avenging this affront against Apollo, killed the woman. But it is said that when the pyre had already been lit, Hermes snatched the child from the flames.

2.26.7

★ The third account seems to me least truthful, making Asclepius the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus. For when Apollophanes the Arcadian came to Delphi and asked the god if Asclepius was born from Arsinoe and thus was citizen among the Messenians, the Pythia prophesied:

"O Asclepius, sprung as great joy for mortals everywhere, Whom Coronis the fair bore, mixing in love with me, In rocky Epidaurus, daughter of Phlegyas."

This oracle clearly indicates that Asclepius is not the son of Arsinoe, but that Hesiod, or one of those who adapted Hesiods poems, composed this genealogy to please the Messenians.

2.26.8

★ This fact also testifies to me that the god originated in Epidaurus: for I find that the most renowned sanctuaries of Asclepius originated from Epidaurus. Firstly, the Athenians, asserting that they shared their rites with Asclepius, named this festival-day Epidauria, and say that from that place Asclepius came into worship among them as a god. Secondly, Archias, son of Aristaechmus, who while hunting near Pindasos received an accidental sprain, was healed in Epidauria and consequently introduced the god into Pergamum.

2.26.9

In our time, the people of Smyrna established their sea-side sanctuary of Asclepius from the temple belonging to the Pergamenians. The one in Balagrae, which belongs to the Cyrenaeans, houses an image of Asclepius called the Healer, which was also brought from Epidaurus. From this sanctuary among the Cyrenaeans originated the sanctuary of Asclepius at Lebena in Crete. The Cyrenaeans diverge from the Epidaurians in this respect: the Cyrenaeans sacrifice goats, a custom not practiced by the Epidaurians.

2.26.10

★ I find evidence, both from Homer and other arguments, that Asclepius was regarded as a god from the beginning rather than acquiring this reputation gradually over time. Homer bears witness for me by the words that Agamemnon addressed to Talthybius about Machaon: "Immediately call Machaon here, the man who is the son of Asclepius," as though he were addressing a mortal as the child of a god.

Chapter 27

2.27.1

The sacred grove of Asklepios is enclosed by boundary markers all around. Within its precinct, no one may die, nor may women give birth, exactly as the same law applies on the island of Delos. Whatever offerings are sacrificed there, whether by Epidaurians themselves or by foreign visitors, must be entirely consumed within the boundaries. I know that the same custom is observed also at Titane.

2.27.2

The statue of Asklepios is half the size of the Olympian Zeus at Athens, and it is made of ivory and ★
gold. An inscription reveals that the maker was Thrasymedes, son of Arignotos, of Paros. The god sits on a throne holding a staff, and his other hand rests above the head of a serpent. By his side also lies a dog depicted in the work. On the throne are carved representations of the heroic deeds of Argives, showing Bellerophon's battle against the Chimaira and Perseus severing the head of Medusa. Beyond the temple is the place where suppliants of the god sleep.

2.27.3

A circular building of white marble, called the Tholos, has been built nearby, and it is worth seeing. Within it is a painting by Pausias, depicting Eros who has set aside his bow and arrows and, taking up a lyre instead, carries it. Here also is depicted Methe ("Intoxication"), another work of Pausias, drinking from a crystal vessel. Indeed, even in the painting itself one might perceive a glass goblet and through this the woman's face. Within the enclosure there once stood many more ancient slabs, but in my time only six remain. On these are inscribed names of men and women who were healed by Asclepius, along with a record of the illness each suffered and the manner in which each was cured.

2.27.4

It is written in the Dorian dialect. Apart from the other offerings stands an ancient pillar, whose ★
inscription says that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god. Concerning this pillar's inscription, the Aricians assert the same story: that Hippolytus, after death, was raised back to life by Asklepios because of the curses of Theseus. However, once restored to life, he refused to grant pardon to his father and, ignoring all entreaties, departed to Aricia in Italy. There he ruled as king, dedicating a precinct to Artemis, where down to my day, contests of single combat took place, the winner appointed as priest of the goddess. This contest was not open to freemen, but only to slaves who escaped from their masters.

2.27.5

At Epidaurus, within the sanctuary, there is a theatre which seems to me especially worth seeing. The theatres of the Romans may surpass all others in magnificence throughout the world, and the one at Megalopolis in Arcadia in size, but what architect would be worthy to compete with Polykleitos in symmetry or beauty? For it was Polykleitos who constructed both this theatre and the circular building here. Within the sacred grove is a temple of Artemis, a statue of Epione, sanctuaries of Aphrodite and of Themis, and a stadium similar to most Greek stadiums, consisting chiefly of an earthen embankment. There is also a fountain noteworthy for its roof and overall decoration.

2.27.6

Among the works done in our day by Antoninus, a man of the Senate, are a bath-house of Asclepius and a sanctuary dedicated to the gods called Epidotes ("Givers"). He built also temples to Hygieia, Asclepius, and Apollo, under the surname Egyptian. There was, moreover, a portico named Cotys, which, as the roof had collapsed, was entirely in ruins, having originally been built of unbaked brick; this too he restored anew. The Epidaurians who lived around the sanctuary especially suffered hardship because they had no shelter under which the women could bear their children, and those who fell ill died exposed to the open air. Antoninus addressed these troubles as well, constructing a building so that henceforth it became lawful and proper for men to die and women to give birth within its shelter.

2.27.7

Above the grove are mountains, one called Titthion and another named Kynortion; on this latter stands a sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas. This sanctuary is among the ancient structures, but all the other buildings around the sanctuary of Maleatas, and the reservoir that collects the water coming from the god, were built for the Epidaurians by Antoninus.

Chapter 28

2.28.1

As for serpents–the other and distinct kind–those inclined toward a yellower hue are considered sacred to Asclepius and are tame towards humans; only the land of Epidaurus breeds them. Yet similar circumstances I find occurring in other regions: Libya alone breeds crocodiles on land no less than two cubits in length, while only in India are found various animals, including the parrots among birds. As for enormous snakes exceeding even thirty cubits in length, such as are nurtured in India and in Libya, the Epidaurians assert that these creatures are of another sort entirely and not true serpents (dragons).

2.28.2

On the way up Mount Koryphum, there is an olive-tree called "Strepte" ("Twisted"), formed by Hercules who bent it with his hand into that particular shape. Whether he set this as a boundary for the people of Asine in Argolis as well, I myself cannot say; for even where the land has not been devastated, it is no longer possible to clearly identify the boundary markers. On the summit of Mount Koryphum there is a sanctuary of Artemis Koryphaia, to which Telesilla also refers in a poem.

2.28.3

On the road down into the city of the Epidaurians, there is a place that has wild olive trees growing on it. The area is called Hyrnethium. I will relate the events concerning this place as the Epidaurians themselves report them, and indeed as seems probable. Ceisus and the other sons of Temenus decided that they could most grievously wound Deiphontes by causing the separation of Hyrnetho from him. Thus, Cerynes and Phalces came to Epidaurus–for Agraeus, the youngest, disapproved of their plan. Having stood their chariot beneath the city wall, they sent a herald to their sister, declaring that they wished to speak with her.

2.28.4

And when she answered their call, the youths immediately began speaking at length against Deiphontes, while earnestly begging her to return to Argos. They promised various inducements, including a husband far superior to Deiphontes–one who ruled over more numerous people and a richer land. But Hyrnetho, hurt by their words, replied sharply, declaring Deiphontes to be a husband pleasing to herself and unimpeachable as Timenos' son-in-law, while adding that they deserved to be called murderers of Timenos rather than his sons.

2.28.5

No longer giving her any reply, they seized her, placed her on the chariot, and drove away. But one of the Epidaurians informed Deiphontes that Cerynes and Phalces had departed, having taken Hyrnetho by force and against her will. Immediately Deiphontes hastened to her aid as swiftly as possible, and the Epidaurians, upon hearing the news, came in support. When Deiphontes overtook Cerynes, he struck and killed him; but as Phalces was holding Hyrnetho closely, Deiphontes feared to cast a spear lest he miss his aim and unwittingly kill her instead. He grappled with Phalces, trying to wrest her away, but Phalces resisted and pulled on her with such violence that he caused her death, though she was pregnant at the time.

2.28.6

★ And he, realizing what dreadful deeds he had done to his sister, drove his chariot more recklessly, eager to hasten along the road before all the Epidaurians could gather against him. Meanwhile, Deiphontes and his children–for earlier he had children by Hyrnetho: sons Antimenes, Xanthippos, and Argeios, and a daughter Orsobia, whom they say Pamphylos the son of Aigimios later married–then recovered the corpse of Hyrnetho and brought it to the place which afterwards was called Hyrnethion.

2.28.7

★ Those who built the heroön have also granted to Hyrnetho other honors, including a special observance regarding the olive trees growing there and indeed if any other tree stands within: it is established by law that no one may carry home the branches broken from them or make any use whatsoever of them; instead, they leave these branches on the spot, sacred to Hyrnetho.

2.28.8

Not far from the city there is the tomb of Melissa, who was married to Periander, the son of Cypselus; and another tomb is that of Procles, the father of Melissa. He also ruled as tyrant over the Epidaurians, just as his son-in-law Periander was tyrant over Corinth.

Chapter 29

2.29.1

The city of the Epidaurians itself offered the following as most noteworthy memorials. There is a ★ precinct sacred to Asclepius, containing statues of the god himself and of Epione, who they say was the wife of Asclepius. These statues, situated in the open air, are of Parian marble. Within the city there are temples of Dionysus and Artemis; the sanctuary of Artemis is in a grove, and the goddess herself one might imagine represented as hunting. There is also a shrine dedicated to Aphrodite, while the sanctuary near the harbor, set upon a promontory that extends out into the sea, they say belongs to Hera. The Athene on the acropolis–a wooden image remarkable to behold–they call Athene Cissaea.

2.29.2

The Aeginetans inhabit an island situated opposite the territory of Epidaurus. They say that human ★ beings were not present there from the beginning, but the island was initially uninhabited. When Zeus carried off Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, and brought her to this desert isle, it received this name, Aegina, in place of its former name, Oenone. After Aeacus entreated Zeus for inhabitants, as the place was deserted, they recount that Zeus caused the people to spring forth from the earth itself. According to them, no one except Aeacus held royal power in this land, since we do not know of any of Aeacus's sons who remained: Peleus and Telamon had to flee from the island because of the murder of Phocus, and the sons of Phocus themselves settled around Mount Parnassus, in the region now called Phocis.

2.29.3

The name already belonged to the country before that time, as Phocus, son of Ornytion, had come ★ there at an earlier period. During this Phocus' lifetime, the territory around Tithorea and Parnassus was called Phocis. But in the time of Aeacus, it conquered all the neighboring peoples bordering the Orchomenians of Minyean descent and extending as far as the Locrian city of Scarphia.

2.29.4

From Peleus arose the line of kings in Epirus; but from among the sons of Telamon, Ajax's lineage ★ is rather obscure, as its members lived as common citizens, with the exception of Miltiades, who commanded the Athenians at Marathon, and his son Cimon, who rose to fame. On the other hand, the descendants of Teucer remained kings, ruling Cyprus down to Evagoras. As for Phocus, Asius, the epic poet, claims that he fathered Panopeus and Crisus; and from Panopeus was born Epeius, who, as Homer relates, constructed the wooden horse. Meanwhile, from Crisus, in the third generation, came Pylades, son of Strophius, who was himself the son of Crisus and of Anaxibia, Agamemnons sister.

Such are the genealogies of the so-called Aeacidae; but let us now turn to another subject from our original inquiry.

2.29.5

Some time later, a part of the Argives who had occupied Epidaurus together with Deiphontes crossed over to Aegina, settled beside the original inhabitants, and established the customs and language of the Dorians upon the island. When eventually the Aeginetans became very powerful–so much so that they surpassed even the Athenians in naval strength and offered, next to Athens, the greatest number of ships during the Persian War–their prosperity did not last forever. Driven out by the Athenians and becoming exiles, they settled in Thyrea in the Argolid, a territory granted to them by the Lacedaemonians. Although they eventually regained their island, when the Athenian triremes were captured around the Hellespont, they never again rose to their former wealth and power.

2.29.6

★ Of all the Greek islands, Aegina is especially difficult to approach by sea; for it is surrounded everywhere by hidden reefs beneath the water and jutting rocks. They say Aeacus made these obstacles purposefully from fear of piracy from the sea, so that enemy vessels could not reach the island without danger. Near the harbor which they most frequently use for anchorage stands a temple of Aphrodite, and in the most prominent area of the city is what is called the Aiakeion–a square enclosure made of white stone.

2.29.7

★ Represented at the entrance are those who were once sent by the Greeks to Aeacus. The others tell the same story as the Aeginetans concerning the cause: a famine had oppressed Greece for some time, and the god gave no rain either to the lands beyond the Isthmus or to the Peloponnesians. Consequently, envoys were dispatched to Delphi to inquire into the cause and, at the same time, seek relief from the calamity. To these questioners the Pythia replied that they must propitiate Zeus, but added that Aeacus himself should act as their intercessor, if he were willing to heed their request.

2.29.8

★ Thus they dispatched envoys from each of the cities to ask for Aeacus' aid; and he, having sacrificed and prayed to Zeus Panhellenios, caused rain to fall upon the Greek land. When they arrived back from him, the Aeginetans had these statues made. Inside the enclosure olive trees have grown from ancient times, and there is an altar only slightly raised from the ground; but the idea that this altar is also the tomb of Aeacus is told as a secret mystery.

2.29.9

★ Next to the Aiakeion is the tomb of Phokos, which consists of an earthen mound, enclosed around by a low stone border; upon this rests a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus challenged Phokos to compete in the pentathlon, the stone was used by them instead of a discus; and at the moment it came around to Peleus to throw, it struck Phokos, and it seems that this deed was intentional. They committed this act to please their mother; for while they themselves were born from the daughter of Skiron, Phokos was not from the same mother, but from the sister of Thetis, if indeed the stories told by the Greeks are true. And, from these events, it appears to me also that Pylades helped plot the murder of Neoptolemos not merely out of friendship for Orestes alone.

2.29.10

Then, when Phocus died after being struck by the discus, the sons of Endeïs fled and boarded a ship. ★ Afterwards, Telamon sent back a herald denying that he had plotted Phocus' death. Aeacus, however, did not allow him to land on the island, but standing instead upon his ship, commanded him, if he wished, to construct a mound in the sea and from there to speak in his own defense. Thus Telamon sailed by night into the so-called Hidden Harbor and began building up the mound. This mound, having been completed, still remains even down to our own times. But being judged as not innocent of involvement in Phocus' death, Telamon sailed away again to Salamis.

2.29.11

Not far from the harbor called Krypto there is a theatre worthy of attention, very similar to that of the Epidaurians, both in size and general workmanship. Behind this theatre one side of a stadium has been built, which supports the theatre and serves it as a suitable reinforcement.

Chapter 30

2.30.1

Not far separated from each other are three temples: one is of Apollo, one of Artemis, and the third of Dionysus. In Apollo's temple there is a wooden image, naked, of local workmanship. Artemis is clothed, as is likewise Dionysus; Dionysus is also represented with a beard. The sanctuary of Asclepius is elsewhere, not in this place, and contains a seated statue of stone.

2.30.2

Of the gods, the Aeginetans honor especially Hecate, and celebrate annually a rite in her honor, saying ★ that Orpheus the Thracian was the one who instituted this celebration for them. Within the enclosure is a temple, and the wooden image there is a work of Myron; it has one face and a single body. Alcamenes, in my opinion, first fashioned images of Hecate as three figures joined to one another, which the Athenians call Epipyrgidia ("On the Tower"); this stands beside the temple of Wingless Victory.

2.30.3

In Aegina, as one goes toward the mountain of Panhellenian Zeus, there is a sanctuary of Aphaea, for ★ whom Pindar composed an ode for the Aeginetans. But the Cretans say–for the story concerning her is local to them–that Euboulos was a son of Carmanor, who cleansed Apollo after the killing of Python, and that Britomartis was the daughter of Zeus and Carme, the daughter of Euboulos. They say that she delighted in running and hunting and was especially beloved by Artemis; and that, fleeing from Minos, who loved her, she threw herself into nets spread out for fishing. Artemis made her a goddess, and she is honored not only by the Cretans but also by the Aeginetans, who claim that Britomartis appeared to them on their island. Her title among the Aeginetans is Aphaea, and in Crete Diktynna.

2.30.4

The Panhellenion mountain had nothing noteworthy apart from the sanctuary of Zeus. This sanctuary, ★ they say, was established by Aeacus for Zeus. Regarding the tale of Auxesia and Damia–that the god withheld rain from the Epidaurians, that they carved these wooden figures upon receiving an oracle, obtaining the olive-wood from the Athenians; that afterward the Epidaurians ceased sending the agreed offerings to Athens when the images came into the possession of the Aeginetans; and that because of this dispute Athenians who crossed over into Aegina perished–since Herodotus has clearly described all these matters in detail, I do not feel it necessary to write further on points which have been well stated already. I will only add this much: I myself saw the images, and I sacrificed to them according to the same rites which they observe at Eleusis.

2.30.5

So much then for Aegina, commemorated thus far on account of Aeacus and the deeds he accomplished. Next to Epidauria lie the lands of the Troezenians, who proudly uphold their local traditions as much as any others do. They assert that in their land Horus was first born. But to me the name Horus seems clearly Egyptian and in no way Greek. Nevertheless, they say that he ruled as king, and from him their country was named Oraia (Horeia); and afterwards Althepus, son of Poseidon and Leïs, daughter of Horus, shared the sovereignty with Horus and renamed the land Althepia.

2.30.6

They say that during this king's reign Athena and Poseidon disputed about the possession of the land, and after their dispute they held it in common, for such was Zeus' command. For this reason they worship Athena calling her both Polias ("Guardian of the City") and Stheniad, although she is the same goddess, and likewise Poseidon with the surname King. Indeed, the ancient coinage of the Athenians had as its emblem both a trident and the face of Athena.

2.30.7

After Althepus, Saron reigned. It is said that Saron built the sanctuary dedicated to Artemis called Saronis by a marshy sea, a place more like a pool than open water, which for this reason was called Phoibaea Lake. Saron–who was passionately devoted to hunting–one day chased a hind, and when it fled into the sea, he rushed in after it. The deer swam further and further from land, and Saron, not relinquishing the quarry, followed so eagerly that he was soon carried far out into the open water. Finally, exhausted and overwhelmed by the waves, he met his destined end. His body was washed ashore at Phoibaea Lake and there they buried him in the grove of Artemis within the enclosure of her sanctuary. From that time onwards, they called the stretch of sea at that place the Saronic Gulf, instead of Phoibaea Lake.

2.30.8

Of those who reigned afterward, they do not know the names until we come to Hyperes and Anthas. These, they say, were sons of Poseidon and Alcyone, daughter of Atlas, and founded cities within the land, Hypereia and Antheia. When Aëtius, the son of Anthas, received authority from his father and uncle, he renamed one of these cities Poseidonia. After Troezen and Pittheus came to Aëtius, there were three kings instead of one, but the sons of Pelops possessed the greater power.

2.30.9

There is clear evidence of this: after Troezen had died, Pittheus gathered the people into the present city and named it Troezen after his brother, bringing together Hypereia and Antheia. Many years afterward, descendants of Aëtius, the son of Anthas, were sent as colonists from Troezen, and founded Halicarnassus and Myndus in Caria. The sons of Troezen, Anaphlystos and Sphettos, migrated into Attica, and the demes there derive their names from them. As for matters connected with Theseus, who was the grandson of Pittheus through his daughter, I shall not record them, as they are well known to those familiar with his story; but I must add only this much more.

2.30.10

For when the Heracleidae returned, the Troezenians also welcomed as fellow inhabitants Dorians from Argos, having previously been obedient subjects to the Argives. Indeed, even Homer places them in the Catalogue under the command of Diomedes. For Diomedes and Euryalus, the son of Mecisteus,

acting as guardians for Cyanippus, son of Aegialeus, led the Argives to Troy. But Sthenelus, as I have previously noted, belonged to a more distinguished family–known as the house of the Anaxagoridae–and the kingship of Argos properly belonged to him above all. Such then is the history involving the Troezenians, apart from the cities which, according to their account, were founded as colonies by them. Now I shall proceed to describe their sacred buildings and all else that is noteworthy.

Chapter 31

2.31.1

In the marketplace of Troezen there is a temple and statues of Artemis Soteira ("the Saviour"). It was said that Theseus built the temple and gave her the name Soteira after he had defeated Asterion, the son of Minos, and returned safely from Crete. Among Theseus' feats, Pausanias thought this was especially noteworthy–not so much, it seems to me, because Asterion surpassed in courage those whom Theseus had slain in the past, but rather because the escape from the labyrinth was so difficult, and the secret flight afterwards so stealthy, that it naturally gave rise to the belief that Theseus and his companions were saved by divine providence.

2.31.2

In this temple there are altars of the gods who are said to rule beneath the earth. They say that Semele was brought up here from Hades by Dionysus, and that Heracles also brought up the hound of Hades. For my part, I cannot believe from the outset that Semele, being the wife of Zeus, ever died; as for the so-called hound of Hades, I will elsewhere make clear my own thoughts on the matter.

2.31.3

Behind the temple is the tomb of Pittheus, and upon it rest three chairs of white stone. They say that Pittheus used to sit upon these chairs, along with two others, to render judgment. Not far away there is a sanctuary of the Muses, which they relate was founded by Ardalus, son of Hephaestus. They also believe that this same Ardalus invented the flute, and from his name they call the Muses "Ardalides." Here, it is said, Pittheus taught the art of speaking. I myself have read a treatise written by Pittheus, published by a man from Epidaurus. Near the sanctuary of the Muses is an ancient altar, also said to have been dedicated by this same Ardalus; upon it they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, claiming Sleep to be the deity most beloved by the Muses.

2.31.4

Near the theater is a shrine of Artemis, called Lykeia, built by Hippolytus. Regarding the surname Lykeia, I could obtain no explanation from the local guides; but it seemed to me either that Hippolytus had destroyed wolves ravaging the Troezenian land, or else that the epithet derived from the Amazons, from whom he inherited through his mother, for it is known as one of Artemiss titles among them. Or possibly the name might have another meaning unknown to me. In front of the temple they show a stone called sacred, upon which, they say, Orestes once sat and was purified by nine men of Troezen for murdering his mother.

2.31.5

★? Not far from the sanctuary of Artemis Lykeia are altars standing at short intervals from each other. The first of these altars is dedicated to Dionysus, who is surnamed Saotes ("the Savior") according to an oracle; the second, it is said, was set up by Pittheus and is called the altar of the Themidai. The altar to Helios Eleutherios ("Sun the Liberator"), it seems to me, they built with very good reason, having freed themselves from slavery under Xerxes and the Persians.

2.31.6

★ The temple of Apollo Thearios was said to have been built by Pittheus, and it is the most ancient, as far as I know. Now, ancient also is the temple of Athena among the Phocaeans in Ionia, which Harpagus the Mede once burned down; and ancient, too, is the temple of Apollo Pythios among the Samians. Yet these temples were built much later than the one belonging to the Troezenians. The present-day statue was dedicated by Auliskos, and is the work of Hermon of Troezen. This Hermon also crafted the wooden images (xoana) of the Dioscuri.

2.31.7

? In the colonnade of the Agora stand images carved in stone depicting women and their children. These figures represent those women and children whom the Athenians entrusted to the Troezenians for shelter when they resolved to abandon their city rather than confront the approaching Persian onslaught by land. It is said that images were set up not of all of the women–since indeed they were not many–but only of those who were recognized as distinguished in rank.

2.31.8

★ In front of the temple of Apollo stands a building known as "the booth of Orestes." For before he was purified from the guilt of his mother's blood, none among the Troezenians wished to receive him into their home; instead, intending to cleanse him, they placed him here and entertained him while performing rites of purification until he was freed from pollution. Even now, the descendants of those who purified him take their meals there on appointed days. They say that after the purification rites were buried a short distance from this booth, a laurel sprang up from them, and this very laurel still grows in front of the booth even today.

2.31.9

★? They say that Orestes was purified both by rites of purification and especially by the water from the Hippocrene spring. For also among the Troezenians there is a spring named Hippocrene, though the account about it differs from that of the Boeotians. They too say that the water burst forth from the ground when the horse Pegasus struck the soil with his hoof. But they claim Bellerophon came to Troezen in order to seek from Pittheus Aethra for a wife, yet before the marriage could take place it happened that he fled from Corinth.

2.31.10

★ Here too is Hermes, called Polygius ("Giver of many blessings"). Beside this statue, they say Heracles once laid down his club; this club, being made of wild olive, immediately took firm root in the earth, sprouted again, and the olive tree still grows from it to this day. They say that afterward Heracles found another wild olive growing near the Saronic gulf and from this he cut himself a new club. There is also a temple of Zeus surnamed Soter ("Savior"), built, according to tradition, by Aetius, the son of Anthas, while he was king. The local people name a river Chrysoroas ("Flowing with gold"); when a drought

occurred for nine years, during which the god granted no rain, they claim all other waters dried away, whereas the stream Chrysoroas alone continued to flow just as before.

Chapter 32

2.32.1

To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, there is dedicated a very notable precinct, and within it stands a ★ temple as well as an ancient image. People say that Diomedes made these things and furthermore was the first to sacrifice to Hippolytus. Among the Troezenians, one priest serves Hippolytus continuously throughout his lifetime, and annual sacrifices have been established. They also practice another custom of the following sort: before marriage, every maiden cuts off a lock of her hair and, after cutting it, carries it to the temple and dedicates it. They refuse to believe that Hippolytus died by being dragged by horses, nor do they admit that they know of any tomb belonging to him; instead, they think that the constellation called the Charioteer in the heavens is Hippolytus himself, having received this honor from the gods.

2.32.2

Within this enclosure is a temple of Apollo Epibaterios, an offering dedicated by Diomedes who escaped ★ the storm that afflicted the Greeks on their return journey from Ilium. It is said that Diomedes was also the first to institute the contest of the Pythian games in honor of Apollo. Regarding Damia and Auxesia–for the Troezenians also share in their worship– they do not relate the same tradition told by the Epidaurians and Aeginetans. Rather, they say that these maidens arrived from Crete, and when the populace of the city fell into factional disputes, the maidens were stoned to death by their opponents. In memory of this event they hold a festival named Lithobolia ("the Stoning").

2.32.3

On the other side of the enclosure there is a race-course called after Hippolytus, and nearby, a temple of ★ Aphrodite Kataskopia ("She Who Watches"), for from here Phaedra, in love with Hippolytus, would gaze upon him whenever he exercised. Here was still growing the myrtle whose leaves, as I mentioned previously, are pierced through. When Phaedra was overcome with distress, finding no relief from her passion, she used to prick holes into the leaves of this myrtle.

2.32.4

There is also the tomb of Phaedra, not far from the monument of Hippolytus, which itself lies close ★ to the myrtle-tree. As for the image of Asclepius, it was made by Timotheus, but the Troezenians assert it represents not Asclepius but Hippolytus. And I have seen a dwelling said to have belonged to Hippolytus; before it is a spring called Heracleios, whose water, according to the Troezenians, was discovered by Heracles.

2.32.5

On the acropolis called Stheniada there is a temple dedicated to Athena, and the wooden image of the goddess was created by Callon of Aegina. This Callon was a pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion, who made the statue of Apollo for the Delians; and Angelion and Tectaeus themselves learned their craft from Dipoinus and Scyllis.

2.32.6

★ On descending from there is a sanctuary of Pan Lyterios (the Releasing). For it was he who revealed in dreams to the magistrates of Troezen the remedy against a plague afflicting the land of Troezen, and particularly affecting also the Athenians. If one crosses over also into the territory of Troezen, there one will see a temple of Isis, and above that a temple of Aphrodite Akraia ("of the heights"). The temple of Aphrodite was built by the Halicarnassians, as Troezen was their mother-city; but the image of Isis was dedicated by the people of Troezen themselves.

2.32.7

★ On the road through the mountains to Hermione, there is a spring forming the river Hyllikos, originally called the Taurios, and also a rock called the rock of Theseus, itself having changed its name when Theseus took from beneath it the sandals and sword of Aegeus; previously it was called the altar of Zeus Sthenius. Near the rock is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Nymphia, established by Theseus at the time when he took Helen to wife.

2.32.8

★ Outside the wall is also a sanctuary of Poseidon, called Phytalmios ("Nurturer of Plants"). They say that Poseidon, enraged at them, caused their land to become barren by sending seawater that infected their crops and reached down into the roots of the plants. But afterward, appeased by their sacrifices and prayers, he ceased sending brine onto their soil. Above the temple of Poseidon stands a temple dedicated to Demeter Thesmophoros, which, they say, was founded by Althepus.

2.32.9

★ Descending to the harbor near the place called Kelenderis, there is a site known as Genethlion ("Birthplace"), since they say Theseus was born there. Before this place stands a temple of Ares, commemorating the victory Theseus won here in combat against the Amazons. These Amazons presumably were among those who battled against Theseus and the Athenians in Attica.

2.32.10

★ As you travel toward the seaside at Psiphaia, there grows an olive tree called the Twisted Rhakhos. The Troezenians call rhakhos any olive that bears no fruit, whether it yields only leaves, oil-olives, or merely foliage. They give this particular tree the name "Twisted," because it was here, they say, that Hippolytus was overturned from his chariot when its reins became entangled. Not far from this tree stands the sanctuary of Saronian Artemis, about which my narrative has already made mention. I will add only this much more: the Troezenians annually celebrate the festival called Saronia in honor of Artemis.

Chapter 33

2.33.1

The Troezenians possess islands, of which one lies close to the mainland, and can even be reached on foot. This island, now called Sphairia, was previously named "Hiera" (Sacred) for the following reason. On it is found the tomb of Sphairos, who, they say, was once the charioteer of Pelops. It is said that Aithra, following a dream sent by Athena, crossed over onto the island in order to offer libations to his grave; once there, Poseidon is said to have united with her. Because of this encounter, Aithra established there a temple to Athena Apatouria, renaming the island Hiera instead of Sphairia. She also established the custom that the Troezenian maidens dedicate their girdles to Athena Apatouria before marriage. ★

2.33.2

They say that Calaureia was originally sacred to Apollo, at the time when Delphi belonged to Poseidon, and it is also said that the two gods exchanged their territories. A prophetic utterance too is mentioned, which says: ★

"Equal it is to possess Delos and Calaureia, And sacred Pytho and windy Taenarum."

Now there is here a sacred sanctuary of Poseidon, and his priestess is a maiden until the time she reaches the proper age for marriage.

2.33.3

Within the enclosure is also the monument of Demosthenes. In this particular instance especially, I think, divine power has revealed how malevolent fortune can be, just as it did before in Homers case. Homers eyes were already ruined, yet on top of this great misfortune came the further hardship of poverty, driving him onward as a beggar throughout all lands. So too Demosthenes, in his old age, experienced exile, and his death turned out to be so violent. Now certainly much about him has been said by others, and indeed by Demosthenes himself–but at least he never shared in the money that Harpalus brought over from Asia. ?

2.33.4

I will now explain what happened afterward. Harpalus, having fled from Athens, crossed by ship to Crete, where shortly afterward he was killed by servants who attended him; but some say he was murdered through the plotting of a Macedonian named Pausanias. His treasurer had fled to Rhodes, where the Macedonian Philoxenus, who had previously demanded Harpalus himself from the Athenians, captured him. Holding this servant, Philoxenus interrogated him until he learned everything about all those who had accepted any money from Harpalus. ?

2.33.5

When Alexander learned of it, he wrote letters to Athens. In these letters he named those who had accepted money from Harpalus, enumerating both the individuals themselves and the amount each had received; but he made no mention whatsoever of Demosthenes, although Demosthenes was especially hated by Alexander and had personally offended him. Thus Demosthenes is honored in other regions of Greece as well, including by the inhabitants of Calaureia.

Chapter 34

2.34.1

In the territory of Troezen there is an isthmus which juts far out into the sea, and upon it a small coastal town, Methana, has been built. Here stands a sanctuary of Isis, and in the marketplace there are images set up, one of Hermes and another of Heracles. About thirty stades from this town are hot baths; people say that the water first appeared during the reign of Antigonus, son of Demetrius, who was king of the Macedonians at that time. Yet it was not water that immediately appeared, but first a great flame burst forth from the earth, and only when this subsided did the water flow out, which still today comes forth hot and exceedingly salty. When one bathes here, neither cold water is close at hand, nor can one safely swim out into the sea, as the place harbors many sea creatures, including especially abundant sharks.

2.34.2

I will also record here something at Methana which especially aroused my wonder. Whenever the vines are sprouting, the southwest wind (Lips) blowing in upon them from the Saronic Gulf spoils the young shoots. Thus, while the wind is still blowing, two men divide a white rooster–with feathers everywhere entirely white–into two halves, and then run in opposite directions around the vineyard, each one carrying half the bird. When they reach again the point from which they set out, they bury the rooster there.

2.34.3

This is their device against the southwest wind: the small islands lying in front of this region, nine in number, they call the Islands of Pelops. They say that, when the god sends rain, one of these islands alone receives none. Whether or not this is truly so, I do not know; but so claimed the people at Methana, for indeed I have myself seen men warding off hailstorms by sacrifices and incantations.

2.34.4

Methana is indeed an isthmus of the Peloponnesus. Within this isthmus, Hermione borders upon the territory of Troezen. The people of Hermione say that their ancient city was founded by Hermion, son of Europs. Now, Herophanes of Troezen stated that Europs–who was a son of Phoroneus–was illegitimate; for it was never likely, he said, that Argus, the grandson of Niobe and descendant of Phoroneus, would have come to rule in Argos, had there been a legitimate son of Phoroneus still alive.

2.34.5

But as for me, even if Europs was truly genuine but was overtaken by destiny earlier than Phoroneus, I am quite certain that his son would still not have been considered equal to the son of Niobe, who was believed to be of Zeus. Later, the Dorians who arrived from Argos also settled Hermione; and I do not think there was war between them, for it would have been mentioned by the Argives.

2.34.6

The road from Troezen to Hermione passes by a rock, which was formerly called the Altar of Zeus Sthenius, but after Theseus took up the tokens (left there), people today call it the Rock of Theseus. Alongside this rock, as one continues along the mountainous road, there is a temple to Apollo, surnamed Platanistius, and also a place called Eileoi, in which there are sanctuaries of Demeter and of her daughter Kore. Near the sea, at the borders of the territory of Hermione, there is also a sanctuary of Demeter, who is surnamed Thermasia.

2.34.7

Cape Scyllaeum lies at a distance of approximately eighty stades from the island named after the daughter Nisos. For when Minos captured Nisaia and Megara through this woman's betrayal, he declared that she would no longer be his wife, and commanded the Cretans to cast her out from their ship. When she died, the waves cast her body onto this promontory. They show no tomb for her, but say that her corpse was seen lying there and was torn apart by seabirds.

2.34.8

From Scyllaeum, sailing toward the city, there is another promontory called Bucephala, and past this cape there are islands: the first is Halioussa–which provides a harbor that is suitable for ships to anchor–after this is Pityoussa, and the third island is called Aristera. Sailing past these islands there is another promontory extending from the mainland, named Colyergia, and then, after it, an island called Tricrana, and a mountain projecting into the sea from the Peloponnese, named Buporthmus. At Buporthmus, sanctuaries have been constructed for Demeter and her daughter, and also one for Athena.

2.34.9

The goddess bears the surname Promachorma. In front lies the island of Aperopia, belonging to Bouporthmos; not far from Aperopia lies another island called Hydrea. Beyond this island, on the mainland, the coast curves like a crescent, after which extends a headland running out from the shore towards Poseidion, beginning from the sea on the east side and projecting toward the west. It has harbors within it. The length of this headland is about seven stades, but where it is widest, it does not exceed three stades in breadth.

2.34.10

Here the Hermionians had their former city. Even now there still remain sacred places there: at the very beginning, a sanctuary of Poseidon situated beside the shore; and farther on from the sea, ascending into the higher ground, a temple of Athena. Beside this temple are the foundations of a stadium, and they say that the sons of Tyndareus competed in that place. There is also another sanctuary of Athena, smaller, whose roof has collapsed; as well as a temple to Helios and another to the Graces. There is also one temple built for Sarapis and Isis; moreover, enclosures composed of large, selected stones exist, within which the Hermionians perform secret rites in honor of Demeter.

2.34.11

So much, then, for the local things of the Hermioneans. The city of my own time lies about four stades away from the headland on which the temple of Poseidon stands. Situated on level ground at first, it then gently ascends to a slope, already forming part of Pron. For they call this mountain Pron. A wall surrounds the whole of Hermione. Other things were offered to description, but above all I thought most worthy of mention the temple of Aphrodite, surnamed Pontia (of the Sea) and Limenia (of the Harbor), which contains an image of white marble, great in size and remarkable in artistic workmanship.

2.34.12

There is also another temple of Aphrodite, who among the people of Hermione receives special honors besides. It has been established here as customary that all maidens, as well as widows intending to remarry, must sacrifice to her before their wedding. Sanctuaries of Demeter Thermasia have been erected, one on the borders toward Troezenia, as I have already mentioned, and another within the city itself.

Chapter 35

2.35.1

Near it is a sanctuary of Dionysus called Melanaigis; for him they celebrate annually a musical contest, and they offer prizes also for competition in swimming and boat-races. There is also a temple of Artemis surnamed Iphigenia, and a bronze statue of Poseidon standing with one foot upon a dolphin. Passing into the sanctuary of Hestia, there is no image present, only an altar.

2.35.2

Upon it they sacrifice to Hestia. There are three temples and three statues of Apollo. One of these has no special epithet, another they name Pytheus, and the third is called Horios ("of Boundaries"). They learned the name Pytheus from the Argives, for, according to Telesilla, Pytheus, a son of Apollo, was the first among the Greeks to come to their land. As for the one they call Horios, I cannot say precisely why they gave him this name, but I conjecture that they so honored Apollo under the title "Horios" after winning, whether by war or in arbitration, some dispute over territorial boundaries.

2.35.3

The sanctuary of Tyche, according to the Hermioneans, is the most recent among the temples in their city, and in it stands a colossal statue made from Parian marble. They possess one very ancient spring, into which the water flows down invisibly. It would never run dry, even if all the people descended at once to draw water from it. Another spring was constructed in our own times; the place from which its water flows into it is called Leimon ("Meadow").

2.35.4

The sanctuary most worthy of mention is that of Demeter on Pron. According to the people of Hermione, this sanctuary was founded by Clymenus, the son of Phoroneus, and by Clymenus' sister Chthonia. But the Argives say that when Demeter came into the Argolis, Atheras and Mysius offered hospitality to the goddess, while Colontas neither welcomed her into his house nor showed her any other form of honor–and in so doing acted against the wishes of his daughter, Chthonia. For this, they say, Colontas was consumed by fire along with his house; but Chthonia was taken by Demeter to Hermione, where she established this sanctuary for the people of Hermione.

2.35.5

The goddess herself is called Chthonia, and each year they celebrate a festival called the Chthonia during summertime, which they perform in this manner. Leading their procession are the priests of the gods and those who hold annual offices, followed by men and women. Even the children take part in honoring the goddess by joining the procession; they wear white garments and wreaths on their heads. Their wreaths are woven from the flower that the locals call kosmosandalon, which, in my view, resembles a hyacinth both in size and color; it even bears the same markings found in the lament associated with the hyacinth.

2.35.6

Those conducting the procession are followed by others leading a full-grown cow chosen from the herd, bound in ropes and still violent from its wildness. Once they have driven it towards the temple, some loosen the ropes to let the cow run inside the sanctuary, while others, who until then hold the doors open wide, shut them as soon as they see the cow enter within.

2.35.7

★ Inside remain four old women whose duty it is to dispatch the cow; for one of them, whoever happens to do so, cuts the throat of the cow with a sickle. Thereupon the doors are opened, and those who are appointed bring forward a second cow, and upon this a third, and another, a fourth. The old women then dispatch them all in the same manner. Moreover, a further marvel accompanies the sacrifice: whichever side the first cow falls upon, all the others must necessarily fall upon that same side.

2.35.8

? The sacrifice at Hermione is performed in the manner described above. Before the temple stand a few statues, dedicated by women who once served as priestesses of Demeter. Upon entering, there are seats on which the old women sit, awaiting the successive driving-in of each cow. Here also are statues, not particularly ancient, representing Athena and Demeter. But as for that object which they revere above all else, neither I myself have seen it, nor indeed has any other man, whether foreigner or citizen of Hermione itself; only the elderly women alone know what manner of thing it is.

2.35.9

★? There is also another temple, and statues stand all around it. This temple is directly opposite that of Chthonia. It is called the temple of Clymenus, and here they sacrifice to Clymenus. Now, I myself do not believe that Clymenus was an Argive who came to Hermione, but rather that this is a surname of the god whom tradition says is king beneath the earth.

2.35.10

★ Beside this place there is another temple, containing an image of Ares; and at the right-hand side of the temple of Chthonia stands a portico called by the natives “Echo”; for even if a man speaks but lightly here, the sound is naturally echoed back at least three times. Behind the temple of Chthonia are precincts which the people of Hermione call, one of them that of Clymenus, another that of Pluto, and the third of them Lake Acherusia. All these precincts are enclosed with walls of stone, and inside the precinct of Clymenus there is a chasm in the earth. Through this opening, according to the tradition of the Hermionians, Heracles brought up from Hades the dog of the underworld.

2.35.11

Near the gate by which a straight road leads toward Mass, within the city wall, stands a sanctuary of Eileithyia. Daily they greatly propitiate the goddess with sacrifices and offerings of incense, and many votive gifts are dedicated to Eileithyia. However, no one except only the priestesses may look upon the statue.

Chapter 80

Chapter 36

2.36.1

Going forward by the straight road in the direction of Mases, after about seven stades, and turning aside to the left, there is a road leading to Halike. In my time Halike is deserted, but it was once inhabited. Mention of Halike occurs on the Epidaurians' stone tablets, which contain inscriptions of the cures effected by Asclepius; this aside, I know of no other writing worthy of consideration that makes reference either to the city Halike or to its inhabitants, the Halikians. Nevertheless, there is also a road to this city, situated between Mount Pron and another mountain originally named Thornax; it is said that this latter mountain received a new name due to the event in which Zeus changed into the bird known as the cuckoo. ?

2.36.2

Sanctuaries even today stand on the summits of the mountains: on Mount Coccygius a sanctuary of Zeus, while at Pron is one of Hera. At the boundary of Coccygius there is also a temple, though it has neither doors nor roof, nor does it contain any statue. This temple was said to be dedicated to Apollo. Beside it, a path leads to Mases for those turning aside from the straight road. Mases was once a city, as Homer indicates within his Catalogue of the Argives, but in our time the Hermionians used it as their harbor. ?

2.36.3

From Masetos there is a road on the right leading to a promontory called Strouthous. From this promontory it is two hundred and fifty stades, following along the mountain peaks, to a place called Philanorion and to the cairns called Boleoi; these same Boleoi are heaps of gathered stones. Another place, called Didymoi, lies twenty stades distant from there; here are sanctuaries of Apollo, of Poseidon, and, above these, of Demeter, containing upright statues of white stone.

2.36.4

Next to this lies the place belonging to the Argives which was once called Asinaea, and on the coast are the ruins of Asine. Now, when the Lacedaemonians, under their king Nicander son of Charillus son of Polydectes son of Eunomus son of Prytanis son of Eurypon, invaded Argolis with an army, the people of Asine joined forces with them, and together they laid waste the land of the Argives. But when the Lacedaemonian forces had withdrawn homeward, the Argives and their king Eratus marched against Asine.

2.36.5

For a time the Asinaeans defended their walls and killed, among others, Lysistratus, one of the most distinguished of the Argives. But when the walls were captured, they embarked their women and children onto ships and abandoned their city. The Argives razed Asine to the ground, annexed the territory to their own, and spared only the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus–which remains visible even now–and buried Lysistratus near it.

2.36.6

The sea at Lerna is distant from the city of the Argives forty stadia and no more. As one descends toward Lerna, first along the road is the Erasinus river, which flows into the Phrixus, and the Phrixus then empties into the sea between Temenium and Lerna. About eight stadia to the left after crossing the Erasinus is a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, named the Anakes; their wooden images here are fashioned exactly like those in the city.

2.36.7

★ Turning back to the main road, you cross the Erasinus, and arrive at the river Cheimarron. Near it is an enclosure of stones, and here, they say, Pluto descended to the underworld, when he carried off Kore, the daughter of Demeter; this place is considered the entrance to the subterranean realm. Lerna, as my previous account stated, lies near the sea, and here they perform the festival Lernaia in honor of Demeter.

2.36.8

★ There is there a sacred grove, beginning from a mountain called Pontinos. This Mount Pontinos does not permit the water from the god to flow away, but takes it into itself. A river called Pontinos also flows from it. On the summit of the mountain are a sanctuary of Athena Saitis–now only ruins remain–and the foundations of the house of Hippomedon, who came to Thebes to give aid to Polyneices, the son of Oedipus.

Chapter 37

2.37.1

Beginning from this mountain, the grove extends, chiefly made up of plane trees, all the way down to the sea. Boundaries of the grove are, on one side, the river Pontinus, and on the other side, another river called Amymone, named after Amymone, the daughter of Danaus. Inside the grove are statues of Demeter Prosymne and Dionysus, as well as a small seated statue of Demeter.

2.37.2

These statues are of stone, and elsewhere there is, in a temple, a wooden image of Dionysus Saotes seated, and near the sea a stone statue of Aphrodite. They say that the daughters of Danaus dedicated this image, and that Danaus himself established the sanctuary of Athena by the Pontinus. And they claim that Philammon established the mystic rites of Lerna. Regarding the words spoken during the ritual actions, it is clear that they are not ancient.

2.37.3

But regarding what I have heard was inscribed upon the heart crafted from orichalcum, even these inscriptions were not discovered by Philammon's son, Arriphon. One was found long ago by a certain Triconian from among the people of Aetolia; the other was found in our generation by a Lycian, particularly esteemed and remarkably skilled at uncovering things that no one previously had seen, indeed who detected these inscriptions in this very manner. The verses, and all the prose portions interspersed among them, were composed entirely in the Dorian dialect. Now before the Heraclidae descended into the Peloponnesus, the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians. And it seems to me that, at the time of Philammon, even the name of the Dorians was not yet known among all Greeks.

2.37.4

These then he described as being so. Beside the spring of Amymone there grows a plane-tree; beneath this plane-tree, they say, the Hydra was nurtured. For my part, I am convinced that this beast surpassed other water-serpents in size and had venom so deadly that Heracles used its gall to poison the tips of his arrows. It seems to me that it had only one head, and not several; but Peisander of Camirus, wishing the creature to appear more terrifying and intending thereby to make his poetry more impressive, has given the Hydra many heads instead of one.

2.37.5

I saw also a spring called that of Amphiaraus, and the lake named Alkyonia, through which the Argives say Dionysus descended into Hades to bring back Semele, and that Polymnus showed him this descent. Alkyonia has no known bottom, nor do I know of anyone who by any contrivance whatsoever has succeeded in reaching its extremity. Even Nero, after preparing ropes many stadia long, fastening them together, and attaching lead weights to them–as well as other things useful to his experiment–was unable to discover any limit to its depth.

2.37.6

I also heard this other thing: the water of the lake, to one who sees it, appears calm and gentle; but despite this appearance, it is by nature such that anyone daring to swim across is dragged down–it seizes him, carries him below to the depths, and does not release him again. The circuit of the lake is small, about one-third of a stade, and along its banks grass and reeds grow. Concerning the rites performed yearly at night here in honor of Dionysus, it would not have been proper for me to write openly for everyone.

Chapter 38

2.38.1

Going from Lerna toward Temenion–Temenion belongs to the Argives and was named after Temenos, the son of Aristomachos; for Temenos, having seized and fortified the place, waged war from there together with the Dorians against Tisamenos and the Achaeans–in this very Temenion, as one journeys there, the river Phrixos empties into the sea. In Temenion there is a sanctuary of Poseidon and another sanctuary of Aphrodite, as well as the tomb of Temenos, which receives honors from the Dorians who dwell in Argos. ★

2.38.2

Nauplia lies, as it seems to me, fifty stadia distant from Temenium. In our time it is deserted, but its founder is said to have been Nauplius, who was born from Poseidon and Amymone. Remains of walls still survive, and at Nauplia there is a sanctuary of Poseidon, as well as harbors and a spring called Canathus. Here, according to Argive tradition, Hera bathes each year and thus renews her virginity. ★

2.38.3

This indeed is the account of secret matters from the ritual they perform in honor of Hera. But the story told by the people of Nauplia concerning the donkey–that by nibbling excessively on a vine-shoot it revealed for future times a more abundant crop (and for this reason they have a donkey made of stone, commemorating how it taught them vine-pruning)–this story I pass over, considering it not worthy of mention. ?

2.38.4

From Lerna there is another road along the sea leading to a place they call Genesium. By the seaside at Genesium is a sanctuary of Poseidon, small in size. Next to this lies another place called Apobathmoi ("the Landing"), where they say Danaus and his daughters first landed on the soil of Argolis. Continuing from there, the route crosses an area named Anigraia, both narrow and otherwise difficult to pass. On one's left, the land slopes downward toward the sea and produces good trees–especially olive trees. ★

2.38.5

Inland above the city there is a region where once three hundred chosen Argives fought for possession of the land against an equal number of Spartans, likewise selected men. After they had all fallen except one Spartan and two Argives, tombs were raised there for those who had died. Later, the Lacedaemonians,

when they had defeated the Argives in a full-scale engagement, firmly secured possession of this territory. They themselves cultivated it for a time, and subsequently gave it to the Aeginetans, who had been driven out of their island by the Athenians. But in my own time the Argives once again inhabited the Thyreatis, claiming that they had rightfully recovered it by prevailing in a judicial dispute.

2.38.6

★ As one proceeds from the burial-places, there is Anthene, where once the Aeginetans settled, and another village called Neris; then a third, Eva, the largest of these villages. In Eva is a sanctuary of Polemocrates. This Polemocrates is himself a son of Machaon and a brother of Alexanor; he heals the people of that district, and receives honors from the neighboring inhabitants.

2.38.7

Mount Parnon rises above the villages, and upon it lie boundaries which separate the Lacedaemonians from both the Argives and the Tegeans. At these boundaries stand stone images of Hermes, from which the place takes its name. A river called Tanaus–the only one indeed that descends from Mount Parnon–flows through the Argive land and empties into the Thyreatic Gulf.

Part III

Book 3: Laconia

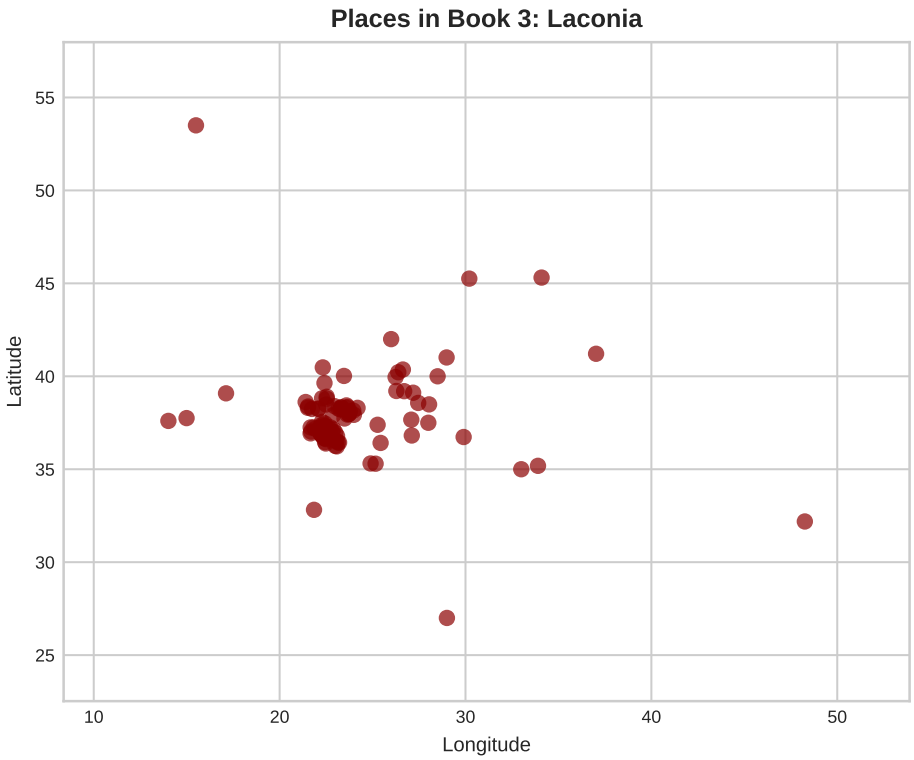

Figure 82.1: Places mentioned in Book 3: Laconia

Chapter 83

Chapter 1

3.1.1

After the Herms, going westward, you come presently to the part called Laconia. According to the accounts of the Lacedaemonians themselves, Lelex, an earth-born native, was the first king who ruled this land, and from him the Leleges, the people he governed, derived their name. Lelex had two sons, Myles and a younger one, Polycaon. On another occasion I shall explain where Polycaon went and why he left the country. On the death of Myles, his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne. Eurotas channeled off the standing water that filled the plain by cutting a canal to the sea; and when this water had drained away, the stream that remained became a river, which he named Eurotas after himself.

3.1.2

Since he himself had no male children, he left the kingdom of Lakedaimon to Lakedaimon, whose mother was Taygete–from whom the mountain also received its name–and who, according to tradition, traced his descent on his father's side back to Zeus. Lakedaimon married Sparta, daughter of Eurotas. When he took power, he first transferred his own name onto the land and its people; afterward, he founded a city, naming it after his wife. This city is still called Sparta even now.

3.1.3

Amyclas, son of Lacedaemon, desiring himself also to leave something behind in remembrance, founded a small town in Laconia. Among his sons, Hyacinthus, the youngest and the most handsome in appearance, was overtaken by fate before his father. The tomb of Hyacinthus is in Amyclae, beneath the image of Apollo. After the death of Amyclas, the succession of rule passed first to Argalus, the eldest of Amyclas' sons, and afterward, upon the death of Argalus, to Cynortas.

3.1.4

From Cynortas was born Oibalos. He married Gorgophone, the wife of Perseus, from Argos, and had a son Tyndareus. Hippocoön contended with this Tyndareus about the kingship, arguing that he had the stronger claim by birthright. Taking on his side Icarius and his followers, Hippocoön far surpassed Tyndareus in strength and compelled him to flee in fear. According to the Lacedaemonians, he withdrew to Pellana, but the Messenians have a different tradition concerning him; they say that when Tyndareus was driven into exile, he came to Aphareus in Messenia. Aphareus, the son of Perieres, was Tyndareus' maternal half-brother. They claim further that Tyndareus lived in Thalamae in Messenia, and that here, while he was residing there, his children were born.

3.1.5

★ Later, after some time, Tyndareus was restored by Heracles' aid and regained the throne. The sons of Tyndareus also ruled, as well as Menelaus the son of Atreus, Tyndareus' son-in-law; and Orestes, who was wedded to Hermione, daughter of Menelaus. When the Heracleidae returned during the reign of Orestes' son Tisamenus, Argos and Messenia each received Temenus and Cresphontes respectively as their rulers. In Lacedaemon, due to the twins who were the sons of Aristodemus, two royal houses emerged.

3.1.6

★ For they say he pleased the Pythia. But Aristodemus himself, it is told, met his death at Delphi before the Dorians descended into the Peloponnesus. Some indeed glorify his story, saying that Aristodemus was shot by Apollo, because he had not approached the oracle but had previously inquired from Heracles, who appeared to him, how the planned descent of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus would turn out. The more truthful account, however, maintains that the sons of Pylades and Electra, cousins of Tisamenus son of Orestes, killed Aristodemus.

3.1.7

★ His sons were named Procles and Eurysthenes, who were twins but exceedingly different in character. Though they had fallen into great mutual enmity, they nonetheless came together in undertaking a colony under the leadership of Theras, son of Autesion. Theras himself was their guardian, being the brother of their Argive mother. Theras dispatched the colony to the island then called Calliste, anticipating that the descendants of Membliarus would voluntarily yield the royal rule to him–which indeed they did.

3.1.8

Taking into consideration that on Thers himself the family line went back to Cadmus, while they themselves were descendants of Membliarus; and Membliarus was a townsman whom Cadmus had appointed leader of the settlers he left behind on the island. Thers changed the name of the island, naming it after himself, and even now the Therans, every year, offer sacrifices to him as their founder. Procles and Eurysthenes agreed with Thers only insofar as their enthusiasm toward him went, but concerning all other matters their opinions were completely at variance.

3.1.9

Nevertheless, even if their descendants had agreed, they would not have been able to unite them into one common list. For their generations did not all coincide exactly, so that cousin could correspond with cousin, or cousins' children or others further down the line could match one another perfectly in number. Therefore, I shall discuss each of their houses separately, rather than mingling them both together at once.

Chapter 84

Chapter 2

3.2.1

They say that Agis, son of Eurysthenes, the elder of the sons of Aristodemus, reached maturity; and from this man, the house of Eurysthenes is called the Agiadae. In his reign, when Patreus, the son of Preugenes, was founding a city in Achaia–a city still called Patrae after this Patreus–the Lacedaemonians assisted him in this settlement. They also helped Gras, the son of Echelas, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes, who was sailing out with ships for colonization. Gras was destined to occupy the region between Ionia and Mysia, known in our day as Aeolis. Penthilus, his ancestor, had already seized Lesbos, an island opposite this mainland.

3.2.2

During the reign of Echestratus son of Agis in Sparta, the Lacedaemonians forcibly expelled the Cynurians who were of military age, alleging as justification that while the Argives, their own kinsmen, inhabited Argolis, raiders from Cynuria continually committed criminal acts, and the Cynurians themselves openly launched incursions into Argive territory. It is said, moreover, that the Cynurians were originally Argives, and they claim that their founder was Cynurus, son of Perseus.

3.2.3

A few years afterward, Labotas, son of Echestratus, obtained the kingdom at Sparta. Herodotus, in his account involving Croesus, states that this Labotas, while still a child, was placed under the guardianship of Lycurgus, who established the laws. However, he gives him the name Leobotes rather than Labotas. At this time, it first occurred to the Lacedaemonians to wage war against the Argives. Their charges against the Argives were that the Argives were seizing and cutting off a portion of Cynuria, their own territory, and inciting the Perioeci who were subject to Sparta to revolt. Then, however, war having broken out on neither side, nothing noteworthy is said to have occurred.

3.2.4

The next kings of this house after him, Doryssus son of Labotas and Agesilaus son of Doryssus, soon had their destinies catch up with them both. It was during the reign of Agesilaus that Lycurgus established for the Lacedaemonians their laws; some say he enacted these laws after consultation at Delphi with the Pythian Oracle, while others claim that he simply introduced legislation borrowed from Crete. The Cretans assert that these laws were originally established for them by Minos, who did not devise them without divine guidance. Homer too, it seems to me, alluded in poetic form to Minos' role as legislator in the following verses:

"In it is Cnossus, a great city, where Minos ruled as king, who conversed as a friend with mighty Zeus, every ninth year." (Homer, Odyssey 19.178)

3.2.5

Of Lycurgus I will make mention later in my account. Agesilaus had a son named Archelaus. During his reign the Lacedaemonians, prevailing in war, enslaved Aegys, a town of the Perioeci, suspecting that the inhabitants of Aegys sympathized with the views of the Arcadians. Charilaus, king of the other royal house, aided Archelaus in capturing Aegys, but concerning the deeds Charilaus himself accomplished personally as leader of the Lacedaemonians, I will speak of these also later, when my narrative transitions to the lineage called the Eurypontidae.

3.2.6

Teleklos was the son of Archelaos. During his reign, the Lacedaemonians defeated and captured cities of the Perioeci in war: Amyklai, Pharis, and Geranthrai, which were still occupied by the Achaeans. Of these, the Pharitai and Geranthratai, having been thoroughly alarmed by the Dorian invasion, agreed by treaty to depart from the Peloponnese. But the Amyklaians were not driven out by a sudden attack, but rather resisted the war for a long time and performed actions of no small fame. Indeed, the Dorians themselves demonstrated this point clearly by setting up a trophy commemorating their victory over the Amyklaians, thus proving that in those days this success was considered by them the most worthy of mention. Not long afterward, Teleklos was slain by the Messenians in the sanctuary of Artemis. This sanctuary was established on the border between Laconia and Messenia, in a place called Limnai.

3.2.7

On the death of Teleclus, Alcamenes, his son, succeeded to the throne. The Lacedaemonians dispatched Charmidas, the son of Euthys, to Crete, a man of good repute in Sparta, to quell the factions among the Cretans and to persuade them to abandon those towns situated away from the sea and otherwise weak, and instead to consolidate settlements in positions advantageously located for seafaring. Moreover, they attacked Helos, a coastal town held by the Achaeans, and defeated in battle the Argives who came to the Helots' aid.

Chapter 3

3.3.1

After the death of Alcamenes, Polydorus, the son of Alcamenes, took up the kingship. During his reign ? the Lacedaemonians sent a colony to Italy, the one to Croton, and another colony to the Locri by the promontory of Zephyrium. It was also chiefly during the reign of Polydorus that the war known as the Messenian War reached its height. Now, concerning the causes of this war, Lacedaemonians and Messenians do not give the same accounts.

3.3.2

The things said by them, then, and how the war came to an end, the narrative will clearly reveal in due order. At present, we shall recall only this much about them: that during the earlier war against the Messenians, the Lacedaemonians were led for the most part by Theopompus, the son of Nicander, who was king from the other royal house. After the war against Messene had been brought to completion, and the Lacedaemonians already held Messenia by conquest, Polydorus was highly esteemed in Sparta and enjoyed the greatest favor among the people of Lacedaemon; for he neither ever committed an act of violence nor spoke insolently to anyone, and in his judgments he guarded justice without neglecting humanity. Already Polydorus had attained great distinction–

3.3.3

Throughout all Greece was known the name of Polemarchus, a man of no obscure family at Lacedae- ? mon, who revealed the audacity of his character by murdering Polydorus. After Polydorus' death, great and distinguished honours were paid him by the Lacedaemonians. However, in Sparta there also stands the tomb of Polemarchus himself; whether because the Spartans considered him previously to have been a good man, or because his relatives secretly buried him there.

3.3.4

During the reign of Eurycrates, the son of Polydorus, the Messenians submitted as subjects under the Lacedaemonians, and they experienced no new disturbances originating from the Argive people. But in the reign of Anaxander, the son of Eurycrates–for the fulfillment of destiny now drove the Messenians completely from the Peloponnese–they revolted against the Lacedaemonians. For a time they endured in war; but when finally subdued under terms of treaty, they departed out of the Peloponnese. Those who remained behind became serfs upon the land belonging to the Lacedaemonians, except for those who occupied the small coastal towns.

3.3.5

What happened during the war waged by the Messenians when they revolted against the Lacedaemonians is not timely for me to relate in the present narrative. Anaxander had a son named Eurycrates, and this second Eurycrates had a son Leon. During the reign of these kings, the Lacedaemonians suffered frequent reverses in their war against the Tegeans. But under Anaxandridas, the son of Leon, they came to prevail over the Tegeans in war; and this happened as follows: A certain Lacedaemonian, named Lichas, arrived at Tegea.

3.3.6

★ At that time the cities happened to be observing a truce. Upon his arrival, Lichas began searching for the bones of Orestes, a search initiated by the Spartans in response to an oracle. Lichas understood that the bones lay buried in a smith's house, and he reasoned in this manner: he related all he saw in the smith's dwelling to the oracle from Delphi, interpreting the smith's bellows as the "winds," since they emitted a powerful blast of air; the hammer he took as the "blow" and the anvil as the object struck. The iron, he reasoned, naturally represented "harm to man," for people had already begun using iron in battles. Had the oracle referred to the age of heroes, the god would surely have called bronze, not iron, the metal harmful to humankind.

3.3.7

★ The oracle which later came to the Athenians concerning Theseus was similar to the earlier oracle given to the Lacedaemonians about the bones of Orestes. It stated that if they brought back Theseus from Scyros to Athens, only then would they be able to take Scyros. Cimon, son of Miltiades, discovered the bones of Theseus by employing cleverness, and soon afterward he succeeded in capturing Scyros.

3.3.8

★ That in the time of the heroes all armor was likewise made entirely of bronze is attested for me also by Homer's verses concerning both the axe of Peisandros and the arrow of Meriones. Furthermore, my assertion is confirmed by the spear of Achilles preserved in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and the sword of Memnon in the temple of Asclepius among the Nicomedians; the spear-point and butt-spike of the former, and indeed the entire sword, are fashioned entirely of bronze.

3.3.9

These things we indeed know stand thus: Anaxandridas, son of Leon, alone among the Lacedaemonians kept two wives at the same time and maintained two households simultaneously. For his former wife, although excellent in all other ways, had not borne him any children; the ephors urged him to divorce her, but he firmly refused this request. However, he granted them so much concession as to take another wife in addition to her. The second woman he married conceived and bore Cleomenes. Shortly afterwards, the first wife, who had previously been barren, herself bore him Dorieus, and later Leonidas, and after them Cleombrotus.

3.3.10

After Anaxandrides died, the Lacedaemonians, although reluctantly rejecting Dorieus, since they judged Cleomenes to be superior in intelligence and more capable in warfare, awarded Cleomenes the authority of kingship according to their laws of seniority.

Chapter 86

Chapter 4

3.4.1

Dorieus–since he could not endure to be subject to Cleomenes by remaining in Lacedaemon–departed to establish a colony. Cleomenes, however, as soon as he came to the throne, immediately invaded Argolis, gathering an army from both the Spartans themselves and their allies. When the Argives came forth armed against him, Cleomenes defeated them in battle; nearby was a grove sacred to Argus, son of Niobe, and about five thousand of the Argives fled into this grove after their defeat. Then Cleomenes, who frequently acted from rash impulse, ordered the Helots at that time also to set fire to the grove; thus, the flames overtook the entire grove, and along with its burning the suppliants within it all perished together.

3.4.2

He also made war upon Athens: the first time, winning freedom for the Athenians from the sons of Peisistratus and gaining thereby high esteem among the Greeks for himself and for the Lacedaemonians; later, however, he went again, collaborating with the Athenian Isagoras to impose tyranny upon Athens. But when his hopes failed and the Athenians resolutely fought for their freedom, Cleomenes devastated parts of their land, including the district known as Orgas sacred to the deities of Eleusis; it is said he even cut down this grove. He also sailed to Aegina and arrested the leading men among the Aeginetans who had been party to the Medizing faction and had persuaded their fellow citizens to give earth and water to King Darius, son of Hystaspes.

3.4.3

While Cleomenes was spending time in Aegina, Demaratus, the king from the other royal house, began maligning him among the populace of the Lacedaemonians. When Cleomenes returned from Aegina, he sought to depose Demaratus from kingship, and he bribed the prophetess at Delphi to deliver oracles against Demaratus to the Lacedaemonians, precisely in accordance with his own instructions. He also encouraged Leotychidas, a man of royal lineage and belonging to the same house as Demaratus, to compete with him for the throne.

3.4.4

Leotychides based his arguments on words once spoken by Ariston, who had disowned Demaratus at his birth, due to ignorance asserting that he was not his own son. At that time, the Lacedaemonians, as was their usual practice in all other matters, brought this controversy concerning Demaratus as well

before the oracle at Delphi; and the priestess gave them an answer which corresponded exactly to the wishes of Cleomenes.

3.4.5

? Demaratus was indeed deprived of his kingship through the hatred of Cleomenes, and not according to justice; Cleomenes himself, afterward, met his end through madness. For, having grasped his sword, he wounded himself, mutilating and hacking all parts of his body. The Argives say his life met such an end because he was thus paying the penalty for the suppliants from Argos; the Athenians say it was because he devastated Orgas; and the Delphians declare it was owing to the gifts he gave the priestess, persuading her to give false oracles about Demaratus.

3.4.6

★? Indeed, it may well be that the resentments of heroes and gods alike converged together upon Cleomenes. Certainly we know that Protesilaus, a hero in Elaeus, who was not more renowned than Argos, individually exacted vengeance upon Artayctes, a Persian, nor did it ever happen for the Megarians to appease the anger of the Eleusinian divinities after they had cultivated sacred ground. And as for the trial of the oracle, we know of absolutely no other person who ever dared attempt it but Cleomenes alone.

3.4.7

Since Cleomenes had no male children, the rule descended to Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, the brother of Dorieus on both sides. It was at this time that Xerxes led his army against Greece, and Leonidas faced him at Thermopylae along with three hundred Lacedaemonians. Indeed, there have been many wars among Greeks themselves and also against barbarians, but few can be counted in which the valor of a single man has achieved such high renown, as Achilles in the war against Troy, and Miltiades at Marathon. Yet, to my mind, Leonidas's deed surpasses all that occurred in later times as well as those that came before.

3.4.8

For Xerxes, whose pride exceeded that of all kings who subsequently ruled the Medes and the Persians, and whose exploits displayed such remarkable brilliance, Leonidas, with the small band he led to Thermopylae, would have effectively barred his march, preventing him from even seeing Greece at all or ever setting fire to the city of the Athenians–if only the Trachinian had not guided the troops led by Hydarnes along the narrow path running through Oeta, thus enabling the Persians to encircle the Greeks and thereby overcome Leonidas, after whose defeat the barbarians gained entrance into Greece.

3.4.9

Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, did not become king; rather, he acted as regent for Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who had been left still a child. He led the Lacedaemonians to Plataea and later sailed with them in ships to the Hellespont. Among the acts of Pausanias, I particularly commend the noble deed concerning the woman of Cos: she was a daughter of Hegetorides, son of Antagoras, a man not without distinction among the Coans, and she had been taken forcibly as a concubine by Pharandates, son of Teaspis, a Persian.

3.4.10

When Mardonius fell in battle at Plataea and the barbarians were defeated, Pausanias sent the woman to Cos along with the jewelry which the Persian had made for her and all other belongings she possessed.

Pausanias also refused to dishonor the corpse of Mardonius, despite the suggestion made by Lampon of Aegina.

Chapter 87

Chapter 5

3.5.1

Now Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas, having recently assumed the kingship, died, and Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias who had commanded at Plataea, succeeded to the throne. Pleistoanax had a son, Pausanias, who led an expedition into Attica against Thrasybulus and the Athenians, nominally as an enemy to them, but in reality intending to establish firmly in power those who had been invested with authority by Lysander. Pausanias defeated in battle the Athenians who held the Peiraeus, but immediately after this victory resolved to withdraw his forces and return home, considering it preferable not to aid impious men in increasing their tyranny, nor to bring upon Sparta the most shameful of reproaches.

3.5.2

When he returned from Athens after having fought an unsuccessful battle, his enemies brought him to trial. The court for a king of the Lacedaemonians was held by the men called Elders, twenty-eight in total, along with the magistrates of the ephors, and together with them sat also the king from the other royal house. Fourteen of the Elders, joined by Agis, the king from the other royal house, found Pausanias guilty of wrongdoing.

3.5.3

The remaining charges the court rejected. A short time afterwards, the Lacedaemonians began gathering an army against Thebes–the reason for which expedition I will explain in my account of Agesilaus. At that time, Lysander arrived in Phocis, and having mustered the entire Phocian force without any further delay, entered Boeotia and began assaulting the walls of Haliartus, since the people there were unwilling to revolt from the Thebans. Meanwhile, some Thebans and Athenians had already secretly entered the city; these troops now sallied forth and drew up their ranks before the walls. In the battle that followed, several Lacedaemonians fell, including Lysander himself.

3.5.4

Pausanias had fallen behind in the campaign due to gathering forces from Tegea and elsewhere in Arcadia; but when he reached Boeotia, he learned of the defeat of those who were with Lysander and of Lysander's own death. Nevertheless, he proceeded toward Thebes with his army, fully intending to initiate battle. At this point, the Thebans arrayed themselves opposite him, and it was reported that Thrasybulus was not far away, leading the Athenians. Thrasybulus waited for the Lacedaemonians to begin the battle; once they engaged, he planned himself to attack them from behind.

3.5.5

Therefore Pausanias feared being caught between two separate enemy forces, so he agreed upon a truce with the Thebans and recovered those who had fallen beneath the walls of Haliartus. This did not please the Lacedaemonians, but I praise this decision for the following reason: since Pausanias knew well that defeats for the Lacedaemonians always occurred when they became trapped among the enemy, he feared that, just as had happened at Thermopylae and on the island of Sphacteria, he himself might become the cause of a third disaster for them.

3.5.6

But when the citizens accused him of delay concerning his expedition to Boeotia, he refused to appear before their tribunal and instead sought refuge among the Tegeans as a suppliant of Athena Alea. This sanctuary had, since ancient times, been revered by all Peloponnesians and provided absolute safety to those seeking refuge there. The Lacedaemonians showed evidence of this in the cases of Pausanias and also previously Leotychides, as did the Argives with Chrysis, wherein each had claimed sanctuary by seating themselves as suppliants, and none dared even to begin proceedings to demand their surrender.

3.5.7

After Pausanias had fled, his sons, Agesipolis and Cleombrotus, were still altogether young, and Aristodemus, being their nearest relative, acted as their guardian. The achievement of the Lacedaemonians at Corinth occurred under Aristodemus' leadership.

3.5.8

When Agesipolis had grown to manhood and succeeded to the kingship, he first made war against the Argives among the Peloponnesians. When he had led his army from Tegean territory into Argos, the Argives sent a herald to Agesipolis, proposing a truce between them, based on certain ancient, ancestral agreements established long ago among the Dorians. But he refused to make peace with the herald, and continued his advance with the army, devastating their land as he went. Then a god sent an earthquake; but even so, Agesipolis did not intend to withdraw his forces, although portents such as these were particularly fearful to the Lacedaemonians–and likewise to the Athenians–as compared to other Greeks.

3.5.9

Already he had encamped beneath the Argive wall, but the god struck him repeatedly with earthquakes, which allowed him no respite; some of his troops perished, struck by lightning, while others were driven out of their minds by the thunder. Thus he was reluctantly compelled to withdraw from Argolis, and proceeded instead to set out again on a campaign against the Olynthians. While prevailing in the war, having already captured most of the cities in Chalcidice and confident that he would take Olynthus itself, he was suddenly seized with illness and died soon from it.

Chapter 88

Chapter 6

3.6.1

When Agesipolis died childless, the kingship passed on to Cleombrotus, and under his command they fought against the Boeotians at Leuctra. Cleombrotus himself, a good and courageous man, fell at the very onset of the battle. Indeed, it seems that divine power especially desires, in cases of great misfortune, to remove beforehand the leader from the action, just as previously it took away the Athenian general Hippocrates, son of Ariphron, at Delium, and later Leosthenes in Thessaly.

3.6.2

Of Cleombrotus' sons, the elder, Agesipolis, offered nothing of great note to memory, whereas the younger, Cleomenes, succeeded to the throne after his brother's death. Cleomenes had two sons, Acrotatus and, later, Cleonymus; fate brought about Acrotatus' death even before that of Cleomenes himself. After Cleomenes subsequently died, a dispute arose over the kingship between Cleonymus, Cleomenes' son, and Areus, the son of Acrotatus. Thereupon, the elders judged that the hereditary kingship belonged to Areus, son of Acrotatus, and not to Cleonymus.

3.6.3

Cleonymus, driven away from the kingship, felt excessive bitterness in his heart. The ephors tried to soothe him by granting him honors of other sorts and appointed him as commander of armies, endeavoring to prevent him from ever becoming an enemy to Sparta. Despite this, he ultimately dared many hostile actions against his homeland and even brought Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides, into their territory.

3.6.4

During the reign of Acrotatus as king in Sparta, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, marched against Athens by land and sea. To aid the Athenians, the Egyptians sent a fleet under the command of Patroclus, and the Lacedaemonians also went forth in full force, appointing their king, Areus, as their leader.

3.6.5

When Antigonus had blockaded Athens and was preventing their allies from entering the city, Patroclus sent messengers urging the Lacedaemonians and their king Areus to initiate battle against Antigonus. He claimed that once they had begun the attack, he himself would fall upon the Macedonians from

behind. Prior to that, he stated, it was not reasonable for himself and his Egyptian sailors to advance by land against Macedonians. The Lacedaemonians, indeed, resolved to risk battle both out of goodwill toward the Athenians and from a desire to accomplish some notable deed worthy of remembrance by future generations.

3.6.6

Areus, moreover, when provisions had been exhausted by his troops, led the army back again; for he considered it sensible to reserve rash actions for his own affairs, rather than squander them thoughtlessly upon those of strangers. As for the Athenians, who withstood him for a very long time, Antigonus made peace, on condition that he introduced a garrison into their Museum. After some time passed, Antigonus himself willingly withdrew the garrison. To Areus was born a son, Acrotatus; to Acrotatus was born another Areus, who, after living about eight years, died of illness.

3.6.7

For there remained of Eurysthenes' household only Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, a man now utterly advanced in years; to him the Lacedaemonians gave the kingship. Now Leonidas had his greatest enemy in Lysander, a descendant of Lysander the son of Aristocritus. This Lysander won over to his side Cleombrotus, who had married the daughter of Leonidas, and after gaining Cleombrotus' support, he brought charges against Leonidas, accusing him, among other grievances, of having sworn oaths as a young man to his father Cleonymus aimed at the destruction of Sparta.

3.6.8

Thus Leonidas was deprived of his kingship, and Cleombrotus held the office in his stead. Had Leonidas yielded to anger and departed in the same manner as Demaratus son of Ariston, going perhaps to the king in Macedonia or to Egypt, he would have received no benefit, even had the Spartans later regretted their decision. Instead, after being sentenced to exile by his fellow citizens, he traveled to Arcadia. A few years afterward, the Lacedaemonians recalled him home and reinstated him once more as king.

3.6.9

The daring and courage with which Cleomenes son of Leonidas performed his other exploits, and how after him the Spartans ceased to be ruled by kings, I have already previously explained through my account of Aratus the Sicyonian; my narrative then included also the manner of Cleomenes' death in Egypt.

Chapter 89

Chapter 7

3.7.1

Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, was the last king at Sparta from the line of Eurysthenes, known as ★ the Agiadae. Regarding the other royal house, I have heard the following account. Procles, son of Aristodemus, named his son Soüs. Eurypontes, the son of Soüs, gained such great renown that this royal house took its name from him and was thereafter called the Eurypontidae, although before him it had been known as the Procleidae.

3.7.2

The son of Eurypon was Prytanis. It was during the reign of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, that hostility first arose between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives; even earlier they had already waged war against the Cynurians. But the following generations, while Eunomus, son of Prytanis, and Polydectes, son of Eunomus, were kings, continued to dwell in peace at Sparta.

3.7.3

Charillos, son of Polydectes, ravaged the territory of the Argives–for he was indeed the one who invaded the Argolid. A few years afterward, under the command of this same Charillos, the Spartans also undertook a campaign against the Tegeans, when the Lacedaemonians hoped to capture Tegea and cut off the plain of Tegea from Arcadia, trusting in a deceptive oracle.

3.7.4

After Charillus died, Nicander, son of Charillus, succeeded to the throne. During Nicander's reign occurred the incident involving the Messenians against Teleclus, the king of the other royal house, at the sanctuary of Limnatis. Nicander also invaded Argolis with an army and caused considerable devastation in most of the land. The Asinaeans, having assisted the Lacedaemonians in this undertaking, soon afterward paid the penalty to the Argives, bringing great destruction upon their own country and forcing themselves into exile.

3.7.5

Theopompus, son of Nicander, who became king after Nicander, will be mentioned again by me later on, when my narrative progresses to the account of Messenia. While Theopompus was still reigning in Sparta, the contest concerning the district called Thyreatis arose between the Lacedaemonians and the

Argives; but Theopompus himself did not take part in this battle, being prevented mostly by old age and grief. Indeed, during Theopompus' lifetime, Archidamus succeeded him in authority.

3.7.6

Nevertheless, Archidamus did not die childless, but left behind his son Zeuxidamus. Zeuxidamus' son Anaxidamus succeeded to the throne. During his reign, the Messenians fled from the Peloponnese, having been overcome by the Spartans in war for the second time. The son of Anaxidamus was Archidamus, and the son of Archidamus was Agesicles; these two both happened to pass the entirety of their lives in peace, being free from wars.

3.7.7

? To Ariston son of Agesikles was married a woman who, it is said, among the maidens of Sparta was the most repulsive, yet who became the most beautiful of all women through the intervention of Helen. To this woman, after having been wedded to Ariston, was born a son, Demaratos, after only seven months. As Ariston was sitting at the time with the ephors in council, a servant arrived, bringing the news that a child had been born to him. Ariston, either forgetting the passage in the Iliad regarding the birth of Eurystheus or never having understood it at all, declared that this child could not possibly be his own because of the short duration of the months.

3.7.8

? Indeed, this man previously mentioned experienced remorse afterwards. As for Demaratus, while ruling as king and gaining honor in Sparta in other matters as well, and having joined with Cleomenes to free the Athenians from the Peisistratids, it was the ill-temper of Ariston and the hostility of Cleomenes which reduced him to a private citizen. They say that, after he went to King Darius in Persia, his descendants remained in Asia for a long time.

3.7.9

Leotychides, who became king in place of Demaratus, took part with the Athenians and their general Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, in the action at Mycale. Afterwards he also campaigned against the Aleuadae in Thessaly; and though it was in his power to subdue all Thessaly, as he was consistently victorious in battle, he accepted gifts from the Aleuadae.

3.7.10

Brought to trial in Sparta, he voluntarily fled to Tegea, and there became a suppliant in the sanctuary of Athena Alea. Meanwhile, his son Zeuxidamus died of disease while Leotychides was still living and had not yet gone into exile. After Leotychides withdrew to Tegea, Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, succeeded him in kingship. This Archidamus inflicted particularly severe damage upon the Athenians' land, invading Attica yearly with an army, and whenever he invaded, he ravaged it everywhere. Furthermore, since the Plataeans were friendly toward the Athenians, he captured their city by siege.

3.7.11

However, Archidamus did not at all hasten the outbreak of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. Indeed, as far as lay within his power, he endeavored to prolong the truce between them. It was rather Sthenelaidas, a man influential in Sparta in other respects also, who, serving as ephor at that time, was primarily responsible for bringing about the war; and this conflict deeply unsettled Greece,

which was already standing on shaky ground, and later Philip, son of Amyntas, found it weakened and not entirely sound, and finally brought it utterly to ruin.

Chapter 8

3.8.1

When Archidamus died, he left behind sons, of whom Agis was the elder in age, and succeeded Agesilaus in the kingship. Archidamus also had a daughter named Cynisca, who was exceedingly ambitious in regard to the Olympic games and became the first woman to breed horses and also the first woman to achieve an Olympic victory. After Cynisca other women gained Olympic victories, especially those from Sparta, but none equaled her in fame for their successes.

3.8.2

The Spartans, it seems to me, hold poetry and the praise derived from it in the least esteem of all men. ? Except for the epigram composed for Cynisca by someone or other, and an earlier one by Simonides inscribed upon the tripod dedicated at Delphi for Pausanias, there is nothing else composed by a poet to commemorate the kings of the Lacedaemonians.

3.8.3

During the reign of Agis, son of Archidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians, various charges arose against the Eleans, but the Spartans were especially angered at being excluded by them from the Olympic Games and from the sanctuary at Olympia. They therefore dispatched a herald to Elis, bearing orders to release Lepreum into autonomy, as well as any neighboring communities still subject to Elis. When the Eleans replied that as soon as they saw Sparta granting freedom to its own subject cities, they themselves would promptly release theirs, the Lacedaemonians and King Agis proceeded to invade Elis.

3.8.4

At that time, as the god caused an earthquake, the army withdrew back, retreating as far as Olympia and the Alpheios. But in the following year, Agis ravaged the territory and carried off a great part of the spoil. Now a certain Xenias, an Elean, privately a guest-friend to Agis and officially a proxenos to the Spartans, rose up against the popular party along with the wealthy citizens. However, before Agis and his army arrived to their aid, Thrasydaeus, who at that time was leading the people of Elis, defeated Xenias and his companions in battle and expelled them from the city.

3.8.5

When Agis had led his army back again, he left behind Lysistratus, a Spartan, along with a portion of his forces and the Elean exiles, instructing them to ravage the land together with the Lepreans. In the third

year of the war, the Lacedaemonians and Agis prepared another invasion into Elis. The Eleans and Thrasydaeus, being utterly exhausted, agreed to surrender their authority over the neighboring towns, to demolish the city's walls, and to permit the Lacedaemonians to sacrifice to the god at Olympia and participate in the games.

3.8.6

Agis was also continually invading Attica with his army and established a fortress against the Athenians at Decelea. When the Athenian fleet had been destroyed at Aegospotami, Lysander, son of Aristocritus, and Agis violated the oaths sworn before the gods by the Lacedaemonians collectively to the Athenians; and acting on their own initiative, without consulting the common Spartan assembly, they put forward to their allies the decision to destroy Athens utterly from its foundations.

3.8.7

Such were the chief distinctions of Agis in warfare. But just as Ariston had shown thoughtless harshness toward Demaratus, Agis treated his own son Leotychides recklessly. Through some unhappy influence, Agis openly declared before the hearing of the ephors that he did not consider Leotychides his child. Later, however, regret overcame even Agis; passing through Heraea as they carried him home sick from Arcadia, he called upon the assembled people as witnesses, proclaiming that he truly regarded Leotychides as his son, and with tears and entreaties he urged them to report these words to the Lacedaemonians.

3.8.8

After the death of Agis, Agesilaus drove Leotychides from the throne, bringing to the remembrance of the Lacedaemonians the words once spoken by Agis himself about Leotychides. The Arcadians from Heraea also arrived and testified on behalf of Leotychides concerning what they had heard from Agis at the time of his death.

3.8.9

The oracle from Delphi produced even greater controversy between Agesilaus and Leotychides. It had been delivered there and ran as follows: "Take heed, Sparta, proud though you be, lest from you arise a lame kingship from sound-footed stock; for long and unexpected hardships shall seize upon you amidst the surging waves of man-destroying war."

3.8.10

? At that time, Leotychides directed these words against Agesilaus, for Agesilaus was indeed lame in one of his feet; but Agesilaus turned the charge back against Leotychides, saying that he was not the legitimate son of Agis. Although the decision rested with them, the Lacedaemonians did not refer this dispute to Delphi. The reason, in my opinion, was Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, who earnestly supported Agesilaus in every way, so that the royal power might pass to him.

Chapter 9

3.9.1

At this time Agesilaos son of Archidamos was king, and it pleased the Lacedaemonians to sail across to Asia with the intention of overthrowing Artaxerxes, the son of Dareios. For they had been informed by persons in authority, especially Lysandros, that it had not been Artaxerxes who had supplied their ships with money in the war against Athens, but Cyrus. Agesilaos, who had been appointed to transport the army to Asia and to command the land forces, accordingly sent messages throughout the Peloponnese (except Argos), as well as to the Greeks beyond the Isthmus, inviting them to join in their alliance.

3.9.2

The Corinthians, for their part, although extremely eager to join the expedition against Asia, remained behind reluctantly, having received an unfavorable omen when their temple dedicated to Zeus Olympios suddenly burned down. As for the Athenians, their pretext was that the city was only just recovering from the Peloponnesian war and the widespread plague that had afflicted it, and had not yet returned to its earlier prosperity. In particular, hearing through messengers that Conon, the son of Timotheus, had gone up to the Persian king, they were for this reason especially inclined toward quiet inactivity.

3.9.3

Aristomelidas was also sent on an embassy to Thebes–he was the father of Agesilaus' mother, and was on friendly terms with the Thebans, having served as one of the judges who, when the wall of Plataea was taken, sentenced to death those who were captured inside it. Nevertheless, the Thebans made the same response to him as they had to the Athenians, declaring they would not provide assistance. As soon as Agesilaus had assembled the military forces, both local and those supplied by the allies, and the fleet was ready at the same time, he arrived at Aulis to sacrifice to Artemis, because it was here that Agamemnon had propitiated the goddess before leading his expedition to Troy.

3.9.4

Agesilaus believed himself worthy both of ruling a richer city than that of king Agamemnon and governing the whole of Greece, just as Agamemnon had done, and that achieving victory over king Artaxerxes and possessing the wealth of the Persians would be an accomplishment more illustrious than overthrowing the empire of Priam. But as he was sacrificing, the Thebans, attacking with arms, threw the thighs of the sacrificial victims, already burning, off from the altar, and drove him out of the sanctuary.

3.9.5

Agesilaus was troubled that the sacrifice had not been completed; nevertheless, he crossed into Asia and advanced against Sardis. At that time Lydia was indeed the greatest part of lower Asia, and Sardis itself surpassed all other cities in wealth and military resources; it had also been designated as the residence of the satrap governing the coastal region, just as Susa was the royal residence of the king himself.

3.9.6

In a battle against Tissaphernes, the satrap of the region around Ionia, fought on the plain of the Hermus, Agesilaus defeated both the Persian cavalry and the largest number of infantry troops then gathered since the army of Xerxes, or indeed even earlier, the campaigns of Darius against the Scythians and against Athens. The Lacedaemonians, impressed by Agesilaus' energetic handling of affairs, gave him command also over the fleet. He appointed Pisander admiral of the triremes–Pisander, whose wife's sister he happened to have married–and personally applied himself vigorously to the conduct of the land warfare.

3.9.7

And one of the gods thwarted his intention of bringing these plans to completion. For when Artaxerxes learned of the battles that Agesilaus had won, and how Agesilaus kept steadily advancing further into his territory as he continually mastered all before him with his army, he punished Tissaphernes–even though he had formerly been his benefactor–with death, and dispatched Tithraustes toward the coast, a man known both for his great intelligence and for his hostility toward the Spartans.

3.9.8

When he arrived in Sardis, he immediately started planning how he might compel the Lacedaemonians to withdraw their forces from Asia. Accordingly, he sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, into Greece with money, instructing him to stir up war in Greece against the Lacedaemonians. Those said to have shared in this money included among the Argives Cylon and Sodamas; at Thebes, Androcleides, Ismenias, and Amphithemis; and among the Athenians, Cephalus and Epicrates. Also involved were those Corinthians who supported the Argive cause, namely Polyanthes and Timolaus.

3.9.9

The Locrians of Amphissa were openly responsible for initiating the war. There was disputed territory between the Locrians and the Phocians: at the instigation of the Thebans, especially Ismenias and his supporters, the Locrians harvested grain when it was still ripe, and carried off plunder. In response, the Phocians launched a full-scale invasion into Locris, laying waste to the countryside.

3.9.10

Therefore the Locrians brought in the Thebans as allies and devastated Phocis. The Phocians, going to Sparta, accused the Thebans vehemently and recounted the wrongs they had suffered at their hands. Consequently, the Spartans decided to declare war upon the Thebans, charging them also with other grievances, notably the outrage committed at Aulis during the sacrifice performed by Agesilaus.

3.9.11

The Athenians, having learned beforehand the intentions of the Lacedaemonians, sent envoys to Sparta, begging them neither to move arms against themselves nor against Thebes, but rather to settle

by arbitration the charges they were bringing. The Lacedaemonians, however, in anger sent back the embassy without success. Concerning the events that followed, including the campaign of the Lacedaemonians and the death of Lysander, the details have been presented earlier in my account about Pausanias.

3.9.12

The so-called Corinthian War continually expanded, having begun with the Lacedaemonians making an incursion into Boeotia. On account of this urgent situation, Agesilaus led back his forces from Asia. Crossing by ships from Abydos to Sestos and marching through Thrace, he arrived in Thessaly. Here, through their goodwill toward the Thebans, the Thessalians attempted to hinder Agesilaus from advancing farther; they were also bound by an ancient friendship toward the city of the Athenians.

3.9.13

Agesilaus advanced through Thessaly, having defeated their cavalry, and then once more passed through the country of the Boeotians, defeating the Thebans and their allies at Coroneia. After the Boeotians had been routed, some of their men took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Itonia. Although Agesilaus had received a wound in the battle, he nevertheless committed no sacrilege against these suppliants.

Chapter 10

3.10.1

Not long afterward, the Corinthians who were in exile due to their pro-Spartan sympathies established their own Isthmian Games. Those who remained in the city at the time kept quiet through fear of Agesilaus. But when he withdrew to Sparta, they themselves resumed holding the Isthmian Games jointly with the Argives. Agesilaus again marched against Corinth with his army, yet–as the Hyacinthia festival was approaching–he dismissed the Amyclaeans to return home and carry out the prescribed rites honoring Apollo and Hyacinthus. On their way home, these men were attacked and destroyed by Iphicrates and the Athenians.

3.10.2

Agesilaus also arrived in Aetolia to provide aid to the Aetolians when they were oppressed in war by the Acarnanians, and he compelled the Acarnanians to end the conflict, though they were not far from capturing Calydon and the other towns of the Aetolians. Later in time, he sailed also to Egypt to support the Egyptians, who had revolted from the Persian king. In Egypt, Agesilaus accomplished many deeds worthy of remembrance. But during the return journey–since he was now indeed an old man–his destined end overtook him. When his body was brought home, the Lacedaemonians buried him, bestowing upon him honors surpassing those accorded to any king.

3.10.3

During the reign of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, the Phocians seized the sanctuary at Delphi. War ? arose between the Thebans and the Phocians; mercenary forces joined privately for payment on the side of the Thebans, but the Spartans and Athenians openly defended the Phocians in alliance. The Athenians supported them, recalling a certain ancient benefit from the Phocians; the Spartans publicly claimed friendship as their reason, but in my opinion, their true motive was hatred of the Thebans. Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, says that Archidamus himself accepted money from the Phocian leaders, and moreover, that Deinicha, Archidamus' wife, receiving bribes from those controlling affairs in Phocis, made Archidamus even more eager for alliance with them.

3.10.4

That Archidamus received sacred money and aided men who had plundered the most famous of oracles, ? I do not consider praiseworthy. Yet there is this much in his favor: the Phocians intended to kill all the adult Delphians, enslave their women and children, and raze the city itself to the ground; Archidamus, therefore, persuaded them not to inflict these sufferings upon the Delphians.

3.10.5

Afterwards he crossed also into Italy to assist the Tarentines in a war against neighboring barbarians. There he died at the hands of the barbarians, and the wrath of Apollo prevented his corpse from receiving burial. Concerning this Archidamus, his elder son Agis met death fighting against Antipater and the Macedonians, whereas his younger son, Eudamidas, reigned over the Lacedaemonians while they enjoyed peace. The further events involving Agis, son of Eudamidas, and Eurydamidas, son of Agis, have already been related in my account of Sicyon.

3.10.6

★ As you go on from the Hermae, this entire area is filled with oak trees; the place is called Skotitas. It is not, however, the dense shade of the trees that gave the spot its name, but rather Zeus received the surname Skotitas ("of Darkness"). Approximately ten stades to the left off the road lies a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Skotitas. When you return from this sanctuary, after proceeding a short distance further and turning left again, there is a statue of Herakles and a trophy which he is said to have set up after killing Hippocoon and his sons.

3.10.7

The third branching from the main road on the right leads to Caryae and to the sanctuary of Artemis. For Caryae is sacred to Artemis and to the Nymphs, and there stands in the open air an image of Artemis Caryatis. Here the maidens of the Lacedaemonians annually perform dances, and a traditional dance has become customary among them. Turning back and continuing along the highway, one reaches the ruins of Sellasia. As I have written previously, the Achaeans reduced this town to slavery, having defeated in battle the Lacedaemonians and their king Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas.

3.10.8

In Thornax–for as you advance you will arrive there–is an image of Apollo Pythaeus, made the same way as that at Amyclae; however, I shall describe its form when I come to that one. For the Lacedaemonians hold the sanctuary at Amyclae in greater esteem; so much so that even the gold, which Croesus the Lydian had sent to Apollo Pythaeus, they used for adorning the image at Amyclae.

Chapter 93

Chapter 11

3.11.1

After Thornax, as one proceeds further, comes the city originally called Sparta, which in time acquired ?
the name Lacedaemon as well. Previously, this name belonged to the territory itself. Before embarking upon my account of the Spartans, I will explain here what served as a corrective measure in my Attic narrative–that I have chosen not to relate absolutely everything in order, but rather have carefully selected and recounted only those things most worthy of remembrance. Indeed, from the start, my purpose has been to gather from many sources–including those unworthy of detailed narration–the most noteworthy traditions that each people relates. Thus assured that my intention is rightly considered, there is no point at which I will deviate from it.

3.11.2

The marketplace of the Lacedaemonians who occupy Sparta is worthy of seeing, and situated upon it are the council-house of the Gerousia, as well as the offices of the Ephors, the Nomophylakes ("Guardians of the Laws"), and the so-called Bidiaeans. The Gerousia is indeed, most authoritative in the constitution for the Lacedaemonians, while the others serve as magistrates. As for the Ephors and the Bidiaeans, each body consists of five men respectively; the latter are appointed to oversee the contests held at the place called Platanistas and other competitions among the young men, while the Ephors manage all the most important public affairs and give their name to the year, just as among the Athenians there is one distinguished archon who lends his name to the year from among the so-called nine archons.

3.11.3

The most famous building on the Agora is the Stoa called the Persian, which was constructed from the spoils of the Persian wars. Over time, they have transformed this structure into its present size and current splendor. On the columns stand figures of Persians carved from white marble, among whom is Mardonius, the son of Gobryas. Also depicted is Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, who reigned in Halicarnassus. They say that she willingly joined Xerxes' expedition against Greece and distinguished herself by her exploits in the naval battle off Salamis.

3.11.4

In the marketplace there are temples–one of Caesar, who first among the Romans desired monarchy and first obtained absolute power, and one dedicated to Augustus, his son, who not only strengthened the imperial rule further, but advanced in honor and power far beyond what his father had attained. This latter was called Augustus, a name which in the Greek tongue means "Sebastos" (revered).

3.11.5

Near the altar they show a bronze statue of Agias, dedicated by Augustus. They say that this Agias foretold to Lysander the capture of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, except for ten triremes; these ten ships escaped to Cyprus, but the rest, ships and men alike, were taken by the Lacedaemonians. Agias was the son of Agelochus, who himself was the son of Tisamenus.

3.11.6

To Tisamenos of Elis, one of the Iamidae, an oracle came declaring that he would win five very illustrious contests. Accordingly, having trained for the pentathlon at Olympia, he departed defeated, although he had come first in two events. For he surpassed Hieronymos of Andros in running and jumping, yet when he had been defeated by him in wrestling and had lost the victory, he understood the prophecy: the god had granted him victory in five contests of warfare, not athletics.

3.11.7

The Lacedaemonians–already knowing well the prophetic utterance delivered by the Pythian priestess to Tisamenus–persuaded him, after he had removed from Elis, to serve as prophet for the Spartans collectively. Tisamenus won for them five contests of war: first, at Plataea against the Persians; second, at Tegea when the Lacedaemonians battled against the Tegeans and Argives; and later at Dipaieis, where all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans, took the field against them. The Dipaieis were an Arcadian town situated in the Mainalian region.

3.11.8

Fourthly, they fought against those helots who revolted from the Isthmus to Ithome. Not all the helots revolted, however, but only the descendants of the ancient Messenians, who split away from the original helot group. The account concerning this event I shall presently discuss further. On that occasion the Lacedaemonians permitted the revolters to leave under a truce, following the advice of Tisamenus and the oracle at Delphi. Tisamenus later prophesied for them at Tanagra when they were preparing for battle against the Argives and Athenians.

3.11.9

Such were the things I learned concerning Tisamenus. In the Spartan marketplace there are images of Pythaeus, Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. This entire place is called Chorus because during the Gymnopaediae–a festival which the Lacedaemonians celebrate with particular seriousness–the youths form choruses in honor of Apollo. Not far from these is a sanctuary of Earth and Zeus Agoraeus, as well as sanctuaries of Athena Agoraea, and Poseidon surnamed Asphalius, and again of Apollo, and of Hera.

3.11.10

★ There is also a statue of Demos of the Spartans, notably large in size. The Lacedaemonians also have a sanctuary dedicated to the Moirai (Fates), and near it lies the tomb of Orestes, son of Agamemnon; for, in accordance with an oracle, they brought the remains of Orestes from Tegea and buried them here. Beside the tomb of Orestes is a statue of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, whom they have honored among their kings to such a high degree that the magistrates responsible for declaring public business make their announcements standing by the statue of Polydorus.

3.11.11

There is also a Hermes of the Marketplace, carrying Dionysus as a child; nearby are buildings called "Ephoreia" from ancient times, within which is the tomb of Epimenides the Cretan, as well as of Aphareus the son of Perieres. Concerning Epimenides, I judge that the Lacedaemonians tell a story more credible than the Argives. Here, where the Moirai stand, the Lacedaemonians also have sanctuaries to Hestia, Zeus Xenios ("Protector of Strangers"), and Athena Xenia ("Goddess of Hospitality").

Chapter 12

3.12.1

As one goes from the marketplace along the street called Aphetaïs, there is a place known as the Boöneta. ★ Here my narrative requires me first to explain the origin of the name of this street. It is said that Icarius set up a footrace for the suitors of Penelope, and it is clear that Odysseus won this race. They also say that the runners were started along this very road, which for that reason is called Aphetaïs ("Starting-Place Road").

3.12.2

It seems to me that Icarius established the footrace contest in imitation of Danaus. For this device was ★ originally devised by Danaus concerning his daughters: when no one wished to marry any of them because of their pollution, Danaus made it known far and wide that he would give away without dowry whichever daughter each suitor approved of according to her beauty. When a small number of suitors arrived, he set a running contest for them. The man who finished first was the first allowed to choose among the maidens, and after him the second, and thereafter each similarly until the last competitor. Those daughters left unmarried had to wait for another company of suitors and another footrace competition.

3.12.3

Along this route the Lacedaemonians have, as I previously mentioned, a place called Boöneta, once the house of king Polydorus. After his death, they purchased it from Polydorus' wife, paying with oxen in exchange, for at that time there was as yet no currency in silver or gold, but according to the ancient custom, they exchanged oxen, slaves, and ingots of silver and gold.

3.12.4

Those who sail to India say that the Indians exchange their goods for Greek cargoes, but that they do ★ not understand the use of coined money, although they possess abundant gold and bronze. Beyond the precinct of the Bidiaeans is a sanctuary of Athena; Odysseus, it is said, set up the statue and named it Keleuthea ("of the Road") after defeating the suitors of Penelope in a footrace. He established sanctuaries for Keleuthea, three in number, separated from one another.

3.12.5

★

As one advances along the Afetaïd region, there are hero-shrines to Iops, who is said to have been born from Lelex or Myles, and also to Amphiaraos, son of Oïkles. It is believed that the sons of Tyndareus established this shrine to Amphiaraos because he was their cousin. There is also a shrine there for Lelex himself. Not far from these stands a precinct sacred to Poseidon Tainarios, who is called Tainarion.

3.12.6

Not far from it is a statue of Athena, which they say was dedicated by those who colonized Italy and Tarentum. The place, called Hellenion, is said to have received its name because the Greeks assembled here when Xerxes was crossing into Europe, preparing to resist him, and deliberated in this very spot on how they would offer opposition. Another account reports that those who sailed with Menelaus to war against Ilium, gathered here to decide how they might sail to Troy and exact justice from Alexander for abducting Helen.

3.12.7

Near the Hellnion, they point out the tomb of Talthybius. The Achaeans of Aegium also show a monument in their agora, claiming it as that of Talthybius. The wrath of this Talthybius over the murder of the heralds who had been sent by King Darius into Greece to demand earth and water fell upon the state of the Lacedaemonians as a whole; but among the Athenians it descended privately, and upon the household of one man–Miltiades, son of Cimon. Miltiades had, indeed, been primarily responsible, in the eyes of the Athenians, for the killing of the heralds who had come to Attica.

3.12.8

The Lacedaemonians possess an altar of Apollo Acritas and a sanctuary sacred to Earth, called Gasepton; above it stands Apollo Maleatas. On the far end of Aphetaïs, very near the city wall, is a sanctuary dedicated to Dictynna and the royal tombs of those known as the Eurypontidae. By the Hellenium stands the sanctuary of Arsinoë, the daughter of Leucippus and sister of the wives of Polydeuces and Castor. Near the place called the Phrouroi (the Guards) is a temple of Artemis, and after advancing slightly further, there is a tomb erected in honor of the seers from Elis, who are called the Iamidae.

3.12.9

There is also a sanctuary of Maron and of Alpheius. Among the Lacedaemonians who marched out to Thermopylae, they seem, after Leonidas himself, to have fought most worthily of mention. The sanctuary of Zeus Tropaios (Zeus of the Trophy) was built by the Dorians when they conquered in war both the rest of the Achaeans, who at that time held the land of Laconia, and the Amyclaeans. Especially great honour is paid to the sanctuary of the Great Mother. Next to it are the hero shrines of Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, and of Aulon, an Arcadian, the son of Tlesimenes. Tlesimenes was the brother of Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion, although some say he was Parthenopaeus' own son.

3.12.10

There is another exit from the marketplace, along which stands the building known as the Skias ("Place of Shelter"), where even now the people hold their assemblies. They say this Skias was built by Theodorus of Samos, who first discovered the method of casting iron and of shaping images out of it. Here the Lacedaemonians hung up the lyre of Timotheus of Miletus, having condemned him because he had introduced into musical performance four additional strings beyond the original seven.

3.12.11

Near the Skiás there is a circular building, and within it are statues of Zeus and Aphrodite, surnamed Olympian. They say that Epimenides constructed this building, although they do not agree with the Argives concerning him, since the Argives deny even having fought against the Knossians.

Chapter 13

3.13.1

Near at hand is the tomb of Cynortas, son of Amyclas, and nearby there is also a monument to Castor, upon which a sanctuary has been built. For they say these sons of Tyndareus were first recognized as gods forty years after the battle against Idas and Lynceus, and not before. By the place called Skiada is shown the tomb of Idas and Lynceus. But according to probability and tradition, they were buried in Messenia and not here.

3.13.2

The misfortunes of the Messenians and the long period they spent in exile from the Peloponnese caused many of their ancient traditions to become forgotten even after their return, thus enabling those inclined to dispute these matters, as the Messenians no longer fully understood them. Opposite the Olympian Aphrodite, the Lacedaemonians have a temple dedicated to Kore Soteira ("Maiden Savior"), which is said by some to have been founded by the Thracian Orpheus, but by others attributed to Abaris after his arrival from the Hyperboreans.

3.13.3

Karneios, whom they surname Oiketas, was honored in Sparta even before the return of the Herakleidai. His statue stood in the house of Krios, son of Theokles, a man who was a seer. Once, as Krios's daughter was drawing water, some Dorian spies encountered her, engaged her in conversation, and after being introduced to Krios, from him they learned how Sparta could be captured.

3.13.4

It has been established that Apollo Carneius is honored by all the Dorians, deriving from Carnus, a seer from Acarnania, who received his oracle from Apollo. For when Carnus was killed by Hippotes, son of Phylas, the wrath of Apollo befell the Dorian army; Hippotes went into exile because of this murder, and from that time forward the Dorians established rites to propitiate the Acarnanian seer. However, among the Lacedaemonians, Carneius is not this prophet from Acarnania, but Oiketas, who was worshipped in the house of the seer Krios, even from the time when the Achaeans still occupied Sparta.

3.13.5

Indeed, compositions by Praxilla state that Karneios was the son of Europa and Zeus, and that he was fostered by Apollo and Leto. Another story, however, is told about him: that when the Greeks cut down cornel trees that grew in Apollo's sacred grove on Trojan Ida in order to build the Wooden Horse, they learned that the god was angered against them. So, seeking to appease him through sacrifices, they called Apollo "Karneios," derived from the cornel trees (kraneiai), having altered the letter rho according to some ancient custom.

3.13.6

★ Not far from the Carneium is a statue called Aphetaios ("Sender-Forth"), and they say it was from this place that Penelope's suitors began their race. There is also a certain area enclosed by colonnades forming a square-shaped structure, in which wool was originally sold. Beside this is an altar of Zeus Amboulios ("Counsellor") and Athena Amboulia ("Counsellor"), as well as one for the Dioscuri, who, too, bear the epithet Amboulioi ("Counsellors").

3.13.7

★ Opposite is the place called Kolona, and the temple of Dionysos Kolonatas. Beside it is the precinct of a hero who, they say, served as guide to Dionysos on the road to Sparta. To this hero, the Dionysiades and the Leukippides sacrifice before making offerings to the god himself. The other eleven women, also called Dionysiades, compete among themselves in a race.

3.13.8

★ They took this course of action in accordance with an oracle from Delphi. Not far from the sanctuary of Dionysus is a temple of Zeus Euanemos ("of fair winds"), and on its right stands the hero-shrine of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus trace their maternal lineage from Pleuron, for Asios in his poems records that Thestius, the father of Leda, was a son of Agenor, himself son of Pleuron. Near the hero-shrine rises a hill, and upon it is a temple of Argive Hera. They say that Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon and wife of Acrisius son of Abas, founded it. Another sanctuary of Hera, called Hypercheiria ("She whose hand is above"), was built in accordance with an oracle, because the Eurotas frequently overflowed a great portion of their land.

3.13.9

They call the ancient wooden image Aphrodite of Hera. They have a custom for mothers to sacrifice to the goddess at the marriage of their daughters. On the road to the right of the hill there is a statue of Hetaemocles. Hetaemocles himself and his father Hipposthenes won Olympic victories in wrestling; between them both, they had eleven altogether, and Hipposthenes surpassed his son by one victory.

Chapter 14

3.14.1

From the marketplace, going toward the setting sun, there is the empty tomb built in honor of Brasidas, son of Tellis. Not far from this tomb is the theater, constructed from white stone, worthy of seeing. Opposite the theater is the memorial of Pausanias, who led the forces at Plataea, and another belonging to Leonidas. Each year they recite speeches over these tombs and hold contests, in which no one except Spartans is permitted to compete. The bones of Leonidas were brought back from Thermopylae by Pausanias forty years later. There stands also a stele bearing the names according to their paternal lineage of those who endured the fight against the Medes at Thermopylae.

3.14.2

In Sparta there is a place called Theomelida. In this part of the city lie the tombs of the Agiad kings, and nearby is a meeting hall named the Lesche of the Crotani–now, the Crotani are a section of the Pitana district. Not far from the Lesche is a sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius, situated at the place known as Agiadai. Going forward, one finds a monument to Tainaros, and they say that the promontory extending into the sea received its name from him. There are also temples dedicated to the gods Poseidon Hippokourios and Artemis Aiginaia. Returning backward towards the Lesche, there is a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They call her also Limnaia, yet she is not Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. As for her story, I will reserve it to my description of Aigina itself.

3.14.3

Nearest to the tombs built for the Agiadai, you will see a pillar, on which are recorded the victories that Chionis, a man of Lacedaemon, won at running, including those at Olympia: here he gained seven victories, four in the stadion race, and the rest in the diaulos (double course). At that time the race in armor ("race with the shield") had not yet been established as an event. They say also that Chionis took part in the expedition of Battus of Thera, helped him found Cyrene, and assisted in subduing the neighboring Libyans.

3.14.4

They say the sanctuary of Thetis was established for the following reason: when the Spartans were at war with the rebelling Messenians, Anaxandros their king invaded Messenia and captured some women as prisoners. Among them was Cleo, who was a priestess of Thetis. The wife of Anaxandros requested this Cleo from him. She discovered that Cleo possessed the wooden cult-image of Thetis, and she set

up with her a temple dedicated to the goddess. Leandris (for that was her name) did all this according to a vision she had seen in a dream.

3.14.5

The wooden image of Thetis is indeed preserved in secrecy. The Lacedaemonians say that their worship of Demeter Chthonia was handed down to them by Orpheus; yet, in my own opinion, their belief in Demeter as Chthonia arose due to the sanctuary at Hermione. There is also a very recent temple of Sarapis among the Spartans, as well as one dedicated to Zeus under the epithet Olympios.

3.14.6

The Lacedaemonians call this place the Dromos ("the Course"), where young men, even down to our day, practice running. On the way to this Dromos from the tomb of the Agiadai, there is, on your left, the memorial of Eumedes, who also was a son of Hippocoön. There stands also an ancient statue of Heracles, to whom the Sphairai offer sacrifices; these Sphairai are young men at the stage of passing from youth into full adulthood. In the Dromos there are also gymnasia, one of which was dedicated by a Spartan named Eurycles. Outside the Dromos, near the statue of Heracles, there is a house belonging, in our time, to a private citizen, though of old it belonged to Menelaüs. As one moves further from the Dromos, there is a sanctuary of the Dioscuri and one of the Charites, as well as sanctuaries of Eileithyia, of Apollo Carneius, and of Artemis Hegemone.

3.14.7

The sanctuary of Agnitas is made on the right-hand side of the Course. Agnitas is a surname of Asclepius, derived from the image of the god being carved of agnos (willow). Agnos itself is the same as the shrub called lygos, identical in nature to the rhamnos. Not far from Asclepius stands a trophy, said to have been erected by Polydeuces after his victory over Lynceus. And this tradition too seems reasonable to me, that the sons of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. Toward the beginning of the Course stand images of the Dioscuri as Starters of the Race, and after proceeding a little further one sees the hero-shrine of Alcon. Alcon is said to have been a son of Hippocoön. Next to Alcon's monument is a sanctuary of Poseidon, whom they call Domatites.

3.14.8

There is also a place called Platanistas, named after the plane-trees [platanes], as the plane-trees around it grow high and close together. The area itself, appointed as the place where the youths fight, is encircled by a canal filled with water, just like an island by the sea, and has entrances by means of bridges. At each of these bridges stands a statue–by one is an image of Heracles, by the other a figure representing Lycurgus. Indeed, Lycurgus established their laws, both those governing the rest of their civic order as well as those governing the youths' combat.

3.14.9

The following rites also are performed by the youths. Before the battle, they sacrifice in the Phoibaion; the Phoibaion stands outside the city, not far from Therapne. At this place, each division of youths sacrifices a puppy to Enyalios, judging that the bravest god must appropriately receive in sacrifice what they consider to be the bravest of domesticated animals. I know of no other Greeks besides the Colophonians who are accustomed to sacrifice puppies; for the Colophonians also sacrifice a black puppy to Enodia. Both the sacrifice of the Colophonians and that of the youths in Lacedaemon are performed at night.

3.14.10

At the sacrifice, the ephebes set two trained boars to fight against each other. Whichever side's boar happens to win, that group usually prevails in the contest at the Platanistas. Such are their proceedings in the Phoibaion. On the following day, shortly before midday, the youths enter across the bridges into the aforementioned place. During the preceding night, lots have already determined for each group the entrance by which they must approach. They fight both hand-to-hand and by kicking and leaping upon one another; they bite and even try to gouge out each other's eyes. Thus man grapples against man in the manner described; and they rush together violently in groups and push each other into the water.

Chapter 15

3.15.1

Near the Platanistas there is also a hero-shrine of Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, king of the Spartans. ★ She was the first woman to breed horses and the first woman to win a chariot victory at Olympia. Behind the colonnade built beside the Platanistas stand hero-shrines: one for Alcimus, another for Enarsphorus, not far away one for Dorceus, and next to this, one for Sebrus. These figures, they say, were sons of Hippocoon.

3.15.2

From Dorceus comes the fountain nearby called Dorceia, close to his hero-shrine; and the place is called Sebrium after Sebrus. On the right-hand side of Sebrium is the tomb of Alcman, whose songs the Laconian tongue, least suited to harmonious expression, in no way impaired in their pleasantness.

3.15.3

There are sanctuaries of Helen and of Heracles: the former is near the tomb of Alcman, and the latter ★ very close to the city wall; inside it stands a statue of Heracles armed for battle. They say the particular posture of the statue commemorates the fight against Hippocoön and his sons. They also say Heracles harbored hostility toward the household of Hippocoön, because when he came to Sparta to be purified after the death of Iphitus, they refused him purification.

3.15.4

Another event occurred that also sparked the beginning of the war. Oionos, still a youth in age and ★ cousin to Herakles–for he was the son of Likymnios, the brother of Alkmene–had come to Sparta accompanying Herakles. While wandering around and examining the town, he happened to come to the house of Hippokoön, where a watchdog ran out at him. Oionos immediately threw a stone and killed the dog. Then Hippokoön's sons rushed forth and, striking him with clubs, caused Oionos' death.

3.15.5

This especially inflamed Heracles against Hippocoön and his sons, and immediately, in his anger, he ★ moved to fight against them. On that occasion he was wounded, and secretly withdrew. Later, however, when he marched upon Sparta with an army, he succeeded in avenging himself upon Hippocoön,

and also avenged the death of Oeonus's sons. The tomb of Oeonus was erected near the sanctuary of Heracles.

3.15.6

★ As one goes from the Dromos toward the rising sun, there is, on the right-hand side, a footpath and a sanctuary of Athena named Axiopoinos ("She who exacts just retribution"). For they say when Herakles avenged himself justly upon Hippokoön and his sons for their past wrongdoing, he established a sanctuary dedicated to Athena, giving her the epithet 'Axiopoinos,' since in ancient times people referred to acts of vengeance as 'poinai.' There is yet another sanctuary of Athena along a different route from the Dromos. It is said that Theras, son of Autesion, son of Tisamenos, son of Thersandros, founded it when he sent forth a colony to that island which derived its present name, Thera, from him, though its original name was Kalliste.

3.15.7

? Nearby is a temple dedicated to Hipposthenes, who achieved many victories in wrestling. They honor Hipposthenes according to an oracle, granting him reverence similar to that given to Poseidon. Directly opposite this temple stands an ancient statue of Enyalius bound in chains. The Spartans hold the same belief about this statue that the Athenians do about the figure they call Wingless Victory: the Spartans think that, because Enyalius is bound, he can never flee from them, while the Athenians believe their Victory will remain forever since she has no wings. In such manner and with such purpose have these cities set up these statues.

3.15.8

★ In Sparta there is a place called the Painted Lounge (Lesche Poikile), and beside it are the hero-shrines of Cadmus son of Agenor and his descendants–Oeolycus son of Theras and Aegeus son of Oeolycus. They say these shrines were made by Maisis, Laias, and Europas, who were sons of Hyraeus son of Aegeus. They also built the hero-shrine to Amphilochus, because their ancestor Tisamenus was the son of Demonassa, Amphilochus' sister.

3.15.9

★ The Lacedaemonians alone among the Greeks have established the custom of calling Hera "Aigophagos" (Goat-eater) and of sacrificing goats to the goddess. They say that Heracles founded her sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because when he fought against Hippocoön and his sons, Hera put no obstacle in his way, although on other occasions he believed the goddess was opposed to him. They say he offered goats because he found no other sacrificial animals at hand.

3.15.10

★ Not far from the theater is the temple of Poseidon Genethlios ("the Birth-giver"), and nearby are the heroic shrines of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and of Oebalus. Of the sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius, the most notable is situated in the area called Booneta. On the left is the heroön of Teleclus–I shall return again later to speak of him in my description of Messenia. Proceeding a short distance further, there is a modest-sized hill, upon which stands an ancient temple and a wooden image of armed Aphrodite. Of all the temples known to me, only this one has a second storey built above, a sanctuary dedicated to Morpho.

3.15.11

The surname of Aphrodite is Morpho; she is seated, holding a veil and having fetters around her feet. They say Tyndareus placed these fetters upon her, symbolizing through bonds the steadfastness which wives should observe toward their husbands. But as for the other account, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with chains out of resentment, supposing Aphrodite had caused disgrace to his daughters, I cannot accept this version at all. Indeed, it would be utterly foolish to create a wooden image, name it Aphrodite, and then believe oneself thereby to be taking vengeance upon the goddess.

Chapter 16

3.16.1

Near (the statues of) Hilaeira and Phoebe there is a sanctuary; the author of the Cyprian verses says these goddesses are daughters of Apollo. Maidens who serve as priestesses for them are called Leucippides, named after the goddesses themselves. One of the statues was decorated by a woman named Leucippis who served as priestess to these goddesses; she altered the face into the contemporary artistic style, replacing its original appearance, but a dream prevented her from likewise adorning the other statue. In this sanctuary, an egg is suspended from the roof, wrapped around with ribbons. They say that this is the very egg which tradition relates was laid by Leda. ★

3.16.2

Each year the women weave a tunic for Apollo at Amyclae, and the building in which they weave is named the Chiton (Tunic). Nearby is a dwelling-house; originally, they say, the sons of Tyndareus lived in it, but in later times it came into the possession of Phormion, a Spartan. The Dioscuri came to him, appearing as foreigners; they claimed to have come from Cyrene, asked for lodging in his house, and requested specifically the room they had particularly enjoyed when they were among men. ★

3.16.3

He told them they could occupy any other part of the house they wished, but said he would not yield that particular chamber, because his unmarried daughter happened to be using it as her quarters. However, on the next day, the maiden and all her attendants who cared for her had vanished, while within the chamber were found images of the Dioscuri, and a table with silphium upon it. ★

3.16.4

These things occurred, it is said, in the manner given above. Proceeding toward the gates from the place called Chiton, there is a hero-shrine of Chilon, reputed as one of the wise men, and also that of Athenodorus, who was sent to Sicily together with Dorieus, the son of Anaxandridas. They went forth, believing that the territory of Eryx belonged rightly to the descendants of Heracles, rather than to the barbarians who held it. For tradition relates that Heracles wrestled against Eryx on the following condition: if Heracles defeated him, the land of Eryx would belong to Heracles, but if Heracles should be overcome, he would yield the cattle of Geryon– ★

3.16.5

★ For at that time Heracles was driving these cattle, and when they swam away toward Sicily, he crossed over in pursuit, arriving at the place known as "the Bent Olive." Now Eryx would have carried away the cattle if Heracles had been defeated. But divine favor, which attended Heracles, was not equally favorable later to Dorieus, the son of Anaxandridas; for whereas Heracles slew Eryx, the Egestaeans destroyed Dorieus and the greater part of his army.

3.16.6

★ The Lacedaemonians have likewise erected a sanctuary to Lycurgus, the one who established their laws, and honor him as if he were indeed a god. Behind the temple is the tomb of Eucosmus, the son of Lycurgus, and near the altar are the tombs of Lathria and Anaxandra. These two were twins, and for this reason were married by the sons of Aristodemus, who were also themselves twins. They were daughters of Thersander, son of Agamedidas, who was king of the Cleonaeans, and the fourth descendant from Ctesippus, the son of Heracles. Opposite the temple is the monument of Theopompus, son of Nicander, as well as that of Eurybiades, who commanded the Lacedaemonian ships when they fought against the Medes at Artemisium and Salamis. Close by stands a sanctuary called the heroon of Astrabacus.

3.16.7

★ The place called Limnaion is sacred to Artemis Orthia. They say the wooden idol here is the very one that Orestes and Iphigenia once stole from Tauris. The Lacedaemonians claim it was brought to their land when Orestes was king here. To me their account seems more plausible than the Athenians'. For by what logic would Iphigenia have left the statue behind at Brauron? Or how, when the Athenians were readying themselves to abandon their land, did they not place even this statue onto their ships?

3.16.8

★ Even now, indeed, the renown of the Tauric goddess persists to such an extent that the Cappadocians and those dwelling around the Euxine Sea dispute the claim that her image is among them, and the Lydians likewise, who possess the sanctuary of Artemis Anaïtis, contest it as well. But evidently it eluded the Athenians when it became spoil carried off by the Mede; for the statue brought from Brauron was taken to Susa and later, by the gift of Seleucus, the Syrians of Laodicea hold it in my day.

3.16.9

★ I have further evidence that the wooden image of Orthia at Sparta originated from the barbarians. Astrabacus and Alopecus, sons of Irbus, son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphicles, son of Agis, upon discovering this image, immediately lost their minds. Moreover, while sacrificing to Artemis, the Limnatians among the Spartans, together with the Cynosurians, and those from Mesoa and Pitane, fell into dissension; this strife escalated into killings. After many had perished at the altar, disease began destroying those who survived.

3.16.10

★ And upon this matter, they received an oracle commanding them to stain the altar with human blood. When they sacrificed whomever chance selected by lot, Lycurgus changed this practice to the scourging of youths, and in this way the altar became filled with human blood. The priestess stands beside them holding the wooden image, which otherwise is light because of its small size, but if ever the goddess–

3.16.11

If ever those doing the whipping spare the blows from moderation due to the beauty or rank of the youth, then immediately the wooden image becomes heavy for the woman and no longer easily carried. She then blames those administering the lashes and claims she is being oppressed on their account. Thus has remained with this image a delight in the human blood derived from the sacrifices in Tauris. They call her not only Orthia but also Lygodesma ("Bound with Willow"), because she was found in a thicket of willow bushes, and the willow, having encircled it, kept the image upright. ★

Chapter 17

3.17.1

Not far from the sanctuary of Orthia is a temple of Eileithyia. They say that they built it, and recognized ★
Eileithyia as a goddess, in accordance with an oracle they received from Delphi. The Lacedaemonians do not have an acropolis rising conspicuously high, as the Thebans have their Cadmeia, and the Argives their Larisa; yet, as there are other hills within the city, the one which rises highest above the rest they call the acropolis.

3.17.2

Here stands a sanctuary of Athena, known as Polias ("Guardian of the City") and also Chalcioecus ("of ★
the Bronze House"). According to tradition, the building of the sanctuary was begun by Tyndareus; after his death, his sons intended to complete the construction, using for their purpose the spoils they expected to gain from Aphidna. But they also left it unfinished, until many years later the Lacedaemonians constructed both the temple and a bronze image of Athena. The artist of the statue was Gitiadas, a local man, who also composed Dorian songs, among these a hymn dedicated to the goddess.

3.17.3

On this bronze relief are wrought many of the labors of Heracles, and also many other deeds he ★
accomplished of his own accord; likewise the children of Tyndareus, including among other things the abduction of the daughters of Leucippus; and Hephaestus freeing his mother from bonds. I have earlier already explained these stories, as they are told, in my account of Attica. Depicted too are the nymphs giving Perseus, as he was setting out for Libya against Medusa, the helmet and sandals with which he was destined to travel through the air. Moreover, there is represented the birth of Athena, and Amphitrite and Poseidon–scenes that, in my judgment, were the most magnificent and most worthy of viewing.

3.17.4

There is also another temple here sacred to Athena Ergane. As one goes toward the southern colonnade, there is a temple of Zeus called surnamed "Kosmetas," and in front of it a tomb of Tyndareus. The colonnade that faces west contains two eagles with Victories standing upon them: these were dedicated by Lysander and commemorate two actions–first, that at Ephesus, when he overcame Antiochus, the pilot of Alcibiades, along with the ships of the Athenians, and later the defeat of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami.

3.17.5

On the left of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos they set up a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians made their sorties into battle not to the accompaniment of trumpets, but to melodies of flutes and to the striking of lyres and kitharas. Behind the temple of Athena Chalkioikos there is a temple of Aphrodite Areia (Warlike); its wooden statues are among the most ancient images anywhere in Greece.

3.17.6

? On the right of the temple of Athena Chalcioecus there is an image of Zeus Hypatos, said to be the oldest of all statues made of bronze. It is not cast as a single piece; each part has been separately hammered out, fitted closely together, and fastened with nails to prevent them from falling apart. They also say that the statue was made by Clearchus of Rhegium, who is said by some to have been a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis, while others claim he was a pupil of Daedalus himself. Near the structure called the Sknma stands a statue of a woman; the Lacedaemonians say she is Euryleonis, who won an Olympic victory driving a two-horse chariot.

3.17.7

? Near the altar of Chalcioecus stand two statues of Pausanias, who commanded at Plataea. I shall not recount the sort of events which befell him, since they are well-known; indeed, what earlier historians have recorded is sufficiently exact. I shall content myself with briefly touching upon them. I heard from a Byzantine that Pausanias was found out in what he was plotting, and of those who sought refuge at the sanctuary of Chalcioecus, he alone failed to gain pardon. Though guilty in no other respect, he could not cleanse himself from the pollution of murder.

3.17.8

For when he was lingering around the Hellespont with ships both of other Greeks and of the Spartans themselves, he conceived a desire for a young maiden of Byzantium. As soon as night fell, Cleonice–for this was the girl's name–was brought to him by those charged with the task. But as Pausanias slept, a noise awoke him: for the girl, as she approached, accidentally knocked over the burning lamp. Pausanias, conscious of his own betrayal of Greece and continually possessed by turmoil and fear because of it, panicked at that moment also and struck the maiden down with his sword.

3.17.9

Pausanias could not escape this pollution, despite undergoing all manner of purifications and supplicating Zeus Phyxios, even coming to Phigaleia in Arcadia to seek aid from the necromancers. Nevertheless, he suffered the justice due both to Cleonice and to the god. The Lacedaemonians, carrying out the command from Delphi, made bronze statues and established a cult of Epidotes ("the Bountiful One"), saying it was this deity who turned aside the wrath of Hikesios ("the God of Supplication") directed against Pausanias.

Chapter 18

3.18.1

Near the statues of Pausanias stands an image of Aphrodite Ambologera set up according to an oracle, and others of Sleep and Death; and they believe them to be brothers, following the verses in the Iliad.

3.18.2

On the road leading toward the place called Alpion is a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis ("Athena of the Eye"). They say that Lycurgus built it as a dedication after losing one of his eyes, having been struck by Alcander, because the laws that he had established happened not to please Alcander. Having fled for refuge to this place, and with the Lacedaemonians intervening to spare his remaining eye, Lycurgus thus built the temple to Athena Ophthalmitis.

3.18.3

Advancing further from here, there is a sanctuary of Ammon. The Lacedaemonians appear, from the earliest times, to have greatly esteemed above all Greeks the oracle of Ammon in Libya. It is said that Lysander, as he was besieging Aphytis in Pallene, was visited by Ammon in a nocturnal vision, who instructed him that it would be better both for him and for Sparta to cease the war against the people of Aphytis. Lysander accordingly ended the siege, and promoted still greater reverence among the Lacedaemonians toward the god. The Aphytaians themselves honor Ammon no less than do the Ammonians in Libya.

3.18.4

The traditions concerning Artemis Knagia are related thus: they say that Knageus, a man from this region, joined the expedition of the Dioscuri against Aphidna and was captured in battle. Having been taken prisoner and sold into slavery in Crete, he served there at a sanctuary of Artemis that belonged to the Cretans. After some time, he escaped, carrying away both the priestess, a maiden, and bringing her image of the goddess along with them. From this event, they say, Artemis received the name "Knagia."

3.18.5

But this man Knageus seems to me to have reached Crete in some other way, not as the Spartans claim. Indeed, I think that no battle took place at Aphidna, since Theseus was detained among the Thesprotians and the Athenians were not united, but rather leaning more toward Menestheus in their sympathies. Nor indeed would anyone be persuaded that captives were taken by the victors if no battle

had even occurred, especially as the victory described was so decisive that Aphidna itself would have been captured.

3.18.6

★ Let these inquiries go thus far. On the way down from Sparta toward Amyclae is a river called Tiasa. They believe that Tiasa is the daughter of Eurotas, and near it stands a sanctuary of the Graces, Phaënna and Cleta, as Alcman has also written. The Lacedaemonians hold that it was Lacedaemon himself who established this sanctuary to the Graces and gave them their names.

3.18.7

At Amyclae are several remarkable sights: there is on a pillar the figure of a man, a pentathlete whose name is recorded as Ainetos. He, they say, after winning a victory at Olympia, died still crowned with his wreath. Thus there is his statue and also bronze tripods. These older tripods, it is said, were dedicated as a tithe from the spoils of the war against the Messenians.

3.18.8

Beneath the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, and Artemis was under the second–both the works themselves and the workmanship of Gitiadas. The third tripod is the work of Callon of Aegina, and beneath it stands a statue of Kore, daughter of Demeter. Aristandros of Paros made a figure of a woman holding a lyre, said to represent Sparta, while Polycleitus of Argos made an Aphrodite named "beside Amyclaeus." These tripods surpass the others in size and were dedicated for the victory at Aegospotami.

3.18.9

? By Bathykles the Magnesian, who made the throne of the Amyclaean god, the offerings upon the decorated throne are figures of the Graces and an image of Artemis Leukophryene. But concerning to whom Bathykles had been a pupil, and who was king of the Lacedaemonians when he made the throne, these matters I omit; yet I have seen the throne itself, and I shall describe what I observed upon it.

3.18.10

★ In front and likewise behind him stand two Graces and two Seasons. On the left are placed Echidna and Typhos, on the right Tritons. To describe in exact detail the whole of the workmanship would present too great an abundance to those who would read it; yet, briefly stated–for most of it was not unknown–they depict Taygete, the daughter of Atlas, and also her sister Alcyone being carried off by Poseidon and Zeus. There are also represented Atlas, the single combat of Heracles against Cycnus, and the battle with the Centaurs that took place at the dwelling of Pholus.

3.18.11

★? The figure called Minotaur–why Bathykles depicted it bound and led alive by Theseus, I do not know. There is also a group of the Phaeacians sculptured upon the throne, with Demodocus among them singing, and the adventure of Perseus against Medusa is represented. Nearby are depicted the battle of Heracles with the giant Thourios, and the fight of Tyndareus against Eurytos, as well as the seizure of the daughters of Leukippos. Also shown is Hermes bearing Dionysos, still a child, into heaven, and Athena leading Heracles, so that thereafter he may dwell among the gods.

3.18.12

Peleus entrusts Achilles to Chiron to be raised, and Chiron, it is said, also taught him. Cephalus was seized by Day because of his beauty; and the gods bring gifts to the wedding of Harmonia. There is also depicted the single combat between Achilles and Memnon; likewise, Heracles is portrayed slaying the Thracian Diomedes and taking vengeance upon Nessus at the river Evenus. Hermes leads the goddesses before Alexander to be judged, and Adrastus together with Tydeus separate Amphiaraus and Lycurgus, son of Pronax, from their combat. ★

3.18.13

Hera is looking toward Io, daughter of Inachus, who is already transformed into a cow, and Athena is depicted fleeing from Hephaestus who pursues her. Following these scenes, there are representations of Heracles tasks, including his contest with the hydra and his fetching up the dog from Hades. Anaxias and Mnasinous are each shown mounted upon a horse, while Megapenthes, the son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus are both carried by a single horse. Bellerophon is shown killing the beast in Lycia, and Heracles is depicted driving away the cattle of Geryon. ★

3.18.14

At the upper edges of the throne, on either side, are the sons of Tyndareus mounted upon horses. Beneath the horses there are sphinxes, and wild beasts running upwards–a leopard on one side and, beneath Polydeuces, a lioness. At the highest point of the throne a chorus is carved, the Magnesians who assisted Bathykles in crafting the throne. ★

3.18.15

As you pass under the throne, the figures inside, starting from the Tritons, are: the hunt of the Calydonian boar; Heracles killing the sons of Actor; Calaïs and Zetes driving away the Harpies from Phineus; Pirithous and Theseus depicted abducting Helen; Heracles strangling the lion; and Tityos being shot by Apollo and Artemis. ★

3.18.16

Depicted have been the fight of Heracles against the Centaur Oreios, and also that of Theseus against the bull of Minos. Further shown is Heracles wrestling with Acheloos, and the events told about Hera–how she was bound by Hephaistos–as well as the contest set by Acastus in honor of his father, and the scenes from the Odyssey concerning Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus. Finally there is Admetus yoking a boar and lion to his chariot, and the Trojans offering libations for Hector. ★

Chapter 19

3.19.1

As for the throne at the point where the god would sit, it is not continuous throughout at this place, but instead provides several seats, and by each seat there remains an open space; the central space is the widest of all, and it is there that the statue has been placed.

3.19.2

As for its size, I know of no one who has measured it exactly, but one estimating would probably find it to be about thirty cubits high. This statue is not a work of Bathykles; it is ancient and not crafted with artistic skill. For except for the face and the extremities of the feet and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it wears a helmet, and in its hands it holds a spear and a bow.

3.19.3

The pedestal of the statue has the shape of an altar, and it is said that Hyacinthus is buried within it. At the festival of the Hyacinthia, before sacrificing to Apollo, they make offerings through a bronze door on this altar to Hyacinthus; this door is situated on the left side of the altar. On the altar there are carved figures: one image of Biris, another of Amphitrite and Poseidon, and near them Zeus and Hermes conversing with each other; close by stand Dionysus and Semele, with Ino beside Semele.

3.19.4

On the altar are carved Demeter and Kore, as well as Plouton; above them stand the Moirai (Fates) and the Horai (Seasons), and together with these goddesses are Aphrodite, Athena, and Artemis. They are depicted bringing up to heaven Hyakinthos and Polyboia, his sister who, they say, died while still a virgin. Now, this statue of Hyakinthos already has a beard, but Nikias, son of Nikomedes, depicted him especially handsome in order to recall the love that Apollo is said to have felt toward Hyakinthos.

3.19.5

On the altar is depicted also Heracles, led by Athena and the other gods, as he too is taken up into heaven. Represented on the altar are likewise the daughters of Thestius, as well as the Muses and the Horae. Concerning the wind Zephyrus, and the accidental death of Hyacinthus by Apollo, and the transformation of the youth into the flower, perhaps one could interpret it otherwise as well; yet let it be as it is traditionally told.

3.19.6

★ Amyclae, destroyed by the Dorians and thereafter remaining merely as a village, nevertheless offered worthy things to view, including a sanctuary and a statue of Alexandra. This Alexandra, according to the Amyclaeans, is Cassandra, daughter of Priam. Here also is an image of Clytemnestra, a statue of Agamemnon, and what is said to be his tomb. The locals worship the Amyclaean god and Dionysus, whom they very fittingly call Psilax (Winged Dionysus); for in the Doric dialect "psila" means wings, and wine lifts and frees men's spirits no less than wings do birds. Such then are the notable things still preserved at Amyclae. Another road leads from the city to Therapne.

3.19.7

★ Along the road there is a wooden image of Athena Alea. Before crossing the Eurotas, slightly above the riverbank, there is a sanctuary that is shown to be dedicated to Zeus Plousios (Zeus of Wealth). After crossing, there is a temple of Asclepius Cotyleus, built by Heracles. After being healed of the wound in his hip joint ("cotyle") which had occurred in the previous battle against Hippocoon and his sons, Heracles named the god Asclepius "Cotyleus." Of all the sanctuaries built along this road, the most ancient is said to be a sanctuary of Ares. This sanctuary is on the left-hand side of the road, and both the statue and the Dioscuri are said to have been brought from Colchis.

3.19.8

★ They call him Theritas after Thero, whom they say was Ares' nurse. Possibly they have heard this name Theritas from the Colchians; at least the Greeks know no nurse of Ares named Thero. But in my opinion, the epithet Theritas was not given to Ares on account of any nurse, but because a warrior, when entering into battle with an enemy, must put aside every gentleness–a point similarly expressed by Homer regarding Achilles: "Like a lion, he knows savage ways."

3.19.9

★ Therapne received its name from the daughter of Lelex. There is a temple of Menelaus here, and they say both Menelaus and Helen were buried in this spot. However, the Rhodians disagreeing with the Lacedaemonians say that after Menelaus' death, and while Orestes was still wandering, Helen was driven into exile at that time by Nicostratus and Megapenthes, came to Rhodes, as she had a close friendship with Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus.

3.19.10

★ For Polyxo, they say, was Argive by birth, and, having been married earlier to Tlepolemus, she had shared in his flight to Rhodes, where she remained behind ruling the island at that time, left guardian over an orphaned child. This Polyxo, it is said, desiring to avenge Helen for the death of Tlepolemus, when Helen fell into her hands, sent upon her, as she bathed, serving women disguised as Erinyes; and these women seized Helen and hanged her from a tree. Because of this event, the Rhodians have a sanctuary dedicated to Helen "of the Tree" (Dendritis).

3.19.11

★ I shall now mention a tradition concerning Helen which I know the people of Croton relate, and which the inhabitants of Himera also agree with. There is in the Euxine Sea an island located near the mouths of the Ister sacred to Achilles. The name of this island is Leuke, its circumference is twenty stadia, and it is entirely covered with trees, filled with wild and tame animals; and upon it there is a temple dedicated to Achilles and a statue of him.

3.19.12

The first who is said to have sailed to this island was Leonymus of Croton. For when war arose between ★
the Crotoniats and the Locrians in Italy, and the Locrians, due to their kinship with the Opuntians, called upon Ajax son of Oileus to support them in battle, Leonymus, who was commanding the Crotoniats, attacked the enemy at precisely the place where he heard Ajax had been arrayed against them. He received a wound in his chest, and, suffering terribly from the injury, travelled to Delphi. Upon his arrival, the Pythian priestess sent Leonymus to the island of Leuke, telling him that there Ajax would appear to him and would heal his wound.

3.19.13

After some time, once he had recovered and returned from Leuke, he claimed to have seen Achilles, ★
as well as both Ajax, the son of Oileus, and Ajax, the son of Telamon, and reported that Patroclus and Antilochus were also in their company. He added that Helen lived together with Achilles, and that Achilles had commanded him, upon his voyage to Himera, to inform Stesichorus that the loss of his eyesight had come upon him through Helen's wrath. For this reason, Stesichorus composed his recantation.

Chapter 20

3.20.1

In Therapne I myself saw the spring called Messeïs. According to another tradition of the Lacedaemonians, the spring that in my time is named Polydeucea was originally called Messeïs, not the one in Therapne. Polydeucea itself consists both of the spring and of a sanctuary of Polydeuces, situated on the right side of the road leading to Therapne.

3.20.2

Not far from Therapne there is a place called Phoibaion, and in it is a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi; here the young men sacrifice to Enyalios. At no great distance from it stands a sanctuary of Poseidon known as Gaiaochos ("Earth-holder"). Proceeding from there towards Taygetos, one comes to a site called Alesiai; they say it was here that Myleas, son of Lelex, was the first among men to invent the mill and grind meal, and that he ground grain in Alesiai. Here also stands the hero shrine of Lakedaimon, the son of Taygete.

3.20.3

After crossing from there the river Phellia, going directly past Amyclae toward the sea, one comes upon Pharis, a city in Laconia once inhabited. Turning away from the Phellia river to the right, the road leads toward Mount Taygetus. In this plain is a precinct sacred to Zeus Messapeus; the god, they say, received the surname from a man who performed ritual sacrifices in his honor. From there, as one descends from Taygetus, there is a place where formerly stood the city of Bryseae; a temple to Dionysus still remains here, and also an image in the open air. The statue within the temple can only be viewed by women, for indeed it is women alone who perform the sacrificial rites in secret.

3.20.4

The peak of Taygetus, Taleton, rises above Bryseai; they call this spot sacred to Helios, and there they offer sacrifices to Helios, among other things horses especially. I know that the Persians also follow a similar custom in sacrificing horses. Not far from Taleton is a place named Evoras, which shelters wild animals and especially wild goats. The whole Taygetus range abounds with hunting, both for these goats and for wild boars, and very plentifully also for deer and bears.

3.20.5

Between Taletum and Euoras, places called Theras, there is a sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia. They say that Leto came there from the peaks of Taygetus. At this place, the Lacedaemonians say Heracles was concealed by Asclepius, who healed his wound; and therein stands a wooden image of Orpheus, said to be the work of the Pelasgians. Moreover, I am acquainted with another rite performed there:

3.20.6

★ On the seacoast lay a small city named Helos, which even Homer has mentioned in his catalogue of the Lacedaemonians:

"Those who held Amyclae, and Helos by the sea" (Homer, Il. 2.584).

Helos was founded by Helios, the youngest son of Perseus. Later, the Dorians captured the city by siege, and these inhabitants became the first slaves of the commonwealth of Lacedaemon, called Helots after their true condition. In time, the term prevailed, such that even subsequent servile classes whom the Dorians acquired (although these later were Messenians by descent) also came to be known as Helots. This resembles how the Greeks collectively gained their name Hellenes from the place known as Hellas, located originally in Thessaly.

3.20.7

From this place called Helos they bring an ancient wooden image of the Maiden, daughter of Demeter, to the Eleusinion during certain prescribed days. Fifteen stades from the Eleusinion stands a place called Lapithaeum, named for a local man called Lapithus. This Lapithaeum is situated on Mount Taygetus, and not far from it is Dereium, where there is an open-air statue of Artemis Dereatis and near it a spring they name Anonus. About twenty stades beyond Dereium lies Harpleia, which extends to the edge of the plain.

3.20.8

★ On the road from Sparta toward Arcadia stands a statue of Athena called "Pareia" in the open air; beyond it is a sanctuary of Achilles. It is not customary for them to open it, but all those youths intending to compete in the games at Platanistas are required to sacrifice to Achilles before their contest. The Spartans say that this sanctuary was built for them by Prax, a descendant in the third generation from Pergamos, the son of Neoptolemus.

3.20.9

★ Going forward, one encounters a tomb called the "Tomb of the Horse." Here Tyndareus once sacrificed a horse and made all the suitors of Helen swear an oath upon the severed parts of the animal. The oath bound them to defend Helen and the chosen husband, should either suffer injustice. Having made them swear this oath, Tyndareus buried the horse on this spot. Nearby stand seven columns, placed at a short distance from the tomb, which, according to ancient custom, are said to be symbols representing the planets. Along the road lies also a sanctuary of Kranius, surnamed Stemmatios, and a shrine belonging to Mysian Artemis.

3.20.10

★ The statue of Modesty stands about thirty stades from the city; it is said to be a dedication of Icarius, and was made upon the following occasion. When Icarius gave his daughter Penelope to Odysseus to be his wife, he first attempted to persuade Odysseus himself to settle in Lacedaemon; but when he failed in this, he begged his daughter earnestly to remain. When she left for Ithaca, he followed her chariot, entreating her to stay.

3.20.11

Odysseus endured this situation for some time, but finally told Penelope to follow him willingly, or ★
else, choosing her father, return again to Lacedaemon. They say Penelope answered nothing, but veiled herself at his question. Icarius, realizing clearly from this gesture that she wished to depart with Odysseus, sent her away; he then dedicated a statue to Modesty (Aidos) at the very spot on the road where, it is said, Penelope had veiled herself.

Chapter 21

3.21.1

After advancing from there about twenty stades, the current of the Eurotas approaches closest to the road, and there is the memorial of Ladas, who surpassed in swiftness of foot all rivals of his time. Indeed, he was crowned victor at Olympia in the dolichos race. My own view is that he fell ill immediately after his victory and was carried back, and his death occurring here, the tomb stands by the road. There is another Olympic victor with the same name, who won not in the dolichos but in the stadion; according to the records of the Eleans concerning Olympic victors, he was an Achaean from Aegium. ?

3.21.2

Proceeding towards Pellana, there is a place called Characoma, and after this lies Pellana, a city from ancient times. They say that Tyndareus lived here when he fled from Sparta because of Hippocoön and his sons. Among the notable sights that I know to be there are a sanctuary of Asclepius and the spring named Pellanis. They say that once a maiden, while drawing water, fell into this spring and disappeared; afterward, her veil was found appearing in another spring called Langia. ★

3.21.3

One hundred stadia from Pellana lies Belemina. Of all the territory of Laconia, Belemina is naturally the most abundantly watered; for the waters of Eurotas pass through it, and the place itself also yields numerous springs.

3.21.4

Descending to the sea toward Gythium, the Spartans have a village called Krokeai and a stone quarry. The rock itself is not one continuous mass reaching uninterrupted; instead, stones are excavated resembling river pebbles in shape, typically difficult to work, but when properly crafted, capable of adorning even sanctuaries of the gods, being especially beautiful in baths and fountains. Regarding the gods, outside the village stands an image of Zeus, made from Krokean stone, while at the quarry itself are bronze statues of the Dioscuri.

3.21.5

After Krokeai, turning off to the right from the straight road that leads to Gytheion, you will arrive at a small town called Aigiai. People say that Homer mentions this place in his poems, calling it Augeiai. Here there is a lake named the Lake of Poseidon, and beside the lake stands a temple with an image of ★

the god. They fear to catch the fish there, saying that whoever does so and fishes them out will turn from a human into a fisherman.

3.21.6

Gythium is thirty stades distant from Aegiae. Situated on the sea, it now belongs to the Eleutherolakones, whom the emperor Augustus freed from their subjection to the Lacedaemonians who dwelt at Sparta. The whole of the Peloponnese is surrounded by sea except for the Corinthian Isthmus; and the coastal areas of Laconia supply the best shellfish for producing purple dye, second only to those from the sea of Phoenicia.

3.21.7

The number of the Free Laconians amounts to eighteen cities. The first you encounter descending from Aigiai to the sea is Gythion; after this come Teuthrone, Las, and Pyrrhichos. On Taenarum are Kainépolis, Oitylos, Leuktra, and Thalamai; near these are Alagonia and Gerenia. Beyond Gythion towards the sea lie Asopos, Acriae, Boiai, Zarax, Epidaurus Limera, Brasiai, Geronthrai, and Marios. These are the remaining cities out of the original twenty-four Free Laconian settlements. As to the rest, which I may discuss in turn later, it should be understood that they were incorporated into Sparta and were not autonomous like those previously named.

3.21.8

★ The inhabitants of Gythium say that the city had no human founder, but that instead, after Heracles and Apollo had contended for the tripod, once reconciliation had occurred following their dispute, they founded the city jointly. In the marketplace there are statues of Apollo and Heracles, and near them, one of Dionysus. Elsewhere are Apollo Carneius, a sanctuary of Ammon, a bronze statue of Asclepius in a temple that has no roof, a sacred spring of that god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and a statue of Poseidon, Holder of the Earth.

3.21.9

★ The one whom the inhabitants of Gythium call the "Old Man," whom they claim dwells in the sea, I found to be Nereus. Homer gave them the source of this name in the Iliad, in the words of Thetis: "But you now descend into the broad bosom of the sea, to behold the aged man of the sea and the dwellings of our father." Here also are gates named Castorides, and on the acropolis there is built a temple and statue of Athena.

Chapter 22

3.22.1

About three stades from Gythium is a stone named "Argos lithos" ("inactive stone"). It is said that Orestes sat down there and was relieved of his madness; thus, in the Dorian dialect, the stone is called Zeus Kappotas. Opposite Gythium lies the island of Cranae, where Homer says that Alexander, after abducting Helen, first united with her. On the island there is a temple dedicated to Aphrodite Migonitis on the mainland, and the whole place is called Migonium.

3.22.2

They say that Alexander founded this sanctuary. After Menelaus had captured Ilium, and when, eight years subsequent to the sack of Troy, he had safely returned home, he dedicated the statue of Thetis and images of the goddesses called Praxidikai near Migonium. Above Migonium is a mountain sacred to Dionysus named Larysion. At the beginning of spring they hold there a festival in honor of Dionysus, wherein, among other rites, they recount how at this place was discovered a ripe cluster of grapes.

3.22.3

On the left, about thirty stades beyond Gythium, upon the mainland, there exist walls of a site called Trinasus, which I believe were once those of a fortress rather than a city. I think it gets this name from the three small islands situated offshore at that place. About eighty stades from Trinasus were the surviving ruins of Helos, and thirty stades further along after these ruins...

3.22.4

Advancing roughly four stades toward the sea, there is a city called Akriai. Things worthy of seeing there include a temple of the Mother of the Gods, and an image fashioned from stone. Those who inhabit Akriai assert that this sanctuary is the oldest among all the shrines dedicated to the goddess in the Peloponnese. However, among the Magnesians, who dwell to the north of Mount Sipylos, there is the most ancient image of the Mother of the Gods placed upon the rock called Koddinos. The Magnesians claim that Broteas, son of Tantalus, fashioned this image.

3.22.5

The Acriatae also once produced an Olympic victor named Nicocles, who obtained five victories in running at two Olympic festivals. There is a memorial for Nicocles set between the gymnasium and the wall near the harbor.

3.22.6

★ From the sea, Geronthrai lies one hundred and twenty stades inland from Acriae. These Acriae, inhabited before the Heracleidae came into the Peloponnesus, were desolated by the Dorians who held Lacedaemon. After expelling the Achaeans from Geronthrai, the Dorians sent settlers of their own there. In my day, these too belonged to the Eleuthero-Laconians. On the road that goes from Acriae to Geronthrai is a village called Palaea ("the Old"). In Geronthrai itself there is a temple and a precinct sacred to Ares.

3.22.7

They celebrate an annual festival in honor of the god, during which women are forbidden to enter the grove. Around the marketplace lie the springs of drinking water. On the acropolis there stands a temple of Apollo, and an image whose head is made of ivory. The remainder of the statue was destroyed by fire, along with the earlier temple.

3.22.8

Marios is another town of the Eleutherolakonians, situated one hundred stadia distant from Geronthrai. Here stands an ancient sanctuary common to all the gods, around which extends a grove that affords springs of water; springs are also found in the sanctuary of Artemis. Indeed, if any place is specially abundant in water, it is Marios. Above the town and inland lies a village called Glyppia. Another road, twenty stadia long, leads from Geronthrai to a different village named Selinous.

3.22.9

★ These places lie inland, above Acriae. Nearer the sea is the city of Asopus, sixty stades from Acriae. Within it is a temple of the Roman emperors, and about twelve stades above the city, there is a sanctuary of Asclepius; they call the god Philolaus. The bones honored in the gymnasium are remarkable for their size, though still human. There is also a sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis, surnamed Cyparissia. At the foot of this acropolis there are the ruins of a city named the City of the Achaeans of Paracyparissia.

3.22.10

★ In this land there is also a sanctuary of Asclepius, distant approximately fifty stades from Asopus; the place where the sanctuary of Asclepius stands is called Hyperteleatum. A headland projecting into the sea lies two hundred stades from Asopus, and they call this promontory "Onugnathus" ("Donkey's Jaw"). Here there is a temple of Athena, but it has neither statue nor roof; it is said that it was built by Agamemnon. There is also a tomb of Cinadus here, who was likewise a pilot of Menelaus' ship.

3.22.11

★ Beyond the headland lies the bay called the Boiatic Gulf, and at the farthest end of this bay stands the city of Boiai. This city was founded by Boios, one of the Herakleidai, who is said to have gathered inhabitants into it from three cities: Etis, Aphrodisias, and Side. Of these ancient cities, it is said that Aeneas, fleeing to Italy and driven by storms into this gulf, established two, naming Etis after his daughter Aineias. The third city, they claim, was named after Side, the daughter of Danaos.

3.22.12

★ Having departed from these cities, they began to seek a new place where it was ordained for them to dwell. And indeed they had received an oracle that Artemis would show them the place where they

should settle. When, therefore, they landed on the coast, a hare suddenly appeared before them, and they made this hare their guide along the way. When it disappeared into a myrtle bush, there they then founded their city at the very spot of this myrtle. Even now they hold the myrtle tree sacred, and they honor Artemis by the name of Soteira ("Savior").

3.22.13

In the marketplace of the Boeatae there is a temple of Apollo, and elsewhere are those of Asclepius, Sarapis, and Isis. The ruins of Etis lie not more than seven stadia away from Boeae. As one travels toward them, a stone statue of Hermes stands on the left-hand side, and among these ruins there is a sanctuary of Asclepius and Hygieia clearly visible.

Chapter 23

3.23.1

Cythera lies opposite Boeae, and nearest to the cape called Platanistus; at this point the island is separated from the mainland by the shortest distance. The distance between the cape Platanistus and the point on the mainland known as Onugnathus ("Donkey's Jaw") is a voyage of about forty stades. On Cythera itself, Scandeia, the harbor, lies by the sea. The city of Cythera is situated inland, about ten stades' ascent from Scandeia. The sanctuary of Uranian Aphrodite there is most holy, and it is the oldest of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite in Greece. The image of the goddess itself is a wooden statue in armor. ★

3.23.2

Sailing from Boiae, beneath the headland of Malea, there is a harbor called Nymphaion and a standing statue of Poseidon. Very close by is a cave by the sea, and within it a spring of sweet water; many people dwell nearby. About a hundred stades after you have navigated around Cape Malea, there is a coastal place on the border of the territory of the Boeatae which contains a sanctuary of Apollo called Epidelion.

3.23.3

For the wooden image of Apollo which now stands here, was once set up in Delos. At that time Delos was a trading center for the Greeks, and because of the god was thought to provide safe haven to merchants and traders. Menophanes, a general of Mithridates, either from his own arrogance or directed by Mithridates–indeed, to a man who sets profit first, the divine comes only after gain–this Menophanes, therefore, since the island was in this condition... ?

3.23.4

Since Delos was unwalled, and its men possessed no weapons, he sailed into the port with his triremes and slaughtered both the foreigners who were present there, as well as the Delians themselves. After seizing much of the merchants' wealth and all of the dedications, enslaving also the women and children, he razed Delos to the ground. In the midst of this plundering and devastation, one of the barbarians insolently cast this statue into the sea; but the wave caught it and carried it over to this place in Boeotia, which consequently came to be called Epidelion.

3.23.5

?

However, neither Menophanes nor Mithridates himself escaped the divine wrath. For soon afterward, as Menophanes sailed away after devastating Delos, merchants who had previously escaped laid an ambush for him with their ships and sank him. Mithridates too, later suffered divine vengeance and was compelled to take his own life, stripped of his empire and hunted down on every side by the Romans. Yet some claim that Mithridates met with violent death at the hands of one of his mercenaries, who thus granted him this final favor.

3.23.6

★ Such then was the fate that overtook those who committed impiety. Bordering upon Boiae is Epidaurus Limera, situated about two hundred stades from Epidelium. They say that its founders were not Lacedaemonians, but Epidaurians from the Argolid. Sailing publicly to visit Asclepius in Cos, they put ashore here in Laconia; thereafter, in obedience to dreams that came to them, they remained and settled here.

3.23.7

★ They say also that as they were bringing a serpent from Epidaurus, the serpent escaped from the ship, and after escaping plunged into the sea not far away. Prompted both by the dreams they saw and by the sign given by the serpent, they decided to settle and dwell in that very place. And where the serpent sank into the sea stand altars to Asclepius, with olive trees growing around them.

3.23.8

★ Proceeding onwards about two stades on the right side, there is water called the water of Ino. Its size is that of a small lake, but its depth extends deep into the earth. At the festival of Ino, they cast cakes of barley meal into this water. If the water accepts and retains the cakes, it is considered favorable for the one who threw them in; but if the water should send them back up, it is regarded as an evil omen.

3.23.9

The craters on Etna indicate something similar. For people throw into them crafted objects of gold and silver, and also sacrifices of all sorts. Now if the fire accepts these offerings, carrying them away, they rejoice as though a good omen has appeared; but if the fire rejects what was thrown in, they believe misfortune will befall that person.

3.23.10

Along the road from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera there is, in Epidaurian territory, a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. The city itself stands upon elevated ground, not far from the sea. There are sights here that merit attention: a sanctuary of Aphrodite, an upright stone statue of Asclepius, a temple of Athena on the acropolis, and before the harbor, a shrine dedicated to Zeus Soter (Zeus the Savior).

3.23.11

A promontory extends out into the sea by the city, called Minoa. The bay does not differ at all from other coastal inlets along the Laconian coast; however, the beach at this place produces pebbles of especially fine shape and various colors.

Chapter 24

3.24.1

Zarax lies about a hundred stades from Epidaurus. The place otherwise has a good harbor, but it has suffered most among the towns of the Eleutherolaconians; indeed, Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes and grandson of Agesipolis, made this alone of the Laconian towns desolate. I have elsewhere told the story concerning Cleonymus. At Zarax there is nothing further noteworthy except a temple of Apollo at the extremity of the harbor, containing a statue holding a lyre.

3.24.2

About one hundred stades after setting out from Zarax along the seacoast, turning from there inland and ascending roughly ten stades, one finds the ruins of a place called Kyphanta. Among these ruins is a cave sacred to Asclepius, and within stands an image made of stone. Here, too, a spring of cold water gushes forth from the rock. They say that Atalanta, while hunting in this place and suffering from thirst, struck the rock with her spear, and thus caused the water to flow.

3.24.3

Brasiae is the last city toward the sea in this direction belonging to the Eleutherolakonians; it is situated two hundred stadia by sea from Cyphanta. The inhabitants here recount a tradition not endorsed by any other Greeks, that Semele bore a child by Zeus, and having been discovered by Cadmus, both she and Dionysus were cast into a chest. They say this chest, carried away by the waves, washed ashore in their territory. Semele, having already died and no longer living when they found her, was buried honourably, while Dionysus, they say, was brought up by them.

3.24.4

Because of this event, the city–previously called Oreiatae–was renamed Brasiai, from the landing of the chest upon their shores. Even in our own time, most people continue to call things cast ashore by the waves "ekbebrasthai" ("washed ashore"). The people of Brasiai also add this story: they say Ino came wandering into their land, and upon arriving, she willingly became the nurse of Dionysus. Moreover, they point out the cave in which Ino nursed Dionysus, and the plain they continue to call the Garden of Dionysus.

3.24.5

There are sanctuaries here, one of Asclepius, the other of Achilles; they also celebrate a festival for Achilles each year. At Brasiai there is a small promontory, gently extending into the sea. Upon it stand bronze figures of foot-high size, wearing caps upon their heads. I do not know whether the locals consider them Dioscuri or Corybantes–there are indeed three of them, and a fourth statue represents Athena.

3.24.6

On the right side of Gytheion lies Las, situated ten stades from the sea and forty stades from Gytheion. Currently, the town occupies the space between the mountains called Ilion, Asia, and Knakadion; previously it was located upon the summit of Mount Asia. Even now there remain ruins of the ancient city, and before the walls stands a statue of Heracles and a trophy commemorating a victory over Macedonians. These Macedonians belonged to Philip's army, when he invaded Laconia; turning away from the rest of the force, they had been raiding the coastal area of the country.

3.24.7

Among the ruins stands a temple of Athena surnamed "Asia," which Polydeuces and Castor are said to have constructed after their safe return from Colchis; for the Colchians also possess a sanctuary of Athena Asia. Now, I certainly know that the sons of Tyndareus joined Jason in the expedition; but concerning the Colchian worship of Athena Asia, I write from information obtained from the Lacedaemonians. Near the currently inhabited town there is a fountain, named Galako due to the appearance of its water, and close to the fountain is a gymnasium. There also stands an ancient statue of Hermes.

3.24.8

On the mountains, there is a sanctuary of Dionysus upon Mount Ilius, and on the very summit stands a temple dedicated to Asclepius. Near the Knakadium is Apollo called Karneios. About thirty stades from the sanctuary of Karneios, at a place called Hypsoi on the Spartan frontier, there is a sanctuary of Asclepius and of Artemis who bears the epithet Daphnaia.

3.24.9

By the sea, upon a promontory, is a temple dedicated to Artemis Diktynna, where they hold a festival every year. On the left side of this headland, the river Smenos flows out into the sea. Its water is sweeter to drink than that provided by almost any other river. It has its sources upon Mount Taygetos, and lies not more than five stades from the city.

3.24.10

In a place called Arainos there is the tomb of Las and upon the tomb stands a statue. The people there say this Las was their founder, and they claim he was killed by Achilles, who came to their country to court Helen as his wife from Tyndareus. But, according to the truth of the matter, it was Patroclus who slew Las; for it was he who in fact had been Helen's suitor. The fact that Achilles is not listed among Helen's suitors in the "Catalogue of Women" should not be taken as proof that he had not sought Helen in marriage.

3.24.11

Homer, indeed, wrote at the beginning of his poem that Achilles came to Troy as a favor to the sons of Atreus and was not bound by the oath sworn to Tyndareus. Furthermore, he depicted Antilochus during the funeral games stating that Odysseus is older than himself by a generation, and he has Odysseus narrating to Alcinous, among other accounts of his experiences in Hades, how he desired to see Theseus and Peirithous, men who belonged to an earlier generation than his own. We know that Theseus had carried off Helen. It is therefore impossible even on chronological grounds that Achilles should have been a suitor for Helen.

Chapter 25

3.25.1

After passing forward from the tomb, a river flows into the sea; it is called Scyras, because Pyrrhus son of Achilles once anchored his ships there, at which time he sailed from Scyros for his marriage with Hermione. After crossing the river, at some distance further is an ancient sanctuary of Zeus, with an altar. Forty stadia inland from the river lies Pyrrhichus. They say that the city took its name from Pyrrhus son of Achilles, but some claim Pyrrhichus was one of those called gods.

3.25.2

Of the Curetes: there are some who say Silenus came here from Malea and made his dwelling in this place. That Silenus was indeed reared in Malea is made clear by these verses from a poem by Pindar: "The mighty dancer, whom Mount Malea nurtured, husband of the Naiad, Silenus." (Pindar, Frag. 156 Schroeder). But that he also had the name Pyrrhichus, though not mentioned by Pindar, is asserted by those who dwell around Malea.

3.25.3

In Pyrrhichus there is a well in the marketplace, which they believe Silenus gave them; indeed, they would suffer from lack of water, if this well should ever fail. Among the sanctuaries in their territory are one of Artemis, surnamed Astrateia (Warlike), so called because here the Amazons ended their further advance, and another of Apollo Amazonios. Both statues are wooden images, and the inhabitants say that the women from the Thermodon themselves dedicated these statues.

3.25.4

From Pyrrhichos descending to the sea is Teuthrone. The local inhabitants say its founder was Teuthras, who was an Athenian. Among the gods they particularly honor Issorian Artemis, and there is in their territory a spring called Naia. At a distance of one hundred and fifty stades from Teuthrone, projecting into the sea, is the promontory Taenarum. Here are harbors called Achilles Harbor and Psamathus, and on the headland itself there is a sanctuary resembling a cave, with a statue of Poseidon placed in front of it.

3.25.5

Some of the Greeks have made the story that Heracles led the hound of Hades up through this place, disregarding neither the idea that there might be a path underground through the cave nor the belief,

which they were unwilling to accept, that beneath the earth existed some abode of gods where souls gathered together. But Hecataeus of Miletus provided a more plausible account, saying that a terrible serpent was reared at Taenarum, called the hound of Hades because anyone bitten immediately died from its venom. It was this serpent, he claimed, that Heracles brought to Eurystheus.

3.25.6

Homer–for he was the first to mention the hound of Hades, which Heracles led forth–does not give it any particular name nor elaborate upon its form as he does with the Chimaera. Later writers, however, assigned to it the name Cerberus, and, likening it otherwise to a dog, declared that it had three heads–though Homer said nothing to indicate more clearly that it was a dog like those that keep men company, than if he had called a serpent the hound of Hades.

3.25.7

At Taenarum there are various dedications, including a bronze statue of Arion the citharode riding upon a dolphin. Herodotus has recounted the story concerning Arion himself and the matter of the dolphin, based on hearsay, in his work about Lydia. As for the dolphin at Poroselene, which rendered thanks to the boy because the boy had healed it after fishermen wounded it, I myself saw this dolphin; it obeyed when the boy called it and carried him whenever he wished to ride.

3.25.8

At Taenarum there is also a spring which nowadays displays nothing remarkable; but formerly, as they say, those who looked into its water used to behold harbors and ships. A woman caused this marvel to cease and prevented such visions from appearing ever again by washing into it clothing that had been defiled.

3.25.9

Forty stades from the promontory of Taenarum lies Caenepolis by sea; this place also once bore the name Taenarum. In it there is a sanctuary of Demeter, and by the shore a temple of Aphrodite, containing an upright stone statue. Sailing onward from there thirty stades are the promontory Thyrides and the ruins of the city Hippola, where stands the sacred sanctuary of Athena Hippolaitis. A little further distant is the city Messa with its harbor.

3.25.10

From this harbor it is one hundred and fifty stades to Oitylos. The hero from whom the city received its name was originally an Argive, being the son of Amphianax, who was the son of Antimachos. Worth seeing at Oitylos are a sanctuary of Sarapis and, in the marketplace, a wooden image of Apollo Karneios.

Chapter 26

3.26.1

From Oitylos to Thalamai the length of the road is about eighty stadia, and along the way there is a sanctuary and oracle of Ino. The method of prophecy used there is by sleep: whenever individuals seek to inquire of the goddess on any matter, she reveals to them dreams. Bronze statues stand in the open-air precinct of the sanctuary, one representing Pasiphae, the other Helios. The statue within the temple itself was not clearly visible due to being covered by garlands, but is said also to be of bronze. A stream of sweet-tasting water flows from a sacred spring. Pasiphae is here called Selene (Moon-goddess), and she is not a local deity original to the people of Thalamai.

3.26.2

About twenty stades distant from Thalamae is a place by the sea named Pephnos. Directly offshore lies a small island no larger than a great rock, which is likewise called Pephnos. The inhabitants of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born there. Indeed, I know that Alcman also says this in one of his poems. They add, however, that the twins were no longer reared at Pephnos, but rather that Hermes took them and carried them to Pellana.

3.26.3

On this small island stand bronze statues of the Dioscuri, a foot tall and set in the open air. The sea itself, during winter storms, floods the rock but refuses to dislodge them. This is one marvel, and another is that the ants here appear whiter than is usual for ants. The Messenians claim that this territory originally belonged to them, so that they regard even the Dioscuri as belonging sooner to themselves than to the Lacedaemonians.

3.26.4

Leuctra is twenty stadia distant from Pephnos. For what reason the city was named Leuctra, I do not know. But if it was indeed from Leucippus, the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it seems to me this is why the people in this region especially honor Asclepius among the gods, believing him to be the son of Arsinoë, the daughter of Leucippus. Here there is a stone statue of Asclepius and another statue of Ino standing elsewhere.

3.26.5

There is also a temple and a statue made for Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, who is called Alexandra by the locals. There are also wooden statues of Apollo Carneius fashioned in exactly the same manner as those worshipped by the Lacedaemonians who live in Sparta. On the acropolis there is a temple and a statue of Athena, and at Leuctra there is a sanctuary and grove sacred to Eros; in wintertime a stream of water flows through the grove, yet in springtime the leaves falling from the trees are neither carried away nor moved at all, not even when the water flows abundantly.

3.26.6

? But what I know having happened in my own time in the coastal region of Leuktra, I will record. A wind carried fire into a wood and destroyed most of the trees. When the place was left bare, there was discovered, set up there, a statue of Zeus Ithomatas. This, according to the Messenians, is proof that Leuktra originally belonged to Messenia; yet it is also possible that Zeus Ithomatas received honor from the Lacedaemonians residing there from ancient times.

3.26.7

★ Kardamyle, mentioned also by Homer among the places Agamemnon promised as gifts, is subject to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, Augustus having detached it from Messenia. Kardamyle stands eight stades from the sea, and sixty from Leuktra. Near the shore there is a sacred precinct dedicated to the daughters of Nereus; for it is said that they ascended here from the sea to behold Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, when he came to Sparta for his marriage to Hermione. Within the town itself are sanctuaries of Athena and Apollo Karneios, whose worship is customary among the Dorians.

3.26.8

★? The city which in Homeric verses is called Enope, inhabited by Messenians who in my day belong to the league of the Eleutherolakones, is today called Gerenia. Regarding this city, some say that Nestor was raised there, while others claim he fled there when Pylos was captured by Heracles.

3.26.9

★? Here in Gerenia there is the tomb of Machaon, son of Asklepios, and a holy sanctuary; and those suffering from diseases can seek cures from Machaon. They call the sacred place Rhodos, and there is a bronze statue of Machaon standing upright. Upon his head is placed a wreath, which the Messenians in their local dialect call a “kiphos”. The poet of the epic called the Little Iliad says that Machaon died at the hands of Eurypylos, son of Telephos.

3.26.10

★ Therefore I myself know the following about the rites performed at the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum: they begin their hymns with Telephus, but they include no singing in honor of Eurypylus, nor do they even wish to pronounce his name anywhere within the temple, knowing as they do that he was the slayer of Machaon. It is said that Nestor gathered up Machaon’s bones. As for Podaleirius, they say that when the Greeks, having sacked Ilium, sailed back home, he lost his course and found safety on Syrnus on the coast of Caria, where he then settled.

3.26.11

In the district of Gerenia there is a mountain named Kalathion; upon it is a sanctuary of Klaia, and beside the sanctuary is a cave; its entrance is narrow, but inside it provides sights well worth viewing.

About thirty stades inland from Gerenia lies Alagonia, which is another town that I have already counted among the Eleutherolakones. Here there are sanctuaries dedicated to Dionysus and Artemis, also worthy of seeing.

Part IV

Book 4: Messenia

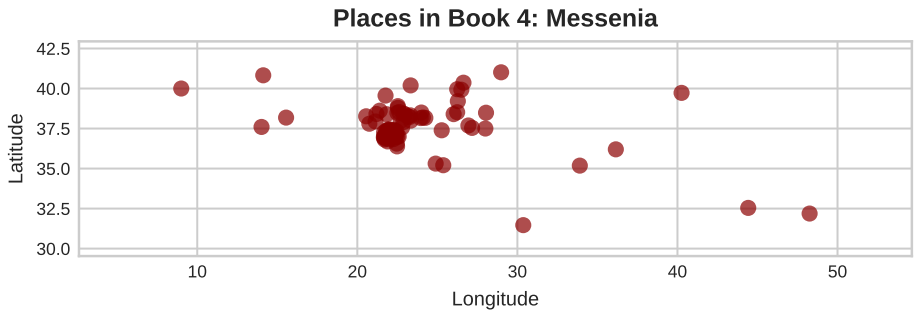

Figure 108.1: Places mentioned in Book 4: Messenia

Chapter 1

4.1.1

For the Messenians, the boundaries of their allotted territory by the king toward Laconia in our time lie around Gerenia, in the place called the ravine of Choirius. It is said regarding this region, then uninhabited, that the earliest settlers obtained it in the following way. After the death of Lelex, who had ruled over the land which is now known as Laconia but at that time was called Lelegia, Myles, being the elder of his sons, inherited the rule. Polycaon, younger in age, was thus left as a private man until he took as his wife Messene, the daughter of Triopas, who was the son of Phorbas, from Argos. ★

4.1.2

Now Messene, proud through the status of her father–who at that time surpassed all other Greeks in honor and power–could not tolerate that her husband remained a private citizen. Gathering therefore a force from Argos and Sparta, they came into this territory, and to the entire region was given the name Messene, from Polykaon's wife. Other cities were also founded, including Andania, where they established their royal seat. ★

4.1.3

Before the battle which the Thebans fought against the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, and before the founding in our time of Messene under Mount Ithome, I do not think any city had previously been called Messene. I base my opinion especially on the verses of Homer. For, whereas in the Catalogue of those who came to Ilium he mentions Pylos, Arene, and other places, he nowhere calls any city by the name of Messene. Further, in the Odyssey he clearly shows Messenians as a tribe but not a city, saying: "Messenians carried off sheep from Ithaca." (Hom. Od. 21.18) ?

4.1.4

Speaking still more clearly concerning the bow of Iphitus, Homer says: ★

"And they met one another in Messene, in the house of Ortilochus." (Odyssey 21.15)

By the house of Ortilochus he indicates the city of Pherae in Messene, as he himself explains in the visit of Pisistratus to Menelaus:

"And they came to Pherae, to the house of Diocles, son of Ortilochus." (Odyssey 3.488)

4.1.5 ★

The first to reign in this land were Polycaon, the son of Lelex, and his wife Messene. In Messene's time, Caucon, son of Celaenus and originating from Eleusis, arrived carrying the sacred rites of the Great Goddesses. Celaenus was the son of Phlyus, and the Athenians claim that Phlyus was himself the offspring of Earth. This is confirmed by a hymn composed by Musaeus in honor of Demeter for the Lycomidae.

4.1.6

★ The mysteries of the Great Gods were raised to greater esteem, many years after Caucon, by Lycus, son of Pandion; even now they still call the grove of Lycus the place where he used to perform the purification of initiates. That there is indeed a grove in this region called after Lycus is attested by Rhianus the Cretan, who composed the following verse:

"beside the rugged Elaeus and above Lycus' grove."

4.1.7

? That this Pandion was actually Lycus is made clear by the verses of Methapus placed beneath the statue. For Methapus also reformed certain elements of the rite; Methapus himself was an Athenian by birth and a founder of various initiatory rites and ceremonies. It was he who established the mystery rite of the Cabeiri among the Thebans, and he dedicated a statue in the hall of the Lycomidae with an inscription containing various statements, including those which confirm our account.

4.1.8

★ I have viewed the sanctuary of Hermes and the sacred rites belonging to revered Demeter and her Daughter, earliest-born, where they say Messene established the mysteries for the Great Goddesses, being initiated by Caucon, the renowned son of Phlyus. I marveled, indeed, at how completely Lycus, son of Pandion, an Athenian by race, transferred the sacred rites from Attica to the holy place of Andania.

4.1.9

★ This inscription makes clear that Caucon came to Messene, being a descendant of Phlyus. It also reveals other details concerning Lycus, and in particular that the ancient rites were originally established at Andania. To me it also appeared reasonable that Messene established these rites not elsewhere, but precisely where she herself and Polycaon had their dwelling.

Chapter 2

4.2.1

Since I earnestly wished to find out who were the children born to Polycaon from Messene, I examined carefully both the works called the Eoiae and the Naupactian Epics, as well as all the genealogies composed by Cinaethon and Asius. Yet in these writings nothing on this subject was included at all, except that I know the Great Eoiae say Polycaon, son of Butes, married Euaechme, daughter of Hyllus, son of Heracles; however, concerning Messene herself and Messenes husband they pass entirely over in silence.

4.2.2

Some time later, when no descendants of Polycaon were left, after five generations had passed–I believe not more–they introduced Perieres, son of Aeolus, as their king. According to the Messenians, Melaneus came to him, a man skilled in archery and for this reason held to be a son of Apollo. Perieres granted him that territory called Carnasium, though at that time it was named Oechalia, to settle and dwell in. They say the city was given the name Oechalia from the wife of Melaneus.

4.2.3

Now, the Thessalians and the Euboeans–for indeed most matters in Greece are subject to dispute–give differing accounts: the Thessalians maintain that Eurytion (which in our time is a deserted locale) was in ancient days a city called Oechalia; the Euboean tradition, however, is supported by Creophylus, who composed a poem titled "Heracleia" agreeing with their account. Hecataeus the Milesian wrote that Oechalia belonged to the territory of Eretria, specifically in the Scian district. But to my mind, the Messenians account on these points seems more credible, especially regarding the bones of Eurytus, concerning which I will provide further details later in my narrative.

4.2.4

Perieres had two sons by Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, Aphareus and Leucippus, and when Perieres died, these sons assumed power over the Messenians; however, Aphareus was the more authoritative ruler. During his reign as king, Aphareus founded a city named Arene after the daughter of Oebalus, who was also his own wife and maternal half-sister. For Gorgophone had also married Oebalus; indeed, I have already mentioned her twice previously, both in my account of Argolis and in my work on Laconia.

4.2.5

★ Aphareus founded the city of Arene in Messenia and welcomed into his home Neleus, the son of Cretheus son of Aeolus, surnamed Poseidon, who was his cousin and fleeing from Pelias out of Iolcus. He gave to him the land along the sea, where among other towns was Pylos, and it was there that Neleus settled and established his royal dwelling.

4.2.6

★ Lykos, son of Pandion, had also come to Arene when he himself was fleeing Athens away from his brother Aegeus; and he revealed the mysteries of the Great Gods to Aphareus, his children, and his wife Arene. He showed them these rites after leading them to Andania, because it was there also that Kaukon had initiated Messene.

4.2.7

★ Of the sons of Aphareus, Idas was elder and braver, while the younger was Lynceus, who, according to Pindar–if one trusts him–had eyesight so sharp that he could see even through the trunk of an oak tree. No child of Lynceus, as far as we know, was ever born; but Idas had by Marpessa a daughter, Cleopatra, who married Meleager. The author of the epic poem called the Cypria says that the wife of Protesilaus–the one who first dared to land when the Greeks arrived at Troy–was named Polydora, and calls her daughter of Meleager son of Oeneus. If this is true, then these three women, beginning with Marpessa, all preceded their husbands in death, each one killing herself intentionally after her husband's demise.

Chapter 3

4.3.1

But when a battle arose between the sons of Aphareus and their cousins, the Dioscuri, over cattle, Polydeuces slew one, while Idas met his destined fate, struck by a thunderbolt. With this event, the house of Aphareus was left entirely devoid of male descendants, and the rule over the Messenians passed to Nestor, son of Neleus, including all the territories once ruled by Idas, except those areas already subject to the sons of Asclepius.

4.3.2

For they say that even the sons of Asclepius joined the expedition against Ilium, being themselves Messenians. For, according to their account, Asclepius was the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, rather than of Coronis. They also call 'Tricca' a deserted place in Messenia, and quote Homeric verses, wherein Nestor kindly tends Machaon when struck by an arrow. Indeed, he would never have shown such marked concern if Machaon had not been a neighbor and king among kindred peoples. Those who seek above all else to confirm this account about the Asclepiadae point to the tomb of Machaon at Gerenia and to the sanctuary of the sons of Machaon at Pharae.

4.3.3

After the completion of the war against Ilium, and after Nestor had returned home and died, the expedition of the Dorians and the return of the Heracleidae, occurring two generations later, expelled the descendants of Neleus from Messenia. These events already came up as an addition in my discussion of Tisamenus, but I will still clarify this point further. When Temenus and the Dorians allotted Argos to themselves, Cresphontes requested for his people the land of Messenia, especially as he himself was older than Aristodemus.

4.3.4

Now Aristodemus was already dead, and Theras, the son of Autesion, particularly opposed Cresphontes. Theras was originally from Thebes, a fifth-generation descendant of Polyneices, son of Oedipus, and at that time, being Aristodemus' maternal uncle, he was guardian to Aristodemus' children. Aristodemus had married the daughter of Autesion, whose name was Argeia. Cresphontes–who was eager by any means to obtain Messenia as his portion–requested Temenus' assistance, and having secured his help beforehand, he pretended to leave the matter to be determined by lot.

4.3.5

★ Temenus placed in a water-jar, already containing water, the lots belonging separately to the sons of Aristodemus and to Cresphontes. It had been decided that whichever sides lot rose first to the surface of the water should have the first choice of land. Now Temenus himself had made both lots of clay, but the clay for Aristodemus' sons had been dried by the sun alone, while Cresphontes' lot had been baked in fire. Consequently, the lot of Aristodemus' sons dissolved, and thus Cresphontes gained the right to choose first and selected Messenia.

4.3.6

★ The common people of the ancient Messenians were not driven out by the Dorians, but they agreed to be ruled by Cresphontes and to share the land with the Dorians. They consented to these terms under suspicion of their own kings, since the Neleidae had originally come from Iolcus. Cresphontes married Merope, daughter of Cypselus, who at that time was king of the Arcadians. By her he had several sons, among whom the youngest was Aepytus.

4.3.7

★ He built his royal palace at Stenyclarus, where he himself and his sons intended to dwell. In earlier times, the kings, including Perieres, had resided at Andania; afterwards, when Aphareus founded Arene, Aphareus and his sons lived there. During the time of Nestor and his descendants, the royal palace was situated at Pylos; Cresphontes, however, established the residence of the king at Stenyclarus. Since Cresphontes generally administered affairs more to gain the favor of the people, those who possessed wealth rose against him, killing both Cresphontes himself and all his surviving sons, except Aepytus–a son....

4.3.8

★ For while he was yet alive, Cypselus brought him up. Being the only survivor of his household, when he had grown to manhood, the Arcadians restored him to Messene. The other kings of the Dorians helped in this restoration, including the sons of Aristodemus and Isthmius, son of Temenus. When Aepytus had become king, he avenged the murderers of his father, and also exacted vengeance upon all who had shared guilt in the crime. He then sought the favor of the leading men of the Messenians by honors, and of the common people by gifts, and raised himself in esteem to such a degree that his descendants were called Aepytidae instead of Heracleidae.

4.3.9

★ Glaucus, the son of Aepytus, who succeeded Aepytus as king, was in other respects content to imitate his father's conduct both in public affairs and in dealings with private individuals; but in matters of piety he went even further. The precinct of Zeus on the summit of Ithome, which Polycaoon and Messene had established but which had not yet received proper honors from the Dorians, was first placed by Glaucus under their care for worship. He was also the first to sacrifice to Machaon, son of Asclepius, at Gerenia, and he assigned to Messene, the daughter of Triopas, the honors traditionally given to heroes.

4.3.10

Isthmios, the son of Glaukos, also built the sanctuary at Pharai dedicated to Gorgasos and Nikomachos. Dotadas, the son of Isthmios, established the harbor at Mothone after the Messenians had gained access to this and other coastal sites. Sybotas, son of Dotadas, ordained that each year the reigning king should

make sacrifice to the river Pamisos, and should also offer rites in honor of Eurytos, son of Melaneus, at Oichalia, before the festival of the Great Gods that was still then held at Andania.

Chapter 4

4.4.1

Under Phintas, son of Sybotas, the Messenians first sent to Delos a sacrifice and a chorus of men in honor of Apollo. Eumelus composed for them the prosodion hymn for the god; indeed, these verses alone are genuinely accepted as the work of Eumelus. It was also in the reign of Phintas that their first dispute arose with the Lacedaemonians; the reason for it is debated, but the following account is the one commonly given.

4.4.2

On the frontier of Messenia there is a sanctuary of Artemis, known as Limnatis, which only the Dorian Messenians and Lacedaemonians shared in common. Now, the Lacedaemonians say that their maidens had come to the festival, and that men of the Messenians violated them and killed their king, Teleclus, son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, when he attempted to restrain them. Further, they add that the violated maidens, through shame, afterward took their own lives.

4.4.3

The Messenians say that Teleclus plotted against those of their men who came to the sanctuary, who were the principal citizens of Messene in prestige. The reason for his plot was the excellence of the Messenian land. He chose among the Spartans certain men who were still unbearded youths, dressed them up with clothing and other ornaments as maidens, armed them with daggers, and brought them in among the Messenians as they rested. Then the Messenians, defending themselves, killed both the beardless youths and Teleclus himself. And the Lacedaemonians–since it could not have occurred without the knowledge of their state that their king had contemplated these measures–because they were conscious of having begun the wrongdoing themselves, did not press for justice against the Messenians for the murder of Teleclus. Such are the accounts told by both sides: let each person follow whichever of the two accounts he finds more persuasive.

4.4.4

A generation later, when Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, was reigning in Lacedaemon, and from the other royal house Theopompus, son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, and when Antiochus and Androcles, sons of Phintas, ruled among the Messenians, the hatred between Lacedaemonians and Messenians flared up once more. The Lacedaemonians started the war. An occasion arose, and, since they harbored deliberate enmity and

were intent upon conflict at any cost, they took it as not merely sufficient, but entirely plausible grounds for war; yet, had they possessed a more peaceable mind, the matter could have been settled through judicial decision. These were the events that led to war.

4.4.5

Polychares, a Messenian distinguished in many ways and victor at Olympia–when he gained victory, the Eleans were celebrating their fourth Olympiad and the sole contest was the stadion race–this man possessed cattle. However, as he owned no land sufficient for grazing them, he entrusted them to the Spartan Euaiphnos, allowing them to graze on Euaiphnos's property on the condition that Euaiphnos would receive a share of the produce from the herd.

4.4.6

This Euaphnus was, it seems, a man of the following sort–he habitually preferred dishonest gain over trustworthy conduct, and was generally cunning. On that particular occasion, indeed, having sold cattle belonging to Polychares to some merchants who had sailed to Laconia, he himself went to Polychares as if bearing news. Upon arriving, he told Polychares that pirates had come ashore in the region, assaulted him, and had taken his cattle along with the herdsmen as booty. While Euaphnus was persuading him of this, one of the herdsmen escaped from the merchants, returned home, found Euaphnus there with his master, and openly denounced him before Polychares.

4.4.7

Now that he had been caught and could offer no denial, Euaphnus repeatedly begged forgiveness from Polychares himself and from Polychares son. He argued that, although human nature is subject to various forces that compel us toward injustice, the lure of profit is the strongest compulsion of all. He further explained the price he had received for the cattle, and urged Polychares' son to accompany him to recover it. But when they were advancing on their way into Laconia, Euaphnus ventured upon a deed still more wicked than the first.

4.4.8

He killed Polycharus' son. When Polycharus learned also of this misfortune, he regularly came to Sparta, forcefully confronting the kings and ephors: repeatedly lamenting his son's death and recounting the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of Euaephnus, whom he himself had made guest-friend and had trusted more than any other Spartan. But as no redress was given by the magistrates notwithstanding his persistent protests, Polycharus, driven now entirely beyond reason and mastered by rage, caring nothing even for his own life, dared to kill any Spartan whom he could seize.

Chapter 113

Chapter 5

4.5.1

The Lacedaemonians say that they went to war both because Polycharis was not handed over to them, and because of the murder of Teleclus; and even before this, they had been suspicious due to the wrongdoing committed against Cresphontes concerning the inheritance. But the Messenians deny the accounts given about Teleclus, as I have already recounted, and they also point out that Aepytus, the son of Cresphontes, was restored to the throne by Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus–something they would never have done had they really been at odds with Cresphontes himself.

4.5.2

They say that Polychares refused to surrender himself for punishment to the Lacedaemonians, on the grounds that they likewise had not surrendered Euaiphnos to them. He declared, however, that he was willing to stand trial before the Argives, who were kinsmen of both parties, in the Amphictyonic council, or to entrust the judgment to the Athenian court known as the Areopagus, because from ancient times this court was reputed to adjudicate cases of homicide.

4.5.3

But they say that the Lacedaemonians did not wage war for these reasons (alone), but out of greed plotted against their own territory and committed other acts, citing against them the actions towards the Arcadians and Argives, claiming that the Spartans never ceased encroaching upon the land of both peoples, always severing off some part. Furthermore, when Croesus sent them gifts, they were the first Greeks to form friendship with a barbarian, the same Croesus who subdued the other Greeks dwelling in Asia, and all the Dorians settled on the mainland of Caria.

4.5.4

And they demonstrate also how, when the leaders of the Phocians had seized the sanctuary at Delphi, those who ruled in Sparta, individually each king by himself, as well as the rest of the notable men, and collectively the ephorate and the senate, had shared in things sacred to the god. And above all, as evidence that the Lacedaemonians would shrink from nothing for the sake of gain, they reproach them for their alliance with Apollodorus, who was tyrant in Cassandreia.

4.5.5

The reason why the Messenians found this disgrace so intensely bitter, it was not possible for me to introduce into my present narrative. For indeed, if it had not been for the bravery of the Messenians and the great length of time during which they persisted in war–factors that set them apart from the tyranny of Apollodorus–their misfortunes would scarcely have differed at all from what the Cassandreans suffered.

4.5.6

These, then, are named by each side as the reasons for the war. At that time an embassy came from the Lacedaemonians demanding Polychares. The kings of the Messenians replied to the ambassadors that after consulting with their people they would send to Sparta word of their decision, and once the Spartans had departed, they immediately convened a public assembly of the citizens. Opinions differed greatly. Androcles proposed that Polychares be handed over, claiming that he had committed an impious and exceptionally dreadful act. Antiochus, however, opposed him, urging various arguments, chief among these being the terrible shame it would bring if Polychares were to suffer punishment before the eyes of Euaephnus, recounting all that Polychares must inevitably endure.

4.5.7

Finally, matters went so far between those supporting Androcles and those backing Antiochus that they even took up arms. Yet the fighting did not last long, for Antiochus and his followers, greatly superior in number, killed Androcles along with those of his circle who were most prominent. Antiochus, now the sole ruler, sent messengers to Sparta declaring that he was willing to submit the issues previously mentioned to arbitration. The Lacedaemonians, however, are said to have given no reply to those who brought the message.

4.5.8

Not many months later, when Antiochus had died, his son Euphaes took over the rule. The Lacedaemonians sent no herald to declare war openly to the Messenians, nor did they openly renounce friendship beforehand. Instead, they made their preparations secretly and with the utmost concealment. They took an oath, swearing that neither the length of the war, should it not quickly be decided, nor the magnitude of any disasters occurring during it, would deter them until they had conquered Messenian territory by force of arms.

4.5.9

Having sworn these oaths beforehand, they made a sortie by night against Ampheia, appointing Alcamenes son of Teleclus as leader of the army. Ampheia was a town in Messenia bordering Laconia, not large in size, but situated upon a high hill and possessing abundant springs of water. For other reasons, too, Ampheia seemed to them a fitting point of departure for the whole war. They captured the town while its gates lay open and without any guard present, and slew the Messenians caught within; some were killed still in their beds, while others, realizing the attack, seated themselves as suppliants before the altars and shrines of the gods. Only a few managed to escape.

4.5.10

The Lacedaemonians made this first campaign against the Messenians in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, in which the Messenian Xenodokos won the stadion race. At that time, at Athens there were not yet magistrates who were chosen annually by lot. Indeed, the people initially stripped the

descendants of Melanthus, known as the Medontidae, of most of their power, and changed the government from a kingship to a magistracy accountable to the people. Later, they even set a fixed period of ten years for their rule. At the time of the capture of Ampheia, Aesimides was governing the Athenians, in the fifth year of his magistracy, and he was the son of Aeschylus.

Chapter 114

Chapter 6

4.6.1

Before writing my account of the war and of all that destiny caused each side to suffer or to achieve in its course, I wished to make clear one matter concerning the historical context, and particularly the achievements of the man of Messene. For this war was fought by the Lacedaemonians and their allies against the Messenians and their supporters; yet it was not named after its aggressors, as were the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, but instead after the misfortunes of the defeated people, thus called Messenian–just as the war at Ilium earned the name "Trojan" from the sufferers rather than "Greek" from the attackers. Regarding this war of the Messenians, Rhianus of Bene composed an epic poem, as did Myron of Priene; and there also exists a prose account of this war by Myron.

4.6.2

Certainly, no one has written a complete, continuous account from beginning to end of the entire course of the war; rather, each historian chose only the portion which pleased him. One author composed the capture of Ampheia and subsequent events, extending not far beyond the death of Aristodemus. Rhianus, however, did not touch at all upon this first conflict, and recorded instead only those later developments, long afterward, that led to the revolt of the Messenians from the Lacedaemonians; even these he did not recount fully, but focused mainly upon the events following the battle which was fought near the trench called the "Great."

4.6.3

Now, concerning the Messenian Aristomenes–for it was chiefly on his account that I related the whole dispute between Rhianus and Myron–this Aristomenes, who first and above all others raised the name of Messene to its height of honor, the historian from Priene introduced him into his narrative. But in Rhianus' poem Aristomenes is no less prominent than Achilles is in Homer's Iliad. Thus, since their accounts differed so greatly, I was left to follow one of these accounts rather than both simultaneously; and Rhianus appeared to me to present a narrative more plausible with respect to the date of Aristomenes.

4.6.4

One can observe in other passages also that Myron was not concerned beforehand whether his statements might seem false and improbable, and not least in this work on Messenia. For he made Aristomenes slay Theopompus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, somewhat before the death of Aristodemus. But

we know that Theopompus did not die beforehand, either in battle or otherwise, until the war had completely ended.

4.6.5

? This Theopompus was also the one who brought the war to its conclusion. My assertion is supported by Tyrtaeus' elegiac verses, which say: "to our king dear to the gods, Theopompus, whom we seized wide-rich Messene." Aristomenes, in my opinion at least, belongs to the later war; I shall deal with what concerns him at the appropriate place in my narrative.

4.6.6

The Messenians, at that time hearing of the events at Ampheia from those who had escaped from its capture, gathered together from their cities at Stenykleros. When the people had assembled in assembly, various magistrates spoke, and last of all the king addressed them, urging them neither to be discouraged by the capture of Ampheia, as though the entire war had already been decided by it, nor to fear the military preparations of the Lacedaemonians as surpassing their own. For he said that, although the Spartans had long and practiced experience in warfare, the Messenians had the stronger motivation, which naturally leads brave men to greater deeds, and could count upon greater support from the gods, being defenders of their own territory and not initiators of injustice.

Chapter 115

Chapter 7

4.7.1

After speaking thus, Euphaes dismissed the assembly, and thereafter held all the Messenians continually under arms, compelling those who did not already know warfare to learn it, and causing those who knew it already to train more diligently than before. The Lacedaemonians carried out incursions into Messenia, yet they refrained from devastating the land, considering it their own. Neither did they cut down trees nor demolish dwellings; however, if they chanced upon livestock, they seized it, and also carried away grain and other produce.

4.7.2

Making attacks upon the cities, they took none, since the cities were strongly fortified with walls and carefully guarded. Receiving injuries, they withdrew unsuccessful, and in the end they ceased attempting the cities altogether. The Messenians, however, began plundering both the coastal areas of Laconia and all the agricultural lands around Taygetus.

4.7.3

In the fourth year after the capture of Ampheia, Euphaes, desiring to take advantage of the eager spirit of the Messenians and considering both their growing rage against the Lacedaemonians and their military training now sufficient, proclaimed an expedition. He also commanded their household servants to follow, carrying timber and other material useful for constructing fortifications. But the Lacedaemonians learned from the garrison in Ampheia of the Messenians' departure, and therefore they too mobilized their forces.

4.7.4

For there was in Messenia a place particularly suitable for battle, though a deep ravine extended across it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians, having appointed Cleonnis commander. Of the cavalry and light-armed troops, who together numbered fewer than five hundred, Pytharatus and Antandrus were in command.

4.7.5

When the armies approached one another, the hoplites, carried impetuously against their foes without moderation and with relentless hatred, were prevented by the dividing ravine from engaging in hand-to-

hand combat. The cavalry and the light-armed troops, however, clashed above the ravine, but neither side was superior in numbers or experience, and thus the battle between them was evenly balanced.

4.7.6

During the time in which these were standing ready, Euphaes ordered the servants firstly to fence off with stakes the rear of the camp, and next both its flanks. When night fell and the fighting had ceased, they then fenced off also the front of the camp along the ravine, so that at daybreak, because of the foresight of Euphaes, the Lacedaemonians became aware of the situation, perceiving that they had neither the means to fight against the Messenians, who would not come out from behind their palisade, nor could they remain in position, as they were equally lacking preparation in every respect.

4.7.7

Then they returned home, but after one year, when the older men blamed them, reproaching them both for cowardice and for disregarding their oath, the Spartans openly undertook a second campaign against the Messenians. Both kings led them, Theopompus son of Nicander and Polydorus son of Alcamenes, Alcamenes himself being no longer alive. The Messenians also encamped opposite them, and whenever the Spartans attempted to engage in battle, they advanced against them in turn.

4.7.8

The Lacedaemonians were led by Polydorus on the left wing, by Theopompus on the right, and by Euryleon in the center. Euryleon was at that time a Lacedaemonian, though in origin he was descended, in the fifth generation, from Cadmus of Thebes, through Aegeus, the son of Oeolycus, the son of Theras, the son of Autesion. Arrayed against the Lacedaemonian right wing among the Messenians were Antandrus and Euphaes; Pytharatus commanded the other wing, opposing Polydorus, while Cleonnis led the center.

4.7.9

As they were now about to engage, the kings passed along their ranks, exhorting their respective troops. Among the Lacedaemonians, according to their custom, Theopompus made his exhortation brief, reminding them of their oath sworn against the Messenians, and emphasizing how glorious an honor they would gain if they should be shown to surpass their forefathers, who had subdued the neighboring peoples, by achieving an even more splendid victory and acquiring a more prosperous land. Euphaes, however, spoke at greater length than the Spartan had done, though even he did not extend his remarks beyond what he saw the occasion allowed.

4.7.10

For he declared the contest was not merely over land or possessions, but asserted that he knew clearly what would befall them should they be defeated. Their wives and children would be carried off as slaves, and for those of military age the very least fate to expect was death, if they were not first tortured. Moreover, their sanctuaries would be plundered and their homeland burned. And he said this not as mere conjecture, for all had before them a clear witness in the sufferings of those who had been captured at Ampheia.

4.7.11

Indeed, it is advantageous, before falling into evils of such magnitude, that one should meet a noble death; and it is far easier, while still undefeated and maintaining a spirit of courage, to surpass ones opponents through equal enthusiasm than, having already lost one's resolve, to restore failures.

Chapter 8

4.8.1

Such were the words spoken by Euphaes. And when the commanders gave the signal to each side, the Messenians charged running against the Lacedaemonians, fighting recklessly and sparing themselves not at all; for being men driven to death by rage, each man individually strove eagerly to be the first to start the battle. The Lacedaemonians also advanced swiftly against them, yet mindful nevertheless to maintain their formation intact.

4.8.2

As soon as they drew close, they began to threaten each other, brandishing their weapons and looking fiercely into each other's eyes. Then they fell to mutual vilification: the Spartans calling the Messenians their slaves already, claiming they had no more freedom than helots, while the Messenians in turn accused their opponents of impiety in their undertaking, because motivated by greed they attacked men of their own kin, and of disrespect toward those gods who were ancestral to all Dorians, especially toward Heracles. After these mutual taunts, they came at last to blows, the Spartans especially fighting in dense formations and engaging each man face-to-face against his enemy.

4.8.3

Now the Lacedaemonians surpassed their opponents considerably through their skill and experience in warfare, and also through sheer numbers. For they already possessed Perioikoi as subjects and followers; besides, the Asinaeans and the Dryopes, who a generation earlier had been driven from their homeland by the Argives and had come as suppliants to Lacedaemon, had no choice but to join them in their military expeditions. In addition to these, they hired Cretan archers as mercenaries against the light-armed troops of the Messenians.

4.8.4

But among the Messenians, a reckless courage and a cheerful resolve facing death attended them universally in equal measure. Whatever hardships they suffered, they regarded rather as obligations befitting those who honored their homeland, not as grievous calamities; and as for the deeds they performed, they themselves considered these achievements even greater while being yet more distressing to the Lacedaemonians. Some among them, rushing forward ahead of their ranks, displayed brilliant acts of bravery, and even among those critically wounded at the decisive moment, who scarcely still drew breath, their resolute defiance continued to flourish.

4.8.5

Encouragements were given; those still alive and as yet unwounded urged the wounded, before a final fate overtook them, to endure bravely and to confront their destiny with pleasure, resisting as far as their strength might allow. On their side, the wounded, whenever they perceived their strength failing and their breath slipping away, commanded the unwounded not to show themselves inferior, nor to render their deaths useless to their country.

4.8.6

The Lacedaemonians did not require urgent exhortations among themselves, nor did they equal the Messenians in readiness for undertaking extraordinary deeds. Yet, being trained in warfare from childhood, they employed a deeper phalanx formation, and expected that the Messenians would neither endure long holding their ground against them nor withstand the fatigue or wounds sustained in combat.

4.8.7

Such were the peculiar circumstances in each army regarding both the deeds accomplished and the attitudes of those fighting, and there were also factors common to both sides. On the one hand, those being slain neither resorted to supplications nor offered promises of money, either despairing perhaps of convincing their opponents due to mutual hatred, or for the most part thinking it unworthy, believing they had not behaved worse than their adversaries in earlier situations. On the other hand, those doing the killing refrained equally from boasting and insults, since neither side yet possessed secure hope of victory. Most remarkable was the manner in which those who attempted to strip the bodies of the fallen met their deaths: either they exposed some unprotected part of their bodies and were struck by spears or projectiles, as they did not foresee danger due to immediate preoccupation, or they were even killed by those whom they were stripping, who were still breathing.

4.8.8

★ The kings fought also with a valor worthy of mention, and Theopompus, engaging with excessive fury, aimed directly at killing Euphaes. Euphaes, seeing him advancing, remarked then to Antander that the conduct of Theopompus differed in nothing from all that his ancestor Polynices had braved; for Polynices had led an army from Argos against his fatherland, had slain his brother by his own hand and himself had perished at his brothers hand. In the same way, said Euphaes, Theopompus wished to involve in equal pollution with the descendants of Laius and Oedipus the race of the Heracleidae. Nevertheless, Euphaes declared, Theopompus would not return rejoicing from this battle. Thus speaking, he himself went forward to meet him.

4.8.9

At this point, although exhausted, the whole battle once again rose to its highest intensity; their strength returned to their bodies, and their mutual disregard of death grew ever greater, so that one might suppose they were just beginning the conflict. Finally, Euphaes and his men, driven closest to madness by their extraordinary desperation and courage–for all those around the king were the elite of the Messenians–overpowered the opposing ranks. They repulsed Theopompus himself and routed the Lacedaemonians facing them.

4.8.10

But the other wing of the Messenians was suffering severe hardship. For their general, Pytharatos, had fallen, and they themselves fought with greater disorder and confusion owing to their lack of leadership. Nevertheless, even these did not lose heart. Neither did Polydoros pursue the fleeing Messenians, nor did Euphaes and his men follow up against the Spartans. For Euphaes and his followers judged it preferable to aid those of their comrades who had been worsted–yet they did not manage to join Polydoros and his men, since by this time the events were taking place in darkness.

4.8.11

And what prevented the Lacedaemonians particularly from pursuing further those who retreated was their unfamiliarity with the region. Moreover, it was their ancestral custom in any case to carry out pursuits rather slowly, believing it more important to preserve their formation than to kill a fleeing enemy. As for the central divisions on both sides, where Euryleon commanded the Lacedaemonians and Cleonnis the Messenians, they fought on equal terms, until night came upon them and separated these forces as well.

4.8.12

In this battle chiefly, or rather entirely, the heavy infantry fought for both sides. The horsemen were few and accomplished nothing worthy even of mention; indeed, the Peloponnesians were at that time not particularly skilled at horsemanship. The Messenian light-armed troops and the Cretans in the Lacedaemonian service did not even engage at all; each group was appointed in the traditional manner to support the regular infantry formation on their respective sides.

4.8.13

On the following day, neither side had intended to begin fighting or to be the first to erect a trophy. As the day went on, envoys were sent to arrange the recovery of the dead, and when both parties agreed to this, they were now ready to proceed with burial thereafter.

Chapter 9

4.9.1

For the Messenians, following the battle, matters began to turn difficult. They had become exhausted by the expense of money, which they spent from their cities for the guarding of fortresses, and their slaves were deserting to the Lacedaemonians. Moreover, an illness fell upon them which, though provoking alarm as if contagion had broken out, did not affect everyone. When they deliberated on their present circumstances, they resolved to abandon most of their inland settlements, withdrawing completely from the country, and to establish their residence on Mount Ithome.

4.9.2

There was also a small town there, which they say even Homer mentions in his catalogue: "and steep ★
Ithome." Into this town they moved, enlarging the old circuit-wall to serve as a fortress sufficient to protect them all. And indeed, the site was otherwise naturally strong: for Ithome is not surpassed in height by any of the mountains within the Isthmus, and it was especially difficult of access.

4.9.3

And they decided also to send one of their people as a sacred envoy to Delphi. They therefore dispatched Tisis, son of Alcis, a man second to none in reputation, and renowned particularly for his talent in divination. As Tisis was returning from Delphi, men from the Lacedaemonian garrison stationed at Ampheia set an ambush for him. Once ambushed–since he refused to allow himself to be taken captive–he waited to defend himself and resisted bravely. They wounded him, until suddenly a voice came to them out of the unseen, saying clearly, "Release the bearer of the oracle."

4.9.4

And Tisis, as soon as he reached Ithome safely, immediately reported the oracle's answer to the king; ★
shortly thereafter, due to his wounds, he died. Euphaes, having gathered the Messenians, disclosed to them the words of the oracle:

"To the underworld powers, offer a pure maiden chosen by lot from the bloodline of the Aepytidae, making night sacrifices. But if you fail, thereafter you must sacrifice another, one voluntarily giving himself up to be slain."

4.9.5

★

When the god had made this clear, at once all the maidens of the race of the Aepytidae drew lots. Although the lot fell upon the daughter of Lykiskos, Epebolos the seer declared she should not be sacrificed, for she was not truly the child of Lykiskos. He revealed that Lykiskos' wife, unable herself to bear children, had introduced another's child as her own. While the seer was disclosing these matters concerning the girl, Lykiskos, who had meanwhile set off, fled with the maiden to Sparta.

4.9.6

? When the Messenians became disheartened upon learning of Lykiskos' flight, Aristodemos, a man descended from the Aipytidai, who surpassed Lykiskos both in general renown and conspicuously in deeds of war, willingly offered his daughter for sacrifice. But fate, which conceals human affairs–especially earnest efforts–as effectually as river mud obscures a pebble it covers, then indeed imposed an obstacle of this sort upon Aristodemos, precisely as he was striving to accomplish the deliverance of Messenia.

4.9.7

A man among the Messenians–whose name they do not mention–happened to be in love with the daughter of Aristodemus, who at that time was already betrothed and soon to marry. At first this man entered into a dispute with Aristodemus, declaring that Aristodemus, having already given the pledge, was no longer master over his daughter, while he himself, having received the pledge, now had greater authority than the father over her. But as he saw that he was not successful in this claim, he turned to disgraceful talk:

4.9.8

★ He had intercourse with the girl and she became pregnant by him. In the end, Aristodemos was driven into such fury that, enraged by his anger, he killed his daughter. Afterwards, he cut her open and showed that her womb contained no child. Epibolos, who was present, urged the people to assign another to hand over his daughter, since the death of Aristodemos's daughter had been of no benefit to them. He explained that Aristodemos had murdered his own child, yet had not sacrificed her to the gods as the Pythian oracle had commanded.

4.9.9

★ After the seer had said these words, the multitude of the Messenians rushed forth intending to kill the suitor of the maiden, accusing him of having unjustly imputed pollution to Aristodemus and thereby having cast doubt on their hopes for deliverance. But this man was particularly dear to Euphaes. So Euphaes persuaded the Messenians that the oracle's fulfillment would come about through the death of the maiden, and that the actions already performed by Aristodemus were sufficient for their needs.

4.9.10

★ When he had said these things, all those from the family of the Aepytidae affirmed that he spoke the truth, for each of them was eager for the fear concerning his own daughter to be removed. So, persuaded by the counsel of the king, they dismissed the assembly, and from there turned towards sacrifices to the gods and to celebration of the festival.

Chapter 10

4.10.1

When the Lacedaemonians heard of the oracle given to the Messenians, both they themselves and their kings became disheartened regarding the future and grew hesitant to offer battle. But in the sixth year after Lyciscus had escaped from Ithome, the Lacedaemonians–since the omens from their sacrifices had become favorable–marched against Ithome. The Cretans, however, were no longer there to assist them. And now the allies of the Messenians also fell away, as the Spartans had become suspicious not only of certain other Peloponnesians but especially of the Arcadians and Argives. The Argives intended secretly to withdraw from the Spartans, planning to act on their own initiative rather than according to a common decision. As for the Arcadians, though their participation had been openly announced, even they did not present themselves for battle. Thus, it was the reputation of the oracle itself that emboldened the Messenians to risk combat even without allies.

4.10.2

For the most part the events differed little from the previous battle, and this day too ended with the combatants still fighting. However, they record that neither wing nor formation was forced back, since indeed the original order of battle was not maintained; instead, the best warriors from both sides came together in the center, and it was there that the entire struggle took place.

4.10.3

For Euphaes, who fought more zealously than was fitting even for a king, attacking recklessly those around Theopompus, received many wounds, which were severe and incurable. When he finally lost strength and fell, the Lacedaemonians attempted in haste to drag him toward themselves while he still breathed slightly. But the Messenians were roused both by the good-will they previously bore to Euphaes and by the shame they would incur if they failed: it seemed preferable to them to lose their lives fighting for their king rather than to permit his capture and afterward save themselves.

4.10.4

Then indeed, Euphaes, having fallen, prolonged the battle and increased the daring deeds on both sides even further. Afterwards, he recovered enough to realize clearly that they had fared no worse in the encounter, yet within a few days he died, having ruled the Messenians for thirteen years and having fought against the Lacedaemonians throughout his entire reign.

4.10.5

★ Since Euphaes had no children, the one chosen by the people was destined to succeed to the throne. Cleonnis and Damis, however, came forward disputing the right of Aristodemus, claiming superiority especially in matters related to warfare. But the enemy killed Antandros, the son of Euphaes, as he took risks in battle ahead of others. And the opinions of both the seers, Epebolus and Ophioneus, agreed on the same point–that the people must not entrust to Aristodemus the honor of Aepytus and his descendants, as he was under a curse and stained by the pollution incurred through his daughter.

4.10.6

Nevertheless, Aristodemus was chosen and became king. Ophioneus, the prophet of the Messenians, who had been blind from birth, possessed an extraordinary mode of divination: upon inquiring into current events, both matters concerning individuals privately and affairs of the state, he was thus able to foretell accurately what was to come. Such was Ophioneus' manner of prophecy. As for Aristodemus, after becoming king, he consistently endeavored to act with goodwill towards the people, while also extending honor to those in authority, and particularly above all to Cleonnis and Damis. He maintained the alliance carefully through friendship, sending gifts to the influential Arcadians and likewise to Argos and Sicyon.

4.10.7

During the reign of Aristodemus, warfare consisted of continual raiding in small bands upon one another and incursions into each other's territories around harvest-time. The Messenians also made joint invasions into Laconia, supported by contingents from the Arcadians. The Argives, on the other hand, deemed it improper to openly declare their hostility toward the Lacedaemonians beforehand, yet they held themselves ready to join the conflict once it had begun.

Chapter 119

Chapter 11

4.11.1

In the fifth year of Aristodemus's reign, as both sides were about to engage in a decisive confrontation due to a prophecy–for they had grown weary because of the wars duration and its costs–the allies on each side assembled accordingly. To the Lacedaemonians came only the Corinthians from among the Peloponnesians, while to the Messenians came the Arcadians in full force and select troops from the Argives and Sicyonians. The Lacedaemonians therefore entrusted the center of their formation to the Corinthians, the helots, and those of the perioikoi who marched with them, while they themselves and their kings drew up on the wings, arranging their phalanx more deeply and densely than ever before.

4.11.2

The arrangements Aristodemus made for himself and his followers regarding the coming battle were thus: Those Arcadians and Messenians who were physically strong and courageous, but whose equipment was not effective, he selected for them the most useful arms available; and since the urgency of the task was pressing, he stationed these men together with the Argives and Sicyonians. He further extended the phalanx to avoid encirclement by the enemy. He also took precaution to position them so that Mount Ithome would lie at their backs. Over these troops he appointed Cleonnis as their commander.

4.11.3

Damis himself and his men stood firm, supported by their lightly armed troops, among whom there were very few slingers or archers; the great majority were fit physically for swift charges and withdrawals, lightly equipped. Not every one of them possessed a breastplate or shield, and those who were lacking these protective arms wrapped themselves in the fleeces of goats and sheep; some even wore the skins of wild animals, especially the mountain-dwelling Arcadians, who favored wolves' and bears' skins.

4.11.4

Each carried many javelins, and some bore spears also. These men lay in ambush on Ithome, where they would least likely be spotted. Meanwhile, the Messenian hoplites and their allies met the first charge of the Lacedaemonians, and thereafter too showed notable bravery. Certainly they were inferior in numbers to their opponents, yet being chosen men, they fought against the common soldiers and not equally against their betters, which accounted largely for how long they resisted, aided further by their zeal and experience.

4.11.5

Here too stood the Messenian light-armed troops, from whom the signals were now raised; these dashed forward at the Lacedaemonians, surrounded them at a run, and hurled javelins against their flanks. Those who had greater daring rushed closer and struck them hand-to-hand. The Lacedaemonians, seeing themselves thus confronted by an unexpected danger, now for a second time in the same place, nevertheless remained undisturbed and turned back against the skirmishers, attempting defence. Yet, as the enemy easily avoided them owing to their agility, the Spartans fell into confusion and consequently grew angry.

4.11.6

There is by nature, it seems, a certain tendency among humans to feel especially unrestrained toward anything they regard as undeserved. And indeed, at that time, those of the Spartans who had already received wounds and those who stood in ranks where comrades had fallen were foremost in rushing forward against the attacks of the light-armed troops, whenever they saw them approaching; and carried away by passion, they pursued them far too eagerly when they retreated. At first, the Messenian skirmishers began by striking and hurling missiles at the Spartans standing their ground; then, fleeing swiftly, they repeatedly evaded pursuit and, if their pursuers attempted to turn back, attacked again.

4.11.7

These deeds they carried out scatteredly, each group acting differently from the arrangement of their opponents. The hoplites of the Messenians and their allies, emboldened by such circumstances, pressed harder upon those arrayed opposite them. Finally, the Lacedaemonians, overcome by exhaustion and their wounds, and at the same time unusually disturbed by the assaults of the light-armed troops, broke their ranks. After they had turned to flight, the light-armed soldiers inflicted even greater harm upon them.

4.11.8

? As for how many Lacedaemonians fell in the battle, it was impossible to ascertain their number exactly, though I myself am persuaded that they were numerous. The return journey home was peaceful for most, but it was destined to be difficult for the Corinthians; for their route passed through hostile territory, as they attempted alike to reach safety both through the Argive land and by way of Sicyon.

Chapter 12

4.12.1

The Lacedaemonians were deeply grieved by the disaster that had occurred, having lost many notable and worthy men in the battle. Furthermore, the situation appeared hopeless to them with respect to their entire expectation for the war. For this reason, they sent messengers to Delphi to consult the oracle. When these envoys arrived, the Pythia declared this oracle to them:

"Phoebus commands you not only to rely upon deeds of war with your hand, but the people hold the Messenian land by deceit, and by the same arts through which they prevailed, they shall themselves be conquered."

4.12.2

Since the kings and ephors were eager to devise some stratagem for this situation, but could not discover one, they resolved instead to imitate the craft of Odysseus at Troy. They sent a hundred men into Ithome, ostensibly as deserters, who were actually to gather information on the enemy's plans. To make the deception convincing, these men's supposed defection had been publicly condemned. But as soon as they arrived, Aristodemus immediately sent them away, asserting that the wrongdoings of the Lacedaemonians might be new, but their tricks were very old indeed.

4.12.3

Having failed in their enterprise, the Lacedaemonians then attempted a second plan, trying to dissolve the alliance of the Messenians. But since the Arcadians objected–for the ambassadors had first come to them–they thus halted their march against Argos. Aristodemus, upon learning what the Lacedaemonians were plotting, himself also sent messengers to inquire of the god, and the Pythia gave them this oracle:

4.12.4

The god grants you glory in war, yet beware treacheries, lest the deceptive ambush of Sparta rise superior ? as your enemy. For surely Ares shall hold their finely crafted armor and the crown of dances inhabited by bitter dwellers, when two by chance shall disclose the hidden ambuscade. But this sacred day shall not behold its consummation before that which naturally is flax shall reach its ordained end. At that time Aristodemus and the seers were utterly unable to interpret this utterance; yet, not many years later, the god was destined to reveal it and bring it fully to pass.

4.12.5

At that time another event befell the Messenians, as follows. The daughter of Lykiskos, who had moved his residence to Sparta, happened to die; she was the very girl he had taken with him when fleeing Messene. While he was repeatedly visiting the tomb of his daughter, a group of Arcadian horsemen, ambushing him, captured him. Being led back to Ithome and brought before the assembly, he defended himself by arguing that he had not left the country in betrayal, but rather had followed the instruction given by the oracle regarding his child–namely, that she was not genuinely his own.

4.12.6

Making this defense, he was not believed to be telling the truth until the woman who at that time held the priesthood of Hera came forward into the theater. She confessed openly that she herself had given birth to the child and had secretly handed it over to the wife of Lykiskos. She declared, "I have come now to reveal that which was hidden and to resign my priesthood voluntarily." She spoke thus because there was an established custom in Messenia whereby, if any child of the priestess or priest should die prematurely, the priesthood must pass to another. Therefore, believing the woman spoke the truth, they selected another priestess to serve the goddess in her place and declared that Lykiskos had acted understandably.

4.12.7

★ Afterwards, since it was now the twentieth year of the war, they determined once again to send messengers to Delphi to inquire about victory. Asking their question, the Pythia responded with the oracle: "The god grants the land of Messene, along with the glory of war, to the first to set ten times two tripods around the altar of Zeus Ithomatas–for so has Zeus granted. But deception lies before you, and vengeance follows afterward, so you shall deceive even heaven itself. Act as fate requires; ruin shall befall others before you."

4.12.8

When they heard these things, they thought that the oracle had been given concerning themselves and that victory in war was being granted to them; for while they held within their walls the sanctuary of Ithome, they believed the Lacedaemonians would not surpass them by being the first to dedicate the offering. Therefore, they intended to make wooden tripods, as they did not possess enough money to craft bronze ones. But someone from Delphi revealed the oracle to Sparta. Although the Lacedaemonians collectively considered it, they were unable to find a clever solution. However, Oibalos–

4.12.9

He was otherwise not notable, but intelligent, as he demonstrated through his stratagem: having crafted one hundred tripods of clay in a casual manner, he concealed them in a leather sack and carried nets along with them, appearing to be a hunter. Because he was unknown and unrecognized by the majority of the Lacedaemonians, it was easier for him to escape the attention of the Messenians. Having mixed among farmers, he entered Ithome alongside them, and as soon as night fell, he dedicated the clay tripods to the god. He then returned to Sparta to report this to the Lacedaemonians.

4.12.10

★ When the Messenians saw it, however, they were greatly dismayed and concluded–as indeed it was–that it was from the Spartans. Nevertheless, Aristodemus tried to encourage them, both by speaking

whatever seemed fitting in the circumstances, and by placing around the altar of Zeus Ithomatas the wooden tripods–for they already had been crafted. It happened, moreover, that Ophioneus, the blind prophet, gained his sight in the most extraordinary and inexplicable way; a severe pain seized his head, and from this he recovered his sight.

Chapter 13

4.13.1

From this point onward–for fate was already inclining towards the fall of the Messenians–the god gave them signs of what was coming. First, the bronze statue of Artemis, along with its bronze weapons, dropped its shield. Next, as Aristodemus was about to sacrifice the victims to Zeus Ithomatas, the rams, of their own accord, violently dashed their horns against the altar and died from their injuries. Thirdly, another omen befell them: every night the dogs assembled together and howled incessantly, until finally they withdrew all together towards the Spartan camp. ★

4.13.2

These things were troubling Aristodemus, and afterwards a vision appeared to him in a dream of the following nature: As he was preparing to go out armed into battle, he seemed to see upon a table set before him the entrails of sacrificial victims. His daughter appeared dressed in black garments, showing her breast and abdomen cut open. Having appeared thus, she threw down from the table what lay upon it, stripped him of his weapons, and instead placed upon him a golden crown and clad him in a white robe. ★

4.13.3

As Aristodemus was already disheartened by other reasons, and interpreting the dream as foretelling his death–for the Messenians customarily carried forth their noble dead wearing garlands and clothed in white garments–someone brought word that Ophioneus, the seer, could no longer see, having suddenly become blind just as he had originally been. Only then did they understand clearly the oracle too, that the eyes of Ophioneus mentioned by the Pythia were indeed the two men who had returned alive from the ambush and had gone once more to their prescribed fate. ★

4.13.4

At this point Aristodemus, reflecting upon his own situation, saw that he had gained nothing beneficial by slaying his daughter, and perceiving no longer any hope of salvation remaining for his country, he killed himself upon his child's tomb–he who in respect of human reasoning had saved the Messenians, yet whose achievements and plans Fortune reduced utterly to nothing. He died having ruled as king for six years and a few months into the seventh.

4.13.5

The Messenians saw their situation as utterly hopeless, to such an extent that they even considered sending an embassy of supplication to the Lacedaemonians–so deeply had Aristodemus death shaken their morale. Nevertheless, pride withheld them from doing this. Gathering in assembly, they chose no king, but instead appointed Damis as general with absolute authority. He selected Cleonnis and Phyleus as his fellow commanders and prepared to fight a battle with the forces they still had at hand; for the siege itself compelled them, and especially hunger, and the fear it caused, lest they perish prematurely from starvation.

4.13.6

Indeed, even at that time the Messenians were not lacking in valor and daring deeds; yet all their commanders and those most worthy of mention among the others perished. After this event, they still resisted for approximately five months, but towards the conclusion of the year they abandoned Ithome, having fought throughout a total of twenty years, as Tyrtaeus also composed in his verses:

"But in the twentieth year they fled, abandoning their rich fields, Away from the lofty mountains of Ithome."

4.13.7

This war came to an end in the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad, in which Dasmon of Corinth won the foot race, while at Athens the Medontidae were still holding their decennial magistracy, in the fourth year of Hippomenes' term of office.

Chapter 14

4.14.1

Those of the Messenians who happened to have proxenies at Sicyon and Argos, as well as some among the Arcadians, withdrew to those cities; while to Eleusis withdrew those of the priestly lineage and those who performed the rites for the Great Goddesses. The majority of the populace scattered, each group returning to their own ancestral homelands.

4.14.2

The Lacedaemonians first razed Ithome to the ground, and afterward attacked and captured the remaining cities. From the spoils they dedicated bronze tripods at Amyclae. Beneath the first tripod stands a statue of Aphrodite, beneath the second Artemis, and beneath the third either Kore or Demeter.

4.14.3

These votive offerings, indeed, they set up there. But concerning the land of Messenia, to the people of Asine, expelled by the Argives, they granted the coastal territory which even now the Asinaeans inhabit. As for the descendants of Androcles–for Androcles had a daughter whose sons, after their mother's departure, at the death of Androcles fled into Sparta–to these descendants they granted a land called Hyamia.

4.14.4

The conditions imposed upon the Messenians by the Lacedaemonians were as follows. First, they compelled them under oath never to revolt against them nor undertake any revolutionary action whatsoever. Second, although they prescribed no fixed tribute, the Messenians were to deliver half of all the produce yielded by their cultivated lands into Sparta. Furthermore, it was also decreed that, at the funerals of kings and other officials, men and women from Messenia must attend dressed in black clothing; and those who violated these conditions were subject to punishment.

4.14.5

Regarding the punishments and outrages they inflicted upon the Messenians, the following verses composed by Tyrtaeus exist:

"Like asses oppressed by great burdens, under harsh necessity, they bore to their masters half of all that the land yields as fruit."

And that they were compelled even to join in mourning with their masters, he makes clear in these lines also:

"Lamenting their lords, along with their own wives, whenever destructive fate brought death upon any."

4.14.6

Since the Messenians had come to such desperate circumstances, and at the same time could foresee nothing humane from the Lacedaemonians in the future, they judged altogether preferable either to die fighting in immediate resistance or even to abandon the Peloponnese entirely. Consequently, they firmly resolved upon revolt. Especially influential in driving them to this decision were the younger men, who, though still lacking experience of war, were spirited in their thoughts and preferred death in a free homeland, rather than prosperous servitude, however favorable other conditions might be.

4.14.7

Elsewhere too within Messenia the young men were entrusted with responsibilities, but the best and the greatest in numbers were stationed around Andania. Among them was Aristomenes as well, who even now continues to receive honors from the Messenians as a hero. They consider him to have had a very distinguished birth, for they say that his mother Nicoteleia united with a divine being or god in the form of a serpent. I know that similar things have been said by the Macedonians regarding Olympias, and by the Sicyonians concerning Aristodama, but there was this distinction:

4.14.8

For the Messenians do not claim Aristomenes as the son of Heracles or Zeus, as the Macedonians say Alexander was the son of Ammon, or as the Sicyonians assert Aratus was the son of Asclepius. Instead, most of the Greeks say that Aristomenes' father was Pyrrhus, but I myself know that the Messenians, when making oaths, call Aristomenes the son of Nicomedes. At that time Aristomenes, in the prime of his strength and daring, and other leading men stirred them up into revolt. These events did not immediately occur openly; rather, secret embassies were sent to Argos and among the Arcadians, asking whether these peoples would readily and no less eagerly than in the former war wish to come to their defense.

Chapter 15

4.15.1

When other matters necessary for war were prepared by them, and when the support from their allies proved more eager than they had expected–for the hostility against the Lacedaemonians among both the Argives and the Arcadians had already brilliantly flared up–they revolted in the thirty-ninth year after the capture of Ithome, in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad, in which Icarus of Hyperesia won the stadion race. At Athens, annual archons had already been established by then, and Tlesias held office among the Athenians.

4.15.2

Now, in Lacedaemon, who precisely were kings at that time Tyrtaeus has not recorded; but Rhianus writes in his poetry that Leotychides was king during this war. In this particular I certainly will not agree with Rhianus at all; but although Tyrtaeus himself does not name a ruler explicitly, one might yet conclude that he has spoken indirectly about it. His elegies, indeed, refer to an earlier war, saying:

"For nineteen years continuously fought they around it, Ever unyielding in courage, our fathers, warriors with spear, fathers of our fathers."

4.15.3

It is therefore clear that the Messenians fought this war later, in the third generation afterward. The continuous sequence of time is demonstrated by the reign at that time in Sparta of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, and from the other royal house Anaxidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, son of Theopompus. I have descended to the fourth descendant from Theopompus, because Archidamus, the son of Theopompus, died before his father, and thus the kingship passed to Zeuxidamus, the grandson of Theopompus. Leotychides is found reigning after Demaratus, the son of Ariston, and Ariston was the seventh descendant from Theopompus.

4.15.4

Then the Messenians fought the Lacedaemonians at a place in their own territory called Derae, in the first year after their revolt. Both sides were without their allies. The victory was clearly gained by neither army, but Aristomenes was said to have performed deeds surpassing those of one man so greatly that after the battle they elected him king, as indeed he belonged to the family of the Aepytidae.

4.15.5

Even though he declined, nonetheless they chose him as sole general. Aristomenes himself believed that he would not begrudge another who had done something noteworthy in war achieving distinction; yet as for himself, he considered it altogether vital from the very beginning of the war to strike terror into the Lacedaemonians and to appear more formidable still regarding the events to come. Because he held this belief, he arrived one night into Lacedaemon and dedicated a shield in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos; inscribed upon it was that Aristomenes offered it to the goddess as a gift taken from the Spartans.

4.15.6

? There came also to the Lacedaemonians an oracle from Delphi, instructing them to take an Athenian as adviser. They therefore sent envoys to Athens, to announce the oracle and request a man who would counsel them as to what they should do. But the Athenians, unwilling either that the Lacedaemonians without great trouble should easily acquire the finest portion of the Peloponnese or themselves openly disobey the god, devised the following plan. There was at that time among them a teacher of letters named Tyrtaeus, who appeared to have little intelligence and was lame in one foot; this man they dispatched to Sparta. When Tyrtaeus arrived, he recited privately to the leaders and publicly, to whoever happened to gather around, his elegiac verses and his anapaestic poems.

4.15.7

A year after the battle about the Boar's Tomb, allies arriving to support both sides, they prepared to engage in battle near the place called the Grave of Kapros. The Messenians had assistance from the Eleans and Arcadians, and further aid came also from Argos and Sicyon. Present, too, were those Messenians who had previously fled their homeland voluntarily, coming both from Eleusis–where they were accustomed ancestrally to perform the rites of the Great Goddesses–and likewise the descendants of Androcles. For these above all had readily moved to their aid.

4.15.8

★ The Corinthians came to help the Spartans, as did certain Lepreans, because of their hostility toward the Eleans; the Asinaeans, however, had sworn oaths to both sides. This particular place, called "Tomb of the Boar," is situated in Stenykleros in Messenia; they say that here Heracles gave and received an oath with the sons of Neleus upon pieces of a sacrificed boar.

Chapter 16

4.16.1

And after the seers had offered preliminary sacrifices for both sides–on behalf of the Lacedaemonians, ★
Hecas, a descendant and namesake of that Hecas who had come to Sparta together with the sons of Aristodemus; and on behalf of the Messenians, Theoclus, who was descended from Eumantis (this Eumantis was an Elean, one of the Iamidae, whom Cresphontes had brought into Messene)–then, indeed, with the seers themselves present, both sides, encouraged in spirit, pressed on eagerly to the battle.

4.16.2

And indeed the others also strove zealously, each according to his age and strength, but especially Anaxander, the king of the Lacedaemonians, and the Spartans around him. On the side of the Messenians, Phintas and Androcles, the descendants of Androcles, and those arrayed under their command likewise endeavored to show bravery. Tyrtaeus and the priests of the Great Gods took no part in the actual fighting, but each group urged on those who formed the rear ranks of their respective armies.

4.16.3

This was the situation around Aristomenes himself. He had chosen about eighty select Messenians around him, men who were of the same age as he, each of whom regarded it as a great honor to have been deemed worthy of serving alongside Aristomenes; and they were men notably quick to perceive one another's purposes and especially swift to grasp Aristomenes' intentions, whether he had just begun or was yet intending to act. At first these men, along with Aristomenes himself, had great difficulty, being matched against Anaxander and the elite of the Lacedaemonians; but disregarding wounds and carrying their reckless daring to every extreme, they finally overcame Anaxander's forces through persistence and bravery.

4.16.4

Aristomenes then commanded another division of the Messenians to pursue those who fled. He himself ★
charged against those who still resisted strongly, and having forced these back as well, he immediately turned upon others. Quickly pushing these aside, he advanced now with even greater eagerness against those who still held their ground, until he utterly threw into confusion the whole Spartan battle-line together with their allies. As they fled without shame, no longer willing even to wait for one another, Aristomenes pressed upon them, terrifying them beyond what might be expected from the fury of a single man.

4.16.5

★ There indeed, beside a certain wild pear-tree growing somewhere on the plain, the seer Theoclus prevented Aristomenes from passing close by it, declaring that the Dioscuri were seated on the pear-tree. But Aristomenes, yielding to his anger and not wholly obeying the prophet, when he reached the pear-tree, lost his shield; and this mistake of Aristomenes allowed some of the Lacedaemonians to escape safely from the pursuit, for he wasted time attempting to recover his shield.

4.16.6

★ As the Lacedaemonians were dispirited after this defeat and inclined to abandon the war, Tyrtaeus both inspired them by reciting his elegies and enrolled helots into the companies to replace those who had died. Aristomenes, upon returning to Andania, was greeted by women who threw ribbons and blossoms of flowers upon him, chanting a song which is still sung even in our day: "To the Stenyclerian plain and the lofty mountain, Aristomenes pursued the Spartans." He also recovered that shield which he dedicated at Delphi.

4.16.7

★ Having arrived, he descended, according to the command given him by the Pythian oracle, into the sacred sanctuary of Trophonius at Lebadeia. Later, he dedicated his shield at Lebadeia, bringing it himself, and I have personally seen it placed there. Upon it is fitted an eagle, stretching out its wings on either side towards the upper rim. Then Aristomenes, when he returned from Boeotia after recovering his shield from Trophonius, immediately undertook even greater deeds.

4.16.8

Having gathered together other Messenians as well as the chosen warriors around himself, and waiting until after evening fell, he marched against a city in Laconia–originally named Pharis even in Homer's catalogue, but called Pharae by the Spartans and neighboring peoples. Having reached it, he slew those who sought to resist him, seized spoil, and drove it back toward Messenia. When Spartan hoplites, accompanied by their king Anaxander, attacked him on the journey, he routed these men as well and was on the point of pursuing Anaxander; but he was struck by a javelin in the buttock, which halted his pursuit. Nevertheless, he did not surrender the booty he was driving off.

4.16.9

★ After waiting only long enough for his wound to heal, he planned a night attack against Sparta itself, but was turned away by visions of Helen and the Dioscuri. So instead he laid an ambush for the maidens at Caryae dancing in honor of Artemis. Attacking by daylight, he captured those among them who excelled either by wealth or by the prominence of their fathers. He then took these maidens to a village in Messenia, where he rested during the night, assigning the guardianship of the young women to some of the men from his ambush party.

4.16.10

★ Here, it seems to me, the young men, driven by drunkenness and otherwise losing self-restraint, resorted violently to assault the maidens. Aristomenes prevented them, protesting that they were acting in ways not customary among Greeks; but they paid no heed whatsoever to him, so that he was forced even to slay those among them who were most consumed by drink. The captive maidens, whom he had taken, he later released for a large ransom, preserving them as virgins just as when he had captured them.

Chapter 17

4.17.1

Aigila is a place in Lakonia, where there stands a sanctuary sacred to Demeter. Here Aristomenes and his men, knowing that women were celebrating a festival and intending to defend themselves, met resistance from the women, who must have been inspired by the goddess herself. Many of the Messenians received wounds from the knives with which the women were sacrificing the animals, and also from the spits used for roasting and skewering meat. Aristomenes himself, struck with torches, was captured alive. Even so, he managed to escape back to Messenia that very night. The priestess of Demeter, Archidameia, was the reason he was released; she freed him not for money, but because she had previously been in love with him. Nevertheless, she claimed that Aristomenes had loosened his bonds and fled after overhearing a conversation.

4.17.2

In the third year of the war, when battle was about to occur at the place called the Great Trench, the Arcadians from all their cities had come to help the Messenians. Aristocrates son of Hicetas of Trapezus, who was king of the Arcadians and at this time their general, was bribed with money by the Lacedaemonians, who thus corrupted him. The Lacedaemonians were, as far as we know, the first to give gifts to a hostile leader, and they were the first to establish the practice of purchasing victory in war.

4.17.3

But until the Lacedaemonians committed unlawful deeds in the Messenian war, and before the treachery of Aristocrates the Arcadian, those engaged in the fighting were distinguished both by valor and by fortunes sent from the god. Afterwards, the Lacedaemonians are shown again, at the time when they attacked the ships of the Athenians at Aegospotami, to have bribed others among the Athenian generals, and Adeimantus in particular. ?

4.17.4

Yet in due time the Lacedaemonians themselves also experienced the so-called "punishment of Neoptolemus." Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, had slain Priam upon the altar of Zeus Herkeios, and afterwards he himself was likewise slain at Delphi at the altar of Apollo. Due to this occurrence, the suffering of one who endures a fate similar to that he has previously inflicted is called the "punishment of Neoptolemus." ★

4.17.5

Thus the Lacedaemonians, precisely at the time when they flourished greatly, having subdued the naval power of the Athenians, while Agesilaus had already secured control over most of Asia, could not succeed in entirely overthrowing the empire of the Medes. Instead, the Barbarian outmaneuvered them by employing their own invention against them, dispatching money to Corinth, Argos, Athens, and Thebes. Indeed, the war known as the Corinthian was kindled by these very funds, compelling Agesilaus himself to abandon his achievements in Asia.

4.17.6

But for the Lacedaemonians, this stratagem against the Messenians the divinity was already preparing to turn into a disaster. Aristocrates, after receiving money from Sparta, for the moment kept secret from the Arcadians the treachery he planned against them. But when the battle was about to begin, he suddenly alarmed them, saying that they were caught in a difficult position, that retreat would be impossible if they were defeated, and claiming also that the sacrifices had not proved favorable for them. Thus, he commanded that when he himself should give the signal, everyone should immediately take to flight.

4.17.7

But when the Lacedaemonians joined battle and the Messenians were directing their attention to them, at this moment Aristocrates, as soon as the battle had commenced, withdrew the Arcadians. Thus the left wing and the centre of the Messenians were left isolated; for the Arcadians had occupied both positions, since both the Eleans were absent from the battle, as likewise were the Argives and Sicyonians. Aristocrates also committed another treachery: he directed his flight straight through the ranks of the Messenians.

4.17.8

Faced with circumstances they had not expected, they became panic-stricken and, at the same time, were confounded by the Arcadians' withdrawal from their side, so that most of them even forgot the weapons in their hands. Instead of charging upon the Lacedaemonians, they found themselves watching, as the Arcadians were already fleeing. Some of them begged them to remain, while others hurled insults at them, accusing them of betrayal and injustice.

4.17.9

When the Messenians became isolated, the encircling of them was no difficult task for the Lacedaemonians, and they gained a victory that was both exceedingly easy and without trouble of any kind. Aristomenes and those with him maintained their resistance and made an effort to repel the Spartans who pressed them hardest, but as they were few, their actions brought little benefit. Of the Messenians, such a great number of common people perished that those who had at first thought they might reverse their fate, becoming masters over the Lacedaemonians instead of slaves, now lost even any hope of survival itself. Among the leaders who died were Androcles and Phintas, and especially Phanas, who fought with exceptional distinction and who had previously gained an Olympic victory in the long race.

4.17.10

After the battle Aristomenes gathered together the Messenians who had escaped and persuaded most of the inhabitants of Andania and any other towns in the interior country to abandon them, settling

instead upon the mountain called Eira. When the Messenians had collected in this place, the Lacedaemonians immediately took up a position against them, thinking they would soon reduce them by siege. Nevertheless, despite the disaster at the trench, the Messenians held out while continually defending themselves for eleven years.

4.17.11

That the duration of the siege was indeed long is indicated also by the following verses composed by ? Rhianus concerning the Lacedaemonians:

"Around the folds of the silvery mountain they campaigned for two and twenty seasons, winters and grass-times all together."

For he counted winters and summers, calling "grass-times" the green corn or the crop slightly before harvest.

Chapter 18

4.18.1

When the Messenians had withdrawn into Eira and were shut out from the rest of their land except for the parts along the sea preserved for them by the Pylians and the Methonaeans, they began raiding both Laconia and their own territory, now regarding even this land as hostile. They gathered together in separate bands, as chance might allow; and Aristomenes himself assembled his chosen followers, numbering three hundred, and led them forth.

4.18.2

Indeed, the Messenians were driving away the property of the Lacedaemonians and carrying off whatever each was able; they consumed grain, livestock, and wine whenever they seized it, but furniture and people they exchanged for money. Thus the Lacedaemonians passed a decree–since they seemed rather to be farming for those in Eira than for themselves–that, as long as the war lasted, Messenia and the neighboring parts of Laconia should be left uncultivated.

4.18.3

After this, there was a famine in Sparta, and at the same time as the famine, civil strife arose; for those who possessed property in that region could not tolerate seeing their own lands lie uncultivated. Tyrtaeus reconciled these disputes among them. Aristomenes, meanwhile, taking his chosen troops, made his departure around late evening, and because of his great speed, he arrived at Amyclae before sunrise. He captured and plundered the settlement of Amyclae and withdrew again before the Spartans could march out to help.

4.18.4

Afterward, he continued to devastate the land until, having fought against more than half of the Spartan infantry companies and both Spartan kings, he suffered many wounds while defending himself; struck on the head by a stone, his vision began swimming. When he fell, the Spartans rushed upon him together and seized him alive. About fifty of his companions were also captured at that time. The Spartans resolved to cast all these men into the Ceadas–the pit into which they throw those upon whom they inflict the most severe punishments.

4.18.5

The other Messenians, rushing in, perished immediately; but Aristomenes was protected by one of the gods both on other occasions and especially at this moment. Those who glorify Aristomenes' deeds declare that when he was thrown into the Ceadas, an eagle flew beneath him and supported him with its wings, carrying him down safely to the bottom without injury to his body or sustaining any wound. Indeed, even from that place, the divine power was later to reveal to him a way of escape.

4.18.6

★ When he reached the bottom of the pit, he lay down and, wrapping the cloak tightly around him, awaited what he was certain would inevitably be his death. But after the third day he heard a noise and uncovering himself–by now his eyes had adjusted enough to the darkness–he saw a fox touching the corpses. Suspecting that the animal had some entrance, he waited until the fox drew near him, and as it approached, he seized it. Whenever the animal turned toward him, he thrust forward his cloak with his other hand, allowing it something to bite. He followed the fox closely as it darted about; through most places he struggled to keep pace, and in particularly narrow spots he was guided by it as it pulled him onward. Finally, after some time, he saw a hole large enough for the fox to slip through, and daylight shining beyond it.

4.18.7

? As for the foxhole, it was destined to receive the girl, after she had been freed by Aristomenes; Aristomenes himself, however–for the opening could not provide an exit even for him–enlarged it with his hands and managed to return safely to his home at Eira. Extraordinary indeed was his fate, both in having fallen prisoner in such a manner–for his spirit and daring deeds were so great that no one could have expected Aristomenes to become captive–and more astonishing still, clearly demonstrating above all else that his rescue from the Ceadas was not without divine intervention.

Chapter 19

4.19.1

At that moment, deserters reported to the Lacedaemonians that Aristomenes had returned alive. But since this seemed as incredible to them as if someone were said to have risen from the dead, Aristomenes himself soon provided clear evidence of his survival. For the Corinthians sent a force to aid the Lacedaemonians in capturing Eira.

4.19.2

When Aristomenes learned from his scouts that they proceeded carelessly on the march and neglected their camps' defense, he attacked them by night. While most of them were still sleeping, he killed a great number, including their commanders Hypermenides, Achladaeus, Lysistratus, and Sidectus. After plundering the tent of the Spartan generals, he made it clear to the Spartans beyond doubt that it was Aristomenes and no other Messenian who had performed these deeds.

4.19.3

He sacrificed also to Zeus Ithomatas the offering they call "Hekatomphonia" (the sacrifice for one hundred slain). This practice was very anciently established, and it was customary among the Messenians to offer it whenever they had slain one hundred enemies. Aristomenes first offered this sacrifice after he had fought at the tomb of Kapros; a second occasion was provided for him by the slaughter of the Corinthians during the night. They say he also performed this sacrifice a third time after his subsequent attacks; but the Lacedaemonians–for he was advancing toward them–

4.19.4

On account of the festival of Hyacinthia, they arranged a truce of forty days with the men in Eira. Having withdrawn themselves, the Lacedaemonians returned home to observe the festival; however, the Cretan archers–mercenaries whom they had summoned from Lyktos and other cities–roamed through Messenia. Aristomenes, having due to the truce ventured far from Eira and traveling onward in somewhat less guarded fashion, was ambushed by seven of these archers, who captured him and bound him with the straps they carried for their quivers.

4.19.5

For evening was approaching. Therefore two of them went to Sparta and announced to the Lacedaemonians the good news that Aristomenes had been captured. The others withdrew to a farmstead

within Messenia. There lived there a maiden girl with her mother, orphaned of her father. On the previous night the girl had seen a vision: wolves had brought into their farm a lion that was bound and had no claws; but she herself released the lion from its bonds and having found its claws, gave them back to it. Thus it appeared to her that the lion tore apart the wolves.

4.19.6

At that time, as the Cretans were bringing Aristomenes in, the maiden recognized clearly the vision she had seen during the night. She asked her mother who the man might be, and having learned his identity she grew resolute. Gazing upon Aristomenes, she understood the command that had been given to her. Pouring wine without restraint for the Cretans, when drunkenness overcame them she removed a dagger from the one who had fallen most deep asleep. With it, the maiden cut Aristomenes' bonds; and he, taking the sword, dispatched the guards. Gorgus, Aristomenes' son, later took this maiden as his wife. Indeed, Aristomenes gave her to his son, wishing thus to repay the debt of his deliverance, although Gorgus was not yet eighteen years of age at the time of their marriage.

Chapter 20

4.20.1

In the eleventh year of the siege, it was fated that Eira should be captured and the Messenians driven from their land. Indeed, the god fulfilled an oracle delivered earlier to Aristomenes and Theoclus. After their defeat at the trench, they traveled to Delphi and consulted the oracle concerning their safety, and the Pythia replied only this:

"When a he-goat drinks the winding waters of the Neda, no longer shall I guard Messene, for destruction is near."

4.20.2

The sources of the river Neda lie on Mount Lycaeus. Starting from there, the river flows first through ★
Arcadia and then turns again towards Messenia, marking along the coast the boundary between the territories of the Messenians and the Eleans. At that time, the Messenians were afraid lest the male goats should drink from the Neda, but a divine sign foretold for them the following: There is a certain tree called by some of the Greeks "olynthos" (wild fig), though the Messenians themselves name it "tragos" (goat). At that time, a fig tree near the Neda grew not vertically straight, but bent towards the river current so that with the tips of its branches it touched the water.

4.20.3

The seer Theoclus, having observed this, understood that the goat drinking from the river Neda ★
corresponded to the oracle of the Pythia concerning this fig tree, and declared that the time of destiny had now arrived for the Messenians. To all others he kept the matter secret, but he brought Aristomenes to the fig tree and instructed him that the time of their deliverance had come. Aristomenes was thus persuaded that it was so, and concluded there could be no further delay, perceiving clearly the necessity from their present circumstances.

4.20.4

Indeed, the Messenians had a certain secret object; and its disappearance would, it was said, plunge ★
Messene underwater, hiding the city forever. But if guarded safely, according to the oracles of Lycus, son of Pandion, the Messenians would someday regain their land. Aristomenes, aware of these prophecies, took it away at nightfall. Reaching the most deserted spot of Mount Ithome, he buried it there, within the mountain. He then entreated Zeus of Ithome and the gods who had protected the Messenians up to that time to remain guardians of this buried treasure, and pleaded with them not to let the Spartans extinguish this sole remaining hope for the Messenians' return.

4.20.5

After this, troubles began to afflict the Messenians arising from adultery, much as they had formerly afflicted the Trojans. They still remained superior, since they held control of both the mountain and the area toward Eira as far as the Neda River; and some of them had dwellings even outside of their gate. No one else had deserted to them from Laconia, except only a herdsman, a slave belonging to Emperamus, who had driven his master's cattle over to them. Emperamus was a distinguished man in Sparta.

4.20.6

This herdsman was pasturing his cattle not far from the Neda river. He saw the wife of a certain Messenian man who lived outside the walls coming to draw water; struck by desire, he dared to address her, and after giving her gifts, he lay with her. From that time forth, he watched closely for whenever her husband went away to the guard-station. Indeed, the Messenians kept watch over the citadel by turns, since at that point especially they feared that their enemies might climb in and invade their city. Thus whenever this man left, the herdsman would then visit the woman.

4.20.7

And once it happened that a guard post at that place had fallen to him and others during the night. It happened also that the god sent down heavy rain, and the Messenians abandoned their guard-post; for the water, pouring from heaven abundantly, overwhelmed them. Moreover, neither parapets nor towers had been built due to the haste of the fortification, and they did not expect that the Lacedaemonians would move against them on a gloomy and such stormy night.

4.20.8

A few days earlier Aristomenes had rescued a certain merchant from Cephallenia–his guest-friend and supplier bringing into Eira all the supplies they required–who had been captured by the Lacedaemonians and the Apteraian archers under the Spartan leader Euryalus. While rescuing this Cephallenian and the goods he was bringing, Aristomenes himself was wounded, so severely that he could no longer perform his customary visits to the sentries. This was the most significant reason for the fall of the acropolis.

4.20.9

Each of the others withdrew from the watch-post, as did likewise the husband of the woman whom the herdsman was seducing. At that time she had the herdsman indoors with her; sensing her husband's arrival, she immediately concealed the man as quickly as possible. When her husband entered, she greeted him more affectionately than ever before and asked the reason for his return. He, knowing neither of his wife's adultery nor of the herdsman's presence inside, answered truthfully. He explained that he himself, as well as each one of the others, had abandoned their post due to the severity of the rainstorm.

4.20.10

The herdsman listened secretly while he spoke, and after learning every detail thoroughly, again deserted from the Messenians back to the Lacedaemonians. Now the kings of the Lacedaemonians were at that time absent from the camp, but Emperamus, the herdsman's master, acting as polemarch, was stationed before Eira. After coming to him, the herdsman first sought forgiveness for his earlier desertion, then

informed him precisely how they could now best capture Eira, relating exactly each detail he had discovered from the Messenian.

Chapter 21

4.21.1

Indeed the Spartan force placed trust in Emperamus and his words seemed credible to them. The journey was difficult because of the darkness and the ceaseless rain, yet their enthusiasm carried them through. When they arrived at the acropolis of Eira, they scaled it by setting up ladders, or by whatever other means each man could. The Messenians were alerted to the present danger by various signs, but especially by their dogs, which barked not in their usual way, but with a louder and more incessant noise. Understanding then that the final and decisive struggle had come upon them, the Messenians did not pause to arm themselves fully, but seized whatever weapons lay at hand, and rushed out to fight in defense of their native land, the last place remaining to them in all of Messenia.

4.21.2

The first who perceived that the enemies were within and who led the rescue against them were Gorgus, son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, Theoclus the seer, and Manticlus, son of Theoclus, together with them Euergitidas–a man otherwise honored in Messene, but further exalted on account of his wife, for he had married Aristomenes' sister, Hagnagora. The rest, despite realizing that they were caught as if in a net, nevertheless maintained some hope even in their desperate circumstances.

4.21.3

Aristomenes and the seer understood that there was no longer any delay of disaster remaining for the ★
Messenians, knowing also the oracle which the Pythia had delivered obscurely concerning the goat; nevertheless, they concealed it still and kept it secret from the others. Going quickly through the city and approaching everyone they met, whenever they perceived them to be Messenians, they urged them to show themselves good men, and called forth from their houses those still remaining behind.

4.21.4

During that night indeed, nothing worthy of note was accomplished on either side; for on the one hand, their unfamiliarity with the region and the audacity of Aristomenes caused hesitation, while on the other, the Messenians received no prearranged signal from their commanders. Moreover, if any torches had been kindled prematurely or if someone attempted to ignite another type of lamp, the god, by sending rain, would have extinguished it.

4.21.5

But when day came and they were able to see one another clearly, Aristomenes and Theoclus at once sought to urge the Messenians to every kind of desperate courage, instructing them in all considerations that were fitting and especially recalling the daring deeds of the Smyrnaeans–how, though they were Ionians, through bravery and resolve they had driven out Gyges, son of Dascylus, and the Lydians who had occupied their city.

4.21.6

The Messenians, upon hearing this, were filled with despair and gathered themselves together in whatever numbers they could, rushing against the Lacedaemonians. Even the women took up roof tiles and anything else each could find for throwing at the enemy. Indeed, they were prevented from carrying this out and climbing onto the roofs by the violence of the rainstorm; nevertheless, they dared to take up arms and by their courage inspired the men to greater bravery, when the men saw that even the women preferred to perish alongside their country rather than be taken as slaves into Lacedaemon. Thus they might even have overcome their fate.

4.21.7

But the god brought water upon them suddenly, accompanied by a mighty sound of thunder, and dazzled their eyes with flashes of lightning directed right against them. For the Lacedaemonians, all these events raised their spirits, and they declared that the god himself was fighting on their side; and indeed–since lightning flashed for them on the right–Hekas the seer interpreted this omen as favorable.

4.21.8

He also devised the following stratagem. The Spartans greatly outnumbered his force; however, since the battle took place neither in open ground nor in regular formation, but instead was fought with different groups engaging separately in various parts of the city, it happened that the rearmost ranks of each unit were inactive. He ordered these men to withdraw to the camp, partake of food and rest, and then return again before evening, relieving in turn their comrades who had remained to endure the battle.

4.21.9

While the Lacedaemonians, taking their rest and fighting by turns, were making a stronger resistance, difficulty beset the Messenians on every side; for the very same men continued to fight constantly through the day and every night, and were now defending themselves for the third consecutive day. Daylight had already come, and sleeplessness along with the rain and cold from the sky oppressed them, and hunger and thirst assailed them as well. Most of all, the women, unaccustomed to warfare and overwhelmed by constant suffering, had reached the limits of endurance.

4.21.10

★ Then the seer Theoclus stood beside Aristomenes and said, "Why do you persist in this labor in vain? It is fated that Messene must inevitably fall; long ago the Pythia foretold this misfortune now before our eyes, and recently, too, the fig-tree showed us the same. For me personally, the god brings death shared with my country; but you have come to save the Messenians as best you can–now also save yourself." After speaking thus to Aristomenes, he rushed upon the enemy, and charging against the Lacedaemonians, cried aloud: "Yet know this: you will not forever rejoice in reaping the spoils of Messene!"

4.21.11

After this, he fell upon those who stood against him, slew them, and was himself wounded; but having first sated his fury with the slaughter of his enemies, he yielded up his spirit. Aristomenes called the Messenians back from the battle, except for those who in their valour were fighting in the forefront; these he allowed to remain in their positions. To all the rest he gave orders, keeping the women and children within the ranks, to follow after him wherever he himself might open up a passage.

4.21.12

Over the last of these he appointed Gorgos and Mantiklos as commanders. He himself then ran forward to those stationed at the front, clearly signaling, by nodding his head and waving his spear, that he was requesting passage through and had already determined upon withdrawal. Now Empéramos and the Spartans present agreed to allow the Messenians to depart, not wishing to further enrage men already frantic and driven to an utmost point of desperation; at the same time, the prophet Hekas advised them to act thus.

Chapter 130

Chapter 22

4.22.1

The Arcadians soon learned about the capture of Eira, and immediately urged Aristocrates to lead them forth, either to save the Messenians or to perish along with them. But he, having accepted bribes from Lacedaemon, refused to lead them, and declared he knew of no Messenians still left surviving to whom they might bring aid.

4.22.2

Then, when they became more clearly aware that the Messenians were defeated and were abandoning Eira, the Arcadians themselves prepared to welcome them onto Mount Lycaeus, having made ready both clothing and provisions. They sent men of high rank, firstly to encourage the Messenians, and secondly to guide them on their journey. When the Messenians reached Lycaeus, the Arcadians received them kindly, welcomed them hospitably, and treated them with friendliness in all other ways. They even wished to distribute them among their various cities and to redivide the land for their sake.

4.22.3

Pity for the sacking of Eira and hatred against the Lacedaemonians prompted Aristomenes to devise the following plan. Selecting from the entire body of Messenians five hundred whom he knew to be especially heedless of their own lives, Aristomenes asked them in the hearing of the Arcadians and of Aristocrates, whom he did not yet recognize as a traitor–for he supposed that Aristocrates had abandoned the battle merely from cowardice and fear, not suspecting any deeper wickedness, and thus posed the question openly before his eyes to the five hundred–whether they were willing to die with him in vengeance for their country.

4.22.4

When they declared themselves willing, he stripped the place entirely bare, intending by all means to march on Sparta the following evening, for at that very time most of the Lacedaemonians were away at Eira, and others besides had gone there, carrying off Messenian possessions and prisoners. Aristomenes said, "If we succeed in capturing Sparta and holding it, we shall recover our own possessions by exchanging them for what belongs to the Lacedaemonians. But should we fail, we shall at least die together, having achieved deeds worthy of remembrance by posterity."

4.22.5

When he had said this, about three hundred of the Arcadians themselves also wished to partake in the daring attempt. At that time, however, they delayed their departure, for the sacrifices did not prove favorable to them. The following day, they realized that the Lacedaemonians had already learned of their secret plan, and that they had been betrayed yet again by Aristocrates. Aristocrates immediately had written down Aristomenes' intentions in a letter, and entrusting the letter to the most trustworthy of his servants, dispatched it to Anaxander at Sparta.

4.22.6

As the servant returned, he was ambushed by certain Arcadian men who had previously been hostile toward Aristocrates and who at that time also held certain suspicions against him. Having seized him by ambush, they brought this servant before the Arcadians and publicly revealed to the people the reply sent from Sparta. Anaxander had written to Aristocrates, stating that his previous flight from the Great Trench had not been without benefit from the Lacedaemonians, and further promising gratitude for the information he provided at that time.

4.22.7

When this news was announced openly, the Arcadians themselves stoned Aristocrates and urged the Messenians to join; but the Messenians looked instead towards Aristomenes. Aristomenes, gazing down at the ground, wept. After stoning Aristocrates to death, the Arcadians cast him beyond their borders without burial. In the precinct of Zeus Lycaeus, they erected a stele with this inscription:

"In time, justice found out the unrighteous king; And swiftly, aided by Zeus, Messene discovered the traitor. It is difficult for a perjured man to escape the notice of the god. Hail, Zeus, King, and protect Arcadia."

Chapter 23

4.23.1

As for the Messenians who were left behind around Eira or elsewhere in Messenia, the Lacedaemonians assigned them to helot status. The Pylians, Mothonaeans, and all who lived along the coast, sailed away by ship at the time of Eiras capture to Cyllene, the port of the Eleans. From there they sent messengers to the Messenians in Arcadia, wishing to organize a joint expedition to seek a land in which they could settle; and they urged Aristomenes to lead them to found a colony.

4.23.2

He himself declared that he would wage war against the Lacedaemonians as long as he lived, and that he knew precisely that Sparta would always experience some calamity arising through him. To the others he gave Gorgus and Manticlus as leaders. Evergetidas withdrew along with the other Messenians to Mount Lycaeus; from there, seeing that Aristomenes' plan to capture Sparta had failed, he persuaded around fifty of the Messenians to return with him against the Lacedaemonians at Eira, and encountering them still celebrating their victory, they plundered them.

4.23.3

This caused them grief. At this point fate overtook Euphaes, but Aristomenes directed the Messenian leaders to proceed to Cyllene, instructing all who wished to participate in the colony to depart. Indeed, all joined except those hindered either by old age or who lacked adequate means for the journey. These remained behind, staying among the Arcadians.

4.23.4

Eira was taken, and the second war between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians came to an end in the year when Autosthenes was archon at Athens, in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, in which Chionis the Spartan was victor.

4.23.5

When the Messenians had gathered at Cyllene, it was resolved to winter there for that season. The Eleans provided them with a market and supplies. At the coming of spring they debated where to migrate. Gorgus proposed that they occupy Zacynthus, the island lying near Cephallenia, and become islanders instead of mainlanders, using ships to launch attacks upon the Lacedaemonian coastal territory and harass the land. However, Manticlus advised them to forget Messenia and their enmity with Sparta

altogether, urging them instead to sail to Sardinia, and there secure for themselves the largest and most prosperous island.

4.23.6

Meanwhile, Anaxilas sent messages to the Messenians, inviting them to Italy. This Anaxilas was tyrant of Rhegium and a fourth-generation descendant of Alcidamidas. Now, Alcidamidas had migrated from Messene to Rhegium following the death of King Aristodemus and the capture of Ithome. Thus Anaxilas now called the Messenians to himself, and after their arrival he told them that although the Zanclaeans were hostile to him, they possessed a fertile region and a city excellently situated in Sicily, all of which he desired to hand over to them if together they could seize it. Persuaded by his proposal, the Messenians were thus ferried across to Sicily by Anaxilas.

4.23.7

Originally, Zancle was seized by pirates, who fortified the empty land around the harbor just enough to serve as a base of operations for their raids and maritime attacks. Their leaders were Crataemenes of Samos and Perieres from Chalcis. Later, Perieres, along with Crataemenes, decided to bring in additional Greek colonists as settlers.

4.23.8

Then Anaxilas defeated the Zanclaeans in a naval engagement, while simultaneously the Messenians defeated them in a pitched land battle. Besieged thus on land by the Messenians and at sea simultaneously by the Rhegians, the Zanclaeans, with their walls already falling into enemy hands, fled for refuge to the altars of the gods and into the sacred precincts. Anaxilas strongly urged the Messenians to kill the Zanclaeans who were supplicating and to enslave the rest along with their women and children.

4.23.9

But Gorgus and Manticlus pleaded with Anaxilas, urging that he should not force them, who had suffered impious wrongs at the hands of their own kinsmen, to commit similar actions against fellow Greeks. After this, they subsequently removed the people of Zancle from the altars, and after giving and receiving oaths from one another, they settled down together jointly; and they changed the name of the city, calling it Messene instead of Zancle.

4.23.10

These events took place during the twenty-ninth Olympiad, in which Chionis the Spartan won his second victory, and Miltiades was archon in Athens. Mantiklos also built the sanctuary of Heracles for the Messenians; the god stands outside the city wall, and is known as Heracles Mantiklos, just as among the Libyans Ammon takes his name from the shepherd who dedicated him, and the Babylonian Bel derives his name from the Egyptian man Belus, son of Libya. Thus the wanderings of the exiled Messenians came to an end.

Chapter 24

4.24.1

When Aristomenes declined the leadership of those preparing to settle the colony, he married off his daughters–the eldest and the one following her–as well as his sister Hagnagora: the sister to Tharyx in Phigalia, and his daughters to Damothoidas of Lepreum and Theopompus of Heraea. Aristomenes himself went to Delphi and consulted the god; however, the oracle given to Aristomenes is not recorded. ?

4.24.2

When Damagetus, who was king of Ialysus in Rhodes, went at this time to the oracle of Apollo and inquired from where he should take a wife, the Pythia replied that he must marry the daughter of the best man among the Greeks. He therefore married the third daughter of Aristomenes, judging him by far the best of all Greeks of that time. Aristomenes accompanied his daughter as far as Rhodes, and from there intended to journey onward–to Sardis, to Ardys son of Gyges, and then up to Ecbatana, the Median capital, to King Phraortes. ★

4.24.3

However, before these things could occur, Aristomenes fell ill and died; for it was not ordained that the Lacedaemonians should suffer any further misfortune at the hands of Aristomenes. When he passed away, Damagetus and the Rhodians erected a notable tomb in his honor and thenceforth bestowed upon him heroic honors. But as for the traditions relating to the family called the Diagoridae in Rhodes, descended from Diagoras, the son of Damagetus, himself son of Dorieus, who was the son of Damagetus and of Aristomenes' daughter, I shall omit them, lest my account appear irrelevant. ?

4.24.4

The Lacedaemonians at that time, having gained mastery over Messenia, themselves divided among themselves all the territory except that belonging to the Asinaeans; but to the Nauplians they gave Methone, since these had recently been driven out of Nauplia by the Argives.

4.24.5

Those Messenians who were left behind in the land, forced by necessity to be enrolled among the Helots, later revolted from the Lacedaemonians in the seventy-ninth Olympiad, in which the Corinthian Xenophon was victorious, when Archimedes was archon at Athens. They chose for their revolt the

following occasion: certain Lacedaemonian men, condemned to death for some criminal charge, had taken refuge as suppliants at Taenarum. From there the authority of the ephors dragged them away from the altar and put them to death.

4.24.6

Since the Spartans disregarded entirely those who had taken refuge as suppliants, the wrath of Poseidon fell upon them, and the god razed their entire city to the ground. Amid this disaster, those helots originally of Messenian descent revolted and withdrew to Mount Ithome. In response, the Lacedaemonians summoned various allies against them, including Cimon, son of Miltiades, who was their proxenos, along with the Athenian forces. However, the Athenians, after they arrived, were suspected of intending rebellion, and due to this suspicion, the Spartans soon afterwards dismissed them from Ithome.

4.24.7

The Athenians, perceiving the suspicion of the Lacedaemonians against themselves, became therefore friends with the Argives, and gave Naupactus to the Messenians who had been besieged in Ithome and expelled under terms of surrender. This town they took from the Locrians called Ozolian, who dwell near Aetolia. That the Messenians were able thus to depart from Ithome, both because the stronghold itself was formidable, and because the Pythia had proclaimed to the Lacedaemonians that they would suffer divine justice if they harmed the suppliant of Zeus Ithomatas. Hence they allowed them under treaty to depart from the Peloponnese.

Chapter 25

4.25.1

But after they had taken Naupactus, it was not sufficient for them merely to have gained a city and territory from the Athenians; rather, a powerful desire drove them to prove by their own strength that they possessed something worthy of reputation. Knowing also that the Oeniadae held good land in Acarnania and were continually hostile to the Athenians, they undertook an expedition against them. Though not superior in numbers, they were far superior in valor and skill, and thus won a victory by their own prowess, subsequently laying siege to their enemies who had shut themselves within the walls.

4.25.2

And from that time forward, the Messenians omitted no device invented by men for siege warfare; employing ladders, they attempted to scale the city's walls, undermined the fortifications from below, and, bringing up whatever siege machinery could be quickly prepared, continually pulled down parts of the defenses. Those within, becoming fearful that if the city were captured they themselves would perish and their women and children would be enslaved, chose instead to depart under covenant.

4.25.3

The Messenians held the city and occupied the territory for about one year. But in the following year, the Acarnanians collected a force from all their cities and debated whether to march against Naupactus. They abandoned the plan when they realized that their route would pass through Aetolian lands, for the Aetolians were at all times hostile to them. They also suspected that the people of Naupactus possessed a certain naval force, as indeed was the case, and concluded that as long as the Naupactians ruled the sea, no significant achievement could be won with a land army.

4.25.4

So after reconsideration, the Acarnanians immediately turned themselves against the Messenians in Oeniadae. They prepared as if about to besiege them, for they never supposed that men so few in number would reach such madness as to fight openly against the whole force of the Acarnanians. The Messenians, however, had previously stocked up food and all other things which might reasonably be needed, expecting they would face a prolonged siege.

4.25.5

Before the impending siege, they determined openly to engage in battle, lest the Acarnanian host that had come should lose heart, thinking that the Messenians, though defeated by the Spartans through adverse fortune rather than through inferiority in valor, were incapable fighters. They recalled too the deed of the Athenians at Marathon, in which thirty thousand of the Medes were destroyed by men numbering fewer than ten thousand.

4.25.6

And indeed the Acarnanians drew up for battle against them; and the manner of the fight is said to have been as follows. Since the Acarnanians were greatly superior in number, they easily surrounded the Messenians, except where the gates behind the Messenians blocked their rear, and where those from the wall zealously defended their countrymen. On that side alone they were prevented from being completely encircled. Yet on both flanks the Acarnanians closed around them, pelting them with missiles from every direction.

4.25.7

But the Messenians, gathered close together, whenever they fell upon the Acarnanians in a massed charge, threw into confusion those standing opposite them, slaying and wounding many. Yet they could not bring about a complete rout; for whenever the Acarnanians perceived that their formation at some point had been broken by the Messenians, they immediately rallied and, coming to the aid of those under attack, checked the Messenians, prevailing by their superior numbers.

4.25.8

Whenever the Messenians pressed forward and were held back, then made fresh attempts elsewhere to break through the Acarnanian line, they suffered the same outcome again and again. At whichever point they moved to attack, they shook their adversaries and momentarily forced them into retreat; yet whenever the Acarnanians swiftly reinforced the threatened spot, the Messenians were unwillingly repulsed. When the struggle remained indecisive until evening, and during the following night the Acarnanians received reinforcements from their cities, the Messenians found themselves surrounded and under siege.

4.25.9

There was no fear among them that their wall might be stormed either by force or by the Acarnanians scaling it, nor were they afraid that they would be compelled to abandon their garrison post. Nevertheless, by the eighth month their provisions had all alike been exhausted. Still, from the rampart they mocked the Acarnanians, declaring scornfully that they would never be betrayed by lack of provisions, even though they were besieged for ten years.

4.25.10

They themselves had first marched out from Oiniadai at about the hour of sleep. But the Akarnanians realized that they were fleeing, and thus compelled the enemy to come to battle. Then the Oiniadai lost about three hundred of their men; even more of the enemy, however, they themselves slew. The majority of their force broke away through the Akarnanians, and being joined by the Aitolians–who were favorably disposed toward them–they reached Naupaktos safely.

Chapter 26

4.26.1

From this time onward their hatred against the Lacedaemonians persisted, and they demonstrated their hostility most strongly during the war which broke out between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians; for they offered Naupactus as a base to operate against the Peloponnese, and Messenian slingers from Naupactus assisted in cutting off the Spartans who had been trapped on the island of Sphacteria.

4.26.2

When the disaster at Aegospotami befell the Athenians, the Spartans, having now supremacy at sea, expelled also the Messenians from Naupactus. These Messenians were sent partly to their kin in Sicily and partly to Rhegium, but most of them reached Libya, particularly Euesperitae in Libya. For the people of Euesperitae, severely harassed in war by the neighboring barbarians, called upon every Greek to come and settle together with them. To these people, therefore, most of the Messenians withdrew. Their leader was Comon, who had previously commanded them at Sphacteria.

4.26.3

A year before the success of the Thebans at Leuctra, the deity had already indicated to the Messenians ★
their return to the Peloponnese. At Messene near the strait, the priest of Heracles, they say, beheld a vision in a dream: it seemed to Mantiklos (for this was the priest's name) that Heracles had been summoned as a guest to Ithome by Zeus. At Euesperitae, again, Comon dreamed that he lay with his dead mother, and while he slept beside her she returned to life again. Comon expected that, once the Athenians acquired naval supremacy, the Messenians would return to Naupactus, but the dream in fact foreshadowed the revival of Messene itself.

4.26.4

Not long afterward occurred the disaster of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, an event long overdue. ★
For its origin goes back to Aristodemus, who had reigned over the Messenians, and at his death an oracle had foretold: "Act as fate ordains; ruin comes upon various men at various times." At that time, accordingly, destruction was fated for Aristodemus himself and for the Messenians, but at a later period it was to overtake even Lacedaemon.

4.26.5

Then at this time, after the Thebans had been victorious at Leuctra, they sent messengers to Italy and Sicily, and also to the Euesperitae in Libya. They summoned the Messenians from everywhere–if any were anywhere–to return to the Peloponnese. The Messenians gathered together more swiftly than one might have expected, owing both to longing for their native land and to the hatred toward the Lacedaemonians that had always remained with them.

4.26.6

? But Epaminondas saw clearly that it was not otherwise easy to found a city capable of resisting the Lacedaemonians; nor could he find an appropriate place in the region for settlement. The Messenians declared they would not re-inhabit Andania and Oichalia, because their past misfortunes had occurred while they lived there. Then, as he was at a loss, they say that a figure of an aged man, resembling a priestly interpreter of sacred rites, stood by him at night and said: "It is granted to you by me that you shall prevail over whomever you attack in warfare. And even should you depart from this life as mortal men do, I will ensure, O Theban, that your name shall never be without fame or honour. As for you, restore to the Messenians their native land and cities, since the wrath of the Dioscuri toward them has now ceased."

4.26.7

★ These words he spoke to Epaminondas; but to Epiteles, the son of Aeschines–whom the Argives had chosen as their general to resettle Messene–the dream gave the following message: it bid this man, wherever on Ithome he found a growing ivy and myrtle, to dig between them and rescue the old woman, who lay exhausted and close to fainting, imprisoned in a bronze chamber. Therefore Epiteles, as soon as day dawned, went to the appointed place and began digging; he quickly chanced upon a bronze water-urn, and then immediately went to Epaminondas.

4.26.8

★ He recounted the dream he had received, and instructed the other man, after removing that very lid, to examine what was inside. Having offered sacrifice and prayed to the deity who had appeared to him in the dream, the latter opened the vessel; once opened, he found a very thinly beaten sheet of tin, rolled up like a scroll. Inscribed thereupon was the rite of the Great Gods, which had been entrusted there by Aristomenes. The one who appeared to Epiteles and Epaminondas while they were sleeping is said to have been Caucon, who had come from Athens to Andania, near Triopian Messene.

Chapter 27

4.27.1

The anger of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians began before the battle at Stenyclarus, and I judge it arose from the following cause. Two handsome youths from Andania, Panormus and Gonippus, were closely attached to one another in all respects and regularly made joint expeditions and raids into Laconian territory.

4.27.2

While the Lacedaemonians were celebrating a festival in honor of the Dioscuri in their encampment, and had already turned after the midday meal toward drinking and amusements, Gonippus and Panormus appeared before them, dressed in white tunics and purple cloaks, riding upon most distinguished horses, with piloi on their heads and holding spears in their hands. When the Lacedaemonians saw them, they worshipped and prayed, thinking that the Dioscuri themselves had arrived at their sacrifice.

4.27.3

But when the young men had once mingled with the crowd, they charged through everyone, striking them with spears, and after many had fallen, withdrew to Andania, having thus grievously insulted the festival of the Dioscuri. This event, it seems to me, first stirred the Dioscuri to hatred of the Messenians. Therefore, at the time when Epaminondas was given his dream, the return of the Messenians was no longer against the will of the Dioscuri.

4.27.4

It was above all Bacis's oracles that led Epaminondas towards the founding of the city. For Bacis, inspired by the Nymphs, had uttered predictions concerning other Greek affairs and specifically about the return of the Messenians. It was then also that he declared:

"Sparta shall perish, deprived of her splendid flower, Messenia, however, shall again be inhabited forever."

I myself have observed that Bacis foretold even the manner in which Eira would be captured. Among his oracles is also this passage:

"And they who come from Messenia, subdued by clamor and flowing streams."

4.27.5

When they had discovered the rites, all those among the priestly lineage recorded them in writing; as for Epaminondas, since the place now occupied by the city of the Messenians seemed to him particularly suitable for founding a settlement, he instructed the seers to inquire whether the will of the gods also favored it. When the sacrificial omens were declared auspicious by them, he made the necessary preparations for establishing the city, giving orders for stones to be brought in, and inviting men skilled in the art of laying out streets, as well as building houses and temples, and constructing encircling walls.

4.27.6

★ When everything had been arranged and was ready–for the Arcadians provided the sacrificial animals–Epaminondas himself and the Thebans offered sacrifice to Dionysus and to Apollo Ismenios according to their customary rite, the Argives to Hera of Argos and Zeus of Nemea, and the Messenians to Zeus Ithomatas and the Dioscuri, while their priests sacrificed to the Great Goddesses and to Caucon. They also collectively invoked heroes to return and inhabit the land with them, particularly Messene, daughter of Triopas, and after her, Eurytos and Aphareus and Aphareus' sons, along with Cresphontes and Aepytos of the Heracleidae; above all, their petition was most fervently directed toward Aristomenes.

4.27.7

On that first day they were occupied with sacrifices and prayers; but on the following days they built the circuit-wall, and inside its boundary they made houses and sanctuaries. And they worked accompanied by music–not any other kind, but with the flute-playing of the Boeotians and Argives. At that time especially, the compositions of Sakadas and Pronomos were brought into competition. The city itself they named Messene, and they also settled additional smaller towns.

4.27.8

The Nauplians, however, were not driven out of Mothone; rather, the Messenians allowed them as well as the Asinaeans to remain in the territory, mindful of the kindness shown by the latter, who had refused to join the Lacedaemonians in making war upon them. When the Nauplians returned into the Peloponnese, they brought the Messenians gifts according to their means, continually addressing prayers to the gods for their safe return, and at the same time entreating the Messenians for their own safety.

4.27.9

The Messenians returned to the Peloponnese and recovered their own land two hundred and eighty-seven years after the capture of Eira, in the archonship of Dyscinetus at Athens and in the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii won his second victory. Indeed, the time during which the Plataeans also remained exiled from their land was no small one. Likewise with the Delians, when they settled Adramyttium after being expelled from their homeland by the Athenians and the Orchomenians.

4.27.10

After the battle of Leuctra, the Minyans, driven from Orchomenus by the Thebans, were restored to Boeotia by Philip the son of Amyntas, along with the Plataeans. Subsequently, Alexander destroyed the city of the Thebans; yet only a few years later, Cassander, the son of Antipater, rebuilt Thebes. Indeed, of those previously listed, the exile of the Plataeans appears to have lasted the longest; yet even this exile continued for no more than two generations.

4.27.11

The Messenians were in exile from the Peloponnese for about three hundred years; during that time they neither abandoned their ancient customs in any visible respect nor altered their Doric dialect, but even to our own day they have preserved it in a purer form than all other Peloponnesians.

Chapter 28

4.28.1

When the Messenians first returned, they faced no serious threat from the Spartans. For the Spartans, gripped by fear of the Thebans, tolerated both the restoration of Messene and the gathering of the Arcadians into a single city. However, when the Phocian war–also called the Sacred War–drew the Thebans away from the Peloponnese, the Spartans regained their courage and could no longer restrain themselves from acting against the Messenians.

4.28.2

The Messenians themselves, along with the Argives and Arcadians, held out in the war and sought assistance from the Athenians. The Athenians replied that they would never invade Laconia with them; however, they promised to stand beside them if the Lacedaemonians began hostilities and attacked Messenia. Eventually, the Messenians became allies of Philip, son of Amyntas, and of the Macedonians, and this alliance, they say, prevented them from participating in the battle at Chaeronea between the Greeks. Yet, they refused utterly to bear arms against their fellow Greeks.

4.28.3

After Alexander's death, when the Greeks undertook a second war against the Macedonians, the Messenians also participated, as I previously indicated in my account of Attica. They did not, however, join the Greeks in fighting the Gauls, since Cleonymus and the Spartans refused to conclude an alliance with them.

4.28.4

Not long afterwards, the Messenians gained Elis through a combination of cleverness and daring. ? For previously, the Eleans had been the most orderly of the Peloponnesians. But when Philip son of Amyntas, among other acts of wrongdoing inflicted upon Greece, corrupted the influential men of Elis with money, civil strife broke out for the first time among the Eleans, and, as they say, they came to open warfare.

4.28.5

From this point on, their hatred for each other was destined to grow even more intense, since their policies were divided precisely because of the Lacedaemonians, and thus they proceeded into civil war. When the Lacedaemonians learned of these events, they made ready to support those among the Eleans

who favored their interests. They accordingly formed up by military units and arranged themselves into companies. Meanwhile, a thousand elite Messenians swiftly arrived at Elis, bearing Lacedaemonian insignia upon their shields.

4.28.6

When those of the Eleans who favored the Spartans saw the shields, they hoped allies had come to assist them and welcomed the men into the stronghold. But the Messenians, having entered in the manner described, drove out those whose sympathies lay with the Lacedaemonians, and handed the city over to their own partisan allies.

4.28.7

★ Indeed, the stratagem is Homer's, but the Messenians also appear to have appropriately imitated it when the occasion demanded. For Homer, in the Iliad, made Patroclus put on Achilles' armor, declaring that then the barbarians became convinced Achilles himself was advancing against them, and their foremost ranks were thrown into confusion. Homer devised other stratagems as well, sending two Greek spies instead of a single man by night among the Trojans, and later having another man enter Troy, who pretended to desert but whose true purpose was to uncover their secret plans.

4.28.8

★ And moreover, those among the Trojans who, due to youthfulness or old age, were unfit to fight, Homer arranged to guard the wall while those of military age were encamped against the Greeks. Likewise among the Greeks, those who had wounds were tasked with preparing arms for the combatants, lest even these men should be altogether idle. Indeed, Homer's works have in every respect proved beneficial to mankind.

Chapter 29

4.29.1

Not long after the campaign against Elis, the Macedonians and Demetrius, son of Philip, son of Demetrius, seized Messene. Much of what Perseus dared against Philip himself and against his son Demetrius I have already recorded in my account concerning Sicyon. Regarding the capture of Messene, events were as follows.

4.29.2

Philip found himself short of funds, and–because it was absolutely necessary for him to obtain money–he sent Demetrius by sea into the Peloponnese. Demetrius made his landing at some deserted harbor in the Argolid, and then immediately took his army by the shortest possible route through the country towards Messene. Sending ahead lightly equipped troops and those who were thoroughly familiar with the road leading up to Ithome, he passed unnoticed over the wall around dawn, at precisely the point between the city itself and the citadel of Ithome.

4.29.3

When daylight arrived and those within became fully aware of the danger that had seized them, their first suspicion was that the Lacedaemonians had entered their city under arms, which prompted them to attack the enemy all the more recklessly, motivated by their longstanding hatred. But when they recognized from their weapons and their speech that it was the Macedonians and Demetrius, son of Philip, who were present, they felt great fear, reflecting upon the Macedonians' military experience and the fortune which they perceived accompanied them in all their undertakings.

4.29.4

Nevertheless, the extent of their present misfortune taught them that courage could sometimes surpass even what was thought possible, and at the same time encouraged them to hope for better things; for indeed, not without divine help had they accomplished the long journey into the Peloponnese. Therefore, the Messenians from the city advanced with all their spirit against the Macedonians, while those guarding the citadel attacked from higher ground on their right flank.

4.29.5

In like manner the Macedonians, through valor and skill, at first made a vigorous resistance. Soon, however, exhausted by the march and at once attacked by the men pressing upon them and pelted by

women hurling tiles and stones, they fled in utter disorder. Most of them perished, thrust over the cliffs, for at this place particularly Ithome is precipitous. Only a few escaped, and those by throwing aside their weapons.

4.29.6

? It is my opinion that the Messenians did not at first join the council of the Achaeans for the following reason. They voluntarily aided the Lacedaemonians when the latter were at war with Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides; and as a result of this service, relations with Sparta thereafter became somewhat more peaceful. Thus the Messenians, openly the bitterest enemies of Sparta, did not wish to revive their hostility by joining the Achaean council.

4.29.7

But this fact has not escaped my notice, nor could it, I suppose, have escaped the Messenians themselves, that by not contributing to the council, the direction of Achaean policy toward Sparta would lie outside their influence; for among the Achaeans, the Argives and the Arcadians formed no small portion. However, in due time they did join the Achaean League. Not long afterward, Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, grandson of Cleonymus, captured Megalopolis, a city of the Arcadians, during a period of truce.

4.29.8

Of those who had been caught, some perished during the capture itself, but Philopoemen, son of Kraugis, and those who withdrew with Philopoemen–(it is said that the number of Megalopolitans who escaped exceeded two-thirds)–these men the Messenians received out of remembrance for the deeds done formerly in the days of Aristomenes, when the Arcadians came to their assistance, and later, during the founding of Messene itself, thereby rendering them repayment in kind.

4.29.9

Indeed, it seems that human affairs are in general subject to sudden reversals, since fate allowed the Messenians not only to find an equal footing alongside the Arcadians, but, even more unexpectedly, to take Sparta. For at Sellasia they fought against Cleomenes, and joining with Aratus and the Achaeans, they brought about the downfall of Sparta itself.

4.29.10

After the Spartans had been freed from Cleomenes, Machanidas rose up as their tyrant, and upon his death Nabis appeared once again as their tyrant. As he did not merely seize the possessions of men, but also plundered sanctuaries, within a short time he gathered enormous wealth and from this very wealth assembled an army. When this Nabis took possession of Messene, Philopoemen and the Megalopolitans arrived during the same night.

4.29.11

The Spartan tyrant departed under terms of agreement, but afterward the Achaeans, finding fault with the Messenians on some count, marched against them with all available forces and devastated most of their land. Then, around the time of the grain harvest, they gathered again with intentions of invading Messenia. But Deinocrates, who was then the leader of the democratic party and had been appointed ruler of the Messenians, compelled Lycortas and his forces to withdraw without achieving anything, by

occupying beforehand the routes from Arcadia into Messenia with the citizens from the city itself and all among the surrounding population who had come to their defense.

4.29.12

Philopoemen came much later with a few horsemen, after the army led by Lycortas had already arrived; before he had learned anything of what had befallen them, the Messenians were victorious on their side of the battlefield, which was on their right wing, and they captured Philopoemen alive. By what manner Philopoemen was captured and how he died, I shall relate further, when I later discuss Arcadian traditions. However, the Messenians who were responsible for the death of Philopoemen subsequently paid the penalty, and Messene itself afterward rejoined the Achaean League.

4.29.13

Thus far my account has concerned the many sufferings of the Messenians, and how fortune, after scattering them to the furthest parts of the earth and to the most distant lands beyond the Peloponnese, later restored them in time to their own homeland. Now let me turn from this matter and proceed to the description of the country and cities.

Chapter 30

4.30.1

In our times, in Messenia, there is a town called Abia situated on the coast, roughly twenty stadia distant from the Choiros valley. This city, they say, was originally named Ire, and was among the seven cities that Homer mentions Agamemnon promised to Achilles. After Hyllus and the Dorians were defeated in battle by the Achaeans, it is said that Abia, the nurse of Glenus, son of Heracles, withdrew to Ire, settled there, and established a sanctuary of Heracles. For this reason, Cresphontes later bestowed upon her certain honors, renaming the city after Abia herself. In this place there were notable sanctuaries dedicated to Heracles and Asclepius.

4.30.2

Pharae is seventy stades from Abia, and along this road there is salty water. Emperor Augustus ordered the Messenians at Pharae to pay taxes to Laconia. They say that its founder Pharis was the son of Hermes and Phylodameia, daughter of Danaus. Pharis, however, is said to have had no male children, but only a daughter, Telegone. Homer, in the Iliad, traced the lineage following her, stating that Crethon and Ortilochus were twin sons of Diocles, Diocles himself being the son of Ortilochus, and Ortilochus being the son of Alpheius. But he omits mention of Telegone, who according to the Messenian account was the mother of Ortilochus by Alpheius.

4.30.3

I also heard the following at Pharae: that Diocles had a daughter named Anticleia, who bore twin sons, Nicomachus and Gorgasus, their father being Machaon, son of Asclepius; and that these two stayed there, and upon Diocles' death, succeeded him in the kingship. Even up to this day, it remains with their descendants to heal diseases and cure those who suffer infirmities. Hence, people bring sacrifices and dedicate offerings at their sanctuary in return for these favors. The inhabitants of Pharae also have a temple of Tyche (Fortune) and within it an ancient statue.

4.30.4

Homer is the first poet whom I know who made mention of Tyche in his verses. He did this in the Hymn to Demeter, where, enumerating the other daughters of Ocean who played together with Kore, Demeter's daughter, he says that Tyche also was a daughter of Ocean. His words are as follows: "Then all of us together upon the lovely meadow played, Leukippe, Phaino, and Electra, and Ianthe, Melobosis and Tyche, and blooming-faced Okyrrhoe."

4.30.5

Moreover, he made no further explanation that this goddess is supreme among the gods in human affairs and provides the greatest strength, as indeed in the Iliad he depicted Athena and Enyo as holding leadership in wars, Artemis as fearsome to women in childbirth, and Aphrodite as overseeing the affairs of marriage. But this poet made no other reference to Tyche.

4.30.6

Boupalos, a man excellent in the building of temples as well as in the shaping of figures, was the first–we know of–to depict Fortune in his work for the Smyrnaeans with a polos on her head and grasping in one hand what the Greeks call the horn of Amaltheia. Such was the extent of his portrayal of the goddess. Later, Pindar also sang of Fortune, among other praise, calling her moreover "Pherepolis" (Bearer of Cities).

Chapter 31

4.31.1

A little beyond Pharae is a grove sacred to Apollo Carneius, containing a spring of water. Pharae itself lies approximately six stades distant from the sea. Proceeding inland from here toward the interior of Messenia for about eighty stades, there is the city of the Thuriatae, which, they say, Homer called Antheia in his verses. Augustus granted Thuria to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. For Antonius, also of Roman descent, had waged war against Augustus, who was Emperor of the Romans; and the Messenians, along with other Greeks, sided with Antonius, while the Lacedaemonians favored Augustus.

4.31.2

For these reasons, he dealt harshly with the Messenians, and with the others who had opposed him, some less severely, others even more so. As for the people of Thouria, having descended from their ancient settlement located on high ground, they now dwell in the plain; yet they have not completely abandoned the upper city. Still remaining there are ruins of a wall, and a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess named the Syrian Goddess. Near the city in the plain flows a river named Aris.

4.31.3

In the inland area there is a village called Kalamae and a place named Limnae. At Limnae is a sanctuary ★ of Artemis Limnatis, where, it is said, king Teleclus met his death during his reign at Sparta.

4.31.4

On the way from Thouria towards Arcadia are the springs of the river Pamisos; and at these springs ★ cures are performed for young children. Proceeding from the springs, after advancing about forty stadia, you come to the city of the Messenians beneath Ithome. The city is encompassed not only by Mount Ithome itself, but also by an area facing toward the Pamisos beneath Mount Eva. They say this mountain (Eva) received its name from the Bacchic cry “evoi,” first uttered here by Dionysus himself and the women who accompanied him.

4.31.5

Around Messene there is a surrounding wall built entirely of stone, with towers and battlements ? integrated into it. Now as for the walls of the Babylonians and those called Memnonian at Susa in Persia, I have neither seen them myself nor heard others who were eyewitnesses speak about them; but

I have observed the walls at Ambrossos in Phocis, and those at Byzantium and Rhodes–places indeed fortified in the most excellent manner–and the Messenian walls are stronger than these.

4.31.6

In the marketplace of the Messenians there is a statue of Zeus Soter ("Zeus the Savior") and a spring called Arsinoe. It took its name from the daughter of Leucippus, and water runs into it from a spring called Clepsydra. There are also sanctuaries of gods: one of Poseidon, and another of Aphrodite; and most deserving of mention is a statue of the Mother of the Gods carved from Parian marble, the work of Damophon, who also restored the ivory of the statue of Zeus at Olympia when it had come apart, connecting it again with the greatest precision. Honors were accordingly given to him by the Eleans.

4.31.7

By the same Damophon is also the so-called Laphria among the Messenians; their veneration of her has come to pass from the following cause. Among the Calydonians, Artemis–since they honored this goddess above all others–had the surname Laphria. Now, the Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians–for at that time they were dwelling very near Aetolia–acquired her from the Calydonians. Her appearance I shall describe elsewhere. Thus, the name Laphria came alone among the Messenians and the Patreans of the Achaeans; but as for Artemis Ephesia, many cities worship her.

4.31.8

★? All cities, indeed individuals too, honor this goddess above all other deities. The reasons for this, in my judgment, are firstly the renown of the Amazons, who according to tradition established the image, and secondly the great antiquity of the sanctuary's foundation. Three additional reasons further contributed to its fame: the temple's size, surpassing all man-made constructions; the wealth and prosperity of the city of the Ephesians; and finally, the great prominence of the goddess herself within it.

4.31.9

★ The Messenians have also constructed a temple of Eileithyia and a stone statue of the goddess. Nearby stands the hall of the Curetes, where all kinds of animals alike are offered in sacrifice; indeed, beginning with cattle and goats, they proceed down to birds, casting them into the flames. The Messenians also possess a sacred sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, and statues of the Dioscuri, carrying away the daughters of Leucippus. Previously I have already recounted that the Messenians contest the claim of Sparta to the sons of Tyndareus, insisting instead that the Dioscuri belong rightly to them.

4.31.10

? The sanctuary provides numerous statues, particularly worthy of viewing, dedicated to Asclepius. There are statues of the god himself and of his children; besides these, there are separate statues of Apollo, the Muses, and Heracles. There is also a representation of the city of Thebes, and statues of Epaminondas, son of Cleommides, of Tyche (Fortune), and of Artemis Phosphoros. The figures made of stone were fashioned for them by Damophon, a Messenian–I know of no other Messenian sculptor, besides him, who produced statues worthy of note. The statue of Epaminondas, however, is of iron, and is the work of another artist, not Damophon.

4.31.11

There is also a temple and a statue of Messene, daughter of Triopas, made of gold and Parian marble. ★
On the back wall of the temple are paintings depicting rulers of Messene: Aphareus and his sons, who ruled before the expedition of the Dorians into the Peloponnese; Cresphontes, leader of the Dorian migration when the Heracleidae arrived; and among those who dwelt at Pylos, Nestor, Thrasymedes, and Antilochus, Nestor's sons especially honored for their youth and their participation in the expedition against Troy.

4.31.12

Depicted are Leukippos, the brother of Aphareus, along with Hilaeira and Phoibe, and Arsinoe is with ★
them as well. Also painted is Asklepios, who according to the Messenians' tradition was the son of Arsinoe, and Machaon and Podaleirios, since these two also shared in the expedition against Ilium. These pictures were painted by Omphalion, a pupil of Nikias, son of Nikomedes. Some say Omphalion was also enslaved by Nikias and was his beloved boy.

Chapter 32

4.32.1

The place among the Messenians known as the Hierothesion contains statues of all the gods recognized by the Greeks, and also has a bronze image of Epaminondas. There are ancient tripods here as well, which Homer calls "fireless." In the gymnasium are statues made by Egyptian craftsmen, depicting Hermes, Heracles, and Theseus. Indeed, it has already become customary among all Greeks, and even among many barbarians, to honor these particular gods in connection with gymnasia and wrestling grounds.

4.32.2

I found that Aithidas was older than myself, and as he became a man of no little wealth, he now receives from the Messenians honors appropriate to a hero. However, some among the Messenians claimed that, although Aithidas did indeed attain great wealth, he was not himself the man commemorated on the stele, but rather a forefather of the same name. They say it was this earlier Aithidas who led the Messenians at the very time when Demetrios son of Philip, completely unforeseen by them, secretly entered their city at night with his army.

4.32.3

Here is also the tomb of Aristomenes. They say that the tomb is not empty; and when I inquired in what manner and from what place the bones of Aristomenes had been brought back, they told me that they had sent for them from Rhodes, following an oracle given by the god at Delphi. Furthermore, they described to me the ritual observances they perform at the tomb. A bull, destined for sacrifice, is brought to the tomb and tied to the column standing upon the tomb. Being wild and unaccustomed to bonds, the bull does not willingly remain tied. If, while struggling and leaping about, it moves the column, this signifies good fortune for the Messenians; but if the column remains unmoved, the omen portends misfortunes.

4.32.4

They say also that Aristomenes was present willingly at the battle of Leuctra, though no longer among the living, and the Thebans claim he aided them and was chiefly responsible for the disaster that befell the Lacedaemonians. Now I know that the Chaldeans and the Magi of India were the first to declare the human soul immortal, and certain Greeks adopted this belief from their teachings, most notably Plato, the son of Ariston. If all men should accept this doctrine, it would then be impossible to deny that Aristomenes' hatred for Sparta persisted eternally.

4.32.5

? What I myself heard at Thebes presented some plausibility regarding the account given by the Messenians, but it certainly does not fully agree with their version. The Thebans say that, as the battle at Leuctra was imminent, they sent inquiries to various oracles, and among them they sought counsel from the god at Lebadeia. Accounts are given of responses from the temples of Ismenian Apollo and Ptoan Apollo, in addition to the oracles given at Abae and Delphi. But they report that Trophonius gave a reply in hexameter as follows:

"Before engaging with your enemies in battle, Set up a trophy, adorning it with my shield, The shield which fierce Aristomenes the Messenian Dedicated within my temple. Then shall I Bring ruin upon the shield-bearing ranks of hostile men."

4.32.6

★ When this oracle reached them, they say Epaminondas sought the counsel of Xenocrates; the latter had the shield of Aristomenes brought from Lebadeia and from it raised a trophy, set in clear view for the Lacedaemonians. They recognized the shield, since some of them had previously viewed it quietly at Lebadeia, and everyone had at least heard of it. After the victory went to the Thebans, they gave back the dedication again to Trophonius. A bronze statue of Aristomenes stands in the stadium of the Messenians. Not far from the theater is a sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis.

Chapter 33

4.33.1

As one makes one's way up to the summit of Ithome–the acropolis of the Messenians–there is a spring ★ called Klepsydra. Now, it would be difficult even for someone highly enthusiastic to fully enumerate all those who claim Zeus was born and reared among them; yet the Messenians too have their own tradition. For they say that the god was raised among them, and that Ithome and Neda were the nurses who cared for him. They assert that the river received its name from Neda, while Ithome lent her name to the mountain. They relate that here the nymphs bathed Zeus, who had been stolen away by the Curetes because of fear of his father; and the spring took its name Klepsydra ("Stolen Water") from this theft by the Curetes. Even to this day they carry water daily from the spring to the sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas.

4.33.2

The statue of Zeus is the work of Ageladas, originally made for the Messenians who inhabited Naupactus. Each year they elect a priest for the image, and he keeps the statue in his own home. They also hold an annual festival, the Ithomaia, and in ancient times they established a competition in music as well. Among other evidence for this are the verses of Eumelus; indeed, he composed these lines too in the Processional Hymn to Delos: "For the Muse who delights in Ithome came with pure lyre and free sandals." Thus it seems to me clear that, since he composed such poetry, he was aware of their musical competition.

4.33.3

When you go towards Arcadia, at the gate into Megalopolis there is a statue of Hermes in the Attic ★ style. For the Athenians represented their Herms with a square shape, and other peoples have learned this from them. Thirty stades below the gate flows the river Balyra. They say that the river received its name from Thamyris casting his lyre into it at the time of his blinding. Thamyris was said to be a son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope. This Argiope lived at first around Parnassus, but when she became pregnant, they say that she moved to the Odrysae, for Philammon did not wish to bring her into his house. For this reason Thamyris was called Odrysian and Thracian. The rivers Leukasia and Amphitos join their waters together.

4.33.4

After crossing these places there is a plain called Stenyklerikos; they say that it is named after a hero, ★ Stenykleros. Opposite this plain is the place formerly called Oichalia, but in my time the grove Karnasion,

filled especially with cypresses. Statues of gods there include Apollo Karneios, Hagne, and Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne is an epithet for Kore, the daughter of Demeter. Near the statue itself, water rises from a spring.

4.33.5

★ As for the rites of the Great Goddesses–for they conduct their mysteries also at Karnasion–let these remain secret to me; for I rank them second in sanctity only after the mysteries at Eleusis. But my dream has not prevented me from openly disclosing to everyone that the bronze water-jar, discovered by the Argive general, and the bones of Eurytos, son of Melaneus, were kept there. By Karnasion flows the river Charadros, and going onward, at a distance of eight stadia on the left...

4.33.6

★ The ruins of Andania are especially noteworthy. It is agreed among the guides that the city derived its name from a woman named Andania; however, I am unable to speak precisely concerning her parentage or to whom she was married. Going from Andania toward Cyparissiae, there is a place called Polichne, and rivers named Electra and Coeus flow there. Perhaps one might relate these names to Electra, daughter of Atlas, and Coeus, father of Leto; or else Electra and Coeus could have been local heroes.

4.33.7

★ After crossing the river Elektra, there is a spring called Achaia and the ruins of the city Dorium. Homer has described Dorium as the place where the calamity befell Thamyris, because he boasted that he could surpass even the Muses in singing. Prodicus of Phocaea–if indeed the verses belonging to the "Minyad" are his–relates that Thamyris in Hades endured punishment for his boastfulness against the Muses. As it seems to me, Thamyris lost his sight due to illness, the same misfortune that later befell Homer himself. But Homer continued to compose poetry throughout his life, as he in no way yielded to his misfortune, whereas Thamyris, overwhelmed by his adversity, ceased entirely from song.

Chapter 34

4.34.1

From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisos River is a journey of eighty stades. The Pamisos flows clearly through cultivated fields, and ships can sail up it from the sea for roughly ten stades. At the beginning of spring, the fish from the sea also swim upstream into it. Fish behave similarly in the Rhine and the Maeander rivers, but particularly in the current of the Acheloos, which empties into the sea by the Echinades islands.

4.34.2

Fish of unusually varied appearance ascend the Pamisus, since its waters are clear and differ from those of the aforementioned rivers, whose streams are muddy. Grey mullets, however, being fish that prefer muddy habitats, favor rivers whose waters are cloudier. Greek rivers by nature do not produce wild animals destructive to humans, as do the rivers of India and the Egyptian Nile, as well as the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Phasis. These indeed nurture animals that are among the most dangerous man-eaters, resembling the catfish found in the Hermus and Maeander rivers in shape, but considerably darker in color and greater strength–qualities in which the catfish are lacking.

4.34.3

Both the Indus and the Nile produce crocodiles, and the Nile also brings forth hippopotamuses, a ? creature no less harmful to humans than the crocodile. The rivers of the Greeks, however, contain no terrors arising from beasts. Even the beasts found in the Aoös, which flows through Thesprotian territory on the mainland, are not river dwellers but creatures that enter it from the sea.

4.34.4

Korone is a city situated to the right of the Pamisos River, near the sea and below Mount Mathia. On ★ this route, beside the sea, there is a place believed to be sacred to Ino. They say the goddess herself came ashore here from the sea, already regarded as divine and called Leukothea instead of Ino. Not far ahead, the river Bias flows into the sea; it is said to be named after Bias, the son of Amythaon. The spring of Plataniston lies about twenty stades off the road; its water flows from a broad plane tree, hollow within. The width of the tree is particularly narrow within a small cave-like hollow, from where drinking water flows down towards Korone.

4.34.5

★? The ancient name of the place was indeed Aipeia. But after they had been brought down into the Peloponnese by the Thebans, they say that Epimelides, who had been sent as founder, gave it the name Koroneia, as he himself was from Koroneia in Boeotia. The Messenians, however, did not approve this name from the very beginning, and over time they succeeded still more in rejecting this mistaken naming. Another story is also told, namely that while digging the foundations of the city-wall they came upon a bronze crow ("korone").

4.34.6

? In this place there is a temple of the gods–Artemis, called Paidotrophos ("Child-nurturer"), Dionysus, and Asclepius. The statues of Asclepius and Dionysus are made of stone, but there is a bronze image of Zeus Soter in the marketplace. On the acropolis, an open-air bronze statue of Athena stands, holding a crow in her hand. I saw also the tomb of Epimelides, but for what reason the harbor is called "Achaean," I do not know.

4.34.7

★ About eighty stadia beyond Korone, beside the sea, is a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo, held in considerable honor; for according to Messenians, it is their most ancient temple, and the god heals sicknesses there. They call him Apollo Korynthos. Now, this image is wooden, but the statue of Apollo Argeotas is of bronze; it is said to have been dedicated by those who sailed on the ship Argo.

4.34.8

★ Next to the territory of Korone lies the town of Kolonides. The inhabitants here assert that they are not Messenians; rather, they say they were guided from Attica by Kolainos. According to an oracle, Kolainos was led to the colony by a crested lark, his chosen bird. Nevertheless, through time they inevitably altered both their dialect and customs to those of the Dorians. The settlement of Kolonides stands upon a height, a short distance from the sea.

4.34.9

★ The Asinaeans originally dwelt around Mount Parnassus, neighboring the Lycoreans. They had received the name Dryopes from their founder, which they preserved even after migrating into the Peloponnesus. Later, during the third generation, when Phylas was king, the Dryopes were defeated by Heracles in battle, brought as an offering to Apollo to Delphi, and then transported to the Peloponnesus by Heracles, following an oracle from the god. There they first occupied Asine near Hermione; but driven out from there by the Argives, they settled in Messenia, with the Spartans granting them land after the Messenians eventually had been reduced–though the original city had not been destroyed by them.

4.34.10

★ The Asinaeans themselves relate their story as follows: they admit having been defeated in battle by Heracles and that their city on Parnassus was taken, but they deny that they became prisoners or were taken to Apollo. Rather, they say that when the city walls were being captured by Heracles, they abandoned their town and fled to the heights of Parnassus. Afterwards they crossed by ships into the Peloponnese, became suppliants of Eurystheus, and Eurystheus, because of his hatred for Heracles, gave them Asine in Argolis.

4.34.11

Among the Dryopian race, only the people of Asine boast of the name down to our time; the city of ★
Styra in Euboea does not do so similarly. Indeed, the Styrians too were originally Dryopes, those who had not joined battle against Heracles and whose abodes were distant from the city. Yet the Styrians disdain the designation "Dryopes," just as the people of Delphi have avoided being called "Phocians." But the people of Asine, on the contrary, especially delight in being called Dryopes, and clearly maintain their holiest sanctuaries in memory of those once established upon Parnassus. For they have here a temple of Apollo and there a sanctuary of Dryops and an ancient image. Every year they hold a religious festival in his honor, claiming Dryops as the son of Apollo.

4.34.12

Asine also lies by the sea and occupies a position similar to that formerly held by Asine in Argolis. The journey from Kolonides to Asine is forty stades; a similarly long road runs from Asine to the headland called Akritas. Akritas projects into the sea, and before it lies an uninhabited island named Theganoussa. Beyond Akritas are the harbor Phoinikous and the islands called Oinoussai, lying opposite it.

Chapter 35

4.35.1

Methone, before the Greek expedition was gathered at Troy and the war against Ilium, used to be called Pedasus. It later changed its name, according to the account of the people of Methone themselves, from the daughter of Oeneus. For they say that after the fall of Troy, when Oeneus, the son of Porthaon, withdrew into the Peloponnesus with Diomedes, he had a daughter named Mothone by a concubine. My own opinion, however, is that the place took its name from the Mothon stone. This stone serves for the formation of their harbor, as an underwater reef projecting outward makes the entrance narrower for ships, and at the same time, rising from the deep, it stands as a barrier preventing waves from disturbing the waters within.

4.35.2

And I have mentioned in my earlier account how the Nauplians, having been expelled for their sympathy with Sparta during the reign of Damocratidas in Argos, were granted Mothone by the Lacedaemonians, and how even after the arrival of the Messenians nothing further of significance befell them. The Nauplians appear to me of old Egyptian origin, having originally come to the Argolid with Danaus aboard his ships, and three generations later were settled in Nauplia by Nauplius, son of Amymone.

4.35.3

The emperor Trajan granted to the people of Mothone, who were already free, the right to live under their own autonomy; but sometime further in the past, this particular misfortune befell them alone among the Messenians dwelling upon the seacoast. The affairs of Thesprotian Epirus had fallen into disorder due to the absence of governance; for Deidameia, daughter of Pyrrhus, had borne no children, and when she was near death, entrusted the government to the people. She was the daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemy, who was the son of Alexander, and he in turn was son of Pyrrhus.

4.35.4

As for matters concerning Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, I have already earlier related them in my account of the Athenians. Procles of Carthage, out of admiration for his good fortune and the brilliance of his deeds, assigned to Alexander the son of Philip higher esteem, yet declared that Pyrrhus was superior in deploying infantry and cavalry and in devising military stratagems against an enemy.

4.35.5

When the people of Epirus ceased to be ruled by kings, the common folk began to act insolently in many respects and openly disregarded the commands of their magistrates. Thus the Illyrians, who inhabit the region of Epirus bordering on the Ionian Sea, conquered them through invasion. Indeed, as yet we know of no democracy besides that of Athens that flourished: and the Athenians attained greatness precisely through democracy. For they surpassed the rest of the Greeks by reason of their own good sense, and they least disobeyed the established laws.

4.35.6

The Illyrians, having once tasted power and constantly desiring more, built themselves ships and plundered whomever they might encounter. Coming to anchor at Mothone, as though they were arriving in friendship, they sent a messenger into the city, requesting that wine be brought to their ships. When a small number of men arrived bringing wine, the Illyrians bought it at the price which the people of Mothone set, and themselves sold goods that they had brought with them.

4.35.7

On the following day, when a greater number arrived from the city, they also offered them opportunities to trade. Finally, women and men alike went down to the ships to sell wine and to procure goods from the barbarians in exchange. At this juncture the Illyrians, emboldened, seized many men and even more women, and, loading them into their vessels, sailed away towards the Ionian sea after having desolated the city of the Methonaeans.

4.35.8

★ In Mothone there is a sanctuary of Athena Anemotis ("of the winds"), and it is said that Diomedes dedicated the statue and gave the goddess this name. For the winds, blowing violently and at inappropriate times, were devastating the land. But after Diomedes prayed to Athena, no misfortune arising from the winds befell their country thereafter. Here also is a sanctuary of Artemis and water in a well mixed with pitch, quite similar in appearance to Cyzicene ointment. In fact, the water might produce altogether every kind of coloring and fragrance.

4.35.9

★ The bluest water I have seen is at Thermopylae–not all of it, of course, but only that which flows into the bathing pool known to the locals as the "Women's Pots." Near the city of Joppa, the land of the Hebrews yields water of a tawny color, not at all lacking the hue of blood. This water is very close to the sea, and the local inhabitants tell a story about the spring, that Perseus, after slaying the sea-monster to which Cepheus' daughter had been exposed, washed away the blood here.

4.35.10

I myself have seen water rising from springs that was dark in color, at Astyra. Astyra lies directly opposite Lesbos and contains hot springs located at the place called Atarneus. This region Atarneus was the reward the people of Chios received from the Mede, given after they had betrayed and handed over the suppliant, Pactyes the Lydian. While this water is dark, higher up than the city of the Romans, after crossing the river known as Anio, there is water that is white. When a man first enters this water it strikes him immediately as cold and causes shivering. However, if he remains in it for a little while, it becomes heated, acting like a medicinal remedy due to its intense warmth.

4.35.11

As many springs as seemed to me wonderful even at sight–at least as many as I have seen–I have chosen ?
to relate, for those of lesser wonder I knowingly pass by. Now, to come across water that is salty or harsh to the taste is no great marvel. But two springs I find extraordinary: one, in Caria, situated in the plain called Leucon, near a village named Dascylus, is a spring of hot water sweeter to drink even than milk. The other was reported by Herodotus, who stated that a spring of bitter water discharges into the river Hypanis. How should we not admit his account as truthful, when even in our own days at Dicaearchia, in Etruria, we have discovered a spring so exceedingly hot and acid that its stream, flowing through pipes of lead, in a few years completely melted the metal away?

Chapter 36

4.36.1

From Mothone it is about a hundred stadia to the headland named Coryphasium. Upon this headland ★ stands Pylos. This city was founded by Pylos, son of Cleson, who brought from Megaris the Leleges, who then inhabited it. However, he derived no benefit from this settlement, as he was driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians who came from Iolcus. Departing, he occupied the nearby territory and established the Pylos that lies within Elis. Neleus became king and elevated Pylos to such a height of prestige that Homer himself calls the city "Neleian" in his poems.

4.36.2

Here there is a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Koryphasia, and a house said to belong to Nestor. Inside ★ it, Nestor himself has been depicted. In the city there is also a tomb attributed to him, while outside, a short distance from Pylos, they say there is the tomb of Thrasymedes. Within the city there is moreover a cave, where, they report, Nestor's cattle were stalled, and even before him, those of Neleus.

4.36.3

Now the cattle's breed would seem to have been Thessalian, originally belonging to Iphiklos, father of ★ Protesilaos. Indeed, it was these cows that Neleus demanded as a bridal-gift for his daughter from her suitors; and for their sake Melampus, performing a kindness for his brother Bias, journeyed to Thessaly. While there, Melampus was bound by Iphiklos' herdsmen, yet ultimately received payment for having prophesied for Iphiklos regarding the request he had made. It appears that men in those days were indeed eager to amass wealth of this kind–in herds of horses and cattle–since Neleus greatly desired to possess Iphiklos' cattle, and Eurystheus, in accordance with that desire for cattle, ordered Heracles, as is famed, to drive back from Iberia the herd belonging to Geryon.

4.36.4

It appears that at that time Eryx was ruling in Sicily, and he bore such a vehement passion for the cattle ★ from Erytheia that he even wrestled against Herakles, having set as stakes for their wrestling-match these cattle and his own kingdom. Homer also relates in the Iliad how Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, initially gave one hundred cattle to his father-in-law as bride-price. This story supports my assertion that in ancient times humans valued cattle most highly.

4.36.5

But in my opinion, the cattle of Neleus generally grazed beyond the borders; for the land of the Pylians is almost entirely sandy and unable to supply enough pasture for cattle. Homer also testifies to this for me, who, whenever mentioning Nestor, always calls him king of "sandy Pylos."

4.36.6

The island Sphacteria lies off the harbor, much as Rheneia does off the anchorage of Delos. Human fortunes seem often to cause places previously obscure to attain renown. Thus, the name of Caphereus in Euboea became famous from the storm that befell the Greeks with Agamemnon there as they were returning from Troy; Psyttaleia, near Salamis, is likewise known due to the destruction of the Medes upon it. Similarly, Sphacteria became well-known through the misfortune of the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians set up in bronze a statue of Victory upon the Acropolis in memory of the events at Sphacteria.

4.36.7

Coming from Pylos to Cyparissiae, they have a fountain beneath the city near the sea. They say this water sprang forth for Dionysus when he struck the earth with his thyrsus, and for this reason they call the fountain Dionysias. At Cyparissiae there is also a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Athena, surnamed Cyparissia. In a place called Aulon is a temple of Asclepius and a statue called Aulonius. Near this spot the river Neda flows, forming at this point the boundary between Messenia and Elis.

Part V

Book 5: Elis I

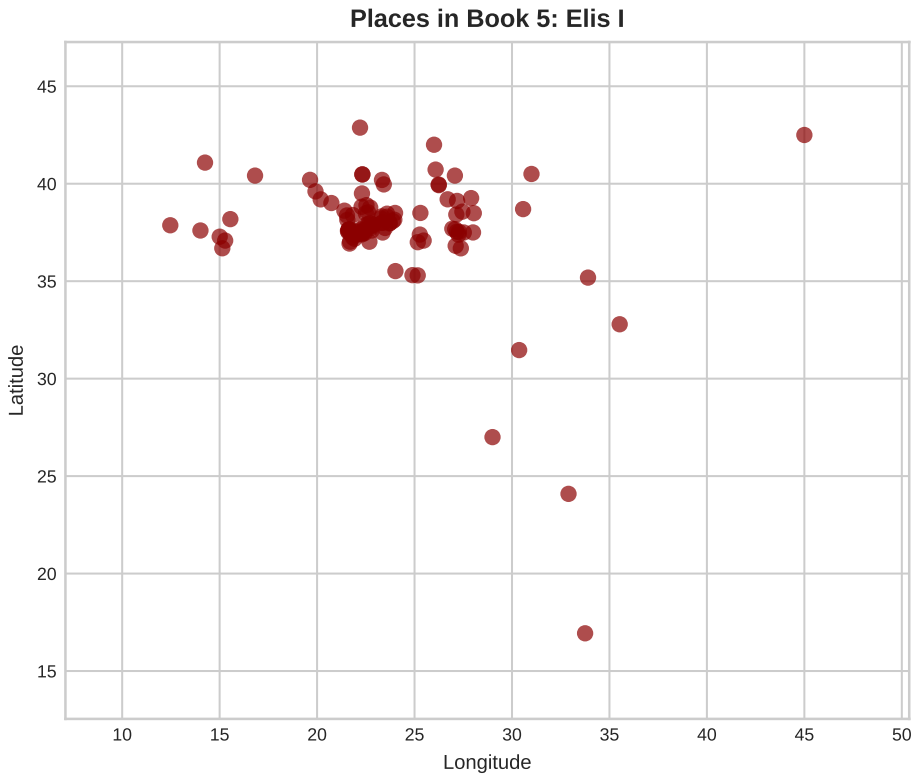

Figure 144.1: Places mentioned in Book 5: Elis I

Chapter 1

5.1.1

As for those Greeks who say that the Peloponnese consists of five divisions and no more, they are compelled to admit that the Eleans and Arcadians occupy one of them–the Arcadian; the second is that of the Achaeans; and upon these follow the three Dorian divisions. Now, the peoples occupying the Peloponnese are the Arcadians and the Achaeans, both originally indigenous. Of these, the Achaeans were displaced from their homeland by the Dorians, yet they did not at least depart from the Peloponnese entirely; instead, expelling the Ionians, they settled what was formerly called Aegialos, but now is named from these Achaeans.

5.1.2

But the Arcadians, from the beginning and even up to this day, continue to inhabit their original land; the other parts of the Peloponnese belong to immigrant peoples. Indeed, the Corinthians are now the youngest inhabitants of the Peloponnese; and, from the time they received their land from the king down to my time, it was two hundred and seventeen years. As to the Dryopians and the Dorians, the former came from Parnassus, and the Dorians came from Oeta to the Peloponnese.

5.1.3

We know that the Eleans came across from Calydon and the rest of Aetolia; but concerning yet earlier times, I discovered the following about them. They say that the first to rule in this land was Aethlius, who was the son of Zeus and of Protogeneia, daughter of Deucalion, and that Endymion was the son of Aethlius.

5.1.4

They say that Selene fell in love with this Endymion, and that by the goddess he had fifty daughters. Others, however, giving an account that seems somewhat more credible, say that Endymion married Asterodia,–though some say it was Chromia, daughter of Itonus son of Amphictyon, and others Hyperippe, daughter of Arcas,–and had sons named Paeon, Epeius, and Aetolus, as well as a daughter named Eurycyda. Endymion established at Olympia a race among his sons for the rule; in this race Epeius won and took over the kingdom. And thus for the first time those under his rule were called Epeians.

5.1.5

As for the brothers, some say one of them remained there, but that Paeon, vexed at his defeat, went into exile as far away as possible, and the land beyond the river Axius was named Paeonia after him. Concerning the death of Endymion, the accounts given by the Heracleots near Miletus differ from those of the Eleans: the Eleans point out a tomb of Endymion, but the Heracleots state that he withdrew into Mount Latmus, and there they hold celebrations in his honour, and there is in Latmus a sanctuary sacred to Endymion.

5.1.6

Epeius married Anaxiroe, the daughter of Coronus, who bore him a daughter named Hyrmina, but no male offspring. Other events also occurred during the reign of Epeius. Oenomaus, son of Alxion–though the poets affirm he was the son of Ares, a belief generally held by most people–who had ruled in the region called Pisa, was dispossessed of his power upon the coming of Pelops the Lydian from Asia.

5.1.7

After the death of Oenomaüs, Pelops obtained the land of Pisa and Olympia, having separated it from the territory of the Epeians, which bordered upon Pisa. The Eleans said that Pelops was the first in the Peloponnese to build a temple to Hermes and offer sacrifices to the god, seeking thereby to avert the divine wrath arising from the death of Myrtilus.

5.1.8

After Epeius, Aetolus became king, but he was forced to flee from the Peloponnese because the sons of Apis prosecuted him for involuntary bloodshed. For Aetolus had killed Apis, the son of Jason from Pallantium in Arcadia, by running him over with his chariot during the funeral games held in honor of Azan. Due to the flight of Endymion's son Aetolus into this land, the inhabitants dwelling near the river Achelous received the name Aetolians. When he departed, Eleius succeeded to the kingship of the Epeians. Eleius was the son of Eurycyda, daughter of Endymion, and–if one is to trust such matters–the son of Poseidon. From him, the people changed their name from Epeians to Eleans, the name they bear until this day.

5.1.9

Augeas was an Elean; but those who glorify him distort his origin from "Elean," claiming instead that Augeas was the son of the Sun (Helios). Augeas possessed such numbers of cattle and goats that eventually, due to the dung produced by his herds, much of his land had become uncultivated and waste. Therefore, either in return for a share of Elis or for some other wage, he persuaded Heracles to clear the land of the dung.

5.1.10

And he accomplished this task by diverting the stream of the river Menius into the dung. Augeas, however, claiming that Heracles had completed the work more through cunning and not through toil himself, refused to give him the agreed wage. Moreover, he banished his eldest son, Phyleus, who protested against his father's unjust behavior toward a man who had benefited them. Augeas himself also prepared in other ways to defend against Heracles, should he wage war against Elis, and brought into alliance the sons of Actor and Amarynkeus.

5.1.11

Amarynceus was otherwise skilled in warfare, and his father, Pyttius, was a Thessalian by origin, who ★
had come to Elis from Thessaly. Augeas indeed granted Amarynceus a share of authority in Elis. As for
Actor and his sons, their lineage was native-born, and they held kingly authority; for Actor was the son
of Phorbas son of Lapithus, and his mother was Hyrmine, daughter of Epeius. Actor founded in Elis
the city Hyrmina, which he named after her.

Chapter 146

Chapter 2

5.2.1

Heracles gained no distinguished advantage while waging war against Augeas; for the sons of Actor, ★
excelling both in courage and in the vigor of youth, continually routed the forces allied with Heracles, until such time as the Corinthians proclaimed the Isthmian truce. When the sons of Actor came as spectators to attend the games, Heracles ambushed and killed them at Cleonae. Since the perpetrator of this crime remained unknown, their mother Moline made every possible effort to discover who had actually committed the murder of her sons.

5.2.2

When the Eleans learned of this, they demanded satisfaction from the Argives for the murder, since at ★
that time Heracles happened to be dwelling in Tiryns. As the Argives refused to grant them justice, the Eleans next urged the Corinthians to exclude the entire Argive people from participating in the Isthmian contests. When this effort also failed, it is said that Molione pronounced a curse upon her fellow-citizens if they refused to abstain from the Isthmian games. Even to the present day, the Eleans observe this curse of Molione, and none of them who practice athletics are permitted to enter the Isthmian competitions.

5.2.3

There are two other traditions differing from that already mentioned. One of these accounts says that ?
Cypselus, tyrant of the Corinthians, dedicated a golden statue to Zeus at Olympia; but as Cypselus died before inscribing his own name upon the offering, the Corinthians asked permission of the Eleans to inscribe publicly upon the offering the name of their city. When this permission was refused, the Corinthians became angry with the Eleans and declared beforehand that they were barred from the Isthmian Games. How, then, could the Corinthians themselves have had access to the Olympic Games, if indeed they excluded the Eleans unwillingly from the Isthmian festival?

5.2.4

Another of the accounts says that Philanthus and Lampus were sons of Prolaus, born to a notable ?
Eleian man and his wife Lysippe. When these two came to compete in the boys' pankration at the Isthmian Games–one intended to wrestle–they were strangled or otherwise murdered by their rivals before they entered the competition. Thus arose the curse pronounced by Lysippe upon the Eleians, if ever they should unwillingly abstain from the Isthmian Games. This story too clearly shows itself to be absurd.

5.2.5

For the Elean, Timon, won victories in the pentathlon at the Greek games, and he has a statue in Olympia as well as an elegiac couplet. This elegy records how many crowns Timon won, and indeed describes also the reason why he did not participate in an Isthmian victory. The elegiac couplet includes this verse:

"But a quarrel over the deadly fate of the Molionidae prevented the man from going to the land of Sisyphus."

Let this suffice regarding this topic.

Chapter 3

5.3.1

Later Heracles captured and destroyed Elis, gathering a force from Argos, Thebes and Arcadia. The people of Pylos in Elis and the Pisatans fought alongside the Eleans. Heracles took vengeance upon those who opposed him, but when he was about to march against the Pisatans, he was restrained by an oracle from Delphi which declared as follows:

"Pisa belongs to my father; I care for Pytho by its glens."

This oracle thus became the salvation of the Pisatans. Heracles restored the territory of Elis to Phyleus, along with everything else, more out of respect for Phyleus than willingly on his own part; he also allowed him to keep the captives and exempted Augeas from punishment.

5.3.2

The women of Elis, since their land had been left barren of men of suitable age, are said to have prayed to Athena that they would become pregnant swiftly upon mating with their husbands. This prayer was fulfilled for them, and they established a sanctuary of Athena, giving her the surname "Mother." Greatly rejoicing, both the women and the men, at their union, they named the very place where they first joined each other "Bady," and gave the same name "Bady"–in the local tongue–to a river flowing there.

5.3.3

When Phyleus, after establishing affairs in Elis, retired again to Dulichium, Augeas met his destined end, advanced in old age. Then Agasthenes, son of Augeas, received the kingship of the Eleans along with Amphimachus and Thalpius. For the sons of Actor had brought as wives into their house twin sisters, daughters of Dexamenus, who reigned at Olenus; and from Theronice was born Amphimachus, while Thalpius was born to Eurytus from Theraephone.

5.3.4

Neither did Amarynceus himself remain in private life, nor did his son Diores, the son of Amarynceus. Homer indicates this clearly in the Catalogue of the Eleans, making their total fleet amount to forty ships, half of which he assigns to Amphimachus and Thalpius; of the remaining twenty, ten ships are commanded by Diores, son of Amarynceus, and the other ten by Polyxenus, son of Agasthenes. Polyxenus, upon returning safely from Troy, had a son named Amphimachus; and it seems to me that Polyxenus gave this name to the child because of the friendship he had for Amphimachus, son of Cteatus, who had died at Ilium. This Amphimachus became an Elean.

5.3.5

★ During the reign of Eleius in Elis, at that time the Dorian expedition under the sons of Aristomachus was assembling for its descent into the Peloponnesus. The following oracle was delivered to their kings: they should select as leader of the descent the one who possessed three eyes. While they were in perplexity as to the oracle's meaning, a man driving a mule happened to encounter them; one of the mule's eyes had been lost.

5.3.6

★ Since Cresphontes also agreed that the oracle referred to this man, accordingly the Dorians entered into friendly relations with him. He advised them to sail to the Peloponnesus in ships and not attempt passage through the Isthmus with a land army. Not only did he offer this counsel, but he also guided them on the voyage from Naupactus to Molycrium. In return for this favor, at his request, they agreed to give him the land of Elis. This man was Oxylus, son of Haimon, the son of Thoas. This Thoas was the very one who joined with the sons of Atreus in overthrowing the kingdom of Priam. Counting back from Thoas, there are six generations ascending to Aetolus, the son of Endymion.

5.3.7

★ Indeed, the Heracleidae were otherwise related to the royal family in Aetolia, as their mothers were sisters, the mother of Thoas son of Andraimon and the mother of Hyllus son of Heracles. It happened also that Oxylus was an exile from Aetolia; for they say that, while throwing a discus, he missed his aim and accidentally committed homicide, and that the man who died from the discus was Thermios, Oxylus' brother, though some say it was Alcidocus, son of Scopius.

Chapter 148

Chapter 4

5.4.1

Another story is also told regarding Oxylus, namely that he distrusted the sons of Aristomachus, suspecting that if they saw Elis, fertile and entirely cultivated, they would no longer wish to grant him the land. For this reason Oxylus guided the Dorians through Arcadia rather than through Elis. When Oxylus sought to seize the rule over the Eleans without a fight, Dius would not yield; instead, he proposed a challenge–rather than risking their entire armies, each side should select a single warrior for the battle.

5.4.2

And somehow these events served the interests of both parties. Those appointed beforehand for the contest were Degmenos, an Elean archer, and Pyraichmes, an Aetolian skilled with the sling. When Pyraichmes prevailed, Oxylos gained the kingdom; while in all other respects he allowed the original inhabitants, the Epeians, to remain in their positions, he settled the Aetolians among them through a redistribution of the land. He assigned honorary rites to Diós, and preserved for the other heroes the ancient honours due to them; indeed, the commemorative rites for Augeas continue to our own day.

5.4.3

It is said that he persuaded even the inhabitants from the villages, those which were situated not far from the wall, to move down into the city, thus making Elis both greater in population and larger and wealthier in all respects. Indeed, an oracle came to him from Delphi instructing him to bring in a descendant of Pelops as co-founder. Oxylus eagerly undertook the search, and in seeking he discovered Agorius, son of Damasius, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes; and from Helice of Achaea Oxylus brought Agorius himself, along with a small company of Achaeans.

5.4.4

They say the name of Oxylus' wife was Pieria, but beyond this they do not mention anything regarding her. Oxylus is said to have had two sons, Aetolus and Laias. Aetolus died before his parents, and they buried him within the very gate that leads towards Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus, constructing his tomb within it. They buried him thus according to an oracle, so that the corpse might be neither outside nor inside the city. The Gymnasiarch even in my own time continues to perform annual offerings for Aetolus.

5.4.5

? After Oxylus, Laias, the son of Oxylus, succeeded to the throne. However, I did not find any of his descendants continuing as kings; though aware of them, I intentionally pass them over, as I have no wish to descend my narrative to common individuals. Much later, Iphitus–a descendant of Oxylus and a contemporary of Lycurgus, who composed the laws for the Spartans–restored the contest at Olympia, renewing from the start the Olympic festival and reestablishing the sacred truce, which had lapsed for a considerable period of time. I will explain the reason why the Olympic games fell into disuse in the section concerning Olympia.

5.4.6

★? When Greece was then particularly ravaged by civil strife and an epidemic disease, Iphitos resolved to ask the god at Delphi for relief from these evils. The Pythian priestess commanded Iphitos himself, together with the Eleans, to renew the Olympic festival. Iphitos convinced the Eleans to sacrifice to Herakles, though previously they had regarded Herakles as their enemy. There is an inscription at Olympia which states that Iphitos was a son of Haimon, but most Greeks say that he was the son of Praxonides and not Haimon. However, ancient Elean writings trace Iphitos back to a father of the same name.

5.4.7

The Eleans took part both in the Trojan War and in the later struggle of the Greeks against the Persian invasion. After overcoming the many dangers they faced from the Pisatans and Arcadians concerning the administration of the Olympic festival, they unintentionally sided with Sparta against Athens, but soon thereafter allied themselves with the Mantineans and Argives against the Spartans, even drawing Athens into this alliance.

5.4.8

During the military expedition of Agis into their territory and the treachery of Xenias, the Eleans prevailed in battle around Olympia, defeating the Lacedaemonians and driving them in flight from the sacred precinct. Afterward, within a period of time, the war was ended according to the terms of the treaty which I previously explained in my account of the Lacedaemonians.

5.4.9

When Philip, son of Amyntas, was unwilling to abstain from involvement in Greece, the Eleans, weakened by internal strife among themselves, joined the alliance of the Macedonians; yet they did not endure taking the field against the Greeks at Chaeronea. But when Philip advanced against the Lacedaemonians, they participated in the campaign due to their ancient hostility towards them. After Alexander's death, they fought alongside the Greeks against the Macedonians and Antipater.

Chapter 5

5.5.1

Some time later Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus and grandson of Etymon, gained the tyranny in Elis, aided in his coup by Antigonus the son of Demetrius, who was king of Macedonia at that time. After Aristotimus had ruled as a tyrant for six months, he was overthrown when Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis, and Cylon rose in revolt against him; Cylon himself slew the tyrant with his own hand when Aristotimus had taken refuge as a suppliant at the altar of Zeus the Savior. Such, then, were the affairs of war among the Eleans, as I thought fit to recount them briefly at this point.

5.5.2

One might marvel in the land of Elis at their flax, firstly because it grows here and nowhere else in Greece, and secondly that their mares conceive from asses only outside their borders and never within their own land. The latter is said to be caused by a certain curse; as for the flax produced in Elis, it is not inferior in delicacy to that of the Hebrews, although it is not equally yellow.

5.5.3

As one travels from Elis, there is a district extending down toward the sea called Samicum, and on the right, above it, is the region known as Triphylia, within which lies the city of Lepreus. Now, the Lepreans wish to be considered part of Arcadia, though from ancient times they clearly had been subject to the Eleans; indeed, whenever any Leprean was victorious at Olympia, the herald proclaimed him as an Elean from Lepreus. Aristophanes also represented Lepreus as a town of the Eleans. The route to Lepreus from Samicum leaves the Anigrus River on the left; there is another road from Olympia, and a third from Elis, which is the longest, taking a full day's journey.

5.5.4

They say that the city was named after its founder Lepreus, son of Pyrgeus. It is also said that Lepreus had contended with Heracles, claiming he was Heracles' equal in eating. When each of them slaughtered a bull in equal time and prepared it for dinner, and Lepreus proved himself equal to Heracles in eating, as he had asserted, he thereafter dared to challenge Heracles also to a contest of arms. They relate that Lepreus was defeated in the fight and killed, and buried among the Phigalians; although, indeed, the Phigalians themselves could no longer identify Lepreus' tomb.

5.5.5

★? But I have also heard that Lepreus attributed its founding to Leprea, daughter of Pyrgeus. Others say that when people first settled in this land, they were afflicted by a disease, leprosy (lepra), and that the city took its name from this calamity which befell its inhabitants. The Lepreans said that they had in their city a temple of Zeus Leukaios (Of Leukas), and the tomb of Lykourgos, son of Aleus, and another tomb of Kaukon; upon Kaukon's tomb was a statue of a man holding a lyre.

5.5.6

★ In my time there was neither a notable tomb nor a shrine dedicated to any of the gods among them, except indeed one to Demeter; even this was constructed of unbaked brick and contained no image at all. Not far from the city of the Lepreans is a spring called Arene, and they say the spring was named after the wife of Aphareus.

5.5.7

Turning back again towards Samicum and traversing this area, one finds the river Anigrus flowing into the sea. The swift winds blowing in from the open sea frequently block the flow of this river, driving sand along its course and hindering the current from moving forward. Thus, whenever the sand becomes waterlogged both on the seaside from the ocean and inland by the river itself, there arises a danger that pack animals, and even more so lightly equipped men, may be engulfed in it.

5.5.8

This Anigrus river comes down from Mount Lapithus in Arcadia, providing from its very source water of a disagreeable nature, indeed terribly foul-smelling. It is clearly evident that before receiving the stream called Acidas, it sustains no fish at all; after the Acidas flows into it, whatever fish come down into the Anigrus along with its waters become no longer edible for humans, though previously, when caught upstream in the Acidas, they were suitable for eating.

5.5.9

? As to the river Acidas having formerly borne the name Iardanus, I myself could not conjecture from any source; I merely repeat what I heard from a certain Ephesian. Regarding the Anigrus, I am convinced that the unusual nature of its odor is due to the earth through which its water rises. Such is also the cause affecting the springs located beyond Ionia, whose vapor is deadly to humans.

5.5.10

★? Among the Greeks, some say it was Chiron, others say it was another centaur named Pylenor who, wounded by the arrows of Heracles, washed his injury in this water after fleeing; and from the venom of the hydra the Anigrus acquired its unpleasant odor. Others attribute the cause of the river's affliction to Melampus, son of Amythaon, and the items used in the purification of the daughters of Proetus, which were thrown into it.

5.5.11

★ In Samikum there is a cave not far from the river, called after the Nymphs Anigrides. Anyone afflicted with alphos or leuk (skin diseases) who enters this cave is required first of all to pray to the Nymphs and to pledge some kind of sacrifice. Afterwards, he wipes clean the diseased parts of his body, then swims

across the river, leaving behind the affliction in the water. He emerges healthy and with his complexion restored to normal.

Chapter 6

5.6.1

Crossing the Anigrus and proceeding along the straight road to Olympia, not far ahead on the right side of the road there is a high place, and upon it the city Samia, belonging to the people of Samicum. At this Samicum, they say, Polyspérchon, an Aetolian man, used a fortress against the Arcadians.

5.6.2

Neither of the Messenians nor of the Eleans was able clearly to identify for me the ruins of Arene. Concerning this city, different persons have differing and contradictory conjectures to offer. To me, however, the most convincing account seemed that of those who believe that Samicum was originally and even down to heroic times called Arene. These people referred to certain lines from the Iliad:

"There is a river Minyeios that empties into the sea near Arene." (Homer, Iliad 11.722-723)

5.6.3

These ruins lie very close to the Anigrus River. Now, though one might dispute that Samicum was once called Arene, the Arcadians themselves do agree that the river Anigrus was originally named Minyeius. One might also reasonably be convinced that, from the time of the Heracleidae's invasion into the Peloponnese, the boundary between the Eleans and Messenia on the coast has been at the river Neda.

5.6.4

After crossing the Anigrus, and then traveling onward for some distance through land mostly sandy in nature and covered with wild pine trees, you will see on your left behind you the ruins of Skillous. Skillous was one of the cities of Triphylia. During the war between the Pisatans and the Eleans, the inhabitants of Skillous openly allied themselves with the Pisatans, becoming enemies of Elis; therefore, on account of these events, the Eleans utterly destroyed their city.

5.6.5

Later the Lacedaemonians, having separated Scillus from Elis, gave it to Xenophon, the son of Grylus, who had already become an exile from Athens. Xenophon had been banished by the Athenians because he had joined an expedition led by Cyrus, who was the people's greatest enemy, and who was regarded as favoring the Persian king against them. For Cyrus, staying at Sardis, had provided financial support to Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and to the Lacedaemonians for the equipment of their fleet. On

account of these things Xenophon was exiled; afterwards, having settled at Scillus, he established there a precinct, a shrine, and a temple dedicated to Artemis of Ephesus.

5.6.6

? Skillous provides hunting grounds for wild beasts, including wild boars and deer; and the river Selinous flows through the land of Skillous. The Elean interpreters declare that the Eleans recovered Skillous, and that Xenophon, having received the land from the Lacedaemonians, was put on trial before the Olympic council, but was pardoned by the Eleans and allowed to continue dwelling securely at Skillous. Indeed, a little distance away from the temple, a tomb was also shown, and upon it was placed a statue carved from Pentelic marble; local residents say that this statue represents Xenophon himself.

5.6.7

? On the road to Olympia, before crossing the Alpheios, there is, coming from Skillous, a mountain with high, precipitous rocks; this mountain is called Typaion. According to local law, from this mountain the Eleans cast down any women who are caught having come to watch the Olympic games, or even those found to have crossed the Alpheios river at all during the days that are forbidden to them. Nevertheless, they say that no woman has ever been caught, except only Kallipateira; though there are indeed some who say this same woman was named Pherenike, and not Kallipateira.

5.6.8

After her husband had died, she disguised herself completely, taking on the likeness of a male trainer, and she brought her son to Olympia to compete. When her son Peisirodus was victorious, Callipateira jumped over the barrier that enclosed the trainers, and her clothing came loose, revealing her as a woman. Once she was discovered to be female, they acquitted her without punishment, out of respect for her father, her brothers, and her son, all of whom were Olympic victors. However, they established a law for the future: that trainers must enter the competition area naked.

Chapter 7

5.7.1

Upon arriving at Olympia, you find here that the water of the Alpheios is already abundant and very pleasant to look upon, being especially sweet because seven rivers flow into it, rivers remarkable among others and particularly worthy of mention. The Helisson flows through Megalopolis and empties into the Alpheios; the Brentheates comes from the territory of the Megalopolitans; the Gortynios river passes near Gortys, where the sanctuary of Asklepios is; the Bouphagos river rises from Melaineai, located between the Megalopolitan and Heraean lands; the Ladon flows from the district of Kleitor; and the Erymanthos, flowing from the mountain of the same name. All these rivers descend from Arkadia into the Alpheios, while the Kladeos, flowing from Elis, mingles its stream with it. The sources of the Alpheios itself are in Arkadian territory, not in Elis.

5.7.2

Other tales about Alpheios are as follows: they say he was a hunter who fell in love with Arethousa, ★
herself a huntress; but Arethousa, unwilling to marry him, crossed over to the island near Syracuse called Ortygia, and there was transformed from a human into a spring. Through love, Alpheios too experienced the same transformation and became a river.

5.7.3

So much for the story regarding Alpheios and Ortygia. However, that the river passing through the sea ★
arrives there and mixes its water with the spring, this I find impossible to disbelieve, knowing that the god at Delphi himself confirmed such a thing. For it was he who, when sending Archias the Corinthian to found the settlement at Syracuse, delivered these verses:

"An isle called Ortygia lies on the misty sea, above Thrinacia, where the mouth of Alpheios gushes forth, mingling with the streams of wide-flowing Arethousa."

Thus, because the waters of Alpheios indeed mingle with Arethousa, I accept also the tradition of the river's love.

5.7.4

As many Greeks or Egyptians as have ascended to Ethiopia beyond Syene, and to Meroë, the Ethiopian ?
city, these say that the Nile, having entered a lake and having passed through it, as though traversing a dry land, afterwards flows through Lower Ethiopia and Egypt, and descends into the sea near Pharos and the waters around it. And I myself know in the land of the Hebrews a river called the Jordan,

flowing through a lake named Tiberias, then entering another lake called the Dead Sea, where its waters are consumed in this lake.

5.7.5

But the Dead Sea has properties exactly opposite those of all other waters; for creatures naturally float upon it without swimming, whereas dead bodies sink to the depths. The lake is barren and devoid even of fish, for fleeing from the most obvious danger, they retreat back into their native waters. Similar to the Alpheus is another water in Ionia. This water has its source on Mount Mycale; after traversing the intervening sea, it emerges again at Branchidae, near the harbor called Panormus.

5.7.6

★ These matters then stand as I have described. Concerning the Olympic games, those Eleans who are most versed in ancient traditions say that Cronus was the first to hold sovereignty in heaven, and that a temple to Cronus was erected at Olympia by the men of that age, who were called the Golden Race. When Zeus was born, Rhea entrusted the child's protection to the Idaean Dactyls, who are also called Curetes. They came from Ida in Crete, and their names were Heracles, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Iasius, and Idas.

5.7.7

★ While Heracles was playing–since he was indeed the eldest by age–he set his brothers to compete in a running race, and crowned the victor among them with a branch of wild olive. They had an abundance of olive leaves so great that they covered themselves still fresh while they slept. It is said that this olive was brought from the land of the Hyperboreans by Heracles to the Greeks, and that these people live beyond the North Wind.

5.7.8

★ First, Olen the Lycian, in the hymn he composed to Achaia, sang that Achaia came to Delos from these Hyperboreans. After this, Melanopus of Cyme composed a song about Opis and Hekaerge, telling that these women, too, came from the Hyperboreans to Delos even earlier than Achaia.

5.7.9

★ Aristeas of Proconnesus–for he also made mention of the Hyperboreans–likely learned even more about them from the Issedonians, whom he claims in his poem to have visited. Thus, the tradition attributes to Heracles the Idaean the first establishment of the contest at that time, as well as its naming as "Olympic." He ordained that it should be held every fifth year because he himself and his brothers numbered five in all.

5.7.10

★ Some say that it was here that Zeus wrestled with Cronus himself for sovereignty, but others say that Zeus established the games after he had already secured rule. Among those reputed as victors is Apollo, who is said to have defeated Hermes in a footrace and to have overcome Ares in boxing. For this reason, they say, the Pythian flute melody was introduced into the pentathlon during the long jump, as the flute melody was sacred to Apollo, who had himself won victories at Olympia.

Chapter 152

Chapter 8

5.8.1

After these events, about fifty years after the great flood that befell the Greeks during Deucalion's time, it is said that Clymenus, son of Cardys, came from Crete–he who traced his lineage back to Heracles of Ida. They say he established the contest at Olympia, and built an altar there for the Curetes and for Heracles, his own ancestor, giving Heracles the surname "Parastates" (the Helper). Endymion, son of Aethlius, however, deposed Clymenus from power and established royal authority at Olympia as the prize in a footrace among his own sons.

5.8.2

After Endymion, it was Pelops who later established the contest for Olympian Zeus in a manner most distinguished among all who preceded him. When the sons of Pelops became scattered from Elis throughout the rest of the Peloponnese, Amythaon, son of Cretheus and cousin to Endymion on his father's side–for they say that Aethlius too was a son of Aeolus, though called a son of Zeus–Amythaon established the Olympic games, and after him Pelias and Neleus jointly maintained them.

5.8.3

Augeas also established competitions, as did Heracles, son of Amphitryon, after conquering Elis. Among the victors crowned by him was Iolaus, who raced driving the horses belonging to Heracles. From ancient times indeed, it was an established practice to compete even with horses belonging to another. Homer, for example, in describing the games organized in honor of Patroclus, relates how Menelaus competed with Agamemnon's mare Aethe, while the other horse yoked with her was his own.

5.8.4

Iolaus also served otherwise as a charioteer, driving horses for Heracles. Hence, he personally won with his chariot, while Iasius, an Arcadian man, won the mounted horse-race. Among the sons of Tyndareus, one was victorious in the foot-race, while Polydeuces prevailed in boxing. It is also said that Heracles himself won victories in both wrestling and the pankration.

5.8.5

After Oxylus–for Oxylus had indeed settled the contest–the Olympic games died out following his reign until the time of Iphitus. But when Iphitus renewed the festival according to the manner that I

have already described, men still remained forgetful of ancient customs; only gradually did they begin to recollect these traditions, and whenever they recalled something of the past, they added it to the contest.

5.8.6

The evidence for this is quite clear. For from the time when the continuous records of the Olympiads began, the first competitions held were those in running, and the Elean Coroebus was victorious. There is indeed no statue of Coroebus at Olympia, but his tomb is at the boundaries of Elis. At the fourteenth Olympiad after this, the double-stadion race was added, and Hypenos of Pisa won the olive wreath in the double-stadion. In the Olympiad immediately thereafter, Acanthus of Sparta won the dolichos race.

5.8.7

In the eighteenth Olympiad, the pentathlon and wrestling events were introduced into memory; Lampis won the pentathlon, and Eurybatus was victorious in wrestling, both men Spartans. In the twenty-third Olympiad, they awarded prizes for boxing, and Onomastus of Smyrna, which by then already belonged to the Ionians, won. In the twenty-fifth Olympiad, they included a race for full-grown horses, and Pagondas of Thebes was declared victorious with his chariot.

5.8.8

? In the eighth Olympiad after this one, they admitted a man for the pankration and a horse for the riding race. The horse, in fact, was entered by Krauxidas from Krannon, and Lygdamis of Syracuse overcame those who competed in the pankration. There is a monument to this man beside the stone quarries at Syracuse; whether indeed Lygdamis equaled the stature of Heracles of Thebes, I cannot say, but this is what the Syracusans report.

5.8.9

Regarding the contests for boys, no tradition reaches back into the more ancient times, but the Eleans themselves established them according to their preference. Prizes for running and wrestling for boys were first introduced during the thirty-seventh Olympiad; Hipposthenes of Sparta was victorious in wrestling, and Polyneikes of Elis in running. In the forty-first Olympiad, they first introduced boxing for the boys, and Philytas from Sybaris defeated the other contestants.

5.8.10

The race of armored infantry (hoplitodromos) was first introduced at the sixty-fifth Olympiad, in my opinion as training for warfare. Damaretus of Heraea was the first victor in this race, in which the contestants ran with shields. The contest of chariots drawn by a pair of fully grown horses was instituted at the ninety-third Olympiad, and Evagoras of Elis was victorious in it. At the ninety-ninth Olympiad, a chariot race drawn by foals was also adopted, and Sybariades the Lacedaemonian won the crown with the chariot of foals.

5.8.11

Later on they added a two-horse chariot race for colts, as well as a riding race with colts. They say that Belistiche, a woman from maritime Macedonia, was proclaimed victor with the two-colt chariot, and Tlepolemus the Lycian won the riding race, he at the one hundred thirty-first Olympiad, and Belistiche's

chariot three Olympiads earlier. At the one hundred forty-fifth Olympiad a boys' pankration contest was introduced, and Phaedimus, an Aeolian from a city in the Troad, was victorious.

Chapter 153

Chapter 9

5.9.1

At Olympia, certain contests were abandoned, as they ceased to please the Eleans who oversaw them. For example, the boys' pentathlon, introduced at the thirty-eighth Olympiad, was no longer acceptable to the Eleans after Eutelidas, a Spartan, took the olive wreath in the event, so they no longer permitted boys to compete in the pentathlon. Likewise, regarding the chariot race for mules (apene) and the race for mares (kalpe), the former established in the seventieth Olympiad and the mare race in the one immediately following, a proclamation was made at the eighty-fourth Olympiad that henceforth there would be neither kalpe nor apene race. The first victor of the mule-chariot race was Thersios, a Thessalian; in the mare-race, Pataikos, an Achaean from Dyme, was victorious.

5.9.2

The horse used was a mare, and at the very end of the race the riders would leap down from their horses, ? continuing the race on foot, still holding the bridles–just as even in my own time competitors known as "anabatai" ("riders") still do. However, the "kalpe" race differs from the riders race both in terms of the turning points and because the horses used in the kalpe are stallions rather than mares. The mule-cart race, on the other hand, was neither ancient as an invention nor did it possess dignity; furthermore, from ancient times the Eleans considered the animal itself to have been a curse originating in their land. Indeed, this mule-cart was similar to the chariot race, but it employed pairs of mules instead of horses.

5.9.3

The current arrangement of the contests in our time–where sacrifices to the god occur after the pentathlon and horse-race, but before the remaining competitions–was established in the seventy-seventh Olympiad. Before this, contests for men and horses alike were held on the very same day. As a result, the athletes competing in the pankration at that time were forced to continue their matches into the night, having been summoned too late. The horses, and even more so the pentathlon competition, were the cause of this delay. Callias of Athens won the pankration that Olympiad, but thereafter neither pentathlon nor horse-racing was again permitted to interfere with the pankration.

5.9.4

As regards the officials who preside over the games, they do not follow today the same rules that ★ were originally established and observed at the beginning. Iphitos alone founded the contest, and after Iphitos those descended from Oxylos directed it similarly. But in the fiftieth Olympiad, the responsibility for holding the Olympic games was entrusted to two men who were selected by lot from

all the Eleans, and from that time onwards the number of the presiding officials remained mostly fixed at two.

5.9.5

In the ninety-fifth Olympiad they appointed nine judges; three of these were put in charge of the horse-race, an equal number were appointed overseers of the pentathlon, and the remaining three supervised the rest of the contests. In the second Olympiad after this, a tenth judge was added. In the hundred and third Olympiad, when the Eleans had twelve tribes, one judge was chosen from each tribe, making twelve in all.

5.9.6

Having been pressed in war by the Arcadians, they lost a portion of their territory, together with all the districts that were located within the severed region. Thus, in the hundred and fourth Olympiad, they were reduced to eight tribes, and the number of Hellanodikai appointed was equal to the tribes. In the hundred and eighth Olympiad, however, they again returned to the number of ten men, and from then on this number has endured down to our own time.

Chapter 10

5.10.1

Indeed one could observe many other notable things among the Greeks, and also hear many things worthy of wonder; but above all, the mysteries performed at Eleusis and the contest held at Olympia receive special care from the god. As for the sacred grove of Zeus, its name has long ago been altered, and it has been called the "Altis" since ancient times. Indeed, even in a poem composed by Pindar about an Olympic victor, this place is called "Altis."

5.10.2

The temple and the statue of Zeus were made from the spoils when the Eleans defeated Pisa in war, along with all the neighboring peoples who joined in revolt with the Pisatans. That Phidias was the craftsman of the statue is attested also by an inscription written under the feet of Zeus: "Phidias the Athenian, son of Charmides, made me." The temple is Doric in style and has columns standing around its exterior.

5.10.3

It is constructed from local limestone. The height of the structure, up to the eagle, measures sixty-eight feet, its breadth is ninety-five feet, and its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native of the region. The roof tiles are not made of baked clay, but rather of marble from Mount Pentelikon, worked into the shape of regular tiles. This innovation, they say, was the invention of a Naxian man named Byzes, who is credited with statues in Naxos engraved with the inscription:

"Naxian-born Byzes, son of Euergus, Was first to fashion tiles from marble, Dedicated by the offspring of Leto."

This Byzes lived in the time of Alyattes the Lydian and Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes.

5.10.4

In Olympia stands a tripod plated with gold placed upon each end of the roof, and a Victory, likewise gilded, is set conspicuously in the very center upon the eagle. Beneath this statue of Victory lies a golden shield bearing a relief of Medusa the Gorgon finely wrought into it. The inscription upon the shield indicates both those who dedicated it and the cause of its dedication; for it runs thus:

"The temple holds a golden bowl; from Tanagra the Lacedaemonians and their allies dedicated this gift taken from the Argives, the Athenians, and the Ionians, a tithe for victory in war."

I have also made mention of this battle in my account on Attica, when describing the monuments existing at Athens.

5.10.5

On the temple at Olympia, around the outside of the band that runs above the columns, there are twenty-one gilded shields–these are an offering of the Roman general Mummius, who defeated the Achaeans in war, captured Corinth and utterly destroyed the Dorian inhabitants of Corinth.

5.10.6

★ On the gables, in front, the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus is depicted as yet impending, with the preparations for the action by both participants still underway. Zeus is portrayed exactly in the middle of the pediment, and immediately to the right of Zeus stands Oenomaus wearing a helmet on his head. Beside him is his wife Sterope, herself one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus, who served as Oenomauss charioteer, sits before the horses, which number four. Behind him are two men whose names are unknown, but who are evidently appointed by Oenomaus to tend to the horses.

5.10.7

★ Near this boundary flows the Cladeus river, which is honored by the Eleans above all other rivers, except the Alpheus. To the left of the image of Zeus stand Pelops and Hippodameia, along with Pelops' charioteer, two horses, and two men who serve as Pelops' grooms. At this point, the vaulted roof narrows again, and above this narrow part an eagle sits, while below the eagle the river Alpheus is depicted. Regarding the man who drives the chariot for Pelops, according to the tradition of the Troezenians, his name is Sphairos; but the guide at Olympia stated that his name was Killas.

5.10.8

★ The figures in the front pediment are by Paeonius, who was from Mende in Thrace, while those in the pediment at the back are by Alcamenes, a contemporary of Pheidias, who was considered second only to him in the skill of creating statues. The sculptures in this pediment depict the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, at the wedding-feast of Peirithous. In the center of the pediment is Peirithous himself. Beside him, on one side, Eurytion is shown seizing the wife of Peirithous, while Caeneus comes to his aid; and on the other side, Theseus defends himself against the Centaurs with an axe. One Centaur is depicted carrying away a maiden, another a handsome boy. It is my opinion that Alcamenes crafted these scenes having learned from Homer's verses that Peirithous was a son of Zeus, and knowing also that Theseus was fourth in descent from Pelops.

5.10.9

★ At Olympia also are depicted many of the Labors of Heracles. Above the doors of the temple is represented the hunting of the boar from Arcadia, the deed concerning Diomedes the Thracian, and the encounter on Erytheia with Geryon; there is Atlas about to transfer his burden onto Heracles' shoulders, and Heracles cleansing the land of Elis from the dung. Above the doors of the opisthodomos he is depicted taking the girdle away from the Amazon, the deed involving the hind, the bull in Knossos, the birds of Lake Stymphalus, and also those labors concerning the Hydra and the lion in the Argive territory.

5.10.10

Upon entering the bronze doors, on the right-hand side before the column is Iphitos being crowned by ★
a woman named Ekecheiria (Truce), as the elegiac verses upon them state. Columns also stand within the temple, and there are inner colonnades with upper floors, through which there is a passage leading to the statue. There is also a winding stairway constructed, ascending to the roof.

Chapter 11

5.11.1

The god sits on a throne fashioned of gold and ivory; upon his head is placed a crown imitating branches of olive. In his right hand he carries a Victory, this too made of ivory and gold, holding a ribbon and having a crown upon her head. In the left hand of the god he holds a sceptre adorned with all manner of metals, and an eagle stands upon this sceptre. The sandals of the god, as well as his robe, are also of gold; and woven into the robe are figures of animals and lilies among other flowers.

5.11.2

The throne is decorated with gold and precious stones, and also ornamented with ebony and ivory. ★ Upon it animals are represented in painting and carved figures have been worked in relief. Four Victories in dancing postures form supports beneath each foot of the throne, while two additional Victories stand beside each foot. On each of the front feet are sculpted Theban youths being seized by sphinxes, and beneath these sphinxes Apollo and Artemis are depicted shooting down the children of Niobe with arrows.

5.11.3

Between the feet of the throne there are four cross-bars, each stretching from one foot to another. On ? the bar directly facing the entrance stand seven figures, for the eighth among them has disappeared in some unknown manner. These represent, perhaps, imitations of ancient athletic contests, since contests involving boys had not yet been established at the time of Pheidias. They say that the figure binding its head with a ribbon resembles Pantarkes in appearance; Pantarkes was a youth from Elis beloved by Pheidias. This Pantarkes also won a victory in wrestling among the boys at the eighty-sixth Olympiad.

5.11.4

On the crossbars between the legs is carved the company fighting alongside Heracles against the Ama- ★ zons. The total number of figures on both sides amounts indeed to twenty-nine, and Theseus too is depicted among the allies of Heracles. The throne is not supported only by the legs, but between them stand evenly spaced columns equal in length to the legs. It is not possible to pass beneath the throne, unlike the throne at Amyclae where one can pass into what lies within it; at Olympia, however, barriers resembling walls block it off.

5.11.5

★ Of these walls, the portion directly opposite the doors is merely painted in blue, but the rest display paintings by Panainos. Among these paintings is Atlas supporting heaven and earth, and beside him stands Heracles willingly accepting the burden from Atlas. In addition are depicted Theseus and Peirithous, Hellas, and Salamis, holding in her hand the ornament for the prows of vessels. Also shown are Heracles' contest with the lion in Nemea, and the sacrilege committed by Ajax against Cassandra.

5.11.6

★ Hippodameia, daughter of Oinomaos, with her mother, and Prometheus still bound in chains are represented, and Herakles is depicted approaching him. For indeed it is also said of Herakles that he slew the eagle which tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus, and freed Prometheus himself from his chains. Lastly, the painting shows Penthesileia breathing her last and Achilles supporting her. Two of the Hesperides are bearing the apples whose guarding is said to have been entrusted to them. This painting was by Panaenos, who was the brother of Pheidias, who himself painted the Battle of Marathon in the 'Poikile' (Painted) Colonnade at Athens.

5.11.7

★ On the highest parts of the throne, above the head of the statue, Phidias has fashioned on one side the Graces and on the other side the Seasons, three of each. Indeed, in poetry these too are said to be daughters of Zeus. Homer, in the Iliad, depicted the Seasons as having charge over heaven, like guardians of a royal court. The footstool beneath the feet of Zeus–called thranion by the Athenians–is decorated with golden lions and shows the battle of Theseus against the Amazons, the Athenians' earliest heroic deed against foreign foes.

5.11.8

★ Upon the base, which supports both the throne and all the other decorative elements around Zeus, are golden scenes worked upon it: there is Helios ascending by chariot, Zeus and Hera, and also Hephaestus, who is accompanied by Charis; next to her stands Hermes, and beside Hermes is Hestia. After Hestia is Eros, who is receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea; and Peitho crowns Aphrodite. Also depicted are Apollo along with Artemis, Athena, and Heracles. At the extremity of the base are Amphitrite and Poseidon, and Selene who is–so it seems to me–driving a horse. Some, however, claim that the goddess rides upon a mule rather than a horse, telling a foolish story in explanation of the mule.

5.11.9

★ Although I am familiar with the recorded measurements of Zeus at Olympia, both in height and breadth, I will not include praise of those who measured it; for even the dimensions they state fall greatly short of the impression conveyed to those who behold the statue. Indeed, it is said that the god himself provided testimony to the art of Pheidias. For after the statue had already been completed, Pheidias prayed that the god might reveal a sign whether his work was pleasing to him; at once, they say, a thunderbolt descended onto that spot of the floor, where even in my time stood a bronze hydria covering the place.

5.11.10

The section of ground immediately before the statue is constructed not of white stone, but of black stone. Around the black stone runs a ledge of Parian marble, serving as a barrier to contain the oil that is poured out. For oil is beneficial for the statue at Olympia, and it is this oil that prevents damage to

the ivory on account of the marshy nature of the Altis. In the acropolis of the Athenians, however, for the statue called the Parthenos, it is not oil but water that preserves the ivory. Because the acropolis, due to its great height, is excessively dry, the statue, made of ivory, requires water and the moisture that comes from the water.

5.11.11

When I was in Epidaurus, asking for what reason neither water nor olive oil was poured as an offering to their Asclepius, the attendants of the sanctuary informed me that both the statue of the god and the throne had been constructed over a well.

Chapter 12

5.12.1

But to those who have maintained that the tusks protruding from the mouth of certain creatures are teeth and not horns, it is worth considering the elks–animals found in Celtic lands–and the Ethiopian bulls. The male elks have horns upon their brows, whereas the female does not grow them at all; but the Ethiopian bulls grow horns upon their noses. Who, then, would still regard it as exceedingly strange that an animal might grow horns from its mouth?

5.12.2

Further evidence may also be drawn from these examples: horns are shed by certain animals annually and subsequently grow again–this occurs among deer and gazelles, and likewise elephants experience the same. Yet no mature animal regenerates its teeth a second time. If the protrusions from elephants' mouths were teeth, not horns, how could they regrow once more? Moreover, teeth by nature do not soften under fire, whereas horns of both cattle and elephants can be heated and shaped from round forms into flat or other contoured shapes. And indeed, the lower jaw of river-horses and boars supports tusks, but we never see horns growing from the jaws.

5.12.3

The horns of an elephant, then, one should know, come downwards from above through the temples and then curve outwards. This description I do not write from hearsay, having myself seen an elephant's skull in the sanctuary of Artemis in the country of the Campanians. This sanctuary lies about thirty stades from Capua, which is the chief city of the Campanians. Now the elephant, compared to other animals, possesses a remarkable peculiarity in the position of these horns, just as its size and appearance altogether resemble no other creature. It appears to me that the Greeks have always been exceedingly eager for distinction, willingly spending lavishly on the honour of their gods, as indeed elephants were brought to them from India and Ethiopia for the making of statues.

5.12.4

At Olympia, Antiochus dedicated a woolen curtain embellished with Assyrian embroidery and Phoenician purple dye. He also gave the golden aegis with the Gorgon upon it, placed above the theater in Athens. This curtain was not pulled upward towards the roof, as is done at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but was lowered to the ground by cords that drew it down.

5.12.5

Of votive offerings placed within or in the fore-temple, there is the throne of Arimnestus, king among the Tyrrhenians, who was the first barbarian to dedicate an offering to Zeus at Olympia. There are also the bronze horses of Cynisca, commemorative monuments of her Olympic victory. These are smaller than life-size horses, and stand in the fore-temple, on the right as one enters. There is also a bronze-coated tripod, upon which it was customary in earlier times to set out the crowns for victors, before the table was made.

5.12.6

Statues of the emperors were dedicated there. Those cities in Achaia subject to Hadrian dedicated a statue of him made of Parian marble, and all the Greeks dedicated one of Trajan. This emperor subdued the Getae beyond Thrace and waged war against Osroes, the descendant of Arsaces, and the Parthians. Among his constructions, the most notable are the baths that bear his name, a great theatre shaped as a complete circle open on all sides, a building stretching out for horse-races about two stadia in length, and the Roman market-place, remarkable both for its ornamentation and for the rest of its features, most notably its roof, which was made of bronze.

5.12.7

? The statues placed within the movable structures, one of amber, represent Augustus, emperor of the Romans, and another one, made of ivory, is said to depict Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. From him also the greatest of the cities in Bithynia received a change of name, having previously been called Astakos. Its original founder was Zypoites, who, judging from his name, was likely of Thracian descent. Now this amber from which the statue of Augustus was fashioned–the sort that occurs naturally, found in the sands of Eridanus–is exceedingly rare and especially valued by men for various reasons; but that other amber is gold intermixed with silver.

5.12.8

In the temple at Olympia there are offerings of Nero: three olive wreaths, while the fourth is a copy in oak leaves. There are also twenty-five bronze shields there, carried by soldiers for the armed race. Several stone inscriptions also stand there, among them one bearing the oath sworn by the Eleans to the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, establishing an alliance for a hundred years.

Chapter 13

5.13.1

Within the Altis there is also a precinct set apart for Pelops. Among all the heroes honored at Olympia, ★
Pelops is held by the Eleans in as great esteem as Zeus himself is among the other gods. The Pelopion is situated to the right of the entrance to the temple of Zeus, toward the north wind. It stands at such a distance from the temple that statues and other dedications can be placed between the two; it extends from approximately the middle of the temple roughly to the rear chamber (opisthodomos). It is enclosed by a perimeter wall of stones, and inside grow trees and stand statues set up as dedications.

5.13.2

The entrance to it is toward the setting of the sun. Heracles, son of Amphitryon, is said to have assigned ★
this spot to Pelops; for he himself was descended from Pelops in the fourth generation. It is also related that he sacrificed to Pelops into the pit. Even now those who annually hold office offer sacrifice to Pelops, the sacrificial victim being a black ram. From this offering no portion is allotted to the seer; it is established custom to give only the neck of the ram to the one called the "woodman."

5.13.3

The Woodman is among the servants of Zeus, and his appointed duty is to provide wood of specific, ★
prescribed type for the sacrifices, both to the cities and to any private individual. He supplies only poplar wood, and no other tree at all. Whoever, whether one of the Eleans themselves or a foreigner, eats of the meat from the sacrificial victim offered to Pelops, is not permitted to enter the sanctuary of Zeus. The same restriction occurs in Pergamum beyond the river Caïcus for those who sacrifice to Telephus, for neither are these permitted to ascend to the sanctuary of Asclepius without having first bathed.

5.13.4

It is also said as follows: when the war against Ilium dragged on for the Greeks, their seers declared to ★
them that they would not capture the city until they had brought to themselves the bow of Heracles and a bone of Pelops. Thus, it is said, they summoned Philoctetes to the camp and brought from Pisa for themselves a bone, namely the shoulder-blade of Pelops. However, on their voyage home, the ship bearing the bone of Pelops was wrecked in a storm near Euboea.

5.13.5

Many years later, after the capture of Troy, Damarmenus, a fisherman from Eretria, cast a net into the sea and drew up the bone. Astonished by its great size, he concealed it beneath the sand. In the end, he journeyed also to Delphi, wishing to learn from the oracle whose bone it was and what he ought to do with it.

5.13.6

And as though through divine providence, at that very time an embassy of Eleans was present, seeking relief from a devastating plague. Thus, the Pythia instructed them to recover the bones of Pelops, and commanded Damarmenos to return to the Eleans the relics he had discovered. Having obeyed this, the Eleans gave him many gifts in return, and established Damarmenos himself and his descendants after him as guardians of the bone. The shoulder-blade of Pelops, however, had vanished already by my time; as I see it, this was because it had remained hidden deep under the sea for generations, and over time had suffered extensive decay, particularly from the effects of the saltwater.

5.13.7

Evidence of the residence of Pelops and Tantalus among us remains even now: there is the lake called after Tantalus himself and his clearly visible tomb. And for Pelops, on Sipylus there is a throne placed on the peak of the mountain, above the sanctuary of his mother Plastene. Beyond the river Hermus, in Temnus, there is a statue of Aphrodite fashioned from living myrtle-wood; tradition records that Pelops dedicated this image as a memorial, appeasing the goddess and requesting her favor to marry Hippodameia.

5.13.8

The altar of Olympian Zeus is situated at roughly equal distances from the Pelopion and the sanctuary of Hera, but lies somewhat in front of both. Some say it was built by Idaean Heracles, while others claim it was constructed two generations later by local heroes, subsequent to Heracles. This altar is formed from the ashes of the thighs of sacrificial victims offered to Zeus, just as is also the case at Pergamon; similarly, the altar dedicated to Hera of Samos is also composed of ashes, though it is no more outstanding than those found in Attica, which the Athenians call “improvised hearths.”

5.13.9

Regarding the altar at Olympia, the circumference of its first base, known as the prothysis (foundation), is one hundred and twenty-five feet; the perimeter of the platform placed upon this foundation measures thirty-two feet. The total height of the altar amounts to twenty-two feet. It is established custom for sacrifices themselves to be offered at the lower part, the prothysis, while the thighs of the sacrificial victims are carried up onto the highest part of the altar and there offered as burnt sacrifice.

5.13.10

Steps made of stone on each of the two sides lead up to the lowest platform; from this platform upward the ascent to the higher part of the altar is composed of ashes and also provides steps. Up to this lower platform maidens and women are permitted to ascend, provided they are not excluded from Olympia; but from this point upward to the highest level of the altar men alone may ascend. Sacrifices to Zeus are performed even apart from the festival, both by private individuals and daily by the Eleans.

5.13.11

Each year, on the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius, the seers take ashes from the Prytaneion, mix ★
them with water from the Alpheius river, and thus plaster the altar. It is never permitted that this ash
be mixed into mud with water from another. For this reason, the Alpheius has come to be regarded
as the river most dear to Olympian Zeus. There is also at Didyma among the Milesians an altar they
say was constructed by Heracles of Thebes, made from the blood of sacrificial animals. The blood of
sacrifices offered afterward, however, has not increased the altar's size significantly.

Chapter 14

5.14.1

The altar in Olympia offers another marvel of the following kind: kites, which by nature especially snatch meat from birds, commit no harm against those sacrificing at Olympia; but if ever a kite does seize either entrails or pieces of the flesh, it is thought by the sacrificer to be an unfavorable omen. They say that when Heracles, the son of Alcmene, was sacrificing at Olympia, flies became especially troublesome due to their multitude. Therefore, having himself either discovered the solution or been taught it by someone else, he sacrificed to Zeus Apomyios ("Fly-driver"), and thus the flies departed, being driven beyond the Alpheius. For this very reason, it is said, the Eleans themselves perform sacrifices to Zeus Apomyios, driving the flies away from Olympia in Elis.

5.14.2

Only the wood of the white poplar do the Eleans regard as appropriate for sacrifices to Zeus, making use of no other tree whatsoever. To my thinking, their preference for the white poplar is based not on any quality peculiar to the tree itself but because Heracles brought it to Greece from the land of Thesprotia. It seemed to me that Heracles himself employed its wood when sacrificing to Zeus at Olympia, burning upon white poplar wood the thighs of the sacrificial victims. Heracles found this tree growing beside the river Acheron in Thesprotia; and for this reason, they say, Homer calls it "Acherïs."

5.14.3

From the beginning, rivers have had, and still have now, different qualities, each suited differently to nourishing grasses and trees. Thus, great numbers of tamarisks grow most abundantly beside the Maeander; the Boeotian Asopus is naturally best at growing the tallest reeds; and as a tree, the Egyptian persea delights solely in the waters of the Nile. So too, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the white poplar first appeared beside the Acheron, the wild olive by the Alpheius, and that the black poplar should be native to the land of the Celts and the Celtic Eridanus.

5.14.4

Come then–since I have already mentioned the altar of Zeus the Greatest–let us proceed to enumerate all the altars at Olympia. My account shall follow the very order in which the Eleans customarily sacrifice upon these altars. First they sacrifice to Hestia, secondly to Olympian Zeus as they approach his altar within the temple, and thirdly to Zeus Laoitas and Poseidon Laoitas; this sacrifice is also offered upon a single altar.

5.14.5

On the fourth and fifth days they sacrifice to Artemis and to Athena surnamed Leitis, and on the sixth to Athena Ergane. It is Athena Ergane to whom the descendants of Pheidias–called the Phaidryntai–offer sacrifice here before they begin to clean the statue of Zeus, having received from the Eleans the privilege of cleansing the statue from any impurities that have settled upon it. There is also another altar of Athena near the temple, and beside it is a square altar of Artemis, gently rising upwards.

5.14.6

★ After those mentioned above, they sacrifice to Alpheios and Artemis upon a single altar. The reason for this has been made clear by Pindar somewhere in an ode; and I myself have also written about it in my account of the Letrinians. Not far from this altar stands another dedicated to Alpheios, and close beside it is one of Hephaistos. Some of the Eleans, however, call this altar of Hephaistos the altar of Ares Zeus. These same Eleans also say that Oinomaos offered sacrifice on this altar to Ares Zeus whenever he was about to contend in chariot-racing with one of Hippodameia's suitors.

5.14.7

★ Next to this has been made an altar to Heracles, surnamed Parastates ("Protector"), and altars have also been erected for Epimedes, Ida, Paeonaeus, and Iasus, who were brothers of Heracles. I know, however, that Ida's altar is called Acesidas by some. At the site where the foundations of Oenomaus' house stood, there are two altars: one of Zeus Herkeios ("Protector of the Household"), which is said to have been built by Oenomaus himself; and another, to Zeus Keraunios ("Zeus of the Thunderbolt"), erected later, in my opinion, when the thunderbolt fell upon the house of Oenomaus.

5.14.8

★ We have already given a brief account earlier of the great altar, called that of Olympian Zeus. Near it stands an altar of the Unknown gods, and after that one, altars dedicated to Zeus Katharsios ("the Purifier"), to Nike ("Victory"), and then again to Zeus under the surname Chthonios ("of the Underworld"). There are also altars to all the gods collectively, and to Hera surnamed Olympia; this one too, like the others, is made of ashes, and is said to have been dedicated by Clymenus. After it is an altar shared by Apollo and Hermes in common, because the Greeks say Hermes invented the lyre, while Apollo discovered the kithara.

5.14.9

★ Next is an altar of Concord, then again one of Athena, and another of the Mother of the Gods. Closest to the entrance to the stadium are two altars; one of these they name Hermes Enagonios ("of the Contest"), and the other Kairos ("Opportunity"). I know that Ion the Chian composed a hymn to Kairos, and in that hymn he makes Kairos the youngest son of Zeus. Near the treasury of the Sicyonians there is the treasury either of the Curetes or of Alcmene, mother of Heracles; for both accounts are told.

5.14.10

★ Upon the place called Gaius there stands an altar to Earth, also made of ashes. Older traditions say that there was once an oracle of Earth there. On the summit called Stomion is an altar constructed for Themis. Around every side of the altar of Zeus Kataibates stands an enclosure; this altar is close to the great altar of ashes. Let someone bear in mind that my enumeration of the altars is not according to their positioning, but follows the order in which the Eleans make their sacrifices. Near the precinct of

Pelops there is a common altar of Dionysus and the Graces, with an altar of the Muses between them, and next in order comes an altar dedicated to the Nymphs.

Chapter 15

5.15.1

Outside the Altis there is a building known as the Workshop of Pheidias, where Pheidias himself fashioned each part of the statue. Within the building there is an altar dedicated jointly to all the gods. Turning back again towards the Altis, opposite is the Leonidaeum.

5.15.2

Outside the sacred enclosure stands the Leonidaeum, opposite the entrance into the Altis by the ? processional way, which is the only road permitted to those leading a procession. It is a dedication by Leonidas, a local man. In my time it served as the residence for the Roman governors who administered Greece. It is separated by an alley from the processional entrance; indeed, what the Athenians call narrow passages ("stenopoi") the Eleans term alleys ("agyiai").

5.15.3

In the Altis, as you are about to pass beyond the Leonidaeum, there stands on your left an altar to ★ Aphrodite, and after it one to the Horae. Also, by the rear chamber of the temple, there grows a wild olive tree especially on the right side. This olive tree is called "Kallistephanos" ("Beautiful-crowned"), and it is from this tree that crowns are ordained to be awarded to victors in the Olympic games. Near this wild olive a second altar has been dedicated to the Nymphs.

5.15.4

They call these also Kallistephanous ("Beautifully Crowned"). Outside the Altis there is an altar of ? Artemis Agoraia; it is located on the right side of the Leonidaeum. There is also an altar made for the Despoinai–but what pertains to the goddess whom they call Despoina, I shall explain in my account of Arcadia. Next to this altar is an altar of Zeus Agoraeus, and in front of the so-called Proedria is an altar dedicated to Apollo, surnamed Pythios, and after him, one to Dionysos. It is said that this altar of Dionysos was neither ancient nor dedicated officially, but was set up privately by individuals.

5.15.5

As one goes toward the starting-place for the horses, there is an altar, inscribed with the title "Moiragets" ★ (Leader of Fate). Clearly, this is an epithet of Zeus, who knows all things concerning mortals–both those that the Fates grant and those that have not been allotted to them. Nearby stands a long altar dedicated to the Fates; beyond it is one to Hermes and, in succession, two altars to Zeus Hypsistos

(Highest). At the open area of the horses' starting-place, roughly in the midpoint of it, there are altars to Poseidon Hippios (Horse-God) and Hera Hippia, and by the pillar is an altar to the Dioskouroi.

5.15.6

★ At the entrance facing toward the place called Embolos stands, on one side, an altar of Ares Hippios, and on the other, an altar of Athena Hippia. Upon entering Embolos itself, there is an altar of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune), as well as altars of Pan and Aphrodite; further within Embolos is located an altar dedicated to the Nymphs whom they call Akmenai. Returning from the stoa that the Eleans name Agnaptos, thus calling the building after its architect, there is on the right-hand side an altar of Artemis.

5.15.7

? Upon entering again into the Altis through the ceremonial gateway, there stand behind the Heraion altars of the river Kladeos and of Artemis, followed by an altar of Apollo; fourth is one of Artemis who bears the surname Kokkoka, and fifth one of Apollo Thermios. Concerning Thermios, the Elean usage itself suggested to me conjecturing that the name corresponds to the Attic term "Thesmios" (Lawgiver); but for what reason Artemis is called Kokkoka I was unable to ascertain.

5.15.8

In front of the structure called the Theekoleon is a building; at the corner of this building there is set up an altar of Pan. The Prytaneion of the Eleans lies within the Altis, built near the exit across from the gymnasium. Here are the running tracks of the gymnasium and the wrestling grounds for the athletes. Before the doors of the Prytaneion is an altar to Artemis Agrotera.

5.15.9

In the Prytaneion itself, as one enters the chamber in which their hearth is located, there is an altar of Pan on the right side of the entrance. This hearth also is made of ashes, and upon it a fire burns similarly throughout each day and every night. From this hearth they take ashes, according to the practice already described by me, and carry them to the altar of Olympian Zeus; indeed, the ashes brought from the hearth especially contribute to the size of the altar.

5.15.10

On one day each month, the Eleans make sacrifices upon all the altars I have listed. They sacrifice in an ancient manner, burning incense mixed with wheat grains and honey upon the altars; they also place olive branches upon them and pour wine as libations. Only to the Nymphs and to the Goddesses called Despoinai, and upon the common altar of all the gods, do they consider it improper to offer wine-libations. The ceremonies regarding the sacrifices are overseen by the thekolos (divine attendant), who holds office for one month, and by seers, libation bearers, an interpreter (exegetes), a flute-player, and a woodman.

5.15.11

? As for all the words which it is customary for them to recite at the libations in the Prytaneion, or the hymns which they sing, I did not think it fitting to include these things in my narrative. They pour libations not only to the gods worshipped in Greece, but also to the deity in Libya, and to Hera Ammonia and Parammon; Parammon being a surname of Hermes. Clearly the Eleans have from most

ancient times been consulting the Libyan oracle, and among the votive offerings at the sanctuary of Ammon are altars dedicated by the Eleans. On these altars are inscribed the questions which the Eleans asked, the responses given by the god, and the names of the men who traveled from Elis to Ammon. These things, then, stand in the sanctuary of Ammon.

5.15.12

The Eleans also pour libations for heroes and the wives of heroes, both those honored in the territory of Elis and those who are revered among the Aetolians. As for the hymns they chant in the Prytaneium, their dialect is Doric, but they do not say who composed these hymns. The Eleans also have a dining-hall, which is located inside the Prytaneium, directly opposite the chamber of Hestia, and it is in this building that they feast those who have won victories at Olympia.

Chapter 16

5.16.1

Next, it remains for me to describe the temple of Hera and all that is within the temple worthy of mention. The Eleans themselves say that the people of Skillous, a city in Triphylia, built this temple, about eight years after Oxylus had gained the kingship in Elis. The style of the temple is Doric, with columns standing all around it; however, one of the columns in the opisthodomos is made of oak. The length of the temple is one hundred and sixty-nine feet, its breadth is sixty-three feet, and its height nearly fifty feet. The name of the architect who built it is not remembered.

5.16.2

Every fifth year sixteen women weave a robe for Hera; these same women also arrange a contest called the Heraia. The contest is a footrace for virgins, though not all competitors are of the same age. First run the youngest girls, after them those of middle age, and finally the oldest of the maidens run.

5.16.3

They run as follows: their hair hangs loose down, their tunics reach a little above the knee, and their right shoulder is bared as far as the breast. For these women too, the Olympic stadium is reserved for their contest, but in their running the course is shortened by about one-sixth of the length of the stadium. To the victors they give crowns of olive and a share of the ox sacrificed to Hera. Furthermore, they are allowed to dedicate statues with their names inscribed. There are also women appointed to organize the competitions, who serve the sixteen women in the same manner as those who manage the male games.

5.16.4

They also trace the maidens' contest back to ancient times, saying that Hippodameia, to express her gratitude to Hera for her marriage to Pelops, gathered together sixteen women and with them first established the Heraea games. They also recall that Chloris, the daughter of Amphion, was victorious, the one woman alone who remained alive of her household. Along with her, they claim, a single male from the family also survived. Whatever I was able to discover about the children of Niobe, I have detailed in my account concerning the Argives.

5.16.5

Regarding the sixteen women, another account is related, connected to the preceding story. They say that Damophon, when ruling as a tyrant in Pisa, committed many grievous acts against the Eleans. After Damophon's death–the Pisaeans did not publicly consent to share in the tyrant's wrongdoing, and it was found agreeable even to the Eleans to have the charges against them settled–each of the sixteen cities still inhabited in Elis at that time chose a woman to settle their disputes, selecting from each city the woman who was the eldest in age and distinguished foremost among women in reputation and honor.

5.16.6

★ The cities, from which they took wives, were Elis. These women from the cities made peace between the Pisatans and the Eleans; later, they were entrusted by the Eleans themselves both with conducting the contest called the Heraea and with weaving the robe for Hera. These sixteen women organize two choruses, naming one of the choruses after Physcoa, the other after Hippodameia. They say Physcoa was from Elis in the region called Hollow Elis, and that the community where she lived was called Orthia.

5.16.7

★ They say that Dionysus was united with this Physkoa, and that Physkoa bore from Dionysus a son, Narkaios. When this Narkaios grew up, he waged war against his neighbors and grew greatly in power; moreover, he established a sanctuary of Athena, giving her the epithet Narkaia. Furthermore, they say that honors were first given to Dionysus by Narkaios and Physkoa. Indeed, Physkoa received other privileges and especially a chorus named after her, consisting of sixteen women; the Eleans still preserve this chorus, despite the destruction of the other cities. For having been divided into eight tribes, they select two women from each tribe.

5.16.8

All those duties appointed either to the sixteen women or to the Eleian judges are not performed before they purify themselves with a suitable pig used for cleansing rites and water. Their purification ceremonies take place at the Pierian spring, which is encountered by one who travels from Olympia across the plain toward Elis.

Chapter 17

5.17.1

Thus it stands according to what I have already said. Within the temple of Zeus there is also an image of Hera, depicted seated upon a throne. Beside her stands Zeus, who wears a beard and has a helmet placed upon his head; these artworks are of simple workmanship. Next to these are the Hours, seated upon thrones in succession, works of Smilis of Aegina. Beside them stands a statue of Themis, as being the mother of the Hours, carved by Dorycleidas, a Spartan by birth and a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

5.17.2

The Hesperides, five in number, were made by Theocles, who was also a Lacedaemonian, son of Hegylus, and he himself is said to have studied under Scyllis and Dipoenus. The statue of Athena, depicted with a helmet on her head and holding a spear and shield, is said to be the work of Medon of Lacedaemon; Medon was the brother of Dorycleidas and trained under the same masters.

5.17.3

Here also are Kore, Demeter, Apollo, and Artemis: the goddesses sit opposite one another, while Apollo stands facing Artemis as she stands opposite him. Placed here as dedications are also Leto, Tyche, Dionysus, and a winged Nike. I cannot clearly specify the artists who made these statues, but they seem to me among the most ancient. Those images I have listed are of ivory and gold; but later offerings of other materials were also made to the Heraion. There is a stone statue of Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus, a work by Praxiteles, and a bronze Aphrodite, crafted by Kleon of Sikyon.

5.17.4

The teacher of Cleon was Antiphanes, who was the pupil of Periclytus, himself a pupil of Polycleitus of Argos. In front of the Aphrodite stands a seated statue of a naked child, covered with gold; it was carved by Boethus of Chalcedon. Also transferred here from the building called the Philippeion were statues made of gold and ivory representing Eurydice, wife of Aridaeus, and Olympias, wife of Philip.

5.17.5

The chest is made of cedar wood; upon it are figures carved from ivory, others of gold, while some are fashioned out of the cedar itself. Into this chest the mother of Cypselus hid him when the Bacchiadae, immediately after his birth, were earnestly seeking to find him. Afterwards, because of this rescue

of Cypselus, his descendants, called Cypselidae, dedicated the chest at Olympia. In those days, the Corinthians called such chests "cypselae," and thus it is said that the boy himself was also named Cypselus.

5.17.6

On the chest there are inscriptions, many of them written in ancient characters; some of them run in a straight line, while those of another type the Greeks call "boustrophedon." This manner of writing is as follows: at the end of one line, the second turns back in reverse, just like runners racing up and down a track. Moreover, upon the chest there are also inscriptions arranged in other intricate patterns that are difficult to decipher. For someone beginning to examine them from below, the first compartment of the chest contains the following text.

5.17.7

★ Oinomaos is shown pursuing Pelops, who is carrying Hippodameia. Each man has two horses, but those of Pelops by nature possess wings. Next to them is the house of Amphiaraos, and an elderly woman, whoever she may be, is depicted carrying the infant Amphilochos. In front of the house stands Eriphyle holding the necklace, and beside her are her daughters, Eurydike and Demonassa, and her son Alkmaion, depicted naked.

5.17.8

★ Now Asius, in his poems, made Alcmene to be daughter of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. Baton, who was charioteer to Amphiaraus, holds the horses' reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraus himself has one foot already placed upon his chariot, while he holds a naked sword and turns toward Eriphyle, so overcome by rage that he can scarcely restrain himself from attacking her.

5.17.9

★ Next to the house of Amphiaraus is depicted the contest held in honor of Pelias, along with spectators watching the competitors. Heracles is portrayed seated on a throne, and behind him stands a woman. No inscription identifies this woman, but she is shown playing upon Phrygian rather than Greek flutes. Driving two-horse chariots are Piso, son of Perieres, and Asterion, son of Cometes, who is also said to have sailed aboard the Argo; alongside them are Polydeuces and Admetus, and above them is Euphemus, who, according to the poets, was a son of Poseidon and shared in Jason's voyage to Colchis. Indeed, this Euphemus appears as the victor with the pair of horses.

5.17.10

★ Those who have dared to contend in boxing are Admetus and Mopsus, the son of Ampyx, while between them stands a man playing the flute, just as in our own day it is customary to play the flute during the athletes' broad jump in the pentathlon. Wrestling is evenly matched between Jason and Peleus. A depiction is also made of Eurybotas throwing a discus, who indeed holds a famous reputation for this event. Those positioned for the race are Melanion, Neotheus, and Phalareus; an Argive is fourth to them, and Iphiclus fifth. Acastus, who hands the victor's wreath to Iphiclus, would be none other than the father of Protesilaus who sailed to Troy.

5.17.11

★

There are also tripods, which indeed were prizes awarded to victors; and there are represented the daughters of Pelias, but the name is inscribed only on Alcestis. Iolaus, who willingly aided Heracles in his labours, is portrayed achieving victory with a chariot drawn by horses. Since that time, the contests held in honour of Pelias have ceased. Heracles stands shown shooting arrows at the hydra, the monster in the river Amymone, with Athena by his side. But because Heracles and his deed are well-known to all, the representation bears no inscription. There is also Phineus the Thracian, and the sons of Boreas pursuing the Harpies from him.

Chapter 18

5.18.1

On the chest, regarding the second region, one may best begin describing the images from the left. A woman is depicted holding, in her right hand, a white child who is sleeping; in the other hand she holds a black child, who likewise appears asleep; both have their feet crossed. Although the inscriptions also explain them, it is clear even without these inscriptions that they are Death and Sleep, and Night serves as nurse to them both.

5.18.2

A beautiful woman punishing an ugly one, strangling her with one hand and striking her with a rod in the other, is Justice acting against Injustice. Two other women, reaching down into mortars with pestles, are thought to have knowledge of poisons, since otherwise there is no inscription concerning them. The hexameter verses beneath the man and the woman accompanying him explain who they are, for they say thus:

"Idas brings back fair-ankled Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, whom Apollo had seized, and she does not go unwillingly."

5.18.3

A man, wearing a tunic, holds a goblet in his right hand and a necklace in his left; Alcmene is depicted accepting these gifts. The scene is created according to the Greek myth that Zeus, disguised as Amphitryon, had intercourse with Alcmene. Nearby Menelaus, clad in armor and wielding a sword, rushes forward intending to kill Helen; clearly Troy has been captured. Medea is seated upon a throne, and beside her Jason stands on her right hand; Aphrodite is beside her on the other side. There is also an epigram written beneath these figures: "Jason is marrying Medea, and Aphrodite commands."

5.18.4

Also represented are the Muses singing, with Apollo leading the song, and inscribed for them is the following epigram: "This is Leto's son, the far-shooting lord Apollo; around him are the Muses, a lovely chorus, whom he leads in song." Atlas, it is said, supports heaven and earth upon his shoulders, and he also holds the apples of the Hesperides. As for the man holding a sword and approaching Atlas, there is no inscription to identify him specifically, but it is clear to everyone that he is Herakles. There is also another inscription with these figures: "This Atlas holds up the sky, but soon he will surrender the apples."

5.18.5

★ There is also an image of Ares, clad in armor, leading away Aphrodite; upon this statue is inscribed the name Enyalios. Depicted too is Thetis, in the form of a maiden, being seized by Peleus, while from the hand of Thetis a serpent rushes forth against Peleus. The sisters of Medusa are represented pursuing Perseus as he flies, equipped themselves with wings; however, only Perseus's name is inscribed.

5.18.6

★ On the third side of the chest there are military scenes; most of those depicted are foot-soldiers, but horsemen riding pairs of chariot horses are also represented. Regarding these soldiers, one may interpret them either as gathering for battle or as meeting to greet and recognize one another. Both interpretations are offered by the guides. According to one account, these soldiers are the Aetolians who accompanied Oxylus and the ancient Eleans, coming together in mutual friendliness and in remembrance of their original kinship. Others say the soldiers are depicted preparing for battle, representing the Pylians and Arcadians fighting against each other by the city of Phea and along the river Iardanus.

5.18.7

★ Indeed, no one would accept, even at the outset, that the ancestor of Cypselus–a Corinthian himself and one who was making this chest his own possession–would willingly pass over everything native to Corinth, while carefully introducing upon the chest foreign matters and others not otherwise renowned. Nevertheless, it seems appropriate to me to conjecture these things. Cypselus and his ancestors originally belonged to the stock of Gonussa, which is situated above Sicyon, and their forefather was Melas, son of Antasus.

5.18.8

★ According to what I have already mentioned also in my description of Corinth, Aletes was at first unwilling to accept Melas and his army as fellow settlers, suspecting a prophecy given to him from Delphi. Thus, only after Melas had applied every sort of persuasion and entreaty, and after he had been driven away and returned again in supplication, did Aletes accept him, though reluctantly. These soldiers, one might reasonably suppose, are the same as those depicted on the chest.

Chapter 19

5.19.1

Fourth upon the chest, as one proceeds from the left, is Boreas carrying away Oreithyia–his feet replaced by serpents' tails–and also the combat of Heracles against Geryon; Geryon himself appears as three men joined closely to one another. There is Theseus holding a lyre, with Ariadne beside him cradling a crown. Standing beside Achilles and Memnon as they fight are their mothers.

5.19.2

There are also Melanion and Atalanta depicted beside him, holding a fawn of a deer. Between Ajax and Hector, as they fight in single combat in response to the challenge, stands Strife (Eris), most repulsive in shape and appearance. Similar to this, Calliphon of Samos also depicted Strife in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus, painting the battle of the Greeks by the ships. On the chest are represented the Dioscuri, one of whom does not yet have a beard, and between them stands Helen.

5.19.3

Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, appears cast to the ground at the feet of Helen. She wears dark garments, and inscribed upon them is an epigram: a single hexameter verse and the addition of one more name attached to the hexameter–"Tyndareus's daughter Helen do ye carry away, but drag away Aethra from Athens."

5.19.4

This verse, indeed, is composed as follows; Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, is lying on the ground, and Koön is fighting against Agamemnon in defense of him. On the shield of Agamemnon there stands Fear (Phobos), bearing a lion's head. The inscriptions are, above the corpse of Iphidamas: "This is Iphidamas, and Koön fights in defense of him;" and upon the shield of Agamemnon:

5.19.5

This figure is Phobos ("Fear") among mortals, and Agamemnon is the one holding him. Hermes is also depicted leading the goddesses to Alexander son of Priam to be judged for their beauty; and these figures too have an inscription:

"This Hermes shows to Alexander the beauty-contesting Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite."

As for Artemis–I do not know for what reason–she is represented as having wings upon her shoulders, and with her right hand she grasps a leopard, and with the other hand a lion. Ajax too is depicted dragging Cassandra from the statue of Athena, and there is also an inscription on this:

"Ajax the Locrian drags Cassandra from Athena."

5.19.6

★ Of the sons of Oedipus, Eteocles is approaching Polynices, who has fallen upon one knee. Behind Polynices stands a woman, whose teeth are no less savage than those of a wild beast, and the nails on her hands are sharply curved. The inscription upon her identifies her as Fate, making clear that Polynices was led away by destiny, but that death came to Eteocles justly and deservedly. Dionysus is depicted reclining within a cave, bearded and holding a golden cup; he wears a floor-length tunic. Around him grow vines, apple trees, and pomegranate trees.

5.19.7

★? The uppermost region–for there are five in number–provides no inscription, leaving us to speculate from the sculptures themselves. Within a cave is depicted a woman asleep on a bed with a man; we conjectured these to be Odysseus and Circe due both to the number of attendants positioned before the cave and to the actions they perform. For these four women carry out tasks described by Homer in his epic poetry. There is also a Centaur who does not possess horse legs in every instance, for his front legs are those of a human.

5.19.8

★? Next there are pairs of horses and women standing upon the chariots; the horses have wings of gold, and a man is giving armor to one of the women. It is conjectured that these scenes relate to the death of Patroclus; for the women upon the chariots are Nereids, and Thetis is receiving the armor from Hephaestus. Indeed, further evidence is that the man giving the armor is portrayed with legs that are not strong, and behind him a servant follows holding a pair of tongs.

5.19.9

★ There is also a story regarding the Centaur, that Chiron, having already departed from humans and having been deemed worthy to dwell among the gods, came to afford Achilles some alleviation of his grief. And as for the maidens upon the mules–one of whom holds the reins, and the other wears a veil over her head–they believe them to be Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, and her handmaiden, driving to the washing pools. Furthermore, regarding the man who shoots arrows at Centaurs, with some of the Centaurs already slain, it is clear that the figure depicted shooting is Heracles, and that the deed is his work.

5.19.10

? Who exactly was the craftsman who designed the chest, it was entirely impossible for us to conjecture. Concerning the inscriptions upon it, it might perhaps have been another who composed them; yet we strongly suspected Eumelus the Corinthian, for several reasons, and particularly because of the processional hymn he composed for Delos.

Chapter 20

5.20.1

Here too are other dedications, including a couch of modest size, mostly decorated with ivory, the discus of Iphitus, and the table on which the crowns for the victors are set out. The couch, they say, was a plaything of Hippodameia. On the discus of Iphitus is inscribed the truce, which the people of Elis proclaim during the Olympic Games; but the inscription is not written straight, for the letters are arranged in a circular shape around the discus.

5.20.2

The table is made of ivory and gold, and is the work of Kolotes. They say that Kolotes was from Herakleia, but those who carefully investigate the sculptors declare with assurance that he was actually from Parion, a pupil of Pasiteles, who himself received instruction from Pasiteles. Represented on the table are Hera, Zeus, the Mother of the Gods, Hermes, and Apollo together with Artemis. On the back is depicted the arrangement of the contest.

5.20.3

On each side, there are figures carved: on one side, Asklepios together with Hygieia, one of the daughters of Asklepios, as well as Ares and beside him Agon (Contest); on the other side, Pluto, Dionysos, Persephone, and the Nymphs, one of whom carries a sphere. On Pluto's key–for indeed Pluto holds a key–they say that Hades (as the underworld is called) is locked by Pluto, and no one who enters it ever returns again.

5.20.4

I should not pass over a story that Aristarchus, the interpreter at Olympia, used to tell. He said that, when he was himself a young man, as the Eleans were restoring the roof of the Heraion, the corpse of a hoplite was discovered, having wounds, lying between the roof tiles intended for decoration and the supporting structure beneath them. This man, he said, had taken part in the battle fought within the Altis between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians.

5.20.5

For even concerning the sanctuaries of the gods and in all such high places alike the Eleans mounted up and defended themselves. Now this man appeared to us to have crawled here after losing heart through his wounds. But once he gave up his life, neither the fierce heat of summer nor winter's chill was to

cause harm to the corpse, since it lay in complete shelter. Aristarchus also said the following further: that they carried the corpse out beyond the enclosure of the Altis and buried it along with its armor.

5.20.6

★ The pillar they call the "Pillar of Oenomaus," as the Eleans themselves also name it, stands on the way to the temple of Zeus from the great altar. On the left there are four pillars supporting a roof, constructed precisely to protect a wooden column, worn by time and largely held intact by bands. This pillar, they say, originally stood within the house of Oenomaus. When the god hurled his thunderbolt, the fire completely destroyed the rest of the building, yet from the entire structure, the pillar alone survived.

5.20.7

★ In front of it a small bronze tablet bears inscribed elegiac verses:

"I too, stranger, am a relic of that house, once a column in the halls of Oinomaos. Now by Kronos' son I lie, revered, bound with these bonds; nor did consuming flame devour me in fire."

Another event of the same nature also befell this object.

5.20.8

★ A man from the Roman senate gained an Olympic victory. Wishing to leave behind a memorial of his victory, a bronze statue with an inscription, he proceeded to dig to construct a base. When the excavation had come very close to the pillar of Oenomaus, those digging discovered fragments of armor, bridles, and horse-bits.

5.20.9

These things indeed I myself saw while they were being excavated. There is also a temple, not large in size and Dorian in workmanship, called the Metroön even up to my own day, preserving its ancient name. It contains no statue of the Mother of the Gods, but statues of Roman emperors stand therein. Within the Altis are located both the Metroön and a circular structure called the Philippeion; and atop the Philippeion is a bronze poppy that joins together the beams.

5.20.10

This building stands on the left as one goes out toward the Prytaneion; it is constructed of baked bricks, and columns stand around it. It was built for Philip after Greece's defeat at Chaeronea. Statues of Philip and Alexander are set up there, and with them Amyntas the father of Philip. These works also were created by Leochares in ivory and gold, as are likewise the images of Olympias and Eurydike.

Chapter 21

5.21.1

From this point onward, my narrative proceeds to a description of the statues and the offerings. However, I was reluctant to mix together my account of these objects. For indeed, in the Acropolis at Athens, both the statues and all other artifacts alike serve entirely as dedications; whereas in the Altis, some things have been set up in reverence towards the divine, while statues of victors are awarded also to the athletes themselves in recognition of their achievements. Regarding the statues, I will return to a more detailed account later; but my narrative will first turn to the offerings, beginning by surveying those of greatest significance.

5.21.2

As one travels the road toward the stadium from the Metroön, there stands on the left, at the very end of the Cronian hill and near the mountain itself, a stone platform with steps leading up through it. Upon this platform there are set bronze statues of Zeus. These statues were made with money collected from fines imposed upon athletes who committed offenses of hubris during the games; the local people call them Zanes.

5.21.3

They were the first to set up statues, six in number, in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus, a ? Thessalian, had bribed with money the boxers who had come forward–Agetor of Arcadia and Prytanis from Cyzicus, and along with them Phormion, who was from Halicarnassus by birth, and who had previously been victorious at the last Olympiad. This, they say, was the first known offense committed by athletes against the fairness of the competition, and Eupolus, as well as those who accepted gifts from him, were the first whom the Eleans penalized with monetary fines. Two of these statues were the work of Cleon of Sicyon; but who made the other four statues that followed him, we do not know.

5.21.4

Upon these statues, the third and fourth among them, there are elegiac inscriptions carved beside the others. The first of these elegiac verses aims to make clear that Olympic victory is achieved not by wealth, but by fleetness of foot and bodily strength. The second inscription declares that the statue stands through reverence toward the divine and the piety of the Eleans, serving as a warning to athletes who violate the rules. On the fifth and sixth statues, the meaning of the epigram is, on one hand, generally praising the Eleans and especially commending their penalties imposed on boxers, and on the

remaining statue, instructing all Greeks that the statues signify that no one should pay money for an Olympic victory.

5.21.5

After Eupolus, it is said that an Athenian named Callippus, competing in the pentathlon, bribed his rivals with money; this was in the hundred and twelfth Olympiad. When Callippus and those who had competed against him were fined by the Eleans, the Athenians sent Hyperides to persuade the Eleans to remit the penalty. However, when the Eleans refused this favor, the Athenians treated them with such disdain that they neither paid the fine nor participated in the Olympic Games, until the god at Delphi declared that he would respond to none of their inquiries until they had paid the penalty to the Eleans.

5.21.6

? Thus, when the fines had been paid, statues dedicated to Zeus were made–these also numbering six. Upon them are inscribed elegiac verses, poems by no means inferior in skill to those commemorating the fine of Eupolus. The substance of the inscriptions is as follows: first, that the statues were dedicated by command of the oracle, thus honoring those athletes deemed victorious in the pentathlon by the Eleans; the second as well as the third similarly praises the Eleans for imposing such a penalty concerning the pentathlon.

5.21.7

The fourth inscription says that the Olympic contest is one of virtue and not of money. Of the inscriptions on the fifth and sixth statues, one indicates the reason for their dedication, and the other recalls the oracle delivered to the Athenians from Delphi.

5.21.8

? Next in sequence among those mentioned are two statues, which were set up after a penalty had been imposed on certain wrestlers. But the names of these men have escaped my notice, as indeed they seem to have escaped the notice of the Elean guides. Though inscriptions are present also upon these statues, the first states only that the Rhodians paid a fine to Olympian Zeus due to the misconduct of a wrestler; the second declares that the statue was erected with money exacted as a penalty from men who had wrestled for bribes.

5.21.9

? Regarding these athletes, the Elean interpreters say that it was the eighth Olympiad after the hundred and seventieth, and that Eudelus received money from Philostratus, who was a Rhodian. Concerning this account, I have found discrepancies in the list of Olympic victors kept by the Eleans; for in these records, it is stated that Strato of Alexandria, in the eighth Olympiad after the hundred and seventieth, won on the same day the victories both in the pancratium and in wrestling. Alexandria, near the Canobic mouth of the Nile, was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip. Yet it is also said that before then a small Egyptian settlement called Rakotis was situated there.

5.21.10

? Before this Straton, three competitors of an earlier age, as well as three others after him, are recorded to have won the crown of wild olive in both pankration and wrestling: Kapros from Elis itself, Aristomenes of Rhodes from among the Greeks beyond the Aegean, and Protophanes of Magnesia-on-the-Lethaios. The competitors after Straton were Marion, a fellow citizen from the same city, and Aristeas

of Stratonikeia–though earlier the land and the city had been called Chrysaoris–and the seventh was Nikostratos from among the Cilicians by the sea; although these Cilicians share nothing with him except by name alone.

5.21.11

This Nikostratos was still a child when, while in Prymnessos, he was seized by Phrygian bandits, though belonging to a household not without prominence. Having been carried to Aegeae, he was bought there by a certain man. Some time afterward, this man had a dream: he thought that a lions cub was lying beneath the couch on which Nikostratos slept. When Nikostratos grew up, moreover, he won several victories, both in the pankration and in wrestling at Olympia.

5.21.12

Afterwards, other competitors as well as a boxer from Alexandria were fined money by the Eleans at the two hundred and eighteenth Olympiad. The name of the punished athlete was Apollonius, whose nickname was Rhantes–indeed, surnames of this sort seem customary among the Alexandrians. This man was the first Egyptian found guilty of wrongdoing by the Eleans.

5.21.13

He was found guilty, not of bribing or personally receiving money, but of committing another such affront against the contest, namely arriving after the appointed time. The Eleans, upholding their law, insisted that he be excluded from the competition; for although he claimed to have been detained in the Cycladic islands by adverse winds, Heracleides, himself also an Alexandrian by birth, exposed this as a deception, showing that in reality he had delayed his arrival after choosing instead to pursue monetary gain at the athletic contests in Ionia. ?

5.21.14

In this way indeed the Eleans expelled from the contest Apollonius and any other boxer who arrived after the appointed time; they awarded the crown uncontested to Heracleides. At this juncture Apollonius, having fitted his thongs as if for battle, ran at Heracleides and attacked him, even though Heracleides had already received the olive crown and had fled for refuge to the Hellanodikai. For this act Apollonius was about to suffer a severe penalty for his foolish recklessness, and there is also–

5.21.15

Two additional statues testify to an incident from our own time. For in the two hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, two boxers were observed competing for victory, having secretly arranged beforehand that one would yield the victory to the other for monetary gain. They incurred penalties for this; two statues of Zeus were then made, one standing on the left of the entrance to the stadium, and the other on the right. These boxers were named Didas and Sarapammon, who provided the money; they were both from the same district, the youngest in Egypt called Arsinoïtes.

5.21.16

It is indeed a wonder, in general, that one should count the god at Olympia so lightly as to either receive or give bribes concerning the contest; but it is still more astonishing if even someone among the Eleans themselves has dared to do this. It is said that Damonikos, an Elean, ventured such a thing in the one hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. His son Polyktor and Sosandros, a native of Smyrna who bore ?

the same name as his own father, had reached the final wrestling bout for the crown. Damonikos, excessively desirous for his son to gain the victory, is said to have paid money to the father of Sosandros.

5.21.17

When the actions became known, the Hellanodikai imposed a penalty, not upon the boys themselves, but they turned their anger upon their fathers, who were indeed responsible for the wrongdoing. From this fine, statues were made; one of these stands in the gymnasium of the Eleans, and the other is set up in the Altis, before the colonnade called Painted (Poikile), because in ancient times there were paintings on its walls. However, there are also some who call this colonnade the "Echo." For if a man shouts aloud, his voice is repeated seven times by the echo, and sometimes even more frequently.

5.21.18

They say that a pancratiast from Alexandria, whose name was Sarapion, at the two hundred and first Olympiad aroused such fear among his opponents that they fled and disappeared a day before the pancratium was scheduled to take place. Him alone, among all men, even among the Egyptians themselves, they record as having been penalized for cowardice. Such are the recorded matters which I have found to be committed for reasons of this sort.

Chapter 22

5.22.1

There are also statues of Zeus, dedicated both by the community and by private individuals. There is an altar in the Altis near the entrance leading into the stadium; upon this altar the Eleans do not sacrifice to any god, but it is customary that trumpeters and heralds stand upon it to compete. Beside this altar is a bronze pedestal, and upon it stands an image of Zeus, about six cubits high, holding a thunderbolt in each of his hands. It was dedicated by the people of Kynaitha. Next to it is the dedication of a Phliasian named Cleolas–a statue depicting a boy still wearing a necklace and in youthful age.

5.22.2

Near what is called the Hippodameion is a semicircular stone pedestal upon which stand statues of ★
Zeus, Thetis, and Eos, who are supplicating Zeus on behalf of their children. These figures occupy the middle of the pedestal. At either end of the pedestal Achilles and Memnon are portrayed already poised against each other. Others similarly stand opposed in pairs, barbarian against Greek: Odysseus facing Helenus, as both had attained the greatest reputation for wisdom among their respective armies; Alexander positioned against Menelaus because of their ancient enmity; Aeneas opposite Diomedes; and Deiphobus opposite Ajax, son of Telamon.

5.22.3

These works are by Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the Apollonians who live by the ★
Ionian Sea. Indeed, beneath the statue of Zeus there is an elegiac inscription in ancient letters:

"We stand dedicated as memorials of Apollonia, which long-haired Phoebus founded by the Ionian Sea. Having captured the territory of Abantis, we placed these statues here, a tithe from Thronium, together with the gods."

The region called Abantis, and the town of Thronium within it, belonged to Thesprotis, located on the mainland near the Ceraunian mountains.

5.22.4

For when, upon their return from Ilium, the Greeks' fleet was scattered, the Locrians from Thronium ★
upon the river Boagrius, together with the Abantes from Euboea, were driven with eight ships towards the Ceraunian Mountains. Having settled there and founded a city named Thronium, they called the territory they occupied by the general name Abantis. Afterwards, however, they were expelled, having been defeated in war by their neighbors, the Apolloniatae. It is said that Apollonia was colonized from Corcyra, itself a Corinthian colony, and that the Corinthians themselves took part in the spoils.

5.22.5

★? Proceeding forward a short distance, there is a statue of Zeus facing toward the rising sun, holding an eagle as his bird and in his other hand a thunderbolt. On his head is placed a crown of spring flowers. This statue is a dedication of the Metapontines, and is the work of Aristonoos of Aegina. Neither the teacher of this Aristonoos nor the exact period in which he lived is known to us.

5.22.6

★ The Phliasians also dedicated statues representing Zeus, the daughters of Asopus, and Asopus himself; they were arranged as follows: Firstly among the sisters comes Nemea, and after her, Zeus is depicted grasping Aegina. Beside Aegina stands Harpina–according to the tradition of the Eleans and the Phliasians, Harpina was united with Ares, and was mother of Oenomaus, who ruled in the region of Pisa. After her is Corcyra, upon whom is set Thebe, and finally Asopus himself. As to Corcyra, it is said that Poseidon united with her; while Pindar sang differently regarding Thebe and Zeus.

5.22.7

? Privately and not on behalf of their community, certain men of Leontini dedicated a statue of Zeus. The statue is seven cubits in height, and in its hands are an eagle and the thunderbolt of Zeus, as described in the accounts of the poets. Those who dedicated it were Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Aenesidemus, whom I suppose to have been another Aenesidemus, not the one who was tyrant of Leontini.

Chapter 23

5.23.1

As you pass by the entrance to the Council-chamber, there stands a statue of Zeus, bearing no inscription. Turning further toward the north, there is another statue of Zeus; this one faces the rising sun, and was dedicated by those Greeks who fought at Plataea against Mardonius and the Medes. Upon the right side of its pedestal are inscribed the names of the cities that took part in the battle: first come the Lacedaemonians, next after them the Athenians; third and fourth listed are the Corinthians and the Sicyonians.

5.23.2

Fifth were the Aeginetans, and after them came the Megarians and the Epidaurians; of the Arcadians were the Tegeans and the Orchomenians; following these were those who inhabited Phlius, Troezen, and Hermione; from Argive territory came the Tirynthians, and the Plataeans were the only Boeotians present. Also participating were the Argives holding Mycenae; islanders attending included the Ceans and the Melians, and from the mainland facing Thesprotia came the Ambraciots. There were also the Tenians and Lepreans–the Lepreans alone came from Triphylia; and from the Aegean and the Cyclades were represented not only the Tenians but also the Naxians and Cythnians. From Euboea came the Styrians; and following these, the Eleans, the Potidaeans, and the Anactorians participated. Lastly came the Chalcidians who dwell by the Euripus.

5.23.3

Of these cities, the following were deserted in my own time: Mycenae and Tiryns were first reduced in strength by the Persian wars and later utterly destroyed by the Argives; the people of Ambracia and Anactorium, colonies originally founded by the Corinthians, were removed by the emperor of the Romans and gathered together in the settlement of Nicopolis near Actium. As for Potidaea, it twice suffered depopulation: once when captured by Philip the son of Amyntas, after having previously been taken by the Athenians. Later Cassander restored the inhabitants to their homes, though no longer under the city's original name; instead, it was called Cassandreia after its founder. The statue at Olympia, dedicated by the Greeks, was made by Anaxagoras of Aegina; yet the historians who have written accounts of Plataea omit him from their narratives.

5.23.4

Before this statue of Zeus there is a bronze pillar bearing the treaty of peace between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, concluded for a period of thirty years. The Athenians made this treaty after they had

subdued Euboea for the second time, in the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad, during which Crison of Himera won the stadion race. It is stated in this treaty, moreover, that the Argive city should have no part in the peace between Athens and Lacedaemon, but that the Athenians and Argives could, if they desired, maintain friendly relations independently. Such are the provisions recorded in the treaty. There is another statue of Zeus beside the chariot.

5.23.5

? There is also dedicated a statue of Cleosthenes; I shall have occasion to mention this Cleosthenes again later on. The statue of Zeus is an offering of the Megarians, and it was made by the brothers Psylacus and Onaethus, together with their sons. However, I cannot specify their period, their city of origin, nor from whom they learned their craft.

5.23.6

? Beside Gelon's chariot stands an ancient statue of Zeus, holding a scepter. They say it was an offering from the Hyblaeans. Now there were regions in Sicily called Hybla, one surnamed Gereatis, while the other was called the Greater–as indeed it was. Even in my day they still retained these names. In Catanaean territory, one Hybla is utterly deserted, while the Gereatis Hybla is now a village of the Catanaeans and has a sanctuary of the goddess Hyblaea, honored by the Sicilians. I believe the statue was brought from these people to Olympia, for according to Philistus, the son of Archomenides, they were interpreters of omens and dreams, and among the barbarians of Sicily, they excelled most of all in reverence toward the gods.

5.23.7

? Near the dedication by the Hyblaeans stands a pedestal made of bronze, and upon it Zeus; this figure we estimate to be about eighteen feet high. Who gave the image to the god and whose craft fashioned it is indicated by an inscribed elegiac couplet:

"This statue as a tithe to the god the Cleitorians dedicated, Having conquered many cities by force of arms. Ariston and Telestas, brothers born, noble Laconians, Skilfully wrought it."

I do not think these craftsmen achieved fame throughout Greece; otherwise the Eleans would have much to say about them, and even more surely would the Lacedaemonians, since they were citizens.

Chapter 24

5.24.1

Next to Zeus surnamed Laoites and Poseidon Laoites–and beside the altar belonging to them–is Zeus standing upon a bronze pedestal, a gift dedicated by the people of Corinth. This statue is the work of Musus, whoever this Musus may be. As one goes from the council-chamber towards the great temple, there is another statue of Zeus on the left hand; he is crowned, as it appears, with flowers, and in his right hand he holds a crafted thunderbolt. This statue is the work of Ascarus, a Theban, who was the pupil of Canachus of Sicyon. The inscription on it states that it was dedicated as a tithe from the war between the Phocians and the Thessalians.

5.24.2

But if these men engaged in war with the Phocians, and the dedication resulted from their contest with the Phocians, the conflict at least could not be one called "sacred"; rather, it must have been some earlier war they undertook before the Persians and their king made their expedition against Greece. Not far from this is a statue of Zeus, which, as the inscription upon it makes clear, was dedicated by the people of Psophis as a thanksgiving for success in war.

5.24.3

To the right of the great temple there is a statue of Zeus facing eastward, twelve feet in height. They say it was dedicated as an offering by the Lacedaemonians at the time of their second declaration of war against the revolting Messenians. Upon it is also inscribed an elegiac couplet:

"Receive, Olympian Zeus, son of Cronus, graciously in your spirit This noble image from the Lacedaemonians."

5.24.4

Of the Romans, neither any private individual nor any senator is known to us to have made a dedication in a Greek sanctuary before Mummius. Mummius, however, dedicated from the spoils he took from Achaea a bronze statue of Zeus at Olympia; it stands to the left of the Spartan offering, near the first pillar of the temple on this side. The largest bronze statue of Zeus in the Altis was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the spoils of war against the Arcadians; its height is twenty-seven feet.

5.24.5

Beside the Pelopion, there is a not very tall pillar, and upon it a small statue of Zeus, holding forth one hand. Opposite this are other votive offerings arranged in a row, among which similarly appear figures of Zeus and Ganymede. These were created according to Homer's account, depicting how Ganymede was seized by the gods to serve as cupbearer to Zeus, and how horses were given to Tros as compensation for him. This dedication was offered by Gnathis, a Thessalian, and was crafted by Aristocles, who was both the pupil and son of Cleoetas.

5.24.6

There is also another Zeus without a beard, situated among the offerings dedicated by Mikythos. Concerning Mikythos, his lineage, and the reason for most of his dedications at Olympia, these matters will be explained in my following narrative. A short distance onward in a direct line from the statue just mentioned stands another statue of Zeus, likewise without a beard; this is an offering of the Eleans, who dwell in Aeolis, the first people encountered when going down from the plain of the Kaikos River to the sea.

5.24.7

Next to this is another statue of Zeus, whose inscription states that the people of Chersonesus in Cnidus set it up after a victory over enemies. On either side of Zeus they dedicated figures of Pelops and the river Alpheius. The city of the Cnidians is built mostly on the mainland in Caria, and there especially are the places most worthy of account. The area called Chersonesus is an island lying near the mainland and joined to it by a bridge, across which one can pass.

5.24.8

? And the inhabitants there dedicated offerings to Zeus at Olympia; just as if certain men possessing the so-called sanctuary of Koresos in the city of the Ephesians were to claim that their dedication was something private, distinct from the common dedication of all the Ephesians. Also, near the wall of the Altis stands a Zeus statue facing toward the sunset; it bears no inscription, but this too was said to be an offering by Mummius and from the war against the Achaeans.

5.24.9

The statue in the Council-chamber is, among all the images of Zeus, the one particularly fashioned to strike terror into wicked men. It has the epithet "Horkios" (Guardian of Oaths), and holds a thunderbolt in each hand. Beside it there is established a custom for athletes, their fathers and brothers, and also their trainers to swear on the flesh of a boar that they will commit no wrongdoing concerning the Olympic Games. Additionally, the athletes themselves solemnly swear further that for ten successive months they have strictly observed every detail of their training.

5.24.10

? Those who judge the youths or the foals of racing horses swear an oath that they will make their decision justly and without bribes, and that they will safeguard matters concerning both those who pass examination and those who do not, keeping all such information secret. I neglected to inquire why they established the practice of swearing this oath upon a boar together with the athletes; in earlier times, however, it was customary that the animal upon which an oath was sworn should be sacrificed, and thereafter no longer considered edible by humans. Homer above all reveals this clearly:

5.24.11

Indeed, regarding the boar by which Agamemnon swore an oath declaring that Briseis remained ★
untouched by his bed, Homer showed this boar released into the sea by the herald, saying, "Then cut the boar's throat with pitiless bronze; this boar Talthybius, whirling around, cast into the great expanse of the grey sea as food for fishes." (Hom. Il. 19.266-268) Thus did people of old hold such practices sacred. Before the feet of the image of Zeus Horkios there is a bronze tablet, on which elegiac verses have been inscribed; these lines aim to inspire fear in those inclined to perjury.

Chapter 25

5.25.1

We have now enumerated, as accurately as possible, the many statues of Zeus within the Altis. As for the offering placed near the great temple by a Corinthian–though not one of the original Corinthians, but one of those who received the city from the king–this dedication is an image of Alexander, the son of Philip, represented supposedly in the likeness of Zeus. As many other statues as remain, which do not imitate Zeus, we shall also mention these. But those likenesses dedicated, not out of reverence toward divinity but as marks of respect to men themselves, we will include in our account concerning the athletes.

5.25.2

Once, according to an ancient tradition, the Messenians were sending a chorus of boys–thirty-five in number–along with a teacher for the chorus and a flute-player, across the strait to Rhegium for a local festival celebrated by the Rhegians. But disaster befell them on one occasion, and none of those dispatched returned home safely. Rather, the ship carrying the boys disappeared with all on board into the depths of the sea. Indeed, this sea passage at the strait is the stormiest part of all seas.

5.25.3

For the winds disturb this sea from both sides, driving waves upon it from the Adriatic and from the other sea called Tyrrhenian. Even when the winds cease to blow, the strait itself still violently fluctuates and produces powerful tidal currents from its own nature. Moreover, such great numbers of monstrous creatures gather there that even the air above the sea becomes heavy with their odor, leaving no hope whatsoever for survival to any shipwrecked sailor. If it happened that Odysseus' ship was destroyed there, under normal circumstances no one would be convinced that he could swim alive to Italy. But the favor of the gods makes every task effortless.

5.25.4

At that time the Messenians grieved over the loss of their children, and they devised various other honors for them. Among these, they dedicated bronze statues at Olympia, depicting the boys along with their chorus-master and flute-player. The original inscription upon them made clear that the dedication was from the Messenians settled at Rhegium. Later, Hippias, whom the Greeks considered wise, composed elegiac verses about these statues. The statues themselves were works by Callon of Elis.

5.25.5

? On the promontory of Sicily facing Libya and the south, called Pachynos, is a city called Motye; it is inhabited by Libyans and Phoenicians. The people of Akragas went to war with these foreign inhabitants of Motye, and having taken plunder and booty from them, dedicated bronze statues of boys at Olympia. These statues have their right hands stretched out, as if they were praying to the god. They stand along the wall of the Altis. I myself conjectured that these were works of Kalamis, and the same tradition concerning them was generally held.

5.25.6

Sicily is inhabited by the following peoples: the Sicanians, Sicels, and Phrygians–the first two groups migrated there from Italy, but the Phrygians came from the Scamander river and the region of the Troad. The Phoenicians and Libyans together sailed to the island in an expedition, and they are colonists sent from Carthage. These, then, are the barbarian nations in Sicily. As for the Greeks, the island is inhabited by both Dorians and Ionians, along with small communities descended from the Phocians and from Attica.

5.25.7

★ On the same wall are dedications from the people of Acragas and two bronze statues of Heracles, depicted nude as youths. The one at Nemea is represented shooting at the lion. This representation of Heracles along with the lion was dedicated by Hippotion of Tarentum and crafted by Nicodamus of Maenalus. The other statue is a dedicated offering from Anaxippus of Mende, and was brought here by the Eleans. Previously, it stood at the end of the road called "Sacred," which leads from Elis to Olympia.

5.25.8

★ There are also offerings set up in common by the Achaean nation, representing those Greeks who drew lots and stood prepared to fight when challenged by Hector to single combat. These figures stand near the great temple, armed with spears and shields; opposite, on another pedestal, is depicted Nestor placing the lot of each man into the helmet. Although the number of those who drew lots to face Hector was originally nine–since they say Nero carried away the ninth figure, that of Odysseus, to Rome–only eight of these statues remain.

5.25.9

★ The name of Agamemnon is inscribed there; and it is written from right to left. As for the warrior who has a cock as a device upon his shield, he is identified as Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. Idomeneus traces his lineage from Helios, the father of Pasiphae. They say that the bird is sacred to Helios, and announces beforehand the rising of the sun.

5.25.10

★ An epigram is also written upon the pedestal:

"These statues the Achaeans dedicated to Zeus, Descendants of divine Pelops, son of Tantalus."

That inscription is indeed found here. The name of the sculptor, whoever he was, is engraved upon the shield of Idomeneus:

"Many other skilful works as well as this one are by Onatas, The Aeginetan, whom Mikon begot as his son."

5.25.11

Not far from the dedication of the Achaeans is a figure of Heracles fighting for the belt against an ★
Amazon, a mounted woman. This was dedicated by Euagoras, a native of Zancle, and made by Aristocles of Cydonia. Aristocles may also be counted among the oldest sculptors. Although no one could exactly determine his date, it is clear that he lived before the time when Zancle was renamed Messene, the name by which we know it today.

5.25.12

The Thasians, who were Phoenicians originally and who had sailed from Tyre together with other ★
Phoenicians along with Thasos, son of Agenor, during the search for Europa, dedicated a statue of Heracles at Olympia. Its pedestal, like the image itself, is made of bronze. The height of the statue is ten cubits; he holds a club in his right hand, and a bow in his left. I heard that these same Thasians honored originally the same Heracles worshipped by the Tyrians, but later, after entering into Greek customs, they resolved to pay reverence also to the Heracles who was the son of Amphitryon.

5.25.13

On the dedication of the Thasians at Olympia there is an elegiac couplet inscribed:

"Onatas himself, son of Mikon, fashioned me, dwelling in Aegina within his house."

Yet, though this Onatas belonged to the school of Aeginetan sculpture, I would place him second to none among artists since Daedalus and the Attic workshop.

Chapter 26

5.26.1

The Messenians, who are Dorians, once received Naupactus from the Athenians, and dedicated at ? Olympia upon a pillar an image of Victory. This statue is a work by Paeonius of Mende, and was made from spoils taken from enemy forces–I believe at the time they fought against the Acarnanians and the Oeniadae. But the Messenians themselves say that the dedication is connected with the action carried out together with the Athenians on the island of Sphacteria. They say further that their omission of their enemies' name in the inscription was due to fear of the Spartans, while they felt no such fear concerning the Oeniadae or Acarnanians.

5.26.2

The offerings dedicated by Mikythos I found to be both numerous and not consecutively arranged. But ★ near the images of Iphitos of Elis and Ekecheiria ("Truce") crowning Iphitos are situated the following dedications of Mikythos: Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Hestia. The artist who made them was Glaukos of Argos. Beside the great temple on the left-hand side Mikythos dedicated other statues: Kore, daughter of Demeter, and Aphrodite, Ganymede, and Artemis, as well as statues of the poets Homer and Hesiod, and again statues of the gods Asklepios and Hygieia.

5.26.3

Among the dedications of Mikythos there stands an Agon carrying jumping-weights. These jumping-weights have a shape as follows: they resemble a somewhat elongated circle rather than a perfectly round shape, and they are fashioned so that the fingers of a hand may be inserted into them as through the handles of a shield. Such, then, is the stated form of these objects. Beside the statue of Agon are figures of Dionysus, of the Thracian Orpheus, and a statue of Zeus, which I have mentioned a little earlier. These works are by Dionysius of Argos. It is said that Mikythos dedicated additional objects along with these as well, but Nero is reported to have taken even these away.

5.26.4

As to those who created these works–two Argives by birth, Dionysius and Glaucus–they mention no teacher at all. Micythus, who dedicated the artists' works at Olympia, indicates their approximate period. About this very Micythus, Herodotus mentions in his account that he was a slave of Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium, and steward of the wealth of Anaxilas. Later, after Anaxilas' death, Micythus departed from there and went to Tegea.

5.26.5

The inscriptions upon the offerings name Choerus as the father of Micythus, and they attribute to him the Greek cities of Rhegium, his homeland, and Messene by the strait. According to the inscriptions, Micythus was then living in Tegea; the offerings he dedicated at Olympia were made in fulfillment of a vow he undertook for the recovery of his son from a wasting illness.

5.26.6

? Near to the larger votive offerings of Mikythos, which are the work of Glaukos of Argos, there stands a statue of Athena, wearing a helmet and clad in an aegis. It was made by Nikodamos of Mainalos, but it was dedicated by the Eleans. Beside the Athena has been set up a statue of Victory, dedicated by the Mantineans, though the inscription does not indicate to which war it refers. They say that Kalamis made this figure without wings, imitating the wooden image at Athens known as Wingless Victory.

5.26.7

★ Near the smaller offerings dedicated by Mikythos, which were made by Dionysios, are representations of Herakles' labors: against the lion in Nemea, the Hydra, the dog of Hades, and the boar at the River Erymanthos. These were carried off to Olympia by the Herakleots after they had ravaged the land of the neighboring barbarian tribe of the Mariandynoi. Herakleia itself is a city established on the Euxine Sea, colonized originally from Megara, with the Tanagraians of Boeotia taking part in the founding expedition.

Chapter 27

5.27.1

Directly opposite the dedications I have just listed are some other offerings arranged in a row, facing south, situated closest to the precinct dedicated to Pelops. Among them are the dedications set up by Phormis from Maenalus. Having gone from Maenalus to Sicily, Phormis served under Gelon son of Deinomenes, and afterwards under Gelon's brother Hieron; distinguishing himself brilliantly in their campaigns, he became so prosperous that he dedicated these offerings at Olympia, and others as well to Apollo at Delphi.

5.27.2

The dedications at Olympia consist of two horses with two charioteers; next to each horse stands a charioteer. The first pair of horse and man were made by Dionysios of Argos, while the second are works by Simon the Aeginetan. On the flank of the first horse there is an inscription; the opening words are not in metrical form, but read thus: "Dedicated by Phormis, an Arcadian from Mainalos, but now of Syracuse."

5.27.3

This is the horse concerning which the legend of the "hippomanes" told by the Eleans is maintained. Clearly in other respects also, what happened to the animal was due to the cunning of a magician. It falls far short in size and appearance of all the horses that stand within the Altis; moreover, its tail has been cut off, making it even more disgraceful in this state. Male horses, throughout the entire day and not merely in springtime, are madly attracted to it.

5.27.4

For indeed, they rush into the Altis either breaking their bonds or fleeing from those who lead them, and leap upon it with far greater frenzy than they would mount a living mare, even one most beautiful and gentle. Their hooves slip upon it, yet nevertheless they do not desist, neighing all the louder and springing upon it with more vehement impulse, until finally they are drawn away by lashes and great force; and until that time there is for them no release whatsoever from the bronze.

5.27.5

I have also personally seen something else in Lydia, different indeed in wonder from the horse of Phormis, yet likewise not free from the skill of magicians. For the Lydians called "Persians" have

sanctuaries in a city named Hierocaesareia and in Hypaepa; and in each of these temples there is a chamber, and in the chamber on an altar there is ash. This ash, however, in its entire appearance is not like ordinary ash.

5.27.6

? Entering the chamber, a magician brought dry sticks and placed them upon the altar; first he put a tiara upon his head, and then began to chant invocations to one of the gods–in a barbarous tongue entirely unintelligible to Greeks. He recited the invocation, reading from a book; and immediately, without any fire, the sticks necessarily ignited, and a bright flame shone forth from them.

5.27.7

Let these remarks suffice to clarify the matter. Among these dedications, Phormis himself is depicted standing against an enemy warrior, and immediately afterward he is shown battling a second, and yet again a third opponent. The inscription on these figures states that the soldier engaged in combat is Phormis of Maenalus, and that the dedicator is Lycurtas of Syracuse. Clearly, this Lycurtas set up the dedication out of friendship toward Phormis. Indeed, although the dedications were made by Lycurtas, even the Greeks themselves call them "the dedications of Phormis."

5.27.8

The Hermes, who carries a ram beneath his arm and wears on his head a helmet, dressed in a tunic and cloak, is no longer among the votive offerings of Phormis; it was dedicated to the god by the Arcadians from Pheneus. The inscription states that it was made by Onatas the Aeginetan, and with him was Calliteles; it seems to me likely that Calliteles was a pupil or son of Onatas. Not far from the Pheneatans' offering there is another statue of Hermes holding the herald's staff; according to the inscription upon it, Glaukias, a native of Rhegium, dedicated it, and it was sculpted by Callon of Elis.

5.27.9

? Of the bronze oxen, one was dedicated by the Corcyraeans, and the other is an offering of the Eretrians, wrought by Philesius of Eretria. Concerning the reason for which the Corcyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another ox at Delphi, my account of the Phocaeans will make clear. But I have heard the following story about what happened concerning their dedication at Olympia.

5.27.10

Under this ox, a small boy, seated and leaning downward, was playing; suddenly raising his head, he struck it against the bronze, and from this wound he died not many days afterward. The Eleans, considering the ox defiled with blood-guilt, intended to remove it from the Altis, but the god at Delphi instructed them to leave the dedication in its place and to perform upon it the rites of purification customary among Greeks for involuntary homicide.

5.27.11

There is beneath the plane trees in the Altis, almost precisely in the center of the enclosure, a bronze trophy, and upon the shield of this trophy is an inscription stating that the Eleans set it up as a dedication from their victory over the Lacedaemonians. During this same battle, the man was overtaken by death who was later discovered, armed and still lying in this place, at the time when, as I have already mentioned, the roof of the Heraion was undergoing repairs.

5.27.12

Of the offerings, the one dedicated by the Mendaeans in Thrace came closest to deceiving me into ?
believing that it was an athlete's statue of a pentathlete; it stands near that of Anauchidas of Elis, and holds ancient jumping weights in its hands. An elegiac inscription is written upon its thigh:

"To Zeus, king of the gods, the Mendaeans placed me here as a choice offering, Having subdued Sipte by force of arms."

Sipte appears to have been a fortress and a city in Thrace; the Mendaeans themselves are of Greek descent and originated from Ionia. They live inland from the sea near the city of Ainos.

Part VI

Book 6: Elis II

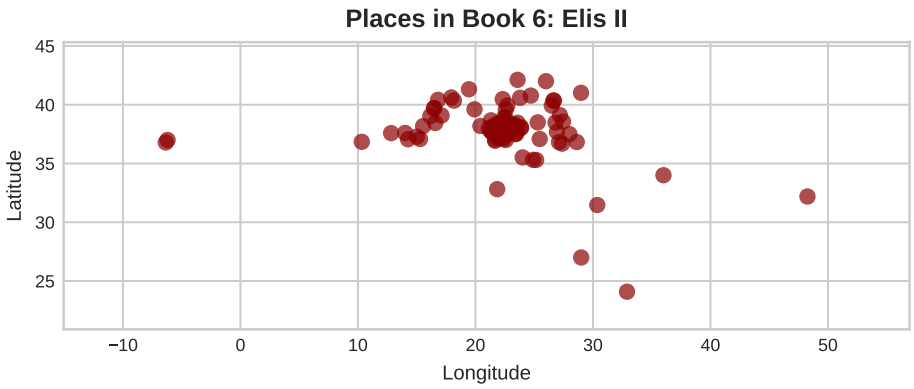

Figure 171.1: Places mentioned in Book 6: Elis II

Chapter 172

Chapter 1

6.1.1

Following my account of the dedications, it is now appropriate for me next to make mention also of victorious racehorses, and likewise of athletes and private individuals. However, not all of those who triumphed at Olympia have statues erected in their honor; rather, some who have performed brilliantly in the competition, and others who excelled also in various deeds, nevertheless obtained no images whatsoever.

6.1.2

The account requires me to omit these athletes, since my present work is not intended as a catalogue of all those who have won victories at Olympia, but is rather a description of dedications, chiefly statues, along with other votive offerings. Nor shall I cover all the bronze statues standing here, knowing full well how many athletes have already won the wild olive garland by fortune of the lot rather than by strength. Still, of those whose personal reputation is remarkable, or whose statues themselves surpass the others in craftsmanship, of these I myself shall make mention.

6.1.3

On the right side of the temple of Hera stands the statue of a wrestler named Symmachos, son of Aischylos, an Eleian by birth. Beside him is Neolaidas son of Proxenos, from Pheneos in Arcadia, who won a victory in boxing among boys. Next to him stands Archedamos son of Xenias, another Eleian, who likewise overcame boy wrestlers. All of these aforementioned statues were crafted by Alypos of Sikyon, a pupil of Naukydes the Argive.

6.1.4

The epigram upon Cleogenes, according to Silenus, says he was a native of the area, and that he won his victory with a riding horse chosen from his own herd. Near Cleogenes lie the graves of Deinolochos and Troilos, son of Alkinos. These too were of Elis by birth, but they did not attain their victories in the same events. The one man had the distinction of acting as Hellanodikes as well as being crowned victor in horse races; Troilos, on the other hand, won with the full-grown chariot team and also with the racing chariot of colts. And his victory was in the hundred-and-second Olympiad.

6.1.5

From this event onward the Eleans passed a law that none of the Hellanodikai should enter horses for the competitions thereafter. Lysippos made the statue of this man. Now, Deinolochos' mother dreamed that she held her son in her arms crowned with a victor's wreath. Because of this vision, Deinolochos trained himself for the contest and outran the boys competing against him. The statue is the work of Kleon from Sikyon.

6.1.6

Regarding Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, both her ancestry and her Olympic victories, I have already spoken previously in the account of the Spartan kings. At Olympia, beside the statue of Troilus, there is built a stone platform; upon it stands a chariot drawn by horses, with a male charioteer, and an image of Cynisca herself made by Apellas. There are also inscriptions written in honor of Cynisca.

6.1.7

Next are statues of Lacedaemonians exhibited consecutively after Cynisca, commemorating their victories in horse-racing. Anaxander was the first to achieve renown in a chariot race, while the inscription upon his statue records that earlier still his father was crowned victor in the pentathlon. He appears in the posture of one offering thanks to the god. Polykles, surnamed Polychalkos, also was victorious in the four-horse chariot race; the statue representing him holds a ribbon in its right hand.

6.1.8

Beside him are two boys, one holding a wheel and the other reaching for the victor's ribbon. Polykles, as the inscription upon him says, won victories with horses at Pytho, Isthmus, and Nemea.

Chapter 2

6.2.1

The statue of the pankratiast was made by Lysippos. This man was Xenarkes, son of Philandrides, who was the first from among the Acarnanians altogether and from the city of Stratos itself to win the pankration victory. Now the Lacedaemonians, after the invasion of the Mede, became the most ambitious of all Greeks in breeding horses. For besides those whom I have already enumerated, these additional Spartans renowned as breeders of horses are listed after the statue of the Acarnanian athlete: Xenarkes, Lykinos, Arkesilaos, and Lichas, the son of Arkesilaos.

6.2.2

Indeed, Xenarkes happened to win victories at Delphi, Argos, and also at Corinth. Lykinos brought young horses to Olympia, and when one of them was not approved, he placed the colts among the full-grown horses in their contest, and through them he won; and he dedicated two statues at Olympia, works by Myron the Athenian. Now Arkesilaos and his son Lichas together won two Olympic victories. At a time when Spartans were barred from competition, Lichas entered a chariot under the name of the Theban people, and when his charioteer won, he himself tied the victory ribbon around him. For this reason, the judges flogged him, and because of this Lichas, during that Olympiad, the law against him was...

6.2.3

In the reign of King Agis, the Lacedaemonians launched a campaign against the Eleans, and a battle took place within the Altis itself. When hostilities ceased, he set up this statue here, but the Eleans inscribed neither Lichas's name nor the name of Sparta among the Olympic victors; instead, they recorded the city of the Thebans as having won the victory.

6.2.4

Near the statue of Lichas stands Thrasybulus, the Eleian seer, the son of Aeneas and one of the Iamidae. This man prophesied for the Mantineans against the Lacedaemonians and King Agis, son of Eudamidas. I shall speak more fully about these matters in my account of Arcadia. On the statue of Thrasybulus, there is a gecko crawling upon his right shoulder, and beside him lies a dog, offered as a sacrificial victim, cut in half and displaying its liver.

6.2.5

Divination by examining young goats, lambs, and calves has long been established and well known among men, while the Cyprians have even discovered ways to practice divination by pigs. However, nobody at all considers dogs useful for divination. Thus it appears that Thrasybulus established some personal method of divination through inspecting the entrails of dogs. The so-called Iamidae became diviners descended from Iamus, whom Pindar in one of his poems claims to have been a son of Apollo, having received from him the gift of prophecy.

6.2.6

Next to the statue of Thrasybulus stands Timosthenes of Elis, who won a victory in the boys' footrace, and Antipater of Miletus, who trained boys, sons of Cleinopatrus, in boxing. Some Syracusans, who were bringing an offering from Dionysius to Olympia, persuaded Antipater's father with money to declare that his son was from Syracuse. Antipater, however, counting as nothing the gifts of the tyrant, publicly proclaimed himself to be Milesian, and inscribed upon his statue that he was Milesian by descent, and that he was the first of the Ionians to dedicate a statue at Olympia.

6.2.7

Now the statue of this man was the work of Polycleitus, while that of Timosthenes was made by Eutychides of Sicyon, a pupil of Lysippus. This Eutychides also created for the Syrians dwelling on the Orontes a statue of Tyche, which is held in very high honor by the local people.

6.2.8

In the Altis, next to the statue of Timosthenes, stand Timon and his son Aesypus. Aesypus is portrayed as a child seated upon a horse. Indeed, the child's victory was in a horse-race, while Timon himself was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. These statues of Timon and his son were made by Daedalus of Sicyon, who also created the trophy erected in the Altis in honor of the Eleans' victory over the Lacedaemonians.

6.2.9

The inscription on the statue of the Samian boxer tells that Mykon, the trainer, set it up, and that the Samians are the best of the Ionians, both in contests of athletics and in naval battles. Such is the content of the epigram, but about the boxer himself it makes no reference at all.

6.2.10

Next to him is Damiscus, a Messenian, who won his Olympic victory at the age of only twelve. I considered this achievement especially remarkable, among others, since after their exile from the Peloponnese fortune ceased to favor the Messenians in the Olympic competitions. For aside from Leontiscus and Symmachus, Messenians from the Sicilian Strait area, no other Messenian, either from Sicily or from Naupactus, is known to have achieved a victory at Olympia. And even these two, according to the Sicilians, were ancient Zancleans in origin rather than Messenians.

6.2.11

The fortune of the Olympic contests also accompanied the Messenians upon their return into the Peloponnese. For, in the year following the founding of Messene, when the Eleans were celebrating the

Olympian games, this very Damiskos won the footrace for boys; and afterward, when he competed as a pentathlete, he gained victories at both Nemea and Isthmia.

Chapter 3

6.3.1

Next to Damiskos stands a man whose identity they do not state; indeed, the name is not recorded on the statue. The dedication is by Ptolemy, son of Lagos; and Ptolemy, though ruling as king in Egypt, called himself Macedonian in the inscription. A youth, the boxer Chairias of Sikyon, has an epigram recording that he won victories at a young age and naming his father as Chairemon; the artist who fashioned the statue is also inscribed–Asterion, son of Aischylos.

6.3.2

After Chaireas, there are statues dedicated of Sophius, a boy from Messenia, and Stomius, a man from Elis. The boy surpassed his rivals in running, while Stomius, competing in the pentathlon, won three victories at Olympia and at the Nemean games. The inscription upon his statue further states that he also led the Eleans to victory in horse-racing and, commanding their forces, slew in single combat an enemy general who had challenged him.

6.3.3

The Eleans say that he was from Sicyon and ruled over the Sicyonians, and that they themselves, in alliance with the Thebans, undertook a campaign against Sicyon, together with the forces from Boeotia. Thus it would seem that the expedition of the Eleans and Thebans against Sicyon took place after the disaster suffered by the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra.

6.3.4

Next in order is a statue of the boxer Labax son of Euphron from Lepreum in Elis, and there is also here a statue of Aristodemos son of Thrasis, a wrestler from Elis itself. Aristodemos won two victories at Pytho as well. His statue is the work of Daidalos of Sikyon, who was both pupil and father of Patrokles.

6.3.5

Damokritos of Sikyon made the statue of Hippos of Elis, who had won the boys' boxing match. Damokritos' teaching lineage went back, through five masters, to the Attic sculptor Kritias. For Ptolichos of Corcyra learned directly under Kritias himself; Amphion was a pupil of Ptolichos; from Amphion was taught Pison, a man from Calaureia; and Damokritos was instructed by this Pison.

6.3.6

Cratinus from Aegeira in Achaia was at that time the most handsome of all his contemporaries among the Achaeans, and he wrestled especially skillfully; having conquered in wrestling, he was permitted by the Eleans to set up also statues of the boys and of his trainer. The statue of Cratinus was made by Cantharus of Sicyon, the son of Alexis, who had been a student of Eutychides.

6.3.7

The statue of Eupolemus of Elis was made by Daedalus of Sicyon; according to the inscription upon it, Eupolemus won at Olympia in the men's stadion race, and he had also other crowns, two from Delphi for pentathlon victories and another from Nemea. Moreover, these things are recounted concerning Eupolemus: that at the finish line stood three judges; two of them awarded the victory to Eupolemus, while the third awarded it to Leon of Ambracia. It is further said that Leon brought an action before the Olympic council against each of the two judges who decided Eupolemus the victor, accusing them and causing them to be fined.

6.3.8

? The Achaeans dedicated the statue of Oebotas by command of the god Apollo at Delphi in the eightieth Olympiad; but Oebotas victory in the foot-race had taken place in the sixth Olympiad. How, then, could Oebotas have fought alongside the Greeks at the battle of Plataea? For the defeat of Mardonius and the Persians at Plataea occurred in the seventy-fifth Olympiad. I myself must indeed relate what is asserted by the Greeks; however, it is no longer necessary to believe everything. As for the other circumstances concerning Oebotas, I will deal with them in my account of the Achaeans.

6.3.9

The statue of Antiochus was made by Nicodamus. Antiochus was by birth from Lepreum, and he won at Olympia in the men's pankration once; at the Isthmian and Nemean games he twice won the pentathlon at each of these contests. For the Lepreans have no fear of the Isthmian games, as the Eleans indeed themselves do have. For instance, Hysmon the Elean– whose statue stands next to that of Antiochus–in his athletic career won the pentathlon victory at the Olympic Games and also secured one Nemean victory; yet obviously he, like other Eleans, was barred from competing at the Isthmian Games.

6.3.10

★ It is said that, while Hysmon was still a boy, a rheumatic illness settled into his sinews, and that for this very reason he undertook training in the pentathlon, so that through these exertions he might become a healthy and disease-free man. And indeed the practice itself brought him, as it turned out, distinguished athletic victories. His statue is a work of Cleon and holds ancient jumping-weights.

6.3.11

Next after Hysmon lies a statue dedicated to a boy wrestler from Heraea in Arcadia, Nicostratus, son of Xenocleides. Pantias made this statue; he was the seventh pupil in succession from Aristocles the Sicyonian, when counting through his line of teachers. Dicon, the son of Callibrotus, won five foot-race victories at Pytho, three victories at the Isthmian games, four at Nemea, and in Olympia one victory as a boy and another two as a man. At Olympia he has statues equal in number to his victories. When he first won a victory as a boy he was proclaimed as being from Caulonia, as indeed he originally was; afterward he had himself proclaimed from Syracuse in exchange for money.

6.3.12

Caulonia was settled in Italy by colonists from Achaea, and Typhon of Aegium became its founder. Later, when Pyrrhus son of Aeacides and the Tarentines entered into war against the Romans, many of the cities in Italy were devastated, some by the Romans and others by the Epirotes. Caulonia too was captured by the Campanians–who formed the greatest contingent among the Roman allies–and was utterly deserted and ruined.

6.3.13

Upon the statue of Dicon stands Xenophon, son of Menephylus, a competitor in the pankration from Aegium of the Achaeans, and also Pyrilampes of Ephesus, who gained victory in the long-distance race. The statue of the former was made by Olympos, while the sculptor who fashioned Pyrilampes bears the same name as the athlete himself, Pyrilampes; he was not of Sicyonian origin but rather from Messene beneath Ithome.

6.3.14

The Samians dedicated at Olympia a statue of Lysander, son of Aristocritus, a Spartan. Of the inscriptions upon it, the first runs as follows:

"In the far-famed precinct of high-ruling Zeus I stand, erected by the flourishing Samians."

This inscription indicates who set up the offering; the following words praise Lysander himself:

"Lysander, having achieved glory by your deeds, you possess undying fame for your homeland and Aristocritus."

Thus it is clear how the Samians and the rest of the Ionians felt.

6.3.15

According to what is said by the Ionians themselves, they used to plaster over the two walls. Indeed when Alcibiades stood powerful with the Athenian navy around Ionia, most of the Ionians showed him honor, and a bronze statue of Alcibiades set up by the Samians stands as a dedication by the temple of Hera at Samos. But when the Attic fleet was captured at Aegospotami, the Samians set up at Olympia a statue of Lysander, while the Ephesians dedicated in the temple of Artemis figures of Lysander himself, and Eteonicus, Pharax, and other Spartans who were very little known in the Greek world.

6.3.16

When later the situation reversed again, and Konon had secured victory in the naval battle around Knidos and the mountain called Dorion, the Ionians likewise altered their stance. Bronze statues of Konon and Timotheos may be seen set up at Samos near the temple of Hera, as well as similarly at Ephesos near the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess. These circumstances always remain thus, and likewise all people continually honor whatever surpasses them in power.

Chapter 4

6.4.1

Next to the statue of Lysander stands an Ephesian boxer who defeated all comers among the boys–his name was Athenaios–and a Sicyonian man named Sostratos, a pancratiast nicknamed Akrochersites ("the finger-tips man"), because he would grasp the fingertips of his opponent's hands and break them; nor would he release them until he perceived that his opponent had admitted defeat.

6.4.2

He gained altogether twelve victories in succession at Nemea and at the Isthmus, two at Delphi, and three at Olympia. The Eleans, however, do not record his Olympic victory at the one hundred and fourth Olympiad–although Sostratos won his first at that time–since it was not they themselves but the Pisatans and Arcadians who presided over the games instead of them.

6.4.3

Next to Sostratos is depicted the wrestler Leontiskos, who was from Sicily, specifically from Messene on the straits. He is said to have been crowned victor by the Amphiktyones and twice by the Eleans. His style of wrestling, it is claimed, was similar to that of the Sicyonian Sostratos in pankration. Indeed, wrestlers found it impossible to throw Leontiskos down; he would defeat them instead by bending their fingers.

6.4.4

The statue was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium, who was an artist of exceptional skill in sculpture, if ? indeed anyone was. It is said that he was taught by Clearchus, who was himself a native of Rhegium and a pupil of Eucheirus. Eucheirus was from Corinth but had studied under the Spartans Syadras and Chartas.

6.4.5

Let me also include in my account the boy whose head is bound with a ribbon, because of Pheidias and ? the excellence of Pheidias concerning statues, since otherwise we do not know whose image Pheidias made. Satyros, an Elean, the son of Lysianax and belonging to the family of the Iamidae, won five boxing victories at Nemea, two at Pytho, and two at Olympia; the statue is the work of the Athenian sculptor Silanion. Another Athenian sculptor, Polykles, a student of Stadieus of Athens, made a statue of an Ephesian boy, Amyntas the son of Hellanikos, a winner in the pankration.

6.4.6

Chilon the Achaean, a man of Patrae, won two Olympic victories in wrestling at Olympia, one victory at Delphi, four at the Isthmus, and three at the Nemean Games. He was buried by the commonwealth of the Achaeans, and it befell him to meet his end in war. An inscription in Olympia also provides testimony:

"I, Chilon, son of Chilon, of Patrae, twice victorious at Olympia, and at Delphi against men at wrestling, Three times at Nemea, four times at seaside Isthmus compete and prevail. Him, Chilon, when fallen in war, the people of the Achaeans buried for the sake of his excellence."

Thus far does the epigram inform us of him.

6.4.7

? If I am to draw a conclusion from the age of Chilon based on the statue made by Lysippus, the war in which he fell appears to be either the campaign at Chaeronea, where all the Achaeans fought collectively, or else, standing alone among the Achaeans in valor and daring, he faced Antipater and the Macedonians by Lamia in Thessaly.

6.4.8

Next after the statue of Chilon stand two others. One of these is named Molpion, and the inscription says that the Eleans crowned him. The other, which bears no inscription at all, is remembered as being Aristotle, who came from the Thracian town of Stageira; and it is said that either a pupil of his, or indeed a military man dedicated the statue, since Aristotle had gained influence first with Alexander and afterward also with Antipater.

6.4.9

? Sodamas, of Assos in the Troad, situated beneath Ida, was the first of the Aeolians from that region to have gained an Olympic victory in the foot-race for boys. Beside Sodamas stands Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, king of the Lacedaemonians. Prior to this King Archidamus, I cannot find that the Lacedaemonians ever dedicated an image at Olympia of any ruler who died in a foreign land. But they sent this statue of Archidamus, it seems to me, chiefly because of the exceptional circumstances of his death: fate overtook him in a foreign country, and he alone, of all the Spartan kings, is known to have been denied proper burial.

6.4.10

These things indeed have been explained by me more fully in my account of Spartan matters. As for Evanthes of Cyzicus, he achieved victories in boxing, one Olympic victory among men, and victories at Nemea and the Isthmus in the boys' competitions. Next to Evanthes, a chariot has been represented along with a man tending horses, and standing upon the chariot is a maiden girl. The name of the man is Lampos, and his homeland was the youngest city in Macedonia, named after its founder Philip, the son of Amyntas.

6.4.11

? Polycleitus fashioned the statue of Cyniscus, the boxer from Mantinea, who won as a boy. Ergoteles, son of Philanor, who achieved two Olympic victories in the dolichos, and likewise gained twice as many other victories at Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea, was originally, as the inscription upon him states, not from Himera, but rather is said to have been a Cretan from Cnossus. Having been exiled from Cnossus due to political strife and having arrived in Himera, he obtained citizenship there and

gained many other distinctions and honors. It was therefore natural that he would be proclaimed as Himeraean at the games.

Chapter 5

6.5.1

The statue upon the high pedestal is a work of Lysippus, representing the greatest of all men, excepting only those called heroes, and whatever mortal race may have existed before the heroes. Among the men of our own time, this Polydamas, son of Nicias, is the greatest. ★

6.5.2

Scotussa, the native city of Polydamas, was no longer inhabited in my time. For Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, had seized the city during a period of truce. He gathered all of the Scotussans who had assembled in the theatre–for at that very moment an assembly was being held there–and surrounded them fully with peltasts and archers; and having thus trapped them, he slew everyone present. He also killed every other man able to bear arms, while he sold the women and children into slavery, giving their money as wages to his mercenary troops.

6.5.3

This disaster befell the Skotoussaeans when Phrasikleides was archon at Athens, during the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad, at which Damon of Thurii won his second victory. The inhabitants of Skotoussa who had escaped survived only a short time thereafter and soon abandoned their city once more, ravaged by disease. At this same time, fortune was preparing a second calamity for all the Greeks in the war against the Macedonians.

6.5.4

In pancratium, indeed, many others have won famous victories; yet Polydamas has achievements distinct from those who have been crowned in pancratium contests. The mountainous region of Thrace beyond the Nestus river, which flows through the territory of Abdera, has, besides other wild beasts, lions as well; these lions once attacked Xerxes' army, devastating the camels which carried provisions.

6.5.5

These lions frequently roam also into the region around Mount Olympus. Of this mountain, one side faces toward Macedonia, while the other turns toward Thessaly and the river Peneius. Here, on Olympus, Polydamas subdued a lion, a great and powerful beast, without using any weapon at all. He was inspired to undertake this daring feat by a rivalry with the exploits of Heracles, knowing that tradition also has Heracles overcoming the lion in Nemea. ★

6.5.6

★ Another marvel Polydamas left behind after this that remains memorable is this: approaching a herd of cattle, he seized the largest and fiercest bull, grasping the very tips of the hoofs of one of its hind legs, and despite its leaping and struggling vigorously, he did not let go, until eventually the bull, having exhausted all its strength, fled at last, leaving its hoof in Polydamas' grasp. It is also said that he once held back a charioteer who was enthusiastically urging his chariot forward; Polydamas grasped the rear of the vehicle with one hand, thus restraining both the horses and the driver himself.

6.5.7

Darius, the illegitimate son of Artaxerxes, who, having suppressed together with the Persian people Sogdianus, the legitimate son of Artaxerxes, obtained the throne in his stead–this Darius, after he had become king, having heard about the deeds of Polydamas, sent ambassadors promising him gifts, and persuaded Polydamas to come to Susa and appear before him. There, at the challenge of the Persians, Polydamas killed in single combat, simultaneously, three men of those called "Immortals." Of the deeds recounted about him, some are recorded upon the pedestal of his statue at Olympia, while others are indicated by the inscription.

6.5.8

★ Thus it came about that the prophecy Homer once uttered would overtake others who trusted in their strength, including Polydamas himself, who likewise was destined to perish because of his own might. It was summer time when Polydamas and his companions who had been drinking together entered a cave. Just then, by an unfortunate fate, the roof of the cave began to crack, clearly on the brink of imminent collapse and unable to hold out much longer.

6.5.9

★ When awareness arose of the approaching disaster and the others turned in flight, Polydamas resolved to stand firm; and raising his hands, he attempted to hold up the cave as it fell in upon him, refusing to yield beneath the weight of the mountain.

Chapter 6

6.6.1

This man ended his life in this place. At Olympia, next to the statue of Polydamas, there stand statues of two Arcadian athletes and a third from Attica. Pythagoras of Rhegium made the statue of Protolaus, son of Dialkes, a victor from Mantinea who won in boys' boxing; Daidalos of Sikyon made that of Narykidas, son of Damaretos, a wrestler from Phigalia; and Mikon, the painter, an Athenian, was the maker of the statue of Kallias of Athens, a victor in pankration. The statue of Androsthenes, son of Lochaios, a native of Mainalos who won twice in men's pankration competitions, is the work of Nikodamos of Mainalos.

6.6.2

After these stands Eukles, the son of Kallianax; he was by birth a Rhodian, from the family of the Diagoridae; for he was the son of a daughter of Diagoras, and won an Olympic victory in boxing among the men. The statue of Eukles is the work of Naukydes. The Argive Polykleitos–not the one who made the image of Hera, but a pupil of Naukydes–created the statue of Agenor, a young wrestler from Thebes. This statue was dedicated by the commonwealth of the Phocians, for Agenor's father, Theopompos, was their state's proxenos.

6.6.3

Nicodamus, the sculptor from Mainalos, made a statue representing Damoxenidas, a boxer, who was also from Mainalos. There also stands a statue of Lastratidas, a boy from Elis, who won the crown in wrestling. He moreover achieved another victory at Nemea, both as a boy and later as a youth (agenios). His father, Paraballon, attained victory in the diaulos running race, and he further demonstrated his ambition toward subsequent generations by inscribing in the gymnasium at Olympia the names of those who won victories at Olympia.

6.6.4

Thus were the matters concerning these figures. As for Euthymus the boxer, I ought not omit the ? mention of his victories and his overall renown. Euthymus was, by origin, from the Locrians in Italy, who dwell in the region near the promontory called Zephyrium. Though his father was named Astycles, according to local tradition Euthymus was not really his son; rather, he was said to be the son of the river Caecinus, which marks the boundary between Locri and Rhegium and presents a singular marvel concerning cicadas. For on the Locrian side of the Caecinus, the cicadas sing just like other cicadas; yet

when one crosses this river into the territory of Rhegium, the cicadas there no longer produce voice of any kind.

6.6.5

It is said that Euthymus was the son of this man. When he had won the boxing victory at Olympia in the seventy-fourth Olympiad, he was not destined to gain victory again at the next Olympiad. For Theagenes of Thasos, desiring in the same Olympiad to achieve victories in both boxing and the pankration, overcame Euthymus in boxing. Yet not even Theagenes himself was able to obtain the olive wreath in the pankration, as he had already been weakened by his previous fight against Euthymus.

6.6.6

For this reason the Eleans imposed upon Theagenes a sacred fine of one talent payable to the god, and another talent as compensation for damages to Euthymus, because they judged that he regained the boxing prize by deliberately injuring his opponent. Accordingly they condemned him to pay the money to Euthymus privately as well. At the seventy-sixth Olympiad Theagenes paid the fine due to the god, but in resentment refused to enter the boxing contest. Thus Euthymus won the crown for boxing both at this Olympiad itself and at the succeeding one. Euthymus' statue is the work of Pythagoras and is most worthy of being seen.

6.6.7

Returning again to Italy, he then fought against the Hero. The circumstances concerning him were as follows: they say that Odysseus, wandering after the fall of Troy, was driven by winds to various cities both in Italy and Sicily, and came also to Temesa together with his ships. Here, one of his sailors, becoming intoxicated, seized and assaulted a maiden, and on account of this crime was stoned to death by the local inhabitants.

6.6.8

Odysseus, holding his companion's loss as of no account, sailed away without concern. But the spirit of the slain man gave the people no rest, destroying indiscriminately the townsfolk of Temesa and setting upon inhabitants of every age, until finally the Pythian oracle forbade the people, though greatly desiring to flee Italy altogether, to abandon Temesa entirely, and instead commanded that they propitiate the Hero by consecrating to him a precinct and building him a temple. Furthermore, they were instructed each year to give him as a wife the fairest maiden among the daughters of Temesa.

6.6.9

For those who carried out the commands imposed by the god, there was nothing further to fear from the spirit. Now Euthymos–for he had come to Temesa at precisely the time when they were performing their customary rites for the demon–learned upon his arrival of their present situation, and wished to enter the shrine and to see the maiden once he had gone in. On beholding her, at first he felt pity, but afterward he came to love her as well; and the girl herself swore an oath that she would marry him if he saved her. Euthymos, having armed himself, awaited the arrival of the demon.

6.6.10

Indeed he was victorious in the fight, and–the Hero was driven out from the land–he disappeared, plunging into the sea; after this a celebrated marriage came to Euthymus, and henceforth the inhabitants of that place had freedom from the daemon. And I heard also this further account concerning Euthymus: that he lived to a most advanced old age, and having escaped death, departed from mankind in a different manner. And I heard from a merchant who sailed there that Temesa was inhabited even in my own time.

6.6.11

This indeed I heard; but I also know, because I came upon such a picture. And this was evidently a copy of an ancient painting. In it was depicted a young man named Sybaris, a river named Calabrus, and a spring called Lyca. Near them was a hero-shrine and the city of Temesa; and among these figures was the daemon whom Euthymus expelled. He was terribly dark in complexion and altogether extremely fearful in form, clothed in a wolf skin as a garment. The inscription upon the painting gave him the name Lycas.

Chapter 7

6.7.1

Let this suffice as regards these matters. After the statue of Euthymus, there stands Pytharchus of Mantinea, a runner in the stadion, and Charmides of Elis, a boxer; both had won victories as boys. After observing these figures, you reach the images of the Rhodian athletes, Diagoras and his family. They are placed together in a continuous group, in the following order: Acusilaus, who gained a crown in boxing among men, and next the youngest, Dorieus, who won the pankration at Olympia three consecutive times. Even before Dorieus, Damagetus had also triumphed over all who entered the pankration.

6.7.2

These men are brothers, sons of Diagoras, and upon them stands Diagoras himself, who gained victory in boxing among men. The statue of Diagoras was made by Callicles the Megarian, son of Theocosmus, who also fashioned the statue of Zeus at Megara. The sons of Diagoras daughters also trained in boxing and achieved Olympic victories: Eucles, son of Callianax and Callipateira, daughter of Diagoras, among men; and Peisirodus among boys, whose mother herself accompanied him to Olympia disguised as a male trainer and attended the contest.

6.7.3

This same Peisirodos stands also in the Altis near his father, dedicated there by his mother. They say that Diagoras came to Olympia accompanied by his sons, Akousilaos and Damagetos. After the young men achieved victory, they carried their father through the assembly, and the Greeks showered him with flowers, calling him blessed for his sons' triumph. By descent Diagoras was originally of Messenian stock on his mother's side, being descended from a daughter of Aristomenes.

6.7.4

Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, besides his Olympian victory, won eight victories at the Isthmian games, and at the Nemean games he had seven victories, one short of eight. It is also said that he gained a victory in the Pythian games without competition. He and Peisirodus, both of Thurii, were announced as such because they had been driven from Rhodes by their political opponents and had gone to Thurii in Italy. Later, after some time had passed, Dorieus returned to Rhodes, and of all men he appears most clearly to have shown great loyalty toward the Spartans, so much so that he even fought at sea with his own ships against the Athenians, until, captured by Attic triremes, he was brought alive to Athens.

6.7.5

Before Dorieus was brought before them, the Athenians were filled with anger and threats against him. But when they assembled in the assembly and saw a man so great, whose reputation had reached such heights, reduced to the state of a prisoner, their opinion toward him changed: they let him depart and committed no harsh act, although many lawful actions were in their power.

6.7.6

The events surrounding the death of Dorieus are recorded in the Attic History by Androtion. He writes that at that time the Persian king's fleet was at Caunus, and Conon was its commander. He relates that the democratic party among the Rhodians was persuaded by Conon to abandon alliance with the Lacedaemonians and shift their support to the king and the Athenians, and that Dorieus was then abroad from Rhodes, traveling among the coastal lands within the Peloponnese. He was captured by the Lacedaemonians, taken back to Sparta, found guilty by them of wrongdoing, and sentenced to death.

6.7.7

? But if Androtion has told the true story, it seems clear to me that the Lacedaemonians were eager to put themselves back on equal footing with the Athenians, since even the Athenians themselves accused Thrasyllus and those generals who served with him at Arginusae of reckless haste. As for Diagoras himself and his descendants, they attained great renown.

6.7.8

Alcainetos, son of Theantos, a man from Lepreum, himself achieved Olympic victories, as did his sons. Alcainetos was victorious in boxing among the men and had previously prevailed as a boy. Hellanikos and Theantos, sons of Alcainetos, were proclaimed victors in boys' boxing, the former in the eighty-ninth Olympiad, and the latter in the subsequent Olympiad. Statues of all these men stand in Olympia.

6.7.9

Beside the sons of Alkainetos stand Gnathon, from Dipaia in the territory of Mainalos, and Lykinos, an Elean; these two also achieved victories at Olympia in boys' boxing contests. An epigram composed about Gnathon says that he was particularly young when he won his victory. The statue of Gnathon is the work of Kallikles of Megara.

6.7.10

A man from Stymphalos named Dromeus, whose very name, Dromeus ("Runner"), matched his accomplishment in the long-distance race, won two victories at Olympia, the same number at Pytho, three at the Isthmian games, and five at Nemea. It is said that he was also the first to think of eating meat; previously, athletes relied on cheese from baskets for their nourishment. His statue was made by Pythagoras, while the one next to it, representing the Elean pentathlete Pythocles, was crafted by Polycleitus.

Chapter 8

6.8.1

When Socrates of Pellene won the boys' foot-race and Amertus of Elis overcame the boys in wrestling at Olympia, and moreover defeated the men who came to Delphi, they do not mention who sculpted Socrates' statue, but the statue of Amertus was made by Phradmon of Argos. Euanoridas of Elis gained victory in boys' wrestling at Olympia and also at the Nemean games; he too, when appointed one of the Hellanodikai, recorded the names of victors at Olympia.

6.8.2

Regarding the boxer named Damarcus, a man of Arcadian lineage from Parrhasia, I could not accept as credible, beyond the fact of his victory at Olympia, all the additional claims made by boastful men– that during the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus he transformed from a man into the shape of a wolf, and that ten years afterward he became once again a human. Indeed, it seemed to me that the Arcadians themselves did not tell this story concerning him, for such a thing would then have been mentioned in the inscription at Olympia, which reads thus: "This statue was dedicated by Damarcus, son of Dinytas, a Parrhasian of Arcadia." And certainly, this inscription says no more than that.

6.8.3

Eubotas of Cyrene, having learned beforehand of his impending victory in the Olympic running race from the oracle in Libya, had already commissioned his statue in advance, and was proclaimed the winner and dedicated the statue on the very same day. It is said also that he won a chariot race at that Olympiad, which the Eleans call illegitimate because the games were administered by the Arcadians.

6.8.4

To Timanthes of Cleonae, who gained a crown in the men's pancratium, and to Baucis of Troezen, who defeated opponents in wrestling also among the men, statues were erected–Timanthes' made by the Athenian Myron, and Baucis' a work of Naucydes. Regarding Timanthes, they say his life's end came about from the following circumstance: having ceased from athletic competitions, he still tested his strength daily by drawing a large bow. When he went away from home, he neglected this exercise during his travels; upon returning, he found he could no longer bend the bow, whereupon he lit a fire and cast himself alive onto the pyre. In my judgment, all such deeds, whether they have already occurred among mankind or will happen at some future time, should more rightly be considered madness than bravery.

6.8.5

Next after the statue of Baucis come representations of Arcadian athletes. First, Euthymenes from Mainalos itself, who won victories in wrestling both among men and previously among boys; then Philippos the Azanian from Pellana who prevailed in boxing for boys; and Critodamos from Kleitor, also proclaimed victor in boxing among the boys. Of these statues, the one of Euthymenes as a boy was made by Alypos, that of Damokritos by Kleon, and that of Philippos the Azanian by Myron. The account of Promachos, the son of Dryon from Pellene, who won the pankration, will be included by me in the chapter about the Achaians.

6.8.6

Not far from Promachus stands Timasitheus, a Delphian by birth, the work of Ageladas the Argive. He won two victories in the pankration at Olympia, and three at Pytho. He also performed deeds in war notable for courage, and not lacking in good fortune either, except indeed the last of them; for that undertaking brought him to his death. Isagoras the Athenian, having seized the Acropolis of the Athenians aiming at establishing a tyranny, was joined in his attempt by Timasitheus as well–for Timasitheus was among those who had occupied the Acropolis. For this wrongdoing he received death as a punishment from the Athenians.

Chapter 9

6.9.1

Theognetus of Aegina won the crown for wrestling among boys, and his statue was made by Ptolichus the Aeginetan. The teacher of Ptolichus had been his father Synnoon, and Synnoon's teacher was Aristocles of Sicyon, a brother of Canachus and not much inferior to him in reputation. But why the statue of Theognetus holds the fruit of a cultivated pine and a pomegranate, I was unable to conjecture; perhaps for certain Aeginetans some local story relates to this matter. ?

6.9.2

Next to the statue of the man whom the Eleans claim was not recorded alongside the others because he was proclaimed as victor in the foot-race by drawing lots after a tied result, stands the image of Xenokles of Mainalos, who defeated his competitors in boys' wrestling; beside him is Alketos, son of Alkinous, of Kleitor, who gained victory in boys' boxing. Alketos' statue was made by Kleon, while that of Xenokles was executed by Polykleitos.

6.9.3

Aristeus, an Argive, himself gained the victory in the dolichos, while his father, Cheimon, was victorious in wrestling. Their statues stand near one another. The statue of Aristeus was made by Pantias of Chios, who had learned his craft from his father Sostratos, while the statues of Cheimon are, in my opinion, among the best works of Naukydes–both the one at Olympia and the one brought from Argos to Rome, placed in the sanctuary of Peace. It is said that Cheimon defeated Taurosthenes of Aegina in wrestling, and that at the following Olympiad Taurosthenes overcame all who entered the wrestling competition. It is also told that on that same day a phantom resembling Taurosthenes appeared in Aegina and announced his victory. ?

6.9.4

The statue of Phillis, the Elean who defeated boys in wrestling, was made by the Spartan Cratinus. Regarding Gelon's chariot, my own view differs from that of earlier writers who have mentioned this matter before me. These earlier authors claim the chariot was a dedication by Gelon, who ruled as tyrant in Sicily. Indeed, the epigram upon it declares explicitly that Gelon, son of Deinomenes, a native of Gela, dedicated it. The date for this Gelon's victory corresponds with the seventy-third Olympiad. ?

6.9.5

? Gelo, who became tyrant over Sicily, ruled Syracuse when Hybrilides was archon in Athens, in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, when Tisicrates of Croton won the stadion. Clearly, therefore, he was already about to proclaim himself of Syracuse rather than of Gela. Yet indeed, this Gelo might have been a private citizen, having the same name as the tyrant and the same patronymic as his father. Glaukias of Aegina made both the chariot and the statue of Gelo himself.

6.9.6

★ In the Olympiad preceding this, they say Kleomedes of Astypalaia, boxing against Ikkos, a man from Epidauros, killed Ikkos in the match. After the judges declared his actions illegal and stripped him of his victory, Kleomedes, driven mad by grief, returned to Astypalaia. There, entering a school, he overturned the pillar supporting the ceiling, crushing about sixty children.

6.9.7

★ But when the roof collapsed upon the children, he was stoned by the citizens and took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena. Entering a chest lying in the temple and pulling down the lid upon himself, the people of Astypalaea wearied themselves in vain attempting to open the chest; finally, after breaking apart the wood of the chest, when they found neither the living nor the dead body of Cleomedes, they sent men to Delphi to ask the oracle about the fate of Cleomedes.

6.9.8

★ They say that the Pythia gave them this oracle: “Last of heroes is Kleomedes of Astypalaia, whom honor with sacrifices as one no longer mortal.” From that time onward, therefore, the people of Astypalaia have given Kleomedes the honors due to a hero.

6.9.9

Beside the chariot of Gelon stands the dedication of Philon, a work of art by Glaukias of Aegina. For this Philon, Simonides, son of Leoprepes, composed a most graceful elegiac couplet: “My homeland is Corcyra, Philon my name. I am the son of Glaukos, and I won victories twice in boxing at Olympia.” Also dedicated here is Agametor of Mantinea, who prevailed in boxing among the boys.

Chapter 10

6.10.1

Next to those I have already recorded stands Glaucus of Carystus. They say his ancestry traces ultimately back to Anthedon in Boeotia, from Glaucus, the divinity of the sea. This Carystian was the son of Demylus; in the beginning, they say, he worked as a farmer. Once, when the share fell off suddenly from his plow, he fitted it back onto the plow using his hand instead of a hammer, and somehow–

6.10.2

Demylos observed what the boy was doing, and, seeing this, brought him to Olympia to compete in boxing. There, indeed, Glaukos, being inexperienced in fighting, was severely injured by his opponents; and when he was boxing against the last remaining competitor, it seemed to everyone that he would give in from the multitude of his wounds. At that moment, they say, his father cried out to him, "My son, the blow from the plow!" Thus moved, he immediately dealt his opponent a heavier blow and secured the victory.

6.10.3

It is said he also won other crowns, twice at the Pythian games and eight times each at the Nemean and Isthmian games. His statue was dedicated by his son; the sculptor who made it was Glaukias of Aegina. The image has the posture of someone engaged in shadow-boxing, because Glaukos was by nature exceptionally skilled in the boxing exercises of his time. According to the Karystians, after his death he was buried on an island called Glaukos, which even in our own day retains his name.

6.10.4

Damaretus of Heraea, his son, and his grandson each achieved two victories at Olympia. Damaretus gained his in the sixty-fifth Olympiad, when the race for armed runners was first introduced, and again in the Olympiad immediately following. His statue was made holding a shield very similar to those of our own days, with a helmet upon the head and greaves upon the legs. This equipment, however, was over time abandoned for racing by both the Eleans and the other Greeks. Theopompus, the son of Damaretus, and his son afterward bearing the same name each won victories in the pentathlon, while the second Theopompus added another victory in wrestling.

6.10.5

As for the statue of Theopompus the wrestler, we do not know the sculptor; but the inscription says that those of his father and grandfather were works by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos. It does not, however, reveal who instructed these artists, for it reads as follows: "Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos made these works, skilled in their craft inherited from their forebears." Iccus, the son of Nicolaidas of Tarentum, won the Olympic crown in the pentathlon, and afterwards is reputed to have been the greatest trainer of athletes of his time.

6.10.6

After Iccus, stands Pantarces the Elean, Phidias' beloved, who won among boys in wrestling. Beside Pantarces is the chariot of Cleosthenes, a man of Epidamnus. This chariot is the work of Ageladas and stands behind the Zeus dedicated by the Greeks after their victory in the battle of Plataea. Cleosthenes gained victory in the sixty-sixth Olympiad, and he set up together with his horses a statue of himself as well as of his charioteer.

6.10.7

The names of the horses are also inscribed: Phoenix and Korax, while those beside the yoke on either side are Knakias on the right and Samos on the left. And this elegiac couplet is written upon the chariot: "Cleosthenes of Epidamnus on the Pontus dedicated me, having won a glorious contest of Zeus with his horses."

6.10.8

Of those among the Greeks who bred horses, Cleosthenes was the first to set up an image at Olympia. For although there are dedications of Miltiades the Athenian and Evagoras the Lakonian, Evagoras dedicated chariots, but he himself is not depicted upon them; concerning the dedications of Miltiades, I will make clear elsewhere in my account exactly what he set up at Olympia. The Epidamnians still possess the countryside they originally inhabited, but in our time their city is not the ancient one; rather, it has shifted slightly away from its original site and is now called Dyrrhachium, named after its founder.

6.10.9

Lycinos of Heraea, Epikradios of Mantineia, Tellon of Oresthasion, and Agiadas the Elean won victories as boys: Lycinos in running, while those listed after him–in boxing. Of these winners, Epikradios and Agiadas had statues sculpted, one by Ptolichos of Aegina, the other, Agiadas, carved by Serambos, also an Aeginetan by birth. The statue of Lycinos is the work of Kleon; the sculptor of Tellons statue, however, is not recorded.

Chapter 11

6.11.1

Next to these are offerings of the Eleans–Philip son of Amyntas, Alexander son of Philip, Seleucus, and Antigonus. The statues of Philip, Alexander, and Seleucus depict them on horseback, whereas the statue of Antigonus portrays him on foot.

6.11.2

Not far from the mentioned kings stands a statue of Theagenes, son of Timosthenes, a Thasian. But the Thasians say that Theagenes was not actually the son of Timosthenes. Rather, Timosthenes, they assert, was a priest of Heracles Thasius, and a divine apparition resembling Heracles appeared to the mother of Theagenes in the likeness of Timosthenes. They also report that when the boy was nine years old, as he was returning home from school, he took a liking to a bronze statue of one of the gods set up in the marketplace–indeed, he was particularly fond of the statue–lifted it up, placed it upon one of his shoulders, and carried it home.

6.11.3

Since the citizens were angry at him for the deed he had done, one of them, a man of distinction and advanced in age, prevented them from killing the youth; instead, he commanded the youth to take the statue back from the house to the agora again. When he carried it back, immediately the lad gained great fame for his strength, and his deed became renowned throughout all Greece.

6.11.4

Regarding the many athletic exploits of Theagenes at the Olympian games, my account has already mentioned the most noteworthy among them, such as his victory over the boxer Euthymos and the penalty imposed on Theagenes by the Eleans. At that time, however, a man from Mantineia named Dromeus is said to have been the first athlete known to us who gained the victory in the pancratium without competition. In the next Olympiad after this, Theagenes himself prevailed in the pancratium.

6.11.5

He also won three victories in boxing at Pytho, and at Nemea nine victories, as well as ten at the Isthmus, divided between pankration and boxing. In Phthia among the Thessalians, he ceased competing earnestly in boxing or pankration, focusing instead on securing fame throughout Greece as a runner, and there he defeated all entrants in the dolichos race. It seems to me he aspired particularly to compete

with Achilles, desiring to win a race victory in the homeland of that hero, who was the swiftest of all those called heroes. His crowns altogether numbered one thousand four hundred.

6.11.6

After Theagenes departed from among men, a certain man, who had hated him while he was alive, approached his statue every night and whipped the bronze, as if harming Theagenes himself. But the statue fell upon him and ended his outrage. Then the deceased man's sons prosecuted the image for murder, and the Thasians, recalling the principle of Draco–who, when writing homicide laws for the Athenians, prescribed exile even for lifeless objects that fell upon someone and caused death–threw the statue into the sea.

6.11.7

★ In course of time, as the land produced no crops for the Thasians, they sent envoys to Delphi, and the god instructed them to welcome the exiles. Yet, though these were accordingly accepted, the barren condition yielded no relief. Thus, for a second time, they visited the Pythia, explaining that even though they had acted according to the oracles instructions, the wrath sent by the gods persisted.

6.11.8

★ Thereupon the Pythia answered them, "You have left your great Theagenes in obscurity, unremembered by you." While they were uncertain by what means they might recover the statue of Theagenes, it is said that some fishermen, having sailed out to sea to catch fish, hauled the statue up in their nets and brought it back again to land. And the Thasians, after setting it up once more where it originally stood, thereafter offered sacrifices to him as to a god.

6.11.9

I know that statues of Theagenes have been erected in many other places both among Greeks and barbarians, and that he heals diseases and receives honors from the local inhabitants. The statue of Theagenes at Olympia is the work of Glaukias of Aegina.

Chapter 12

6.12.1

Nearby stands a bronze chariot with a man mounted upon it, and beside the chariot on either side is a racehorse with boys seated upon the horses. These memorials commemorate Olympic victories won by Hieron son of Deinomenes, who ruled Syracuse as tyrant after his brother Gelon. It was not Hieron who dedicated these offerings; rather, it was his son Deinomenes who presented them to the god. The chariot is the work of Onatas the Aeginetan, while the horses on either side and the boys riding them are by Calamis.

6.12.2

Next to Hiero's chariot stands a man who shares both the name and role of tyrant in Syracuse with the son of Deinomenes. This Hiero was the son of Hierocles, and after the death of Agathocles, who previously had reigned as tyrant, he rose again as ruler over the Syracusans. His reign began in the second year of the hundred-and-twenty-sixth Olympiad, in which Idaeus of Cyrene gained victory in the stadion race.

6.12.3

This Hieron made ties of friendship with Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, and along with friendship he also established a marital bond by marrying his son Gelon to Nereis, Pyrrhus' daughter. Later, when the Romans began their war against the Carthaginians over Sicily, the Carthaginians initially occupied more than half of the island. At first, as the war began, Hieron preferred to take the side of the Carthaginians; but, not long afterwards, considering the Roman strength superior and their position more secure, he changed his alliance and entered into friendship with Rome.

6.12.4

The end of his life occurred at the hands of Deinomenes, a man of Syracusan descent who was strongly hostile toward tyranny, and who afterwards made an attack on Hippocrates, the brother of Epicydes, when Hippocrates had just come from Erbessus into Syracuse and had begun to deliver speeches to the populace; Deinomenes set upon him intending to kill Hippocrates, but the latter resisted, and while they engaged, others overpowered Deinomenes' bodyguards and killed him. The statues of Hieron at Olympia, one of which shows him mounted on horseback and the other standing on foot, were dedicated by his sons; they were made by Micon, son of Niceratus, a Syracusan.

6.12.5

After the images of Hiero stand Areus, son of Acrotatus, king of the Lacedaemonians, and Aratus, son of Cleinias; and nearby is Areus again, mounted on horseback. The dedication of Aratus is from the Corinthians, while that of Areus is from the Eleians. In my earlier account, I have not neglected what concerns either Aratus or Areus; moreover, Aratus was proclaimed victor at Olympia with a chariot.

6.12.6

There is a bronze statue dedicated to Timon, son of Aesopus, an Elean who sent horses to Olympia; upon it stands a maiden who, in my opinion, is Victory. Callon son of Harmodius and Hippomachus son of Moschion–both Elians by birth and victorious as boys in boxing–are also commemorated by statues; Daippus made the statue of Callon, whereas the sculptor of the statue of Hippomachus we do not know. They say, however, that Hippomachus defeated three opponents without receiving a single blow or sustaining any injury to his body.

6.12.7

Theochrestus of Cyrene bred horses according to the custom of the Libyans, and won with them himself at Olympia, and, even before him, his grandfather–who shared his name–and his great-grandfather each achieved victories with horses in this place. Moreover, that Theochrestus' father also gained victories at the Isthmus is made clear by the epigram inscribed upon the chariot.

6.12.8

? An elegiac inscription bears witness that Agesarchus, son of Haemostratus, a native of Tritaia, triumphed as a men's boxer at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho, and the Isthmus. Yet concerning the claim of this elegiac couplet that the people of Tritaia are Arcadians, I found that the claim is untrue. For regarding the cities of Arcadia, those renowned have not even their founders unknown; whereas those from their inception insignificant and obscure, which consequently were later incorporated into Megalopolis–is not their inclusion at that time sufficiently shown by the decree of the Arcadian League itself?

6.12.9

Nor indeed is it possible to find another Greek city named Triteia aside from this one of the Achaeans. At that time one would certainly have reckoned the Triteians among the Arcadians, just as even now those of the Arcadians living within Argolis still pay tribute. The image of Agesarchus is the work of the sons of Polycleitus. Of these we shall make mention also later in our narrative.

Chapter 13

6.13.1

Astylus of Croton was the work of Pythagoras, and he won victories at three successive Olympiads in both the stadion and the diaulos. However, because in his two later Olympic victories he declared himself a Syracusan in honor of Hieron, son of Deinomenes, the Crotoniates condemned his house to become a prison and pulled down his statue, which stood beside Hera Lakinia.

6.13.2

There is also set up at Olympia a stele commemorating the victories of Chionis the Lacedaemonian. Indeed, those who suppose that this stele was set up by Chionis himself and not by the Lacedaemonian state display simplicity; for granted indeed, according to what is inscribed upon the stele, that the race in armour did not yet exist, how could Chionis have known whether the Eleans might later add it as an event? But even more simple-minded than these are those who assert that the standing statue beside the stele is an image of Chionis himself, although it is, in fact, the work of Myron the Athenian.

6.13.3

Similar to Chionis, a Lycian man named Hermogenes, son of Xanthias, achieved a comparable reputation. Hermogenes won the olive wreath at three Olympiads, eight times in total, and among the Greeks he was given the nickname "Horse." One may also justly regard Polites with great admiration. This Polites was from Keramos in Karia near Thrace, and at Olympia he exhibited excellence in every type of running contest. For he transitioned from the longest and most enduring race within a very brief time interval to succeed also in the shortest and swiftest; indeed, on the same day he won the dolichos, and immediately afterward the stadion as well, then added a third victory in the diaulos.

6.13.4

The citizens run according to the second and fourth groupings, to which each is assigned by lot, and they do not set off all at once in the race. Those who prove victorious in each heat run once more to contend for the prizes. Thus, the victor awarded the crown achieves twice the distance of the stadion. The most remarkable record in running, however, belongs to Leonidas of Rhodes: he maintained his peak speed through four Olympiads, and altogether gained twelve victories in running events.

6.13.5

Near Chionis, not far from his stele at Olympia, stands the Samos-born Skaeus, son of Duris, who won a boxing victory among the boys. This statue is the work of Hippias, son of ..., and the inscription upon it states clearly that Skaeus won his victory at the time when the Samians were driven into exile from their island, and it encourages the Samians at this opportunity to return to their homeland.

6.13.6

Next to the statue of the tyrant stands Diallos, son of Pollis, a native of Smyrna. This Diallos claimed to have been the first of the Ionians to win at Olympia the crown in boys' pankration. The statues of Thersilochos from Corcyra, who won the crown in the boys' boxing, and Aristion, son of Theophilos, from Epidauros, victorious in men's boxing, were both made by Polykleitos of Argos.

6.13.7

The statue of Bykelos, who was the first among the Sicyonians to achieve victory in boys' boxing, is a work by the Sicyonian Kanachos, who had studied under the Argive Polykleitos. Next to Bykelos stands an armed warrior, named Libys, who was actually Mnaseas of Cyrene. Pythagoras of Rhegium made his statue. As for Agemachos of Cyzicus, who originated from the continent of Asia, the inscription on his statue indicates that he settled in Argos.

6.13.8

When Naxos had once been settled in Sicily by the Chalcidians from the Euripus, no ruins of the city remained even in my time; yet that the name Naxos still survives among posterity is chiefly due to Tisandros, son of Kleokritos. For Tisandros won four victories in boxing at Olympia among men, and he gained the same number of victories at Pytho. At that time neither Corinthians nor Argives had yet instituted the custom of recording victories at Nemea and the Isthmian games for posterity.

6.13.9

The horse of the Corinthian Pheidolas, as the Corinthians recall, had the name Aura ("Breeze"). Just as the race began, it happened that her rider fell off. Nevertheless, she continued running skillfully, made the turn around the post in good order, and, when she heard the trumpet, quickened her pace even more. She arrived first before the judges of the Greeks, appeared to be victorious, and then stopped her race. The Eleans proclaimed Pheidolas the victor and permitted him to dedicate a statue of this horse.

6.13.10

? The sons of Pheidolas also gained a victory in the riding-horse race; the horse itself is represented on a stele with an inscription upon it: "Swift-running Lykos once at the Isthmian games, and twice here by victories crowned the house of Pheidolas' children." Yet the inscription does not agree with the Eleans' records of Olympic victors, since according to the Elean writings the sons of Pheidolas obtained their victory in the sixty-eighth Olympiad and no later.

6.13.11

Now let this information suffice as it stands. As for statues honoring Elean men, there are those of Agathinus, son of Thrasybulus, and Telemachus; the statue of Telemachus commemorates his victory with horses, while the Achaeans from Pellene dedicated that of Agathinus. The Athenian people

also dedicated a statue of Aristophon, son of Lysinus, who prevailed over his opponents in the men's pankration at the Olympic Games.

Chapter 14

6.14.1

Pherias, an Aeginetan–for he is commemorated on the statue by the Athenian Aristophon–was judged at the seventy-eighth Olympiad altogether too young and not yet sufficiently mature for wrestling, and thus was excluded from the competition. At the following Olympiad, however–since at that time he was admitted into the boys' category–he prevailed as the victor in wrestling. In contrast to the fortune of this Pherias at Olympia was the fate of Nicasylus of Rhodes, altogether different and bearing no resemblance whatsoever.

6.14.2

For being eighteen years old, he was prevented by the Eleans from wrestling among the boys, yet he was ? accepted among the men–and indeed gained the victory. Later he was also proclaimed victorious at Nemea and the Isthmus. Having reached twenty years of age, an appointed fate overtook him before he had returned home to Rhodes. In my opinion, the bold deed of this Rhodian wrestler at Olympia was surpassed by Artemidoros, a native of Tralles. Artemidoros, competing in boys' pankration, failed to win an Olympic victory solely because he was excessively young.

6.14.3

When the time came for the contest held by the Smyrnaeans among the Ionians, his strength had grown to such an extent that, competing in the pankration, he was able on the same day to overcome both the competitors who had come from Olympia and the youths, called "beardless," and, thirdly, even the best of the men. They say that his contest with the youths resulted from encouragement by his trainer, while that with the men arose from a pankration competitor's taunting. Artemidorus won his Olympic victory among the men in the two hundred and twelfth Olympiad.

6.14.4

Near the statue of Nicasylus stands a small bronze horse, dedicated by Crocon of Eretria, who won a crown in the horse-race for riding-horses. Beside this horse is Telestas of Messene, who was victorious in boys' boxing; the statue of Telestas is the work of Silanion.

6.14.5

Dameas, who was also from Croton, created the statue of Milo, the son of Diotimus. Milo won six wrestling victories at Olympia, one of these as a boy, and at Pytho he gained six victories as a man and

another as a boy. He came to Olympia a seventh time to wrestle, but he was unable to prevail over Timasitheus, a fellow-citizen of his who was young in age and who, moreover, refused even to come close to him in combat.

6.14.6

It is also said that Milo personally carried his own statue into the Altis. There are other stories told about him as well, regarding the pomegranate and the discus. He gripped a pomegranate in such a way that no one else, no matter how forcefully they tried, could take it from him, yet he himself did not crush or damage it with his powerful grasp. And standing upon an oiled discus, he provoked laughter by maintaining his position while others slipped and fell when attempting to push him off. He is said to have performed other similar feats of strength as displays.

6.14.7

He tied a cord about his forehead as one would tie a fillet or wreath; then, holding his breath within his lips, he filled the veins in his head with blood, until by the force of the veins' pressure he broke the cord. It is also said that he would hold his right arm straight down from the shoulder along the side as far as the elbow, but from the elbow downward kept it stretched straight out horizontally; as for his fingers, he would turn the thumb upward, folding the rest over each other in order. Thus, the little finger, lying lowest, could not be moved, even by force.

6.14.8

They say he died by wild beasts. For he came across a tree trunk in the territory of Croton, drying and splitting apart because wedges had been driven into it. Out of pride Milo thrust his hands into the trunk, and at that moment the wedges slipped out. Milo, caught and held fast by the wood, became prey to wolves. Indeed, this particular animal breeds abundantly and in great numbers throughout the land of Croton.

6.14.9

Such indeed was the end that accompanied Milo. As for Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides, who ruled in the Thesprotian territory of Epirus and performed many notable deeds worthy of remembrance, which I have recounted in my account of the Athenians, his statue was dedicated at Olympia by Thrasybulus, an Elean. Near Pyrrhus is carved on a stone pillar a small-statured man holding flutes. This man won victories at the Pythian Games, being the second man after Sacadas the Argive to do so.

6.14.10

For Sakadas won the contest established by the Amphictyons before it carried a wreath as a prize, and after it became crowned he also won two more. Pythokritos of Sikyon triumphed in the next six Pythian festivals after these, the only auletes ever to do so. Moreover, clearly he performed the flute accompaniment six times for the pentathlon competition at Olympia as well. At Olympia there is a pillar and an inscription upon it erected in honor of Pythokritos on account of these achievements; the tomb of Pythokritos, son of Kallinikos, the flute-player, bears the following verses. The Aitolian league also dedicated a statue of Kylon, who

6.14.11

He liberated the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus. Gorgus, son of Eucletus, a Messenian, who won the victory in pentathlon, and Damaretus, also a Messenian, who gained a victory in boys' boxing, had statues dedicated. The statue of the former was made by the Boeotian Theron, while the Athenian Silanion made the statue of Damaretus. Anauchidas, son of Philys, an Elean, won crowns in boys' wrestling, and later as an adult as well. We do not know who crafted the statue of this athlete. Anochus, son of Adamatas, a native of Tarentum, who earned victories in the stadion and the diaulos race, had a statue by Ageladas, an Argive artist.

6.14.12

The epigram states that the boy seated upon a horse and the man standing beside the horse are Xenombrotus from Cos of the Meropid clan, who was proclaimed victor in the horse-race, and Xenodicus, who was declared champion of boxing among boys. Of these statues, Pantias sculpted Xenodicus, while Philotimus of Aegina made Xenombrotus. Lysippus sculpted the two statues of Pythes, son of Andromachus, a man whose family was from Abdera; soldiers dedicated these statues. It appears that this Pythes was a commander of mercenaries or otherwise distinguished himself notably in warfare. ?

6.14.13

Statues also stand here of victors who won foot-race victories as boys: Meneptolemus from Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf, and Philon from Corcyra. Beside them is Hieronymus of Andros, who defeated in wrestling the pentathlete Tisamenus of Elis at Olympia, the same man who later prophesied among the Greeks at Plataea against Mardonius and the Medes. This Hieronymus has his statue exhibited, and near him is the figure of a boy wrestler, also an Andrian, Procles, son of Lycastidas. The artists who produced their statues were Stomios, who made Hieronymus, and Somis, who made Procles. Aeschines of Elis received two pentathlon victories, and the statues commemorating him are equal in number to his victories.

Chapter 15

6.15.1

The people of Mytilene attribute another considerable honor to Archippos of Mytilene, who won victories in boxing, claiming proudly that he gained crowns at Olympia, Pytho, Nemea, and the Isthmus while he had not yet reached the age of twenty. Xenon, son of Kallitelos, a youth who won the footrace, was depicted at Lepreon in Triphylia by Pyrilampes the Messenian, and Kleinomachos of Elis by an artist whose identity we do not know; Kleinomachos, however, was proclaimed victor in the pentathlon. ?

6.15.2

The inscription on it states that Pantarkes, an Eleian, was dedicated by the Achaeans; for he established peace between the Achaeans and the Eleians, and it was through him also that those who had been captured by both sides while they were at war were set free. This same Pantarkes also won a victory with a ridden horse, and his victory memorial is at Olympia. The Aetolian people dedicated Olidas of Elis, and Charinos of Elis is set up for his victories in both the double-stadion race and the race in armor; beside him stands Ageles of Chios, victorious in boys' boxing, the work of Theomnestos of Sardis.

6.15.3

The statue of Cleitomachus the Theban was dedicated by Hermocrates, Cleitomachus's father. His achievements which won him great fame were as follows: At the Isthmian Games he overcame his competitors in wrestling, and on the very same day he also defeated opponents who entered both boxing and pankration. At Delphi, all of his victories–three in number–were in pankration. At Olympia, Cleitomachus was the second after Theagenes of Thasos to be proclaimed victor in both boxing and pankration.

6.15.4

At the hundred and forty-first Olympiad he had already obtained a victory in the pankration. At the next Olympiad after this, Kleitomachos competed both in pankration and in boxing, and an Elean named Kapros was eager to compete in wrestling and pankration alike, both on the very same day.

6.15.5

Since Kapros had already won the wrestling match, Kleitomachos tried to persuade the Hellanodikai, arguing that justice would be served if they proclaimed the pankration contest before he, already

exhausted from boxing, sustained any injuries. His assertion was reasonable indeed. Even though he was defeated by Kapros when the pankration was announced in this manner, he nevertheless entered the boxing competition with his courage unworn and his body still fresh and vigorous.

6.15.6

The Erythraeans, who are Ionians, set up an offering for Epitherses, son of Metrodorus, who gained two victories in boxing at Olympia, two at Pytho, as well as victories at Nemea and at the Isthmus. Such was the honor paid by these people to this Epitherses; the Syracusans, however, dedicated two statues of Hiero at the public expense, and a third was dedicated by Hiero's children. I have already briefly indicated a little earlier that this Hiero bore the same name as the son of Deinomenes, and was likewise tyrant of Syracuse in the same manner as he had been.

6.15.7

The fourth division of the Cephallenians dedicated also Timoptolis, an Eleian man, son of Lampis, who was from Pale. In earlier times these people from Pale were called Dulichians. There are dedicated also statues of Archidamus son of Agesilaus, and a man depicted in the attitude of someone hunting. Let anyone know that Demetrius, who marched against Seleucus with an army and was captured in battle, and Antigonus the son of Demetrius are dedications set up by the Byzantines.

6.15.8

Eutelidas, a Spartan, won two victories among the boys during the thirty-eighth Olympiad, one in wrestling and the other in the pentathlon; for it was then that boys competed for the first and last time in the pentathlon. The statue of Eutelidas is ancient, and the letters on its base have become faint with time.

6.15.9

After Eutelidas, there stands again Areus, king of the Lacedaemonians, and beside him the Eleian Gorgus. Gorgus alone, of all men up to my time, achieved four victories at Olympia in the pentathlon, as well as one victory each in the diaulos race and the race in armor.

6.15.10

The statue by which the children are standing is said to represent Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Beside him are two statues of Caprus, son of Pythagoras, an Elean who gained victories in wrestling and pancratium on the very same day–these two victories of Caprus being the first ever achieved by any man. I have already described the opponent whom he defeated in pancratium; in wrestling he overcame Paeanios, an Elean who had previously won an Olympic victory in wrestling, and at the Pythian games had gained crowns first in boys' boxing, and again later, on the same day, in the men's competitions both for wrestling and boxing.

Chapter 16

6.16.1

Indeed, Kapros obtained his victories not without great hardship and exhausting toil. At Olympia, there are statues of Anauchidas and Pherenikos as well; both were of Eleian ancestry and crowned for wrestling victories among boys. The Thespians dedicated the statue of Pleistainos, the son of Eurydamos, who commanded the Aitolians against the Gauls.

6.16.2

Tydeus, an Elean, made offerings dedicated to Antigonus, the father of Demetrius, and to Seleucus. The fame of Seleucus became widespread among all mankind for many reasons, and especially because of his capture of Demetrius. Concerning Timon, victories were his in the pentathlon at all the Greek games except the Isthmian; from this competition he was excluded, in accordance with the general practice against Eleans, because he did not actually enter the contest. Further, the inscription regarding him recounts these additional details: Timon joined the Aetolians in their expedition against the Thessalians and became commander of their garrison at Naupactus, owing to the friendship he had formed with the Aetolians.

6.16.3

Not far from the statue of Timon stand Hellas and Elis beside her: Hellas crowns Antigonus, who was guardian to Philip son of Demetrius, with one hand, and with her other hand crowns Philip himself; while Elis is crowning Demetrius, who campaigned against Seleucus and against Ptolemy son of Lagus.

6.16.4

An inscription concerning Aristeides of Elis records that he gained a victory in the hoplitodromos at Olympia, and also in the diaulos at Pytho, as well as among the youths in the hippios race at Nemea. The hippios race is two diauloi in length. After it had been discontinued at Nemea and at Isthmia, the emperor Hadrian restored it to the Argives for inclusion in their winter Nemean games.

6.16.5

Nearest to the statue of Aristeides stands Menalkes of Elis, who was proclaimed winner in the pentathlon at Olympia; and Philonides, the son of Zotos, whose ancestry was from Chersonesos in Crete, who served as the courier (hmerodromos) for Alexander, son of Philip. Next to him is Brimias from Elis, who won victories in boxing against men, and Leonidas from Naxos, the island in the Aegean; also a

dedication from Psophis in Arkadia, representing Asamon, who was victorious boxing among men, and a statue of Nikandros, who won two victories in the double-course race (diaulos) at Olympia and, in addition, six combined victories in running events at Nemea and the Isthmus. Both Asamon and Nikandros were Eleans. The statue of Nikandros was made by Daippos, and that of Asamon by Pyrilampes of Messene.

6.16.6

Victories were won by Eualkidas of Elis and Seleadas of Lacedaemon, the former in boys' boxing, and Seleadas in men's wrestling. Here too is dedicated a small chariot by Polypeithes of Laconia, and upon the same stele stands his father Calliteles, who was a wrestler. The victories they gained include one by Polypeithes with his horses, and another by Calliteles in wrestling.

6.16.7

Private individuals of Elis dedicated statues of two men, Lampon son of Arniscus and Aristarchus of Psophis, who were serving as their proxenoi or held some other form of goodwill towards them. Between these figures stands Lysippus, an Elean who conquered his opponents in the boys' wrestling. Andreas, an Argive, created the statue of Lysippus.

6.16.8

The Lacedaemonian Deinosthenes won an Olympic victory in the men's footrace, and set up a pillar in the Altis beside his statue. On this pillar Deinosthenes states that the distance along the road from Olympia to another pillar in Lacedaemon is six hundred and sixty stadia. Let it be known that Theodorus, who won a victory in the pentathlon, Pyttalos, the son of Lampis, victorious in boxing among the boys, and Neolaidas, who gained crowns in both the stadion race and the race in armor, were Eleans. Concerning Pyttalos the Eleans also relate this story: when there arose a dispute between the Eleans and the Arcadians about boundaries of land, Pyttalos decided the litigation. His statue is a work by Sthennis of Olynthus.

6.16.9

Next in order stands Ptolemaeus mounted upon a horse, and beside him, Paeanios of Elis, the son of Dematrius, an athlete who won victories in wrestling at Olympia as well as two victories at the Pythian Games. There is also Klearetos of Elis, crowned for victory in the pentathlon, and the chariot belonging to Glaukon, the son of Eteokles, an Athenian. This Glaukon was proclaimed victor in the race for fully-grown horses.

Chapter 17

6.17.1

These, then, are the sights most worthy of note to a visitor making a tour through the Altis, according to my account. If, however, you wish to proceed from the Leonidaeum toward the Great Altar by a road on your right, you will come across the following monuments worthy of remembrance. There are statues of Democrates of Tenedos, who won the men's wrestling, and of Criannius of Elis, victorious in the contest in armor. The statue of Democrates was made by Dionysicles of Miletus, while that of Criannius was crafted by Lysus, a Macedonian.

6.17.2

The cities dedicated statues of Herodotus of Klazomenai and Philinos, the son of Hegepolis of Kos. The Klazomenians set up the statue because Herodotus was the first from Klazomenai to be proclaimed victor at Olympia, having won in the boys' foot-race. The Koans set up the statue of Philinos in recognition of his fame; at Olympia he won five victories in running, four at Pytho, the same number at Nemea, and at the Isthmus one, making ten victories in all.

6.17.3

Aristolaos, a Macedonian, dedicated the statue of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy Lagus. There is also set up a statue of Boutas, son of Polyneikes, a Milesian, who gained victory in boxing among the boys. Kallikrates from Magnesia on the Lethaios is also represented there, who won two crowns in the race in armor; the statue of Kallikrates is the work of Lysippos.

6.17.4

Enation and Alexibius were victorious–the former won the boys' foot-race, and Alexibius the pentathlon. Their homeland is Heraea in Arcadia, and Acestor was the sculptor who made the statue of Alexibius. The inscription on Enation's image does not make clear whose son he was, but it does indicate that he, too, belonged to the Arcadian people. From Colophon came Hermesianax, son of Agoneus, and Eicasius, the son of Lycinus and the daughter of Hermesianax; both were winners among the boys in wrestling. Furthermore, Hermesianax was granted a statue dedicated by the entire community of Colophon.

6.17.5

Near these statues stand Eleans who won victories in boxing matches for boys; one, the work of Sthennis the Olynthian, is Choerilus, and another, by Daetondas the Sicyonian, is Theotimus. This Theotimus was the son of Moschion, who took part with Alexander, the son of Philip, in the campaign against Darius and the Persians. Next come two more Eleans: Archidamus, who won a victory with a four-horse chariot, and Eperastus, son of Theogonos, who gained victory in the hoplite race.

6.17.6

★ Eperastus was also a seer, according to the epitaph upon his tomb, which says: "I proudly claim descent from the priestly line of the Klytidae, a seer, a scion of the Melampodidae, descendants of godlike men."

For Mantius was the son of Melampus, son of Amythaon; from Mantius came Oicles, and from Oicles came Amphiaraus, whose son Alcmaeon was the father of Clytius. This Clytius was born to Alcmaeon by the daughter of Phegeus, and migrated to Elis, fleeing to dwell with his mother's brothers, since he knew that they had slain his father Alcmaeon.

6.17.7

Among statues interspersed with dedications that are not overly conspicuous, one can see Alexinikos from Elis, who won a victory in wrestling among the boys, the work of Kantharos of Sikyon, and also Gorgias of Leontini. Eumolpos, third in descent from Deïkrates, who had married Gorgias' sister, states that he was the one who dedicated the statue at Olympia.

6.17.8

This Gorgias was the son of Charmantides, and it is said that he was the first to restore to prominence the study of rhetoric, which had been entirely neglected and had nearly passed into oblivion among humanity. They say that Gorgias gained fame for his eloquence both at the Olympic festival and when he came, together with Tisias, on an embassy to Athens. Indeed, Tisias himself made numerous contributions to rhetoric, and among the most persuasive speeches of his time was a judicial argument he composed for a Syracusan woman concerning a dispute over property.

6.17.9

But certainly Gorgias won even greater honor among the Athenians than he who taught him, and Jason, who ruled as tyrant in Thessaly, placed him ahead of Polycrates, whose rhetorical school in Athens was far from insignificant. They say Gorgias lived to be one hundred and five years old. As for Leontini, once depopulated by the Syracusans, in my own day it happened to be inhabited again.

Chapter 18

6.18.1

There is also a bronze chariot of Cratisthenes the Cyrenaean; figures of Victory and Cratisthenes himself are standing upon the chariot. Clearly, his victory was won in a horse-race. It is said, moreover, that this Cratisthenes was the son of Mnaseas, the runner, whom the Greeks called "the Libyan." The votive offerings dedicated by Cratisthenes at Olympia are the work of Pythagoras of Rhegium. ?

6.18.2

Here too I know of a statue of Anaximenes, who composed a comprehensive history of ancient Greek affairs, and also of everything done by Philip, son of Amyntas, and later by Alexander. This honor was bestowed upon him at Olympia by the people of Lampsacus. Anaximenes is remembered especially for the following incident: when Alexander, son of Philip, who as a king was not always mild but often very quick-tempered, was enraged with him, Anaximenes overcame his anger by the following stratagem.

6.18.3

When the Lampsacenes took the Persian king's side, or at least were accused of sympathizing with him, Alexander, exceedingly enraged with them, threatened to inflict upon them the greatest calamities. In their fear for their women and children, and indeed for their very homeland, they sent Anaximenes to intercede for them, as he had been known previously both to Alexander himself and earlier to Philip. Anaximenes approached Alexander, and when Alexander asked him the cause of his coming, he is said to have sworn by the gods of the Greeks that he indeed had come to petition Alexander to do precisely the opposite of whatever he himself wished to request.

6.18.4

Then indeed Anaximenes spoke thus: "Grant me, O king, this favor–to enslave the women and children of the Lampsacenes, to raze their entire city to the ground, and even to burn their sanctuaries of the gods." Thus was he speaking; and Alexander, unable to contrive anything against his stratagem, and bound by the necessity of his oath, unwillingly granted pardon to the Lampsacenes.

6.18.5

Anaximenes also appears to have avenged himself upon a personal enemy in a way not only clever but exceedingly spiteful. He was naturally skilled as a sophist and adept at imitating the writings of other sophists. When he had become embroiled in a conflict with Theopompus, the son of Damasistratus,

he composed a book defamatory of the Athenians, the Spartans, and the Thebans alike; and having imitated Theopompus' style with the utmost precision, he put Theopompus' name upon the work, distributing it among the various cities. Thus he both published his own composition and effectively spread ill-feeling toward Theopompus throughout all of Greece.

6.18.6

? Nor could anyone else have plausibly claimed before Anaximenes to have composed extempore speeches. However, I do not believe that the verses about Alexander were actually composed by Anaximenes. Sotades, who won the long-distance race at the ninety-ninth Olympiad, was proclaimed as a Cretan, for he indeed was one; but afterward, having received money from the Ephesian community, he declared himself an Ephesian citizen. For this action, the Cretans punished him with exile.

6.18.7

The first statues of athletes set up at Olympia were those of Praxidamas of Aegina, who won the boxing match at the fifty-ninth Olympiad, and of Rexibius of Opus, who prevailed as a pancratiast at the sixty-first Olympiad. These statues stand not far from the pillar of Oenomaus, and they are made of wood; that of Rexibius is of fig-wood, and the statue of the Aeginetan is of cypress-wood, being less finely worked than the other.

Chapter 19

6.19.1

There is a foundation of porous stone in the Altis to the north of the temple of Hera, and behind it lies Mount Kronios. Upon this foundation are the treasuries, similar to those treasuries which at Delphi certain Greeks erected for Apollo. In Olympia there is a treasury called the Treasury of the Sikyonians, dedicated by Myron, who ruled as tyrant over Sikyon.

6.19.2

This was built by Myron, who had won the chariot-race at the thirty-third Olympiad. In this treasury ? he constructed two chambers, one in the Dorian style, the other in Ionian workmanship. I saw myself that they were made of bronze; however, whether this bronze was the so-called Tartessian bronze, as claimed by the Eleans, I cannot say.

6.19.3

They say that Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians, flowing into the sea through two mouths, ? and a city bearing the same name is situated between these mouths of the river. Later generations called this river–being both the largest in Iberia and tidal–the Baetis. There are some who believe that Carpía, an Iberian city, was known in earlier times as Tartessus.

6.19.4

At Olympia there are inscriptions on the smaller of the chambers, stating the weight of the bronze as ? five hundred talents, and naming the dedicators as Myron and the community of the Sicyonians. In this treasury lie three discuses, corresponding to the number they use in the contest of the pentathlon; there is also a bronze-plated shield, the inner surface decorated with painted designs, along with a helmet and greaves placed with it. An inscription on these arms states they were set up by the Myanians as a gift of first fruits to Zeus. But who these Myanians were, not everyone was able equally to conjecture.

6.19.5

Then I recalled how Thucydides in his account mentioned the Locrians neighboring Phocis, and certain ? other cities among which he cites Myonia. In my view, these Myanes whose name is inscribed upon the shield are the same people as the Myonians in mainland Locris; but the inscribed letters on the shield have been slightly altered, a change brought about through the great age of the dedication itself.

6.19.6

★ There are also other objects placed here worth mentioning: a sword of Pelops, whose handle is made of gold, and the horn of Amaltheia fashioned from ivory–the offering of Miltiades son of Kimon, who first ruled in the Thracian Chersonese from this family. Upon the horn is an epigram inscribed in ancient Attic letters:

"To Olympian Zeus they dedicated me as a gift, having captured Aratos' stronghold from the Chersonese; Miltiades led them."

There is also an image of Apollo made from boxwood, whose head is covered with gold; he says it was dedicated by the Locrians near the promontory of Zephyrium, and that the artist was Patrocles of Croton, son of Catillus.

6.19.7

Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians stands that of the Carthaginians, a work by Pothaios, Antiphilos, and Megakles; its dedications include a statue of Zeus of great size, and three linen breastplates. There is also an offering by Gelon and the Syracusans, who defeated the Phoenicians either in a naval or in a land battle.

6.19.8

★ The third and the fourth treasuries are offerings from the Epidamnians. They contain a carved representation of Atlas holding up the heavens, as well as Heracles and the tree of the Hesperides, the apple-tree, around which is coiled the dragon. These too are made of cedar-wood and are the work of Theocles, the son of Hegylus. An inscription upon the heavens says that he made it together with his son. The figures of the Hesperides–these were moved elsewhere by the Eleans–remained even in my time in the Heraeum. As for the treasury itself, it was built for the Epidamnians by Pyrrhus and his sons Lacrates and Hermon.

6.19.9

? The Sybarites also built a treasury next to that of the Byzantines. Those who have carefully studied Italy and its cities say that Lupiae, located between Brundisium and Hydrus, had changed its name from what was originally Sybaris. The harbor there, which serves as a port for ships, was artificially constructed through the efforts of Emperor Hadrian.

6.19.10

Near the treasury of the Sybarites stands the treasury of the Libyans from Cyrene. Within it lie Roman kings. The Selinuntians, Sicilian inhabitants, were driven from their homes by war against the Carthaginians, yet prior to their misfortune they dedicated a treasury to Zeus in Olympia. Inside it stands a Dionysus, whose face, as well as hands and feet, are made of ivory.

6.19.11

★? In the treasury of the Metapontines–this treasury is next to that of the Selinuntians–there is a statue of Endymion made there. Apart from his garment, the rest of Endymions figure is of ivory. I do not know what circumstance befell the Metapontines causing their destruction; but in my day nothing remained of Metapontum except a theater and the circuit walls.

6.19.12

The Megarians who border Attica built a treasury, dedicating therein certain votive offerings, carved figures of cedar wood adorned with gold, depicting the battle between Heracles and Achelous. Zeus appears here, as do Deianeira, Achelous and Heracles himself, and also Ares supporting Achelous. There stood also a statue of Athena, who was allied to Heracles; this statue now stands beside the Hesperides in the Heraeum. ★

6.19.13

On the treasury is carved the battle of gods and giants, as decoration for the pediment; and placed above the pediment is also a shield, declaring that the Megarians dedicated the treasury from spoils taken from the Corinthians. I hold that this victory of the Megarians occurred when Phorbas was archon at Athens, an archon who held office throughout his entire lifetime. At that time, the Athenians had not yet established annual magistracies, nor had the Olympiads yet begun to be recorded by the Eleans. ★

6.19.14

It is said that the Argives also took part with the Corinthians in this deed against the Megarians. As for the treasury in Olympia, the Megarians built it some years after the battle. But the offerings contained within it are likely to have been theirs from earlier times, works made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis. ?

6.19.15

The last of the treasuries stands already next to the stadium itself. The inscription says that this treasury, as well as the statues within it, was dedicated by the Geloans. However, the statues are no longer preserved. ?

Chapter 20

6.20.1

Mount Kronion extends, as I have already described, alongside the terrace and the treasuries situated upon it. At the summit of this mountain, those called the Basilae sacrifice to Kronos at the spring equinox, during the month of Elaphios according to the Eleians. ★

6.20.2

At the extremity of the Kronion, towards the north, between the treasuries and the hill, there is a sanctuary of Eileithyia, and within it Sosipolis, a native deity of honor among the Eleans, receives worship. They call Eileithyia by the surname Olympian, and each year choose a priestess who serves this goddess. The elderly woman who attends Sosipolis holds her office according to the sacred custom of the Eleans; she personally brings water for bathing the god and arranges cakes kneaded with honey for him. ★

6.20.3

In the front part of the temple–for it has indeed been constructed in two sections–there is an altar dedicated to Eileithyia and an entrance accessible to everyone. In the inner area, Sosipolis receives honors, and entry there is permitted to no one except the woman serving the god, who must cover her head and face with a white veil. Maidens and married women wait inside the precinct of Eileithyia and sing hymns; although they perform sacred rites and burn many kinds of incense, they consider it improper to pour wine as an offering to him. Furthermore, they hold that swearing an oath by Sosipolis is reserved for the gravest matters. ★

6.20.4

It is said also that when the Arcadians invaded Elis with an army and the Eleans had encamped opposite them, a woman came to the Elean generals carrying an infant child at her breast, declaring that the child was hers by birth, but that she offered it according to a dream she had seen, as a helper in war for the Eleans. The Elean magistrates–believing that she had spoken truthfully–placed the child naked before the army. ★

6.20.5

The Arcadians then advanced, and at that very moment the child was transformed into a serpent. Disturbed by this sudden vision, the Arcadians fell into confusion and took to flight; the Eleans pressed ★

upon them, winning a most conspicuous victory. Thereafter, they named their deity Sosipolis ("Savior of the City"). On the spot where they believed the serpent had concealed itself after the battle, they built a temple. It became their custom also to revere Eileithyia in association with this deity, believing that it was this goddess who had brought forth the child among mankind.

6.20.6

The tomb of those Arcadians who died in the battle is on the hill after crossing the Cladeus river toward the west. Near the sanctuary of Eileithyia are the ruins remaining of a temple of Aphrodite Urania, and here also sacrifice is offered upon the altars.

6.20.7

★ Within the Altis, near the processional entrance, is an enclosure called the Hippodameion, a piece of ground about one plethron in area, surrounded by a stone fence. Women may enter this place once every year, when they sacrifice to Hippodameia and perform other rites in her honour. It is said that Hippodameia withdrew to Midea in Argolis, because Pelops felt great anger toward her over the death of Chrysippus; later, however, they themselves say an oracle instructed them to recover Hippodameias bones and bring them back to Olympia.

6.20.8

At the end of the statues which were set up as penalties against athletes, there is an entrance called the Hidden Gate. Through this entrance, the judges of the Greeks and the competitors pass into the stadium. The stadium itself is an earthen embankment, and within it is a seat constructed for the presidents of the contests. Opposite the judges' seats stands an altar of white stone.

6.20.9

★ Upon this altar sits a woman who watches the Olympic games, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, who receives this privilege from the Eleans, now one woman, now another. Maidens, however, are not forbidden to watch. At the far end of the stadium, where the runners have their starting point, stands the tomb of Endymion, according to the Eleans' account.

6.20.10

Beyond the stadium, opposite the place where the Hellanodikai sit, is the ground set apart for the horse races, and the starting point for the horses. This starting-place is built in the shape of the prow of a ship, whose ram faces in the direction of the racecourse. At the end nearest the Stoa of Agnaptus, where the prow widens out, a bronze dolphin attached to a wooden beam has been set at the very tip of this ram.

6.20.11

Each side of the starting-place is over four hundred feet in length, and buildings stand along them. These buildings are assigned by lot to those who enter horses for competition. Before the chariots or the riding-horses there runs a cord instead of a barrier. An altar of unbaked brick, coated on the outside with plaster, is made at each Olympiad near the very middle of the front; an eagle is placed upon it.

6.20.12

On the altar itself stands an eagle of bronze, spreading its wings to their full length. The mechanism within the altar is set in motion by the attendant appointed to manage the race; when activated, the

eagle leaps up into the air so that it becomes clearly visible to all the spectators who have come to witness the spectacle, while the dolphin falls down onto the ground.

6.20.13

First at each side near the Stoa of Agnaptos the starting-gates are lowered, and the horses standing at these gates are the first to rush out. As they rush forward, they come level with those arranged by lot to hold the second position, and at that moment, the gates of the second rank are opened. Likewise, the same procedure occurs through all the horses in order, until they form a straight alignment with each other at the prow-shaped turning-post. After this point, the contest is established as a display of the skill of the charioteers and the swiftness of their horses.

6.20.14

The starting device was originally a contrivance of Cleoitas, who indeed seemed proud of his invention, as he even inscribed an epigram on his statue in Athens stating he was the first to devise the horse-racing starting gate at Olympia:

"Cleoitas, son of Aristocles, made me."

They say that afterwards Aristides himself also contributed some skill towards the improvement of the apparatus.

6.20.15

When the hippodrome stretches forward, passing along one side to a greater length, there is on the larger side, which consists of an embankment, at the point where the passage runs through this embankment, an altar-like shape known as Taraxippus ("Horse-frightener"), which brings terror to horses. Its form is circular. As the horses dash past this spot, a sudden and powerful alarm seizes them without any evident cause, and from this fear comes confusion: chariots commonly crash, and the charioteers are injured. For this reason, the chariot-drivers offer sacrifices and pray that Taraxippus may be gracious to them.

6.20.16

The Greeks, however, do not agree in their beliefs about Taraxippos. Some say it is the tomb of a native-born hero, excellent in horsemanship, giving him the name Olenios. From him, they say, the Olenian rock in Elis also takes its name. Others say he is Dameon of Phlius, who accompanied Herakles in his expedition against Augeas and the Eleans; according to them, Dameon himself was killed, along with the horse he rode, by Kteatos the son of Aktor, and a common tomb was made for Dameon and his horse.

6.20.17

They also say that Pelops here created an empty tomb for Myrtilus, sacrificed to him to soothe the wrath caused by the murder, and named him Taraxippus ("Horse-terrifier"), because Oenomaus's horses were thrown into confusion by means of Myrtilus's trickery. Some, however, maintain that it is Oenomaus himself who harms the charioteers in the racecourse. I have also heard that Alcathous, son of Porthaon, is responsible, inasmuch as Alcathous, having been slain here by Oenomaus because of Hippodameia's marriage, was given a portion of earth; since he had suffered misfortune in the racecourse, he became a spiteful and unfriendly spirit hostile toward charioteers.

6.20.18

An Egyptian man stated that Pelops, having received something from Amphion of Thebes, buried it at the place they call Taraxippus ("Horse-frightener"); and due to what had been buried there, Oenomaus' horses were thrown into confusion at that time, and afterwards horses have continued to be similarly troubled. This same Egyptian claimed that Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were both great sorcerers, and as they sang incantations, animals came willingly to Orpheus, and stones moved themselves to Amphion during the building of his wall. But the most plausible explanation, in my opinion, is that Taraxippus is a title given to Poseidon Hippios ("Poseidon of horses").

6.20.19

There is also on the Isthmus a Taraxippos named Glaukos, the son of Sisyphos; they say that he met his end from his horses when Akastos established funeral games in honor of his father. At Nemea in Argive territory there was no hero who harmed horses, but there were rocks standing above the turning point of the racecourse colored with a reddish hue, whose gleam, exactly as if it were fire, inspired fear in the horses. But in fact the Taraxippos at Olympia greatly surpasses all others in terrifying horses. On one of the turning-posts is a bronze image of Hippodameia, holding a ribbon, ready to bind Pelops with it in honor of his victory.

Chapter 21

6.21.1

The other part of the hippodrome is not a mound of earth, but a hill, though not a high one. At the far end of this hill there is a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, surnamed Chamyn. Some consider this surname ancient, asserting that here the earth opened (chanein) to admit Hades' chariot and afterward closed again. Others say that Chamynos was a man from Pisa who opposed Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion who was tyrant in Pisa and plotted revolt against the Eleans. They relate that Chamynos was killed by Pantaleon, and from Chamynos' property the sanctuary for Demeter was built.

6.21.2

In place of the ancient statues, Herodes the Athenian dedicated images of Kore and Demeter made from Pentelic marble. At Olympia there is a gymnasium, in which the training of pentathletes and runners is conducted; a stone platform stands in the open air, upon which originally there had been erected a trophy commemorating the victory over the Arcadians. There is also another, smaller enclosure on the left side of the entrance to the gymnasium, and the wrestling-schools for the athletes are located there. Adjacent to the eastern colonnade of the gymnasium are the living quarters of the athletes, built along its wall, facing towards the southwest wind and the setting sun.

6.21.3

After crossing the Cladeus, there is the tomb of Oenomaus, a mound of earth enclosed by stones, and above the monument are ruins of buildings, the place where they say Oenomaus stabled his horses. Concerning the boundaries with Arcadia, some of the present territory belonged to the Eleans, while other parts had originally been held by the Pisatans. These boundaries extend as follows:

After crossing the river Erymanthus near the ridge known as the Hill of Sauros, there is the tomb of Sauros and a sanctuary of Heracles, both of which stood as ruins in my day. They say that Sauros used to harm travelers and the people living nearby, until he received justice at the hands of Heracles.

6.21.4

Near this ridge named after the bandit, a river called Diagon flows down from the south into the Alpheios, nearly opposite the Erymanthus; it forms the boundary between Pisa and Arcadia. About forty stades beyond Saurus ridge, one comes upon a sanctuary of Asklepios, surnamed Demainetos after its founder; this temple itself is also in ruins. It was built on a height overlooking the Alpheios.

6.21.5

Not far from this is built the sanctuary of Dionysus Leucyanites, and by it flows the river Leucyanias. This river also joins the Alpheius, coming down from Mount Pholoe. Once you cross here the Alpheius, you will come into the land of Pisa.

6.21.6

★ In this region there is a hill rising sharply to a point, upon which lie the ruins of the city Phrixa and a temple of Athena, surnamed Cydonia. The temple is not in every respect intact, but the altar still remained even in my time. They say that Clymenus, a descendant of Heracles of Ida, founded this sanctuary for the goddess, having come here from Cydonia in Crete near the river Iardanus. The Eleians say as well that Pelops offered a sacrifice to Athena surnamed Cydonia before undertaking the contest itself against Oenomaus.

6.21.7

★ Going forward from here is the water of Parthenia, and beside the river is the tomb of the horses of Marmakas. The tradition says that this Marmakas was the first of the suitors of Hippodameia to arrive, and that he was killed by Oinomaos before all the others. The names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha; Oinomaos slaughtered Marmakas' horses as well, yet granted them burial. The Parthenia river received its name from this horse of Marmakas.

6.21.8

★ There is also another river called Harpinates, and not far from this river are ruins of the city of Harpina; especially notable among them are the altars. It is said that Oinomaos founded this city, naming it Harpina after his mother.

6.21.9

★ After advancing a short distance, there is a high earthen mound, the tomb of the suitors of Hippodameia. Now, they say that Pelops originally buried them close together and without distinction, but later on he raised a great memorial mound in honor of them collectively, through respect for the suitors themselves and favor for Hippodameia–though it seems to me also as a reminder to posterity of how many and how notable were the men whom he himself surpassed by defeating Oinomaos.

6.21.10

★ According to the "Great Ehoeae" poem, Alcathous, the son of Porthaon, was killed by Oenomaus. He was the second to perish after Marmax. After Alcathous died, Euryalus, Eurymachus, and Crotalus were also slain. Of the parents and cities of these men, I was unable to obtain information. However, a man named Acrias, who fell after them, one might reasonably consider to have been a Lacedaemonian and the founder of Acriae. After Acrias, they say Capetus was slain by Oenomaus, and then Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalcodon, and Tricolonus. The Arcadians claim that this Tricolonus was the descendant and namesake of Tricolonus, the son of Lycaon.

6.21.11

★ At Trikolon, fate overtook Aristomachus and Prias during their race, along with Pelagon, Aeolius, and Kronios. Some also include Erythras, son of Leukon son of Athamas–after whom the city Erythrai in Boeotia was named–and Eioneus, son of Magnes, son of Aeolus, among those previously mentioned.

Their tomb lies here, and it is said that Pelops himself, once he gained power over the people of Pisa, performed yearly sacrificial rites in their honor.

Chapter 22

6.22.1

About a stade beyond the tomb are the remains of a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis, surnamed Kordaka. ★
She acquired this epithet because Pelops' followers held their victory celebrations near this goddess, performing the kordax, a type of dance customary among the people around Sipylus. Not far from this precinct there stands a modest building containing a bronze chest, in which the bones of Pelops are preserved. Of the city wall or any other structure there no longer remains anything, but vineyards have been planted all over the area that was once inhabited as Pisa.

6.22.2

They say the founder of the city was Pisus, son of Perieres and descendant of Aeolus. But the Pisatans brought misfortune upon themselves by willingly provoking the Eleans and eagerly attempting to celebrate the Olympic festival in their place. In the eighth Olympiad, indeed, they brought in the Argive Pheidon, who was renowned for his arrogance above all Greek tyrants, and with him organized the games; later, in the thirty-fourth Olympiad, the Pisatans and their king Pantaleon, son of Omphalion, collected an army from their neighbors and once more held the Olympic festival instead of the Eleans.

6.22.3

These Olympiads, including the hundred and fourth Olympiad itself, which was held by the Arcadians, ?
the Eleans call an "Anolympiad" and do not include it in their list of Olympiads. In the forty-eighth Olympiad afterwards, Damophon son of Pantaleon gave the Eleans suspicion that he was plotting new troubles against them. However, he convinced them, through entreaties and oaths, to withdraw empty-handed and return home after they had invaded the territory of Pisa under arms.

6.22.4

When Pyrrhus son of Pantaleon was king, succeeding his brother Damophon, the people of Pisa willingly took up war against the Eleans. The inhabitants of Makistos and Skillous from Triphylia joined their revolt against Elis, as did also the Dyspontians from among the other neighboring peoples. The Dyspontians, more than any others, had a close affinity with the Pisans, and used to recall that Dysponteus, their founder, was said to have been a son of Oinomaos. As for the Pisans and all those who had shared with them in the war, they were subsequently driven from their homes by the Eleans.

6.22.5

★ The ruins of Pylos in Elis are clearly visible along the mountainous road leading from Olympia to the city of Elis; from Pylos it is eighty stadia to Elis. As I have previously mentioned, this Pylos was founded by Pylon, son of Kleson, a man from Megara. Having been destroyed by Heracles and afterward repopulated once more by the Eleans, the town eventually became deserted again, losing its inhabitants over time. Beside it runs the Ladon River, emptying into the Peneius.

6.22.6

★ The Eleans say that there is also a verse from Homer referring to this Pylos, "whose race was from the river Alpheius, which flows broad through the land of the Pylians," and indeed they persuaded me as well, stating that the Alpheius does flow through this territory, and the verse cannot be applied to another Pylos. For the Alpheius does not naturally flow through the land of the Pylians beyond the island of Sphacteria, nor was there ever, so far as we know, a city called Pylos in Arcadia.

6.22.7

★ About fifty stadia from Olympia is Herakleia, a village of the Eleans, and beside it flows the river Kytheros. There is a spring issuing into the river, and at the spring a sanctuary of the Nymphs. Each one of the Nymphs is individually named, Kalliphaeia, Synallasis, Pegaia, and Iasis, but collectively they are called Ionides. Bathing in the spring provides healing from weariness and all sorts of pains. They say that the Nymphs take their name from Ion, the son of Gargettos, who migrated here from Athens.

6.22.8

★ If you wish to travel to Elis through the plain, the journey to Letrinoi is one hundred and twenty stadia, and from Letrinoi to Elis again one hundred and eighty. Originally, Letrinoi was a small city established by Letreus, a son of Pelops. In my own time, however, only a few buildings remained, along with an image of Artemis Alpheiaia in a temple.

6.22.9

★ They say the goddess received this surname because of the following tale: Alpheios fell in love with Artemis, and when he understood that he could never persuade or entreat her to marry him, he dared to attempt to force himself upon the goddess. She, however, went to Letrinoi for an all-night festival, attended by nymphs with whom she delighted in play. Artemis, suspecting Alpheios' plan, smeared her own face and those of all the attending nymphs with mud. Thus, when Alpheios entered, he could not distinguish Artemis from the others, and unable to recognize her, he departed, his attempt frustrated.

6.22.10

★ The people of Letrini indeed called the goddess "Alpheiaia," because of the love Alpheios had for her. As for the Eleans–who had maintained friendship with the Letrinians from the beginning–they transferred to Letrini the rites established among themselves for Artemis Elaphia, and ordained that these rites be observed in honor of Artemis Alpheiaia. Thus, in time, the goddess came to be more commonly known as Elaphiaia rather than Alpheiaia.

6.22.11

★ The Eleans called Artemis "Elaphiaia," in my opinion because of her hunting of deer (elaphoi). But they themselves claim that "Elaphion" was the name of a local woman, and they say that Artemis was

nurtured by this Elaphion. About six stades from Letrinoi is a perennial lake, approximately three stades in diameter.

Chapter 23

6.23.1

In Elis, among the noteworthy sights is an ancient gymnasium. All the customary rites for athletes ★ before they proceed to Olympia are performed by them here in this gymnasium. Tall plane trees grow along the running-tracks within the enclosure walls. The entire enclosure is called Xystos, because Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, practiced here, daily scraping away the thistles (xysta) that grew in the place.

6.23.2

There is a separate track specially set apart for contests among runners, which the locals call sacred, and another distinct area where runners and pentathletes practice their exercises. Within the Gymnasium is a place called the Plethrion; here the Hellanodikai pair competitors according to age or skill, matching them together for wrestling bouts.

6.23.3

In the gymnasium there are also altars to gods: one to Heracles of Ida, surnamed Parastates ("He who ★ stands beside"), and others to Eros and to the deity whom both Eleans and Athenians alike call Anteros. There are also altars to Demeter and her daughter. For Achilles, however, there is no altar; instead, there is an empty tomb erected for him, following an oracle. On a designated day at the commencement of the festival, when the sun is setting towards the west, the Elean women perform certain rites in honor of Achilles and customarily lament him.

6.23.4

There is also another enclosure of the gymnasium, smaller in size, adjoining the larger one; and because of its shape, they call it the Square. Here they arrange wrestling schools for competitors, and here they also match athletes who are no longer wrestling, but competing with softer leather thongs for striking blows. In this place stands also one of the statues which were set up in honor of Zeus, as a penalty upon Sosandros of Smyrna and Polyktores of Elis.

6.23.5

There is also a third enclosure of the gymnasium, called Maltho, because of the softness of its ground. ★ During the festival period, it is open to the youths for the entire duration. In a corner of the Maltho there is a bust of Heracles reaching down to the shoulders, and in one of the wrestling schools there is

a relief representing Eros and the figure called Anteros. The Eros holds a branch of palm, while the Anteros attempts to take it away from him.

6.23.6

On either side of the entrance leading into the Maltho stands a statue of a boxer. The Elean curator of laws stated that this man was Alexandrian in descent, from the island situated beyond Pharos, named Sarapion, who, having come to Elis when the people were suffering a shortage of grain, provided provisions for them. In return, he was honored in that place. The time of his Olympic crown and his benefaction toward the Eleans was during the two hundred and seventeenth Olympiad.

6.23.7

In this gymnasium there is also the council chamber of the Eleans, and here they hold exhibitions involving both improvised speeches and writings of every kind. It is called Lalichmion after the man who dedicated it. Around it shields are set up, intended only for display and not made for the work of war.

6.23.8

From the gymnasium, the way toward the baths leads along a street called Silence (Siop), past a temple of Artemis Philomeirax. The goddess received this epithet because her temple is near the gymnasium. As for the street named Silence, they say it received the name from the following event. When men from Oxylus' army had been dispatched as spies to gather information about the Eleans, they instructed one another on the journey that as soon as they approached the walls they should be silent themselves and try to overhear anything they could from those inside. These spies, therefore, secretly passed unnoticed into the city by way of this very street, gathered the intelligence they desired, and returned again to the Aetolians. Thus, the street received its name "Silence" from the spies' secrecy.

Chapter 24

6.24.1

Another exit from the gymnasium leads toward the marketplace and to the place called the Hellanodikaion; it is situated above the tomb of Achilles. It is established that the Hellanodikai proceed this way into the gymnasium. They enter before sunrise to pair the runners, and at midday for the pentathlon and the contests they call the heavy events. ★

6.24.2

The market-place of the Eleans is not constructed after the fashion of the Ionians, or that of the Greek cities near Ionia, but is built in a more ancient style, with colonnades separated from one another and streets running through them. The market-place is called, in our time, the Hippodrome, and here the local inhabitants train their horses. Of the porticoes, the southern is the work of Doricus; the columns divide it into three sections. Here the Hellanodikai generally spend their days.

6.24.3

They have also altars dedicated to Zeus near these, located in the open air area of the marketplace. The altars are few in number, and they can easily be dismantled, as they have been constructed hastily and without elaborate preparation. Traveling along this colonnade into the market, you see on the left, at its far end, the Hellanodikaion, separated from the marketplace by a street. In this Hellanodikaion dwell, for ten successive months, those chosen to serve as judges of the Greeks (Hellanodikai); here also the guardians of the laws instruct them in all matters pertaining to their duties in connection with the contest.

6.24.4

Near the stoa where the Hellanodikai spend the day, there is another stoa close by, separated from it only by a single street. The Eleans call this stoa "Corcyraean," for they say that when the Corcyraeans came with ships into their territory and carried off a portion of their plunder, they recovered from the Corcyraeans many times what had been taken; and from a tithe of these spoils they erected the stoa. ?

6.24.5

The construction of the stoa is Doric in style and double, having columns on the side facing the agora and another row toward the area beyond the agora. Through its middle there are not columns but a wall supporting the roof at that point, and on each side of this wall paintings are exhibited. In front

of the stoa, facing the agora, there stands a statue of Pyrrho, the son of Pistocrates, a sophist who established certainty in no matter whatsoever. Not far from the city of the Eleans is also the tomb of Pyrrho. The place is named Petra; it is said that Petra was formerly a deme.

6.24.6

★ In the open part of their market-place, the Eleans have as their most celebrated dedication a temple and image of Apollo Akesios. His appellation indicates nothing else than the deity whom the Athenians call Alexikakos ("Averter of Evil"). In another place are statues of Helios (Sun) and Selene (Moon), both made of stone. Selene has horns projecting from her head, and from Helios extend rays. There is also a sanctuary of the Graces, whose statues are wooden and covered with gilded garments, though their faces, hands, and feet are carved of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the central one an astragalus (knucklebone), and the third a sprig of myrtle that is not large.

6.24.7

★ One might conjecture that their attributes carry the following significance: the rose and myrtle are both sacred to Aphrodite, and connected with the story of Adonis; while among the gods, the Graces are especially dear to Aphrodite. As for the knucklebone, it is a toy appropriate for youths and maidens, who have as yet no unpleasantness due to old age. Beside the Graces, on their right, stands a statue of Eros, placed upon the same pedestal.

6.24.8

★ Here also is a sanctuary dedicated to Silenus, made specifically for Silenus alone and not shared with Dionysus. Within it, Drunkenness offers Silenus wine in a cup. One might especially conjecture that the race of Sileni is mortal based on their tombs: in the land of the Hebrews there exists a monument of a Silenus, and similarly another Silenus has a tomb among the Pergamenes.

6.24.9

★ In the marketplace of the Eleans I saw another structure of the following kind, shaped like a temple. It is not lofty, nor has it walls, but oak columns skillfully constructed support the roof. The locals agree that this is a tomb, but they do not mention whose tomb it is. If, however, the old man whom I questioned told the true account, it would be the tomb of Oxylus.

6.24.10

In the marketplace, there is also a building for the women known as the Sixteen, where they weave the robe for Hera. Adjacent to the market lies an ancient temple, enclosed all around by colonnaded porticoes; the roof of this temple has collapsed, and no statue remains within. The temple has been dedicated to the Roman emperors.

Chapter 25

6.25.1

Behind the colonnade built from the spoils taken from Corcyra stands a temple of Aphrodite, with an open-air precinct situated not far from the temple itself. The Aphrodite within the temple is called Urania, made of ivory and gold, a work of Pheidias. She is depicted with one foot resting upon a tortoise. The precinct is surrounded by a low wall; within it there is a platform, upon which a bronze statue of Aphrodite is seated, riding upon a bronze goat. This is a work of Scopas, and they call this Aphrodite "Pandemos." As for the significance of the tortoise and the goat, I leave it to those who wish to speculate on these matters.

6.25.2

The sacred precinct and temple of Hades–for the Eleans indeed have both a precinct and temple dedicated to Hades–is opened once each year, but even then entrance is permitted to none except the appointed priest. The Eleans alone, of all the people known to us, worship Hades, and for the following reason: When Heracles was leading an army against the city of Pylos in Elis, Athena, it is said, came to his aid. Then, out of hatred for Heracles, Hades himself arrived to assist the Pylians, owing to the honors he held in Pylos.

6.25.3

They also cite Homer as a witness to this story, since in the Iliad he says:

"And mighty Hades endured among them a swift arrow, When the same man, the son of Zeus who bears the aegis, Struck him at Pylos among the shades, and gave him over to pains." (Hom. Il. 5.395-397)

If then, during the expedition of Agamemnon and Menelaus against Ilium, Poseidon, according to Homers narrative, stood by the Greeks as an ally, it should not seem unreasonable for Hades too, according to the same poet, to have aided the Pylians. Thus, the Eleans made this sanctuary for Hades, considering that the god was friendly to themselves and hostile toward Heracles. They think it proper to open it only once each year, because, I suppose, men too descend to the realm of Hades only once.

6.25.4

The Eleans also have a sanctuary dedicated to Fortune. In the portico of the sanctuary stands a very large image, a wooden statue covered with gold, except on the face, the extremities of the hands, and the feet, which are made of white marble. Sosipolis is also honoured here, situated at the left side of Fortune within a small chamber. The god is depicted according to the appearance he had in a dream: as a child in age, he is clothed in a cloak spangled with stars and holds in one hand the horn of Amaltheia.

6.25.5

And as the city of the Eleans is especially populous, accordingly they have a bronze statue of a man no greater in size than life, who has not yet grown a beard, and who rests one foot crossed over the other and leans with both his hands upon a spear. They clothe this statue with garments made of wool as well as linen and fine flax.

6.25.6

? This statue was said to be of Poseidon and originally received honors at Samicum in Triphylia. After its transfer to Elis, it attained even greater recognition, but there they call it Satrapes rather than Poseidon, having learned the name Satrapes following the settlement of the people from Patrae. Satrapes is also surnamed Corybantes.

Chapter 26

6.26.1

There is an ancient theater between the marketplace and the temple of Menius, and there both the theater and the shrine of Dionysus are situated. The statue is the work of Praxiteles. Of all the gods the Eleans especially revere Dionysus, and say that the god visits them at the festival of the Thyia. This place, where they celebrate the feast called Thyia, is about eight stades distant from the city. The priests carry three empty cauldrons into a building, placing them there in the presence of both citizens and visitors who happen to be staying temporarily in town. Then both the priests themselves and any others appointed in an official capacity set seals upon the doors of the building. On the following day they–

6.26.2

Signs exist by which they can recognize the event, for upon entering the building, they find the vessels filled with wine. The most respected men of the Eleans, along with visiting strangers who were with them, swore solemnly that these things occur as described, although I myself did not arrive at the festival at the appropriate time. The Andrians also relate that each year, during the festival of Dionysus, wine flows spontaneously from the sanctuary. Whether the Greeks are to be trusted in these matters one could decide, but then one might equally accept the stories the Ethiopians who live beyond Syene tell about the table of the sun.

6.26.3

On the acropolis of the Eleians there is a temple of Athena; the statue is made of ivory and gold. They say the statue itself is the work of Pheidias, and a cock is represented upon the helmet, since these birds are extremely eager to fight. But it is also possible that the bird is regarded as sacred to Athena Ergane.

6.26.4

Cyllene lies one hundred and twenty stades from Elis; it faces towards Sicily, offering a harbor convenient for ships. Serving as the port town of the Eleans, it received its name from an Arcadian man. Homer made no mention of Cyllene in his catalogue of Eleans, but in later verses he indicated clearly that he recognized Cyllene as a town.

6.26.5

Pulydamas slew Otos of Kyllene, a companion of Phyleus' son and leader of the noble-hearted Epeians. In Kyllene there are temples belonging to the gods: that of Asklepios and another of Aphrodite. The

statue of Hermes, whom the people there especially revere, stands upright upon a pedestal in the form of a phallus.

6.26.6

The land of Elis is good above all for producing crops and especially excels in growing fine flax. Hemp, linen, and fine flax are indeed sown by those whose land is suitable for cultivation; however, the threads from which the Seres make their garments do not originate from any plant fiber, but are produced in a different, unique manner. There exists in their country an insect, which the Greeks call "ser," though among the Seres themselves it bears another name entirely, not "ser."

6.26.7

Its size is about twice that of the largest beetle, but in other respects it resembles those spiders that weave their webs beneath trees, and indeed it has, in the same way as spiders, eight legs. These creatures the Seres rear and keep in dwellings prepared suitably for them in both the winter and summer seasons. The product of these creatures is found to be a fine thread wrapped around their feet.

6.26.8

They rear them for four years, feeding them millet as nourishment. In the fifth year–knowing they will live no longer–they give them green reeds to eat; this food is sweetest of all for the creature. Once it has gorged itself with reeds, it bursts from fullness, and thus, upon its death, the greatest part of the silk is found within. The island of Seria, where this happens, is known to lie in a bay of the Red Sea.

6.26.9

? I have also heard it said that Erythra is not actually the sea, but a river called Sera, and that it is this river which makes it into an island, just as Egypt's Delta is formed by the Nile, being surrounded not purely by sea. They say another island, similarly formed, is that called Seria. These Seres themselves are indeed of the Ethiopian race, as are those who inhabit the nearby islands of Abasa and Sacaea. But others assert that they are not Ethiopians, but rather Scythians intermingled with Indians.

6.26.10

These things, then, are said thus. For someone traveling into Achaia from Elis, it is one hundred and fifty-seven stadia to the river Larisos. In our time, the river Larisos serves as the boundary for the Eleans between their territory and that of the Achaeans, but in more ancient times their frontier by the sea had been the promontory Araxos.

Part VII

Book 7: Achaia

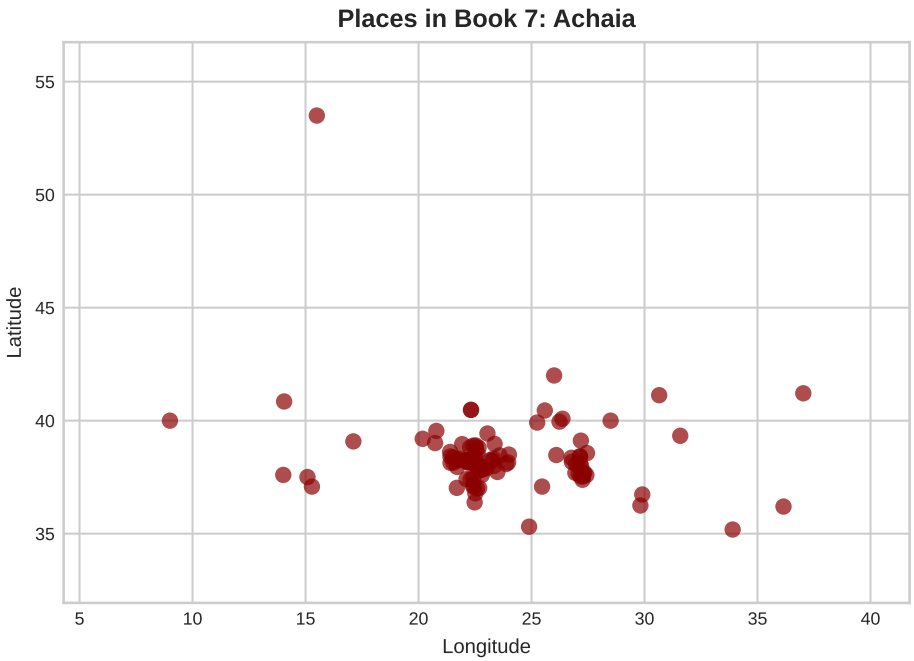

Figure 197.1: Places mentioned in Book 7: Achaia

Chapter 1

7.1.1

The region situated between Elis and Sicyonia, stretching down towards the eastern sea and known in our time as Achaia from its current inhabitants, was in ancient times called Aigialos, and those who lived there were called Aigialeis. According to the Sicyonian tradition, this name is derived from Aigialeus, who once ruled the territory now known as Sicyonia; but others claim the name comes from the nature of the country itself, since the greater part of it lies along the coast.

7.1.2

Later, after Hellen had died, Xuthus was driven out of Thessaly by the remaining sons of Hellen, who brought the charge against him that he had secretly stolen and kept part of their father's property for himself. Fleeing to Athens, he was deemed worthy to marry a daughter of Erechtheus, and by her he had sons, Achaeus and Ion. Upon Erechtheus' death, Xuthus served as judge among Erechtheus' sons regarding the kingship. Because he awarded the throne to Cecrops, the eldest, the other sons of Erechtheus drove him from the land.

7.1.3

When he had arrived in Aigialos and settled there, he himself came to his end in that place. Of his sons, Achaios departed from Aigialos, and having gathered allies from Athens, went down into Thessaly and took possession of his ancestral domain. Ion, meanwhile, was mustering an army against the people of Aigialos and their king Selinous; but Selinous sent envoys to him, offering his daughter Helike, who was his only child, as wife, and adopting Ion himself as son and successor to his throne.

7.1.4

In some way these things befell Ion not without divine purpose; upon the death of Selinous, Ion received the kingship of the Aigialeis. He founded a city in the region of Aigialos and named it Helike after his wife, and from himself he called the people Ionians. This did not constitute a change of name, rather it was an addition to the existing one; for the inhabitants came to be called Ionian Aigialeis. Nevertheless, the original name endured even more strongly in the land itself. Indeed, for Homer, in his catalogue of those accompanying Agamemnon, it was sufficient to indicate the ancient name of this land: "Throughout all Aigialos and around spacious Helike." (Homer, Iliad 2.575)

7.1.5

★ At this time during the reign of Ion, when war erupted between the people of Eleusis and the Athenians, the Athenians summoned Ion himself to be their leader in the conflict. Fate overtook Ion while still in Attica, and his tomb is located within the deme Potamoi. The descendants of Ion ruled over the Ionians until such time as they and their people were expelled by the Achaeans. The Achaeans themselves had previously been driven from Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians.

7.1.6

★ Concerning the Ionians and the Achaeans, whatever actions these peoples undertook against each other, my narrative will promptly set forth after I have first explained for what reason only those who dwelt in Lacedaemon and Argos among all the peoples of the Peloponnese were called Achaeans prior to the Dorian invasion. Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, came to Argos from Phthiotis; once arrived, they became sons-in-law of Danaus, Architeles marrying Automate and Archander taking Scaea as his wife. That they settled permanently in Argos is shown most clearly by the following evidence: Archander gave his son the name Metanastes (“immigrant”).

7.1.7

★ When the sons of Achaeus prevailed in Argos and Lacedaemon, the people living there came to be called Achaeans. This was their common name, though the Argives also kept the special name of Danaans. Later, driven out from Argos and Lacedaemon by the Dorians, they and their king, Tisamenus, son of Orestes, sent envoys to the Ionians, asking that they might be allowed to settle among them peacefully. But fear seized the kings of the Ionians, lest, if the Achaeans were admitted among them, the Ionians might choose Tisamenus as their common king because of his bravery and illustrious ancestry.

7.1.8

When the Ionians disregarded the overtures made by the Achaeans and marched out against them in battle, Tisamenos fell fighting, but the Achaeans overcame the Ionians and besieged them after they had fled into Helike, later allowing them to depart under terms of truce. After the Achaeans had buried the corpse of Tisamenos at Helike, at a later time the Lacedaemonians carried his bones to Sparta in accordance with an oracle delivered to them at Delphi. Even in my own day there still remained there his tomb, where the Lacedaemonians hold their ritual banquets called the Pheiditia.

7.1.9

? When the Ionians came into Attica, the Athenians and their king Melanthus, son of Andropompus, received them as fellow-inhabitants, both for the sake of Ion himself and in recognition of deeds he had performed as leader of the Athenians in war. It is said, however, that the Athenians acted more from consideration of their own strength than from goodwill toward their Ionian fellow-inhabitants, suspecting that the Dorians might be unwilling to refrain even from attacking them.

Chapter 2

7.2.1

Not many years later, Medon and Neileus, the eldest of Codrus' sons, became involved in a dispute over rulership. Neileus declared he could not accept being ruled by Medon, since Medon was lame in one foot. Deciding to refer the matter to the oracle at Delphi, the Pythian priestess granted the sovereignty over Athens to Medon. Thus Neileus and the other sons of Codrus were sent out to found a colony, taking along whichever Athenians willingly wished to go with them; but the majority of their host consisted of Ionians.

7.2.2

This indeed was the third expedition sent from Greece, each under different leaders and composed of various groups. In the most ancient times, Iolaus of Thebes, nephew of Heracles, led the Athenians and the Thespians to Sardinia. A generation before the departure of the Ionians from Athens, Theras, son of Autesion, a Theban, conducted to the island then called Calliste–that which is now named Thera after himself–the Lacedaemonians and the Minyans expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians.

7.2.3

Then thirdly, the sons of Codrus were appointed rulers over the Ionians, although they themselves had no share in the lineage of Ion. Rather, they were Messenians from Pylos on their father's side, descended from Codrus and Melanthus, and Athenians on their mothers. The following groups of Greeks participated alongside the Ionians in this expedition: the Thebans who joined with Philotas, a descendant of Peneleus; and the Minyan Orchomenians, who were related by blood to the sons of Codrus.

7.2.4

The rest of the Phocians also took part, except for the Delphians, and the Abantes from Euboea participated as well. To the Phocians, Philogenes and Damon, the sons of Euctemon, Athenians, supplied ships for the voyage and themselves acted as leaders for the settlers. When the fleet made its landing in Asia, the various groups turned toward different coastal cities, Neileus and his contingent directing their course towards Miletus.

7.2.5

The Milesians themselves relate the following very ancient traditions concerning them: for two generations the land was called Anaktoria, when Anax, who was autochthonous, ruled, and after him Asterios, the son of Anax. But when Miletos arrived leading an expedition of Cretans, both the land and the city changed their name after him. Miletos and the army accompanying him had come from Crete, fleeing from Minos, the son of Europa; and the Carians, who formerly inhabited the region, coexisted with the Cretans.

7.2.6

★ At that time, after the Ionians had overcome the ancient Milesians, they slew all the males of the race except those who escaped when the city was captured, and married their wives and daughters. The tomb of Neileus is located on the left side of the road as one travels toward Didyma, not far from the city gates. The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma and its oracle existed before the settlement of the Ionians, and are still more ancient, by far, than even the rites practiced among the Ionians in honor of Artemis at Ephesus.

7.2.7

★ But Pindar, it seems to me, did not accurately learn all concerning the goddess when he asserted that the sanctuary was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and Theseus. Women from the Thermodon did indeed sacrifice then to the goddess of Ephesus, since they had long been familiar with the sanctuary; they did likewise when fleeing from Heracles, and earlier still, some had come as suppliants fleeing Dionysus. However, the founders were certainly not the Amazons, but rather the indigenous figures Coresus and Ephesus; the latter is believed to be the son of the river Cayster. These are the ones who founded the sanctuary, and from Ephesus the city takes its name.

7.2.8

The region was inhabited largely by Leleges, a division of the Carian people, and by Lydias people for the most part. Others also settled near the sanctuary, some seeking sanctuary, along with women of Amazon descent. Androclus, son of Codrus–who indeed had been named king of the Ionians who sailed to Ephesus–expelled from the territory the Leleges and Lydians, who held the upper city. Those who dwelt around the sanctuary, however, had nothing to fear; after exchanging oaths with the Ionians, they remained untouched by warfare. Androclus also took Samos from the Samians, and the Ephesians possessed for some time Samos and the nearby islands.

7.2.9

★ Androclus aided the people of Priene against the Carians, after the Samians had already returned to their own lands. While the Greeks were prevailing, he fell in battle. The Ephesians recovered Androclus' body and buried him in their own land, where even in my time his tomb is still shown along the road that leads from the sanctuary, past the Olympieion, towards the Magnesian Gates. The monument is surmounted by an armed warrior.

7.2.10

★ The Ionians who settled Myus and Priene likewise seized these cities from the Carians. The founder of Myus was Cyaretus, the son of Codrus. As for the settlers of Priene, they were Thebans mingled with Ionians, and had as their founders Philotas, a descendant of Peneleus, and Aepytus, the son of Neileus. The people of Priene suffered severely, first under the Persian Tabutus, and afterwards under

Hiero, a native of the region; yet even at the extremity they remained part of the Ionian community. The inhabitants of Myus, however, abandoned their city owing to the following misfortune.

7.2.11

In the territory of Myous, a small gulf once extended inland from the sea. The river Maeander, by blocking its entrance with mud, turned this gulf into a lake; when the water became stagnant and was no longer the sea, countless mosquitoes bred in the lake, compelling the local inhabitants to abandon their city. Thus the people of Myous withdrew to Miletos, taking with them their movable possessions and the statues of their gods. By my time nothing was left in Myous except a temple of Dionysos made of white stone. The inhabitants of Myous thus experienced a fate similar to that of the Atarneitai who dwelt beneath Pergamon.

Chapter 3

7.3.1

The Colophonians believe that the sanctuary and oracle at Claros are of very ancient origin. They ★ claim that while the land still belonged to the Carians, the Cretans were the first group of Greeks to arrive, namely Rhacius and those who followed him along with the numbers accompanying them; they held control over the coastal areas and were strong with ships, while the Carians still occupied most of the territory inland. After Thersander, son of Polynices, and the Argives captured Thebes, captives, including Manto herself, were taken as offerings to Apollo and brought to Delphi. On the journey, Tiresias met his fated end at Haliartia.

7.3.2

After the god had commanded them to set forth as colonists, they crossed by ships into Asia. When ★ they arrived near Claros, the Cretans came out against them in arms and led them to Rhacius. Now Rhacius–who learned from Manto who they were and for what reason they had come–took Manto as his wife and made her companions settlers with him. Mopsus, the son of Rhacius and Manto, expelled the Carians entirely from the land.

7.3.3

The Ionians made oaths and shared citizenship equally with the Greeks in Colophon, obtaining ★ no advantage over them. The leadership of the Ionian kingship was taken by Damasichthon and Promethus, the sons of Codrus. Later, Promethus, having slain his brother Damasichthon, fled to Naxos, where he died on the island. His body was afterward brought back to his homeland and received by the sons of Damasichthon. The tomb of Promethus is located there, in a place called Polyteichides.

7.3.4

As for how the city of Colophon happened to become desolate, I have already indicated this earlier in my account concerning Lysimachus. Of those who had been resettled into Ephesus, the people of Colophon alone fought against Lysimachus and the Macedonians. The tomb of those who fell in this battle–both Colophonians themselves and Smyrnaeans–is located on the left-hand side of the road as one goes toward Claros.

7.3.5

★

As for Lebedos, Lysimachus destroyed the city, compelling its inhabitants to leave, so that Ephesus might increase in size by the consolidation. Yet the land remaining to them is prosperous in other respects, and provides hot springs in greater number and of greater pleasantness than any others on the coast. At the beginning, the Carians inhabited Lebedos, until Andraemon, son of Codrus, and the Ionians expelled them. The tomb of Andraemon is situated to the left on the road from Colophon after crossing the Calaon river.

7.3.6

★ Teos was inhabited at first by Orchomenian Minyae who came there together with Athamas; this Athamas is said to be a descendant of Athamas, the son of Aeolus. Here also the Carians were intermingled with the Greek population. Later on, Apoikos, a fourth-generation descendant of Melanthus, brought Ionian settlers into Teos, though he planned no hostile action against either the Orchomenians or the original Teians. Only a few years afterward, men arrived from Athens and Boeotia; leading the Attic contingent were Damasus and Naoclus, the sons of Codrus, while Geres the Boeotian was leader of the Boeotians. Apoikos and the Teians welcomed both groups and agreed that they should settle among them.

7.3.7

★ The Erythraeans say that originally settlers came together with Erythrus, the son of Rhadamanthys, from Crete, and that Erythrus became their city's founder. Later, when Lycians, Carians, and Pamphylians occupied the city along with the Cretans–Lycians due to their kinship with the Cretans (for the Lycians too originally came from Crete, those who fled together with Sarpedon); Carians because of their ancient friendship with Minos; and Pamphylians because they had a share of Greek ancestry (indeed, the Pamphylians are among those who, after the capture of Troy, wandered with Calchas)–while these aforementioned peoples were occupying Erythrae, Cleopus, the son of Codrus, gathered colonists from all the Ionian cities, bringing as many as he could from each, and introduced them as fellow inhabitants to the Erythraeans.

7.3.8

But Clazomenae and Phocaea were not inhabited cities before the Ionians came into Asia. After the arrival of the Ionians, a wandering band among them summoned Parphorus, a leader from the Colophonians, and founded a city beneath Mount Ida. Not long afterward, they abandoned this settlement, and upon returning to Ionia, they founded Scyppium in Colophonian territory.

7.3.9

Having departed voluntarily also from the territory of Colophon, they thus obtained the land which they still possess today, and founded on the mainland the city of Clazomenae. Later, due to fear of the Persians, they crossed over onto the island. In a later time, Alexander, son of Philip, was destined to turn Clazomenae into a peninsula by constructing a causeway from the mainland to the island. Most of these Clazomenians were not Ionians but Cleonaeans and settlers from Phlius–those who departed from their cities at the time when the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus.

7.3.10

The Phocaeans were originally descended from that region beneath Parnassus which even down to our day is still called Phocis. Together with the Athenians under Philogenes and Damon, they crossed over into Asia. They obtained their land not through war, but by agreement with the Cymaeans. When the

Ionians refused to admit them into the Panionion until they had taken kings descended from Codrus' lineage, they accordingly accepted from the Erythraeans and from Teos Deöites, Periklos, and Abartos.

Chapter 4

7.4.1

The Ionian cities situated on the islands are Samos, which lies opposite Mycale, and Chios, which is directly across from Mount Mimas. Now, Asius, son of Amphiptolemus, a poet from Samos, in his verses stated that Astypalaea and Europa were daughters of Phoenix by Perimede, the daughter of Oeneus. From the union of Poseidon with Astypalaea was born Ancaeus, who ruled over the people known as the Leleges. Ancaeus, after taking as wife Samia, the daughter of the river Maeander, fathered Perilaus, Enudus, Samos, Alitherses, and a daughter named Parthenope by her. From Parthenope, daughter of Ancaeus, and Apollo was born Lycomedes.

7.4.2

Asios made this much known in his verses. But at that time, the inhabitants of the island received the Ionians as settlers rather through compulsion than out of goodwill. Leading the Ionians was Procles, son of Pityreus, himself an Epidaurian who for the most part brought Epidaurians with him, men who had been driven from Epidauria by Deiphontes and the Argives. Procles traced his ancestry back to Ion, the son of Xuthus. Later, Androclus and the Ephesians marched against Leogorus, the son of Procles, who at that time ruled in Samos after his father, and, defeating him in battle, expelled the Samians from the island. They accused the Samians of plotting together with the Carians against the Ionians.

7.4.3

Of the fleeing Samians, some inhabited an island off Thrace, and owing to their settlement there, the island is called Samothrace instead of Dardania. Others, under Leogoras, established themselves around Anaia, a site on the mainland opposite; and after ten years, crossing back to Samos, they expelled the Ephesians and recovered their island.

7.4.4

As for the temple of Hera on Samos, there are those who say that it was founded by the men who sailed aboard the Argo, and that they brought the cult-statue there from Argos. The Samians themselves, though, believe the goddess was born on the island, by the river Imbrasus, beneath the willow-tree which still grew within the temple precinct in my own time. Now, this sanctuary is indeed among the oldest, as one may particularly infer from the statue, since it is a work of Smilis of Aegina, son of Eucleides. This Smilis was contemporary with Daedalus, though he did not attain to the same renown.

7.4.5

★ For Daedalus was by birth an Athenian, belonging to the royal family called the Metionidae, and through his skill, as well as through his wanderings and misfortunes, he became particularly renowned among all people. After killing his sister's son, and fully aware of the laws of his native land, he voluntarily fled to Crete to Minos. There he made statues both for Minos himself and for the daughters of Minos, as Homer also indicates in the Iliad.

7.4.6

★ Condemned by Minos for wrongdoing and thrown into prison along with his son, Daedalus escaped from Crete and arrived at the Sicilian city of Inycus, at the court of Cocalus. This event provided the Sicilians a cause for war against the Cretans, since Cocalus refused to surrender Daedalus despite Minos' demands. Daedalus became so highly esteemed among Cocalus' daughters because of his skill that, in gratitude to him, these women even plotted Minos' death.

7.4.7

★ It is clear that the fame of Daedalus spread throughout all Sicily and extended even into a significant portion of Italy. Smilis, however, is not recorded to have traveled abroad except among the Samians and into Elis; nowhere else is it evident he journeyed. Yet he did arrive among these peoples, and he is the artist who crafted the statue of Hera in Samos.

7.4.8

★ In the work of Ion, who composed tragedies, it is said as follows: Poseidon came to the island when it was still uninhabited, and there lay with a nymph. At the time of her childbirth, snow fell from heaven onto the earth, and for this reason Poseidon gave their child the name Chios. He also lay with another nymph, who bore him two sons, Agelos and Melas. Later, Oenopion sailed to Chios from Crete, accompanied by his sons Talos, Euanthes, Melas, Salagos, and Athamas.

7.4.9

★ During the reign of Oenopion, the Carians also arrived on the island, along with the Abantes from Euboea. Later, Amphiclus assumed rule after Oenopion and his sons; this Amphiclus had come from Histiaea in Euboea, guided by an oracle from Delphi. Hector, who belonged to the fourth generation after Amphiclus, also had the kingship. He went to war against the Abantes and the Carians who inhabited the island, killing some in battle and compelling others to leave under treaty.

7.4.10

★ After the Chians had been freed from war, Hector then remembered that they ought to join with the Ionians in common sacrifice at the Panionion. Ion says that Hector received a tripod from the Ionian league as a prize of valor. These things I found related by Ion concerning the Chians; yet he has not explained the specific reason why the Chians pay tribute to the Ionians.

Chapter 5

7.5.1

Smyrna, which was counted among the twelve Aeolian cities and which occupied the land that includes even to my own time the town called the Old City, was conquered from the Aeolians by the Ionians who had set out from Colophon. Later, with the passing of time, the Ionians granted the Smyrnaeans membership in the assembly held in the Panionion. Alexander, son of Philip, founded the city that exists in our day, having been guided by a vision in a dream.

7.5.2

For they say that Alexander, when hunting on Mount Pagus, after finishing his chase, arrived at a ★ sanctuary of the Nemeses, and there happened upon a spring and a plane-tree standing before the temple, which grew above the water. As he slept beneath this plane-tree, the Nemeses, appearing to him, commanded him, it is said, to establish a city there and to bring to it the Smyrnaeans, removing them from their former settlement.

7.5.3

Thus, the Smyrnaeans dispatched envoys to Claros to consult the oracle regarding their present circum- ★ stances; and the god answered them: "Thrice blessed and four times happy indeed will be those who dwell on Pagos beyond sacred Meles." Accordingly, they willingly relocated, and now venerate two Nemeses rather than one, maintaining that Night is their mother, whereas the Athenians, concerning the goddess at Rhamnous, assert Oceanus to be her father.

7.5.4

The land of Ionia possesses an exceedingly favorable balance of seasons, and it also has sanctuaries such as are nowhere else found: first, the temple of the Ephesian goddess, noted for its size and its overall wealth. There are also two sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo, both unfinished, that at Branchidae in Milesian territory and that at Clarus in Colophonian lands. Two other temples in Ionia were burned down by the Persians, the sanctuary of Hera at Samos and that of Athena at Phocaea. Nevertheless, even devastated by fire, these temples remained objects of wonder.

7.5.5

You would also be pleased by the temple of Heracles in Erythrae and that of Athena at Priene, the ★ latter for the sake of its statue, and the Heracleion at Erythrae because of its antiquity. The statue there

resembles neither the so-called Aeginetan nor the oldest Attic types; rather, it is entirely Egyptian, if anything at all. For it was upon a wooden raft that the god sailed out from Tyre in Phoenicia. But for what reason he did so, the Erythraeans themselves offer no explanation.

7.5.6

When the raft of the Ionians reached the sea, it is said to have anchored by a headland called Mesate. This promontory is on the mainland, and it lies exactly midway for those who sail from the harbor of Erythrae to the island of Chios. As the raft stopped near this headland, the Erythraeans made great efforts, and the Chians no less exertion, each side anxiously striving to bring the statue to their own land.

7.5.7

At last, a man from Erythrae, who earned his living by the sea and the catching of fish, but whose eyes had been destroyed by disease–his name was Phormion–this fisherman saw a vision in a dream that required the women of Erythrae to cut off their hair, so that the men might weave from the hair a rope and thus draw the raft to their shores. But the citizen women were by no means willing to obey the dream's command.

7.5.8

? All the Thracian women who were slaves and who, despite their servitude, lived there a life of freedom, willingly shear their own hair. After this is done, the people of Erythrae launch their raft. Now, entrance into the sanctuary of Heracles is permitted to these Thracian women alone among women, and the locals even in my time preserve the cable made from their hair. Indeed, these same people say that afterward the fisherman regained his vision and saw clearly for the remainder of his life.

7.5.9

In Erythrae there is also a temple of Athena Polias and a large wooden statue seated upon a throne. In each hand she holds a distaff, and upon her head is a polos. We inferred this to be a work of Endoeus, partly from seeing his artistic techniques present elsewhere, but especially from the manner of workmanship observed within the statue, and from the Graces and the Hours standing in the open air, sculpted from white marble, before one enters the temple. In my time, also, a temple of Asclepius was built by the Smyrnaeans, located between the peak of the mountain and the sea, on a site free of other water.

7.5.10

★ Ionia, beyond its temples and the temperate quality of its air, provides other subjects worthy of description. The Ephesian territory, for instance, includes the river Cenchrius, the nature of Mount Pion, and the Halitaea spring. In the Milesian land there is the spring called Byblis, together with all that poets recount concerning the love of Byblis. Near Colophon stands the grove of Apollo with ash trees, and not far from the grove flows the river Ales, the coldest of all rivers in Ionia.

7.5.11

★ At Lebedus, the baths located there provide both amazement and benefit to mankind; and likewise at Teos there are baths situated on the promontory called Macria. Some of these baths are formed naturally by the waves in the clefts of rocks, whereas others have been constructed to display luxury.

The Clazomenians also possess baths, in which Agamemnon receives honors. They have, moreover, a cave called the "Mother of Pyrrhus," and they recount a legend about Pyrrhus the shepherd.

7.5.12

The Erythraeans have a region called Chalkis, from which their third tribe has also taken its name. Extending from Chalkis into the sea is a headland, upon which there are sea-baths, the most beneficial to mankind of all such baths in Ionia. As for the Smyrnaeans, they have the river Meles, whose water is exceedingly beautiful, and a cave near its springs, in which, they say, Homer composed his poems.

7.5.13

The Chians have the tomb of Oenopion, which is worth seeing, and some traditions concerning the deeds of Oenopion. The Samians have, along the road leading to the Heraion, the monument of Rhadine and Leontichus; and it is their custom that persons distressed by love go there to pray at the tomb. In fact, the marvels found in Ionia are numerous and scarcely inferior at all to those in Greece itself.

Chapter 6

7.6.1

At that time, after the departure of the Ionians, the Achaeans divided among themselves the land formerly belonging to the Ionians and began settling in their cities. These cities were twelve in number, all of them well-known among the Greeks: first Dyme, bordering on Elis; next, Olenos, Pharae, Triteia, Rhypes, Aigion, Keryneia, and Boura; and, following these, Helike, Aigai, Aigeira, and Pellene, which lies farthest toward Sikyon. Into these cities, previously inhabited by the Ionians, the Achaeans and their kings began to settle.

7.6.2

Those who possessed the greatest authority among the Achaeans were the sons of Tisamenus: Daimenes, ★
Sparton, Tellis, and Leontomenes; however, Cometes, the eldest of Tisamenus' sons, had previously crossed over by ships to Asia. At that time, these men held dominion over the Achaeans, along with Damasias, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes, who was their cousin on his father's side. Equal in power to these named men were Preugenes and his son, called Patreus, who were Achaeans from Lacedaemon. The Achaeans granted them the right to found a city in their territory, and the city took its name, Patrae, from Patreus.

7.6.3

The Achaeans' role in warfare was as follows. At the time of Agamemnon's expedition against Ilium, ★
when they still inhabited Lacedaemon and Argos, they formed the greatest portion of the Greek forces. However, during the invasion by Xerxes and the Medes into Greece, the Achaeans are nowhere recorded to have participated either in Leonidas' expedition to Thermopylae or in the sea battles alongside the Athenians and Themistocles near Euboea and Salamis; nor do they appear in the lists of allies made by the Lacedaemonians or the Athenians.

7.6.4

They were also absent from the military action at Plataea; indeed, it is evident that if they had been ★
present, the Achaeans too would certainly have been inscribed on the Greek offering at Olympia. I suspect that they each remained behind to guard their own territory, and moreover, considering the experience of the Trojan War, they regarded the Lacedaemonians–the Dorians–as unworthy to command them. They clearly demonstrated this attitude again in later times. For afterwards, when the Lacedaemonians found themselves at war with the Athenians, the Achaeans willingly allied themselves with the people of Patrae and were no less favorably inclined toward the Athenians.

7.6.5

? Of the wars later fought collectively by the Greeks, the Achaeans participated in the battle at Chaeronea against Philip and the Macedonians; but they say that they did not march into Thessaly nor join in the so-called Lamian War, because they had not yet recovered from the disaster in Boeotia. However, a local guide among the people of Patrae claimed that the wrestler Chilon alone among the Achaeans took part in the events near Lamia.

7.6.6

? I myself also know of a Lydian man, Adrastus, who aided the Greeks privately and not through any public policy by the Lydians as a people. The Lydians dedicated a bronze statue of this Adrastus in front of the sanctuary of Persian Artemis, and they wrote an inscription stating that Adrastus died fighting against Leonnatus in defense of the Greeks.

7.6.7

The Peloponnesians likewise neglected entirely the campaign against the Galatians at Thermopylae. Since the barbarians had no ships, the Peloponnesians thought they had nothing serious to fear from them, assuming they fortified the Isthmus of Corinth from the sea facing Lechaeum to the other sea facing Cenchreae.

7.6.8

Such was indeed at that time the common resolution of all the Peloponnesians. But after the Gauls had somehow crossed by ship into Asia, the situation among the Greeks stood thus: None of the Greek states any longer maintained its former strength. For the Spartans were hindered from recovering their previous prosperity by the disaster at Leuctra, as well as by the Arcadians who had united in a single great city and by the Messenians dwelling as their neighbors.

7.6.9

Alexander utterly devastated the city of the Thebans to such a degree that, when Cassander later restored its inhabitants after not many years, they were no longer able even to preserve their own possessions. As for the Athenians, they indeed enjoyed the goodwill of the Greek people, especially due to their subsequent actions, but they never found any respite from their war against the Macedonians.

Chapter 7

7.7.1

At that time, the Greeks no longer formed alliances as a unified whole, but each people consolidated independently for their own interests, and among these groups, the Achaeans were especially strong. Apart from Pellene, the rest of their cities had remained entirely free from tyrants. Furthermore, the misfortunes caused by wars and the devastating plague affected the Achaeans far less severely than other Greeks. Thus, the Achaeans had an assembly called the Achaean League, through which they made decisions collectively, and both their resolutions and actions were determined by common consent.

7.7.2

They decided to gather at Aigion, for among the cities of Achaia this city had, from ancient times, held precedence in reputation above all the others after the flooding of Helike and retained its strength even then. Of the remaining Greeks, the Sikyonians were the first to take part in the Achaean assembly. After the Sikyonians, others among the Peloponnesians also joined, some immediately and others after some hesitation. Even inhabitants beyond the Isthmus were persuaded to join the Achaians, since they saw clearly that the Achaian league was continually increasing in power.

7.7.3

The Lacedaemonians alone of the Greeks were especially hostile to the Achaeans and openly made war upon them. Indeed, Agis, the son of Eudamidas, who was king in Sparta, captured Pellene, a city belonging to the Achaeans; however, he was soon expelled from Pellene by Aratus and the Sicyonians. Later, Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, king from the other royal house, completely defeated near Dyme Aratus and the Achaeans who confronted him in battle, and subsequently concluded peace with the Achaeans and Antigonus.

7.7.4

At that time this Antigonus held the rule of the Macedonians, acting as guardian for Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was still a boy. He was also Philip's cousin and lived with his mother. Now Cleomenes made a treaty with this Antigonus and the Achaeans, but at once breaking all his sworn oaths, he enslaved Megalopolis in Arcadia. Because of Cleomenes and his perjury, the Lacedaemonians suffered their defeat at Sellasia by the Achaeans and Antigonus. Cleomenes, however, we shall mention again later in the Arcadian account.

7.7.5

? Philip, the son of Demetrius, having taken the kingdom of Macedon from Antigonus with his consent when he arrived at manhood, inspired fear among all the Greeks; he imitated Philip, son of Amyntas–who was, in truth, not his ancestor but rather his master–in all things, including his policy of rewarding those who willingly betrayed their native cities for personal gain. However, in banquets, he offered as tokens of skill and friendship not cups of wine but cups of poison, intended for men's destruction. Such deeds, as it seems to me, Philip son of Amyntas never even conceived, but to Philip son of Demetrius, the use of poisons was the smallest of daring exploits.

7.7.6

He also held three cities under guard as his strategic bases for attacking Greece, arrogantly and contemptuously naming these cities the "Keys of Greece." In the Peloponnese, Corinth and the citadel of the Corinthians had been fortified; against Euboea, the Boeotians, and the Phocians he held Chalcis by the Euripus; and in Thessaly itself, as well as against the nation of the Aetolians, Philip had occupied Magnesia beneath Mount Pelion. Most especially he pressed upon the Athenians and the Aetolian league with continuous campaigns and raids of brigands.

7.7.7

? Moreover, the narrative in my earlier account of Attic history recalled how many Greeks and barbarians alike allied themselves with Athens in opposition to Philip, and how, weakened by the inadequacy of their allies, the Athenians appealed to the Romans for assistance. Indeed, the Romans had previously dispatched envoys–not long before–ostensibly to assist the Aetolians against Philip, but in reality more for the purpose of observing Macedonian affairs.

7.7.8

At that time, they sent to the Athenians both an army and a commander named Otilius; for this was the most prominent of his names, since the Romans do not use patronymics in the same way as the Greeks, but they commonly assign even three or sometimes more names to each individual. Otilius had been instructed by the Romans to keep Philip's war away from Athens and from Aetolian territory.

7.7.9

? But Otilius, while he otherwise conducted affairs according to his instructions, in the following matter committed deeds contrary to the intentions of the Romans: having taken the Euboean city Hestiaea and Anticyra in Phocis–cities that were subject to Philip by force–he utterly destroyed them. And it seems to me that, on account of these actions, when the Roman Senate learned of them, they sent Flamininus as successor to Otilius in the command.

Chapter 205

Chapter 8

7.8.1

At that time, Flaminius arrived and sacked Eretria, having defeated in battle the Macedonian troops defending it. Then, advancing toward Corinth, which was occupied by a garrison of Philip, he personally laid siege to it and simultaneously sent envoys to the Achaeans, urging them to come with their forces to Corinth. He promised that they would be considered allies of the Romans and would share in Romes goodwill toward the Greek nation.

7.8.2

The Achaeans held Flaminius himself largely accountable–as well as previously Otilius–for dealing so cruelly with Greek cities of ancient heritage, even though these cities had not wronged Rome in any way and were governed unwillingly by Macedon. Moreover, they clearly foresaw that the Romans, instead of Philip and the Macedonians, would become overlords issuing commands both to them and to the broader Greek world. But after much contradictory debate in the assembly, the party favorable to Rome eventually prevailed, and the Achaeans joined Flaminius in laying siege to Corinth.

7.8.3

The Corinthians, having been freed from the Macedonians, immediately joined the federation of the Achaeans. They had previously participated as well, at the time when Aratus and the Sicyonians drove out the entire garrison from Acrocorinth and killed Persaeus, whom Antigonus had appointed governor of the fortress. From this point forward the Achaeans were called allies of the Romans and were enthusiastic in every respect. They followed them into Macedonia against Philip, took part in the campaign against the Aetolians, and thirdly, fought alongside the Romans against Antiochus and the Syrians.

7.8.4

Indeed, in all their confrontations arranged against the Macedonians or the Syrian army, the Achaeans acted in friendship with the Romans; but against the Aetolians they had longstanding personal grievances. After the tyranny of Nabis in Sparta had been overthrown–his rule having brought about extreme cruelty–the Achaeans immediately turned their attention toward the Lacedaemonians.

7.8.5

Around this time the Achaeans brought them into the Achaean League assembly, judged their legal cases with the utmost strictness, and demolished completely the walls of Sparta–walls that had previously been hastily built during the campaigns of Demetrios and later again during those of Pyrrhus and the Epeirotes, and had been especially strengthened and fortified securely under the tyranny of Nabis. Thus the Achaeans tore down the city walls, abolished the athletic practices for youth established by the laws of Lycurgus, and compelled the Spartan youths to adopt instead the same customs used by the youths of Achaea.

7.8.6

I shall return again later to relate these matters concerning the Arcadians at greater length. But the Lacedaemonians, greatly displeased by the commands of the Achaeans, turned for refuge to Metellus and to those who had arrived from Rome with him on an embassy. Although Metellus and his colleagues had come to wage no war against Philip and the Macedonians–for peace had previously been sworn between Philip and the Romans–they had arrived in order to judge the charges brought against Philip by the Thessalians and certain Epirotes.

7.8.7

Indeed, Philip himself and the flower of Macedonia's power had already been overthrown in battle by the Romans; for Philip fought unsuccessfully against Flamininus and the Romans at the place called Cynoscephalae. Although verbally he minimized the defeat, nevertheless, since Philip himself had fought as strenuously as he was able, he was so decisively beaten in this engagement that he lost most of the army he had led, and was compelled, in accordance with his agreement with the Romans, to withdraw his garrisons from all the cities he had previously captured in his war in Greece.

7.8.8

However, according to the story, the Romans had discovered the honorable way of peace at the cost of diverse entreaties and great expenditures of money. But regarding the power attained by the Macedonians during the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas, and how their fortunes later declined under the subsequent Philip, the Sibyl had foretold this, inspired by divine power. The prophecy was as follows:

7.8.9

Macedonians, you who boast in your Argead kings, Philip will be both a blessing and a disaster to those who rule over you. Indeed, the first shall establish rulers over cities and peoples; the younger shall utterly destroy all honor, defeated by men both from the west and from the east. Indeed, the Romans, dwelling in the western parts of Europe, overthrew the Macedonian sovereignty, and among those allies marshaled against them was Attalus, commander of the force gathered from Pergamum and of the army from Mysia. Mysia itself lies rather more toward the rising sun.

Chapter 9

7.9.1

At this point, Metellus and his fellow ambassadors urged the Achaeans not to disregard the Lacedaemonians, and it seemed good to them that those who currently held office should convene the Achaeans in council, so that they might publicly instruct them to deal more gently with matters relating to Sparta. However, those officials replied to them that they would call the Achaeans together neither for them nor for anyone else, unless that person held a decree from the Roman Senate authorizing the very matter for which he requested the assembly. Metellus and his associates, believing themselves outraged by the Achaeans, when they arrived in Rome made numerous accusations against the Achaeans in the Senate, not all of which were truthful.

7.9.2

Areus and Alcibiades brought many charges against the Achaeans, asserting that although they were Spartans and particularly distinguished among the citizens in Sparta, they had been treated unjustly by the Achaeans. For when these men had become exiles due to Nabis, the Achaeans had received them and, upon the death of Nabis, had restored the common people to Sparta against the wishes of the Lacedaemonians. Therefore, once returned and having secured high positions contrary to the will of the council, they pursued their enmity against the Achaeans most zealously. The Achaeans, however, after they had departed, sentenced them in an assembly to the penalty of death.

7.9.3

The Roman senate sent certain men, including Appius, to define what was just for the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. Appius and those with him were bound to be displeasing to the Achaeans even before they appeared; for with them they brought Areus and Alcibiades, who at that time were thoroughly hateful to the Achaeans. They caused the Achaeans even greater irritation by attending their assembly and conducting their discourse harshly and with anger rather than persuasion.

7.9.4

Lykortas of Megalopolis, inferior to none of the Arcadians in dignity and having inherited from his friendship with Philopoimen a certain proud spirit, argued in a speech the justice of the Achaean cause, and within the same speech he also expressed some reproach against the Romans. Appius and those with him mocked Lykortas while he spoke, acquitted Areus and Alkibiadas of committing any injustice toward the Achaeans, and allowed the Lacedaemonians to send delegates to Rome, issuing a decision entirely opposite to the arrangements agreed upon by the Romans and the Achaeans; for it had been

stipulated by the general accord of the Achaeans that envoys should proceed to the senate of Rome solely from their federal body, whereas it was forbidden for individual cities that were participants in the Achaean assembly to send embassies of their own.

7.9.5

After the Achaeans also sent envoys to the Lacedaemonians, and speeches from both parties had been delivered before the council, the Romans dispatched again to the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans the same arbitrators as before–Appius and those who had previously come with him to Greece. They restored to Sparta both those who had been expelled by the Achaeans and those who, having left before their trial, had been condemned by the Achaeans in their absence; and they annulled the penalties imposed upon these men. They did not, however, exempt the Lacedaemonians from contributing to the Achaean League, yet they allowed them external courts of law to adjudicate matters involving capital charges. In all other accusations, however, the Lacedaemonians were still to undergo trials in the Achaean courts. Moreover, the Spartans rebuilt from its very foundations the wall encircling the city.

7.9.6

When the Lacedaemonians came down, planning various schemes against the Achaeans, they believed that they would particularly distress them by the following means. They persuaded certain Messenians, who were held responsible for the death of Philopoemen and had consequently been banished by the Achaeans on this charge, along with exiled Achaeans themselves, to journey to Rome. The Lacedaemonians accompanied these men themselves, advocating for their restoration. Moreover, since Appius was vigorously supportive of the Lacedaemonians and opposed the Achaeans in every matter, the petitions of the Messenians and exiled Achaeans seemed likely to succeed without difficulty. Indeed, letters from the Roman senate were immediately dispatched to Athens and Aetolia, instructing them to reinstate the Messenians and Achaean exiles to their homes.

7.9.7

This caused extreme distress to the Achaeans, since they felt they were unjustly treated by the Romans–though they had previously rendered assistance to them without gaining any benefit for themselves. For having campaigned first against Philip and the Aetolians, and again later against Antiochus, in loyalty toward Rome, they now found themselves subordinated to fugitives and men whose hands were unclean. Nevertheless, they decided it prudent to yield.

Chapter 10

7.10.1

At that time, then, matters went no further. But the most unholy of deeds–betrayal of ones own country and fellow citizens for personal gain–was destined to begin afflicting the Achaeans also, after never having disappeared throughout all Greek history. Indeed, in the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, the Ionian cause was ruined for the Samians, since their navy was betrayed by all their trierarchs except eleven men.

7.10.2

After defeating the Ionians, the Medes enslaved Eretria as well. The traitors who betrayed the city were Philagros son of Kyneos and Euphorbos son of Alkimachos, who enjoyed considerable renown in Eretria. When Xerxes marched upon Greece, Thessaly was betrayed through the Aleuadai, and Thebes was handed over by Attaginos and Timegenidas, men highly esteemed among the Thebans. Later, while the Athenians and Peloponnesians were at war, Xenias, an Eleian, tried to betray Elis to Agis and the Spartans, as did those known as Lysander's guests at one time.

7.10.3

They yielded nothing when entrusting their homeland to Lysander. During the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas, Sparta alone among Greek cities could be found never betrayed; whereas the other cities in Greece had been destroyed previously through treachery rather than through the ravages of any contagious disease. But Alexander, son of Philip, enjoyed such good fortune that he required only minor assistance from traitors, hardly worth mentioning.

7.10.4

When the Greeks experienced their defeat at Lamia, Antipater, desiring to cross over swiftly to the war in Asia, was eager to conclude peace quickly, and it mattered nothing to him whether he left Athens and indeed all Greece free. However, Demades and other traitors among the Athenians persuaded Antipater not to show any benevolence towards the Greeks. Then, by terrifying the Athenian people, they became responsible for bringing Macedonian garrisons into Athens and most of the other cities.

7.10.5

This fact also supports my assertion: for after the disaster that occurred in Boeotia, the Athenians did not submit themselves to Philip, although two thousand of their men were captured alive as they were

defeated in battle, and one thousand slain. Yet later, though losing merely about two hundred men at Lamia, and no more, they became enslaved to Macedon. Thus, those who succumbed to treachery never failed to harm Greece. Likewise, among the Achaeans, an Achaean named Callicrates made them entirely subject to Rome at that time. But their calamities began through Perseus and the downfall of the Macedonian kingdom at Roman hands.

7.10.6

Perseus, the son of Philip, having peace with the Romans according to the treaty that his father Philip had made, was led to violate his oaths; he marched an army against the Sapaeans and their king Abrupolis, and laid waste their territory, though they were allies of the Romans. Of these Sapaeans even Archilochus made mention in one of his iambic poems.

7.10.7

When the Macedonians and Perseus had been subdued in war because of the wrongdoing committed against the Sapaeans, ten men from the Roman senate were sent to establish affairs in Macedonia in the manner most beneficial to Rome. Upon their arrival in Greece, Callicrates immediately began flattering them without omitting any action or word that might serve his purpose. One of these men, notably reluctant to act justly, was won over by Callicrates to such a degree that he even persuaded him to enter the assembly of the Achaeans.

7.10.8

? When he entered the assembly, he declared that the most influential among the Achaeans had provided funds to Perseus in his war against Rome, and had assisted him in other matters as well. He therefore urged the Achaeans to condemn these men to death; and if they agreed to condemn them, then he promised that he himself would disclose their names. Those gathered in the assembly considered what he said wholly unjust and demanded instead that, if indeed certain Achaeans had collaborated with Perseus, he name each of them individually before they passed judgment; it was, they argued, improper to condemn them beforehand.

7.10.9

When the Roman was thus refuted, he dared further to say that all those who had formerly held command among the Achaeans were implicated in the charge, for they had all been sympathetic towards Macedonia and Perseus. In saying this he acted under the instructions of Callicrates. After him Xenon arose–who was considered among the Achaeans to be a man of considerable reputation–and said: "The accusation stands thus: I myself also commanded the Achaeans, yet neither have I wronged the Romans in any way nor do I bear any goodwill toward Perseus. For this reason, I am prepared to face trial on this matter either before the council of the Achaeans or even before the Romans themselves." He spoke thus boldly due to his good conscience.

7.10.10

Immediately the Roman seized upon this pretext, and as many as Callicrates accused of sharing the same sympathies as Perseus, these he sent off to Rome to stand trial before the Roman tribunal. Such treatment had never before befallen Greeks; for not even the most powerful of Macedonians, Philip son of Amyntas and Alexander, forced the Greeks who stood opposed to them to be sent off to Macedonia. Rather, they permitted them to give an account before the Amphictyonic council.

7.10.11

At that time, it had been decreed that, from the Achaean nation, anyone whom Callicrates wished to charge–even if wholly innocent–would have to be taken off to Rome; and those who were carried away numbered over one thousand. The Romans, believing that these individuals had already been condemned beforehand by the Achaeans, dispersed them throughout Etruria and its various cities. When the Achaeans continually sent embassies and petitions to Rome on behalf of the men, the Romans paid no heed whatsoever.

7.10.12

Seventeen years later, the Romans released the three hundred–or even fewer–who alone of the Achaeans were still held in Italy, thinking they had been sufficiently punished. As for those who had escaped, either immediately upon their transportation to Rome or later from the cities to which they had been sent by the Romans, there was no excuse at all for these captives, had they been recaptured, not to suffer punishment.

Chapter 11

7.11.1

Once again the Romans sent a member of their senate into Greece; the name of this man was Gallus, and he was dispatched to act as an arbitrator between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives concerning disputed territory. This Gallus spoke and acted in numerous ways with arrogance towards the Greeks, and treated the Lacedaemonians and Argives entirely with mockery.

7.11.2

For these cities, having reached such a level of renown and having previously even gone beyond their territorial borders into wars well-known and deeds exceedingly lavish, and having later consented to arbitration by Philip, son of Amyntas, as the common judge: the Gaul himself declined to serve as their arbitrator, but entrusted the judgment to Callicrates, a man who was a scourge upon all Greece. ?

7.11.3

Those who dwelt in Pleuron approached Gallus along with the rest of the Aetolians, wishing to obtain release from their contribution to the Achaean League. Gallus permitted them privately to send their own embassy to the Romans, and the Romans allowed them to withdraw from the Achaean League's assembly. Furthermore, the Senate instructed Gallus to exempt as many cities as possible from membership in the Achaean confederation.

7.11.4

He accordingly did what had been commanded him, but the Athenians, more from necessity than willingly, proceeded to plunder Oropus, although it was subject to them. For at that time the Athenians had reached the utmost degree of poverty, having suffered more severely than any other Greek people from the war against the Macedonians. Therefore the Oropians appealed to the senate of the Romans. The senate judged that they had suffered an unjust treatment and sent instructions to the Sicyonians, ordering them to impose upon the Athenians a penalty toward the Oropians in proportion to the damage they had originated.

7.11.5

The Sicyonians, therefore, imposed a fine of five hundred talents upon the Athenians, who had failed to arrive on time for the trial. However, the Roman senate, after an appeal from the Athenians, remitted all but one hundred talents of this penalty. Yet even this amount the Athenians did not pay; instead, by

means of assurances and gifts, they secretly induced the Oropians to enter into an agreement whereby an Athenian garrison was introduced into Oropus and hostages from the Oropians were given to Athens. The arrangement further provided that, should the Athenians again bring charges against the Oropians, they were then immediately to withdraw their garrison and return the hostages.

7.11.6

Indeed, not much time passed before the guards wronged certain men of Oropus. The Oropians therefore sent envoys to Athens, demanding hostages and requesting that the garrison be withdrawn in accordance with the agreement. But the Athenians refused to do either, saying the wrongdoing was the fault of the men serving as guards, and not of the Athenian people as a whole; nevertheless, they promised to bring those responsible to justice.

7.11.7

The people of Oropus, fleeing to the Achaeans, urged them to exact vengeance on their behalf. But the Achaeans preferred not to take action, out of friendship and respect towards the Athenians. Then the people of Oropus offered Menalcidas–who was of Spartan descent, but at that time was serving as general of the Achaeans–a sum of ten talents if he would bring the Achaeans to their aid. Menalcidas promised to give half this money to Callicrates, who, because of his close friendship with the Romans, held the greatest influence among the Achaeans.

7.11.8

When Callicrates had added his support to the counsel of Menalcidas, it was decreed that the Achaeans should come to the aid of the Oropians against the Athenians. But someone brought news of this to the Athenians, and they, each setting forth as quickly as he could, hastened to Oropus, seized immediately whatever had been overlooked in their former raid, and carried off the garrison. After the Achaeans failed to arrive in time to provide assistance, Menalcidas and Callicrates urged them to invade Attica. However, encountering opposition from others and especially from the men of Lacedaemon, the army withdrew and turned back.

Chapter 12

7.12.1

Although the Oropians had gained no advantage at all from the Achaeans, Menalcidas nonetheless exacted money from them. Once he had the bribe in his possession, he considered it a disaster even to share the profits with Callicrates. At first, indeed, he resorted to delays and tricks regarding the payment, but not long after he openly dared to deprive him of it entirely.

7.12.2

Indeed it confirms the saying that there is a fire burning more fiercely than other flames, and a wolf ? wilder than other wolves, and a hawk swifter in flight than other hawks–if in fact Callikrates, the most impious of all men at that time, surpassed even Menalkidas in treachery. Callikrates, who, inferior in every form of gain and not acting for any private profit, yet hated by the Athenian city, pursued Menalkidas, after his retirement from office, before the Achaeans, pressing for his death sentence. He asserted that Menalkidas had conducted an embassy contrary to the interests of the Achaeans at Rome, and had especially exerted himself zealously to detach Sparta from the confederacy of the Achaeans.

7.12.3

When Menalcidas found himself thus brought into complete peril, he handed over three talents from the funds he had taken from Oropus to Diaeus of Megalopolis. Now Diaeus had become his successor to leadership among the Achaeans, and being then eager for monetary gain, he intended to secure Menalcidas' safety even against the will of the Achaeans. Accordingly, the Achaeans, individually as well as collectively, blamed Diaeus for permitting Menalcidas' acquittal; but Diaeus diverted their accusations against himself by enticing them towards the hope of greater matters, employing for their deceit a pretext such as follows.

7.12.4

The Lacedaemonians appealed to the Roman Senate regarding a disputed territory. But the Roman Senate had already previously instructed them to have their disputes judged by the Achaean assembly, in all issues except those involving capital punishment. Such was the Senate's response; Diaeus, however, did not truthfully report this to the Achaeans, but deceiving them, he claimed that the Roman Senate had granted them authority even to pronounce a sentence of death against a man from Sparta.

7.12.5

The Achaeans demanded that judgment against the Spartans be carried out even upon each individual's person, but the Lacedaemonians neither admitted that Diaeus spoke the truth nor wished to bring the matter before the Roman Senate. The Achaeans then took up another argument, that cities subject to the Achaean League possessed no independent right to send embassies privately to Rome without the League's common consent.

7.12.6

Thus from these disputes war began between the Achaeans and the Lacedaemonians. Realizing they were not equal to the Achaeans in strength, the Lacedaemonians sent embassies both to their cities and privately to Diaeus himself. The cities made their replies uniformly, saying it was not lawful to disobey their general when he called for a campaign. At that time Diaeus held command of the Achaeans, and he declared that he was not marching against Sparta itself, but against those who were causing trouble within it.

7.12.7

When the elders asked him how many individuals he thought guilty, he sent them the names of twenty-four men who held foremost authority in all Sparta. At this point, the counsel of Agasisthenes prevailed, a man already esteemed for his wisdom, but who advanced even further in reputation after this advice. He urged that these men depart voluntarily from Lacedaemon rather than remain and become the cause of war against Sparta. He also predicted that if they fled to Rome, they would soon thereafter be brought back by the Romans.

7.12.8

? Those who had departed were led into court by the Spartans and condemned to death by law. The Achaeans also sent Callicrates and Diaeus to Rome so that they might oppose before the Senate the Spartans who had fled. On the journey Callicrates died of disease, nor do I know whether his arrival in Rome would have benefited the Achaeans, or would rather have been the beginning of even greater misfortunes. Diaeus, however, in his debate with Menalcidas before the Senate, spoke at length, but what he heard in response was not favorable.

7.12.9

? And the Senate answered them that it would send envoys to arbitrate all the matters of dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. But the journey of the ambassadors from Rome was somewhat delayed, so that Diaeus from the very beginning deceived the Achaeans, and Menalcidas the Lacedaemonians. Diaeus led the Achaeans to believe that the Roman Senate had already decided entirely in their favor against the Lacedaemonians, while Menalcidas utterly deceived the Lacedaemonians by saying that the Romans had freed them completely from political union with the Achaeans.

Chapter 13

7.13.1

Again then, because of their grievances against the Lacedaemonians, the Achaeans resolved to wage war, and an army was being gathered against Sparta, with Damocritus having then been chosen as general of the Achaeans. At about the same time, a Roman army arrived in Macedonia under the command of Metellus, prepared to fight Andriscus, son of Perseus, son of Philip, who had revolted against the Romans. And the war in Macedonia promised to end most easily and favorably for the Romans.

7.13.2

Metellus ordered men who had been sent by the Roman senate regarding affairs in Asia, before crossing over to Asia, to enter into discussions with the generals of the Achaeans, forbidding them from taking arms against Sparta, and declaring beforehand to them that they should await the arrival of men coming from Rome, who had been dispatched thus to serve as arbitrators between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans.

7.13.3

While the envoys delivered the commands entrusted to Damokritos and the Achaeans, they reported that they had already made their invasion of Laconia–however, seeing that the Achaeans remained opposed to their suggestions, they withdrew and returned to Asia. The Lacedaemonians, urged on more by pride than actual strength, took up their arms and rushed forth to defend their homeland; but it was not long before they were overpowered. In the ensuing battle, about a thousand Spartans, in the prime of their youth and courage, fell; the rest of the army, each man according to his speed, fled back toward the city.

7.13.4

Had Damocritus shown zeal, it would have been possible for the fugitives fleeing from the battle along with the Achaeans to storm the Spartan wall and enter Sparta itself. But as it was, he immediately recalled the Achaeans from their pursuit and thereafter preferred to employ raids and plundering expeditions into their territory rather than a rigorous siege.

7.13.5

After Damocritus thus brought the army back again, the Achaeans imposed on him a penalty of fifty talents, convicting him as a traitor. Since he could not pay, he fled and departed from the Peloponnese.

Diaeus, who was chosen to command the Achaeans after Damocritus, agreed, upon Metellus again sending ambassadors, that he would not wage war against the Lacedaemonians, but would await the mediators coming from Rome.

7.13.6

He devised another stratagem against the Lacedaemonians as follows: he brought under the goodwill of the Achaeans the towns located around Sparta, and introduced garrisons into them, so that they might serve the Achaeans as bases for operations against Sparta.

7.13.7

Menalkidas had been selected by the Lacedaemonians to lead against Diaeus, but they themselves were weak in their preparation for war generally, and particularly deficient in money, while moreover their land had remained unproductive. Yet, in spite of the truce, he crossed its bounds and captured by assault the stronghold named Iasos, devastating it–a place located on the borders of the Laconian region but at that time subject to the Achaeans.

7.13.8

After having once again stirred up war between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, he fell under accusations by his own citizens and–since he found no escape for the Lacedaemonians from the impending peril openly confronting them–he willingly ended his life by drinking poison. Such was the end of Menalcidas, who in his mind had once governed the Lacedaemonians as their most incompetent general, and earlier had headed the Achaean nation as the most unjust of men.

Chapter 14

7.14.1

The judges sent from Rome to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans also arrived in Greece; among them was Orestes. He summoned before him Diaeus and those holding office in each of the Achaean cities. When they gathered in the place where he himself happened to be residing, he laid out all of the Romans' decision before them, asserting that the Roman senate deemed it right neither for the Lacedaemonians nor Corinth to belong to the Achaean League; he also declared that Argos, Heracleia near Oeta, and the Arcadian Orchomenians should be exempted from the Achaean synod. For, he said, these peoples shared no common lineage with the Achaeans and had only later attached their cities to the Achaean alliance.

7.14.2

As soon as Orestes had spoken these words, the Achaean leaders did not even wait to hear him finish his whole speech, but rushed from the house and called the Achaeans to assembly. When the crowd learned the decisions made by the Romans, they immediately turned against the Spartans who were then visiting Corinth, and began seizing every man whom they knew clearly to be a Spartan, as well as anyone whom they suspected might be Spartan due either to his hairstyle, footwear, clothing, or even merely his name. Some Spartans managed to flee beforehand to the house where Orestes was staying, yet even there the Achaeans pursued them, attempting by force to drag them away.

7.14.3

Orestes and his companions attempted to encourage the Achaeans in their boldness, urging them to remember that they were beginning hostilities against the Romans precisely because of wrongs and insolent abuses. A few days afterwards, the Achaeans sent all the Lacedaemonians whom they had captured to prison, while setting free the foreigners whom they separated from them. They also dispatched to Rome Thearidas and other leading Achaeans. When these emissaries had departed, they met on their journey Roman ambassadors who had been sent concerning the affairs of the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, having left Rome later than Orestes; upon encountering these men, the Achaeans themselves turned back again.

7.14.4

When Diaeus' term of office expired, Critolaus was chosen by the Achaeans to succeed him as general. Critolaus was seized by a bitter and utterly rash passion to wage war upon the Romans. For at this very moment the delegates sent from Rome had already arrived to arbitrate the dispute between the

Spartans and the Achaeans. Critolaus went to Tegea in Arcadia and spoke before the people there, yet he absolutely refused to gather the Achaeans into a common assembly with the Roman representatives. Instead, in the hearing of the Romans, he sent messengers ordering the delegates to convene at the Achaean assembly, but privately dispatched instructions to these delegates, telling them to remain in their own cities and not assemble.

7.14.5

But when those delegates who were to attend the conference did not arrive, Critolaus especially displayed his deceit toward the Romans. He urged them to await another meeting of the Achaeans, which would take place in six months, asserting that he himself would not privately negotiate any matter with them apart from the common consent of the Achaeans. When they finally realized they had been deceived, the Romans departed to Rome. Critolaus, however, assembling the Achaeans at Corinth, persuaded them first to take up arms against Sparta and, afterward, convinced them to declare immediate war against the Romans.

7.14.6

? Indeed, that a king and a city should choose war and fail was due rather to envy from the gods than to fault in their human adversaries. But recklessness joined with weakness should properly be called madness rather than mere misfortune. This condition harmed Critolaus and the Achaeans. Moreover, Pytheas, who held the office of Boeotarch in Thebes at that time, incited the Achaeans further, and the Thebans eagerly promised their own alliance in the war.

7.14.7

The Thebans had incurred penalties, the first of these decided upon by Metellus, requiring them to compensate the Phocians because they had invaded Phocis under arms; a second penalty was owed to the Euboeans, for they had also ravaged the land of Euboea; and a third to the Amphisseans, whose grain they had cut down just as it was ripening.

Chapter 15

7.15.1

The Romans, having learned from the men whom they had dispatched to Greece and from the letters sent by Metellus, concluded that the Achaeans were acting unjustly. Therefore, as Mummius was at that time chosen consul, they instructed him to lead both a fleet and an infantry force against the Achaeans. Metellus soon learned that Mummius and his army were coming against the Achaeans; thus he hurried to bring the war quickly to a conclusion himself, hoping to end it before Mummius reached Greece.

7.15.2

Therefore he sent envoys to the Achaeans, ordering them to release from their confederacy Sparta and the other cities specified by the Romans, and promising that, despite their previous disobedience, they would incur no anger from the Romans. While making these proclamations, he simultaneously advanced his army from Macedonia through Thessaly, moving along the coast by the gulf of Lamia. Critolaus and the Achaeans, however, rejected all overtures toward reconciliation, and proceeded instead to besiege Heracleia, which refused to join the Achaean League.

7.15.3

Then, when Critolaus learned from his spies that Metellus and the Romans had crossed the Spercheius, he retreated to Scarpheia in Locris; nor did he venture to arrange the Achaeans and await Metellus at the narrow pass lying between Heraclea and Thermopylae. Indeed, such fear overtook him that he did not even attempt to make a stand at a site where there might have been a better hope, the very place where the Spartans had fought for Greece against the Persians, and where the Athenians had performed deeds no less remarkable against the Gauls.

7.15.4

While Critolaus and the Achaeans were fleeing, those accompanying Metellus overtook them a little before the city of Scarphaea, killing a great number, and capturing alive about a thousand men. Critolaus himself was neither seen alive after the battle nor found among the dead. If indeed he ventured into the marsh beside the sea near Mount Oeta, he must have utterly vanished, unknown and unheard of, into its depths.

7.15.5

? Regarding, therefore, the manner of Critolaus' end, there are indeed other possibilities one may conjecture. A chosen force of a thousand Arcadians, who had joined Critolaus' enterprise, advanced as far as Elateia in Phocis, and were admitted into the city by the inhabitants themselves because of some ancient kinship. But when the disaster of Critolaus and the Achaeans was reported to the Phocians, they commanded the Arcadians to depart from Elateia.

7.15.6

On their retreat back toward the Peloponnesus, Metellus and the Romans attacked them near Chaeroneia. Here indeed divine justice overtook the Arcadians for their betrayal of the Greek cause; having deserted the Greeks at Chaeroneia when they fought against Philip and the Macedonians, they were now laid low by the Romans in the very same place.

7.15.7

Once again the leadership of the army among the Achaeans devolved upon Diaeus. He granted freedom to slaves, imitating the policy adopted previously by Miltiades and the Athenians before the battle of Marathon. Additionally, he gathered all the men in their prime from among the cities of the Achaeans and Arcadians. The assembled army, including the slaves now mingled within it, amounted approximately to six hundred cavalry and fourteen thousand infantrymen.

7.15.8

At this point, Diaeus reached the extreme of folly; for though fully aware that Critolaus and all the forces of the Achaeans had fought disastrously against Metellus, he himself chose out about four thousand men and appointed Alcamenes as commander over them. They were sent off to Megara both to guard the city for the Megarians and, in case Metellus and the Romans advanced, to prevent their further progress.

7.15.9

When Metellus saw that the chosen Arcadian troops near Chaeroneia had been cut down, he set his army in motion and marched against Thebes. For the Thebans, in alliance with the Achaeans, had been besieging Heracleia and had taken part in the battle at Scarphaea. Now, however, the Thebans themselves–men and women of every age–abandoned their city and wandered helplessly throughout Boeotia, taking refuge on the highest peaks of the mountains.

7.15.10

But Metellus would allow neither the burning of temples of gods nor the destruction of buildings, and he forbade anyone to kill or even seize in flight any of the other Thebans. However, he gave orders that, if they captured Pytheas, they should bring him before himself. Pytheas was immediately discovered and, upon being brought, stood trial. As the army was approaching Megara, the forces with Alcamenes did not await them, but immediately fled toward Corinth to the encampment of the Achaeans.

7.15.11

The Megarians surrendered their city to the Romans without a fight, and when Metellus arrived at the Isthmus, once more he sent envoys to the Achaeans, urging them toward peace and offering terms; for he was strongly possessed by a desire personally to bring under his own control affairs in Macedonia

as well as those involving the Achaeans. Yet against this eagerness, Diaeus stubbornly opposed out of reckless obstinacy.

Chapter 16

7.16.1

Mummius, having taken with him Orestes, who had earlier come during the dispute involving the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, reached the camp of the Romans around dawn. Having sent forward Metellus and the forces accompanying him into Macedonia, he himself waited at the Isthmus, until his whole army had assembled. The cavalry numbered three thousand five hundred, and the infantry amounted to twenty-three thousand men; there also arrived Cretan archers and Philopoemen, who led soldiers sent by Attalus from Pergamum beyond the Caicus.

7.16.2

Mummius had placed some of his Italian troops as well as his auxiliary forces twelve stades further forward, in front of the whole army, as a guard. The Achaeans, observing that these sentinels were carelessly posted due to Roman arrogance, attacked their forward guard, killed some, and drove the greater part back into the Roman camp, capturing as many as five hundred shields. Encouraged by this success, the Achaeans were emboldened to sally forth first, before the Romans could initiate the battle.

7.16.3

When Mummius also advanced to confront them, those who had been assigned to the Achaean cavalry immediately turned and fled, unable even to withstand the first charge of the Roman horse. The infantry was dispirited by the rout of their horsemen, yet when they received the attack of the Roman foot-soldiers, fiercely pressed by superior numbers and weakened by their wounds, they nevertheless held their ground through sheer determination–until finally a thousand picked Romans fell upon their flank and forced the Achaeans into a full and total flight.

7.16.4

But if Diaeus, after the battle, had dared to hasten into Corinth and had received within its walls those fleeing from their defeat, the Achaeans might have found some humane treatment from Mummius, by establishing themselves for a siege and the wear of warfare. But now, with the Achaeans only just beginning to yield, Diaeus immediately fled from the great city, proving himself towards the Achaeans no different from Callistratus, son of Empedus, towards the Athenians.

7.16.5

For when this man was commanding the cavalry in Sicily, at the time when the Athenians and all others who shared in their expedition were being destroyed by the river called Asinaros, precisely then Callistratos had sufficient courage to lead his horsemen out, cutting through the enemy ranks. After saving most of them and bringing them safely to Katane, he turned back again along the same road towards Syracuse; and finding the Athenian camp still being plundered, he slew about five of the enemy before both he himself and his horse, having received severe wounds, surrendered their lives.

7.16.6

This man, indeed, gained for the Athenians and himself a noble reputation, preserved those he governed, and willingly met his own end. Diaeus, however, after ruining the Achaeans, brought news to the Megalopolitans of the disasters that had befallen them; then, having slain his wife with his own hand to prevent her from becoming a captive, he ended his own life by drinking poison. He proved to resemble Menalcidas both in his greed for wealth and, similarly, in his cowardice regarding death.

7.16.7

Those of the Achaeans who survived the battle and managed to escape into Corinth fled immediately by night; most of the Corinthians themselves also deserted. Mummius, however, hesitated at first to advance directly into Corinth, although its gates were still wide open, suspecting that an ambush lay waiting within its walls. On the third day after the battle, he assaulted and captured Corinth by storm and set it on fire.

7.16.8

Of those who were captured, the Romans slew the majority; women and children were sold into slavery by Mummius. He likewise sold those slaves who, having previously been freed, had fought alongside the Achaeans and had not immediately perished in the course of battle. Among the votive offerings and other adornments, those exceptionally notable for their wonder were taken away, while those of lesser account were given by Mummius to Philopoemen, the general serving under Attalus. Thus even in my own time the Pergamenes still possessed Corinthian spoils.

7.16.9

As for the cities which took up arms and fought against the Romans, Mummius pulled down their walls and took away their weapons even before the commissioners sent by the Romans had arrived. When those advisers joined him to conduct their deliberations, he abolished democracies and established magistracies based upon property qualifications. Tribute was imposed upon Greece, and those who held property were forbidden to acquire possessions abroad. The assemblies according to each people's nationality–the Achaean assembly, as well as those held among the Phocians or Boeotians, or anywhere else in Greece–all these were equally abolished.

7.16.10

Not many years later, the Romans turned to pity Greece: they restored to each people their ancient rights to assemble and granted them again permission to acquire property overseas; they also relieved those nations upon whom Mummius had imposed fines. For he had ordered the Boeotians to pay one hundred talents to the people of Heraclea and Euboea, and the Achaeans two hundred to the Spartans. From these penalties, then, the Greeks received pardon from the Romans. Still, a governor continued to be sent even in my time; but the Romans called him governor, not of Greece, but of

Achaia, since they had subdued the Greeks through the Achaeans who were at that time foremost among the Hellenic nations. This war came to an end when Antitheus was archon at Athens, in the one-hundred-sixtieth Olympiad, in which Diodorus of Sicyon won the victory.

Chapter 17

7.17.1

Hellas then reached the utmost weakness, devastated region by region and thoroughly wasted from its earliest state by the divinity. As for Argos, a city that had attained the greatest power in the age of the so-called heroes, at the same time of the change to the Dorians, its previous good fortune deserted it. ★

7.17.2

The Attic people, having recovered from both the Peloponnesian War and the devastating plague and again regaining strength, were fated a few years later to be brought low by Macedonian power. Out of Macedonia also came Alexander's wrath upon Thebes in Boeotia. As for the Lacedaemonians, they experienced first the attack of Epaminondas the Theban, and later the war against the Achaeans. But when at length, like a tree that had been maimed and mostly withered, the Achaean nation sprouted anew from Hellas, its further growth was checked once again by the incompetence of its leaders.

7.17.3

At a later time, the imperial power of Rome passed to Nero, who gave Greece complete freedom, thus making an exchange favorable to the Roman people: for in place of Greece, he granted them the island of Sardinia, one of the richest of all lands. Looking upon this act of Nero, it seemed to me that Plato, son of Ariston, was most correct in stating that certain transgressions are so excessively great and daring in nature that ordinary men could never commit them; rather, they arise from a noble soul corrupted by a perverse education. ?

7.17.4

However, it was not granted to the Greeks to benefit from this gift. For after Nero, when Vespasian had become emperor, they fell once more into civil strife, and Vespasian ordered that they again become subjects, paying tribute and obeying a governor, declaring that the Greek people had forgotten how to use their freedom.

7.17.5

These events I found to have occurred as described above. Between the Eleians and the Achaians the boundary of their territories is the river Larisus, and by this river is situated a temple of Athena Larisaea. The Achaian city of Dyme lies about thirty stadia from the Larisus. During his war against the Achaians, Philip, son of Demetrius, made Dyme alone of all the Achaian cities subject to him; and

for this reason Sulpicius, another general of the Romans, permitted his army to plunder Dyme. Later, Augustus bestowed this city upon the people of Patrae.

7.17.6

? In earlier times, the city was called Paleia; but when the Ionians still inhabited it, they changed the name to that which it bears today. But I cannot clearly determine whether it was named after a local woman, Dyme, or after Dymas, the son of Aegimius. Moreover, considering the elegiac verses inscribed at Olympia upon the statue of Oebotas, no one could reasonably argue otherwise. For Oebotas of Dyme, who won the stadium race at the sixth Olympiad, was finally honored by a statue at Olympia around the eightieth Olympiad, after an oracle from Delphi so commanded. Upon this statue there is an inscription which reads:

7.17.7

? This Achaean, Oebotas of Oeneia, having won the foot-race, made his native city Paleia more distinguished. Therefore, it should cause no perplexity if the epigram refers to the city as Paleia rather than Dyme. For among the Greeks it is customary in poetry to resort to older names rather than later ones; thus they call Amphiaraüs and Adrastus Phoroneidae, and Theseus an Erechtheid.

7.17.8

★ A little before reaching the city of Dyme, there is on the right side of the road the tomb of Sostratos. This Sostratos was a youth among the local inhabitants, and they relate that he was beloved by Heracles. Since Sostratos had died when Heracles was still in the company of humans, Heracles himself, they say, built his tomb and offered as first-fruits some locks of hair cut from his own head. Even to my day a monument remained upon the tomb mound, bearing an image of Heracles. It was said by the people living in the region that they still offered sacrifices to Sostratos.

7.17.9

★? The Dymaeans possess a temple of Athena and an extremely ancient statue. They also have another sanctuary, dedicated to the Mother Dindymene and to Attis. As for who this Attis was, I was unable to discover anything definite about him, since it is not permitted to speak openly concerning him. However, according to Hermesianax, who composed elegiac verses, Attis was the son of Calaüs, a Phrygian, and was born incapable of begetting offspring. When he had grown up, according to Hermesianaxs account, he migrated to Lydia and performed there the rites sacred to the Mother, and gained such great honor from her that Zeus, angered by this, sent a boar among the Lydians to disrupt these practices.

7.17.10

★? In this place, many others among the Lydians died, and Attis himself was slain by a boar. Henceforth, the people dwelling in Pessinus, as a consequence of these events, observe a custom derived from this incident by refraining from touching swine. However, their own tradition concerning Attis is quite different: they recount that Zeus once emitted seed upon the earth in his sleep, and after some time, the earth gave birth to a divine being possessing dual sexual organs–those both of a man and of a woman. They name this divinity Agdistis. But the gods, fearing Agdistis, severed from it the male organs.

7.17.11

And when an almond tree sprang up from them bearing beautiful fruit, they say that the daughter of ★
the river Sangarius picked from its fruit. After she placed the fruit into her bosom, it suddenly vanished, and she herself conceived. When she gave birth, a goat tended to the infant who had been exposed. As the child grew, his beauty surpassed that belonging merely to human shape, and Agdistis fell in love with him. When Attis had grown to manhood, his relatives sent him to Pessinus to marry the daughter of the king.

7.17.12

The marriage hymn was being sung, when Agdistis appeared, and Attis, driven mad, cut off his own ★
genitals; likewise did the man who had given him his daughter. Afterwards Agdistis felt remorse for what had befallen Attis, and received from Zeus the favor that Attis' body should neither decay nor waste away. These are the best-known accounts concerning Attis.

7.17.13

In the territory of Dyme is also the tomb of the runner Oebotas. Although this Oebotas was the first among the Achaeans to win at Olympia, they devised no special honor for him. Thus, Oebotas pronounced a curse upon them that no Achaean would henceforth achieve an Olympic victory. Indeed, since a certain god was concerned that the curses of Oebotas should be fulfilled, at last the Achaeans were advised of the reason they were deprived of Olympic crowns; they discovered this by sending envoys to Delphi.

7.17.14

Thus, having paid him other honors and having dedicated his statue at Olympia, Sostratos of Pellene won the footrace for boys. It continues even to my time that the Achaeans who intend to compete at Olympia offer sacrifices to Oibotas, and if they gain the victory, they crown the statue of Oibotas at Olympia.

Chapter 18

7.18.1

About forty stadia from Dyme, the river Peirus meets the sea, and beside the Peirus once stood Olenos, a city of the Achaeans. Among those who have recounted the deeds of Heracles and his labors, Dexamenos, king in Olenos, offers no small confirmation of their stories and of the hospitality that Heracles received from him. That Olenos was originally a small settlement is confirmed by what Hermesianax wrote in his elegy about Eurytion the Centaur. In due course, the inhabitants are said to have abandoned Olenos due to its weakness and migrated to Peirai and Euryteiai.

7.18.2

The city of Patrae stands about eighty stades from the river Peirus, and not far from it the river Glaucus empties into the sea. The people of Patrae, who recount the earliest traditions, say that an autochthonous inhabitant named Eumelus was the first to dwell in the land, ruling over a small number of people. Later, when Triptolemus arrived from Attica, Eumelus received cultivated grain from him, and, instructed by him in city-building, founded a town which he named Aroe, commemorating the tilling of the earth.

7.18.3

When Triptolemus had retired to sleep, it is said that Antheias, son of Eumelus, yoked Triptolemus' dragons to the chariot and himself attempted to sow the seed. But fate overtook him, for he fell from the chariot. Afterwards, Triptolemus and Eumelus jointly founded the city Antheia, naming it after the son of Eumelus.

7.18.4

A third city, Mesatis, was also founded between Antheia and Aroe. Concerning all the traditions the Patreans recount about Dionysus–how he was reared in Mesatis and was there plotted against by the Titans, thus undergoing numerous perils–I shall not contradict the Patreans, but leave them to explain among themselves the origin of the name Mesatis.

7.18.5

Later, when the Achaeans expelled the Ionians, Patreus, the son of Preugenes, son of Agenor, forbade the Achaeans to settle in Antheia and Mesatis. Instead, he enclosed a larger area with a wall around Aroe, ensuring that Aroe too would stand within the enclosure, and he named the city Patras after

himself. Agenor, the father of Preugenes, was the son of Areus, who was the son of Ampyx, Ampyx being the son of Pelias, who was son of Aeginetes, son of Dereites, son of Harpalus, son of Amyclas, son of Lacedaemon.

7.18.6

Such were the ancestral traditions current among the Patreans. At a later time, the Patreans alone from among the Achaeans crossed into Aetolia, owing to their friendly relations with the Aetolians, willing to share with them the burden of the war against the Gauls. But having suffered serious defeats in battle, and being pressed also by widespread poverty, the majority left Patrae, so that only a few remained behind. The rest scattered through the surrounding countryside out of necessity to labor upon the land, and founded other settlements in addition to Patrae itself: Mesatis, Antheia, Boline, Argyra, and Arba.

7.18.7

Augustus, either considering Patrae favorably situated for coastal navigation or for some other reason, once again brought together the inhabitants from the surrounding towns into Patrae; he also incorporated the Achaeans from Rhypes with them, after razing Rhypes to the ground. Furthermore, he allowed the Patraeans alone among the Achaeans to be free and granted them also all other privileges which the Romans customarily bestow upon their colonies.

7.18.8

The Patreans have, at the highest point of their city, a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. The goddess's epithet is foreign, and her image was also brought in from elsewhere. For when Calydon and the rest of Aetolia were made desolate by Emperor Augustus, who transferred their inhabitants to Nicopolis, the city he founded in commemoration of his victory at Actium, the Patreans came into possession of the image of Laphria in this manner.

7.18.9

★ So also did most of the other statues from Aetolia and from the Acarnanians, many of them having been moved to Nicopolis; Augustus, however, gave to the people of Patrae certain treasures from Calydon, among them the statue of Artemis Laphria, which in my time was still honored within the acropolis of Patrae. They say the goddess received the surname Laphria from a man of Phocis; for it is said Laphrion, the son of Castalius of Delphi, dedicated originally the statue of Artemis at Calydon. The wrath of Artemis, however–

7.18.10

★ They say that, in time, the anger of the goddess toward Oeneus became lighter for the Calydonians, and they wish this to be the reason for the epithet given to her. As for the statue, its form represents her as a huntress, and it is fashioned from ivory and gold by Menaechmus and Soidas of Naupactus. It is estimated that these artists came slightly later in date than Canachus of Sicyon and Callon of Aegina.

7.18.11

The people of Patrae also hold each year the festival called Laphria in honor of Artemis, during which they have a local custom of sacrifice. They pile green logs around the altar in a circle, each log sixteen cubits high; and within, upon the altar itself, they place the driest of their wood. At the time of the

festival, they also construct an ascent to the altar that is made smoother by heaping earth upon the steps.

7.18.12

Firstly, they hold a most magnificent procession in honor of Artemis, and the maiden who serves as priestess is carried last in the procession on a chariot drawn by deer. On the following day, they then customarily proceed with the rites of sacrifice. Both publicly as a city and privately as individuals, they display great zeal in celebrating the festival. For they throw upon the altar living animals, both fowl usually eaten and all sorts of sacrificial victims alike, as well as wild boars, deer, roe deer, and some even cast young wolves and bears, while others offer fully grown animals. They also lay upon the altar the fruit of cultivated trees.

7.18.13

After this they set fire to the wood. Here, I recall, I saw a bear and some other animals; some of them, compelled by the initial force of the fire, rushed outward, whereas others even escaped through their strength. Those responsible for the proceedings caught these animals and threw them back again into the flames. They report, however, that no one was wounded by the beasts.

Chapter 19

7.19.1

Between the temple of Artemis Laphria and her altar there is a constructed tomb of Eurypylus. Who this man was, and for what reason he came into this land, will be made clear in my account, after I first recount the sufferings that his coming brought upon the inhabitants here. The Ionians inhabiting Aroe, Antheia, and Mesatis possessed in common a sacred precinct and temple dedicated to Artemis, surnamed Triklaria, and each year the Ionians celebrated a festival and all-night rites in her honour. The priesthood of the goddess was held by a virgin, until the time came for her to be sent to a husband. ★

7.19.2

They say, therefore, that it once happened that the priestess of the goddess was Comaetho, a maiden most beautiful in form, and that Melanippus fell in love with her, a youth who surpassed his contemporaries especially in the beauty of his appearance. When Melanippus led the maiden equally into passion for him, he asked her in marriage from her father. Now it happens often that old age, generally opposing the young, becomes particularly harsh toward lovers. So it was that although Melanippus wished to marry Comaetho, as she wished to marry him, neither from his own parents nor from those of Comaetho did he meet with any gentle reception at all. ★

7.19.3

He demonstrated, by many other examples and particularly through the sufferings of Melanippus, how love has the power to confound human customs and overturn the honors due the gods. For it was there, in the sanctuary of Artemis, that Comaetho and Melanippus yielded to the full force of their passion. Thus, thenceforth the temple was destined to become to them no different from a bridal chamber. But immediately the wrath of Artemis brought ruin upon the people, since the earth yielded no produce and diseases beyond those ordinarily known came upon them, causing deaths among them in greater number than before. ★

7.19.4

When they sought refuge at the oracle at Delphi, the Pythia revealed the guilt of Melanippus and Comaetho. An oracle came to these people themselves, commanding them to sacrifice to Artemis and, every year thereafter, to offer the goddess as sacrifice a maiden and a youth who were most beautiful in appearance. Indeed, because of this sacrifice, the river near the temple of Triclaria received the name Ameilichus (“Relentless”). ★

7.19.5

Until then it had no name. But concerning those youths and maidens who had committed no offense against the goddess yet nevertheless perished on account of Melanippus and Comaetho, both they themselves suffered most miserably, as did their relatives; on the other hand, Melanippus and Comaetho, I hold, escaped calamity. Indeed, for a human being, the only thing truly worth one's life is to succeed in love.

7.19.6

They are said to have ceased in this way from the sacrifice of humans to Artemis. For previously, an oracle had come to them from Delphi, stating that a foreign king would arrive upon their land, bringing with him a foreign divinity, and he would bring an end to the sacrifice offered to Artemis Triklaria. When Ilium was taken and the Greeks were distributing its spoils, Eurypylus, son of Euaemon, received a chest; in it was an image of Dionysus, said to be fabricated by Hephaestus and given by Zeus as a gift to Dardanus.

7.19.7

Two other stories are also told regarding this chest. One is that when Aeneas fled, he left behind this chest; others say it was deliberately cast aside by Cassandra as a curse upon whichever Greek should find it. Eurypylus, then, opened the chest, saw the image, and immediately lost his senses at the sight of it. He was thereafter mostly mad, rarely returning to sanity. In this condition, he failed to sail toward Thessaly, but rather to Cirrha and the bay there; having landed, he went up to Delphi and consulted the oracle about his affliction.

7.19.8

They say that he received an oracle instructing him to establish the chest and dwell himself wherever he found people offering a foreign sacrifice. The wind indeed drove Eurypylus' ships to the sea near Aroe. Disembarking onto the land, he encountered a boy and a maiden being led to the altar of Triclaria. It was not difficult for him to comprehend the nature of the sacrifice. The inhabitants also remembered the oracle; and when they saw the king, whom they had never before beheld, and observed the chest, they conjectured that within it was some deity.

7.19.9

Thus both Eurypylus' malady and the suffering of the inhabitants concerning the sacrifices ceased, and the river received the name by which it is now called, Meilichos ("Gentle"). However, some writers have claimed that the circumstances described did not happen to Eurypylus the Thessalian, but to another Eurypylus, the son of Dexamenus, who reigned in Olenus. They maintain that this Eurypylus joined Heracles in his expedition against Ilium and received the chest from Heracles. In all other respects, their account agrees with the previously mentioned tradition.

7.19.10

I am not persuaded either that Heracles was ignorant of matters concerning the chest, if indeed such events occurred, nor, had he known them, do I believe he would ever have given it as a gift to a man who was his ally. Moreover, the people of Patrae have no other Eurypylus in memory but the son of Euaemon; to him they even offer worship with annual sacrifices at the festival they celebrate in honor of Dionysus.

Chapter 20

7.20.1

The god within the chest is called by the title Aesymnetes, and those who render him the greatest devotion are nine men, whom the people choose from all citizens according to their worth, and an equal number of women corresponding to the men. During one night of the festival, the priest carries the chest outside. This night has received the special honor, and also children of the native inhabitants descend to the sanctuary of Meilichos, crowned upon their heads with wreaths of ears of grain. Indeed, this same decoration was used of old for those who were led forth to be sacrificed to Artemis.

7.20.2

In my time, they place crowns of grain stalks before the goddess, and then having bathed in the river, they put on crowns of ivy and proceed to the sanctuary of Aesymnetes. This is their established custom. Within the enclosure of Lafria stands also a temple of Athena, surnamed Panachais; her image is made of ivory and gold.

7.20.3

Descending into the lower city, there is a sanctuary of the Mother Dindymene, within which Attis also receives honors. They display no statue of this Attis, but the image of the Mother is made of stone. In the marketplace is a temple of Olympian Zeus; Zeus himself seated on a throne, and Athena standing beside his throne. Beyond the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus is a statue of Hera, as well as a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo, and a bronze Apollo made without clothing. Beneath his feet lie sandals, and with one foot he stands upon the skull of an ox.

7.20.4

That Apollo delights especially in cattle was stated clearly by Alcaeus in his hymn to Hermes, where he ★
writes that Hermes stole Apollo's cattle. And even earlier than Alcaeus' time, Homer had composed that Apollo herded the cattle of Laomedon as payment, though in the Iliad he attributes these verses to Poseidon.

7.20.5

"Indeed I myself built a wall around the city for the Trojans, wide and exceedingly fine, so that the city ★
would become impregnable; Phoebus, but you were pasturing the curved-horned cattle with their rolling gait." (Hom. Il. 21.446-448) Such is about the way one might conjecture the skull of the ox to

have been made. In the open area of the market-place there is a statue of Athena, and before it is the tomb of Patreus.

7.20.6

Next to the marketplace stands the Odeion, where also is set up a statue of Apollo, worthy of viewing. It was made from spoils taken when the people of Patrai, alone among the Achaians, aided the Aitolians against the army of the Gauls. The Odeion is adorned with other notable decorations as well, making it among the most remarkable in Greece, except, of course, the one in Athens. For the Athenian Odeion surpasses all in both size and general magnificence; it was built by Herodes, an Athenian citizen, in memory of his deceased wife. In my account of Attica I omitted mention of this Odeion, as my work on Athens had already been completed before Herodes had begun its construction.

7.20.7

★ In Patrae, as you go from the market-place toward the sanctuary of Apollo, there is a gate at that exit, and set upon this gate are gilded statues: Patreus, Preugenes, and Atherion–the last two being boys of the same age as Patreus, who himself is represented as a child. Directly opposite the market-place, along this road, is a precinct sacred to Artemis and a temple of Artemis Limnatis.

7.20.8

After Lacedaemon and Argos had come into the hands of the Dorians, they say that Preugenes removed the statue from Limnatis following the vision of a dream sent from Sparta, confiding his plan to the most trustworthy of his slaves. This statue from Lacedaemon they ordinarily keep at Mesoa, for it had first been brought there by Preugenes. But when they hold the festival in honor of Limnatis, one of the household slaves brings the ancient wooden image from Mesoa to the sanctuary of the goddess within the city.

7.20.9

Within this precinct, the Patrenses possess also other sacred shrines; these are not placed in the open air, but one approaches them through porticoes. The statue of Asklepios is entirely of stone except the garments; Athena is fashioned from ivory and gold. In front of the temple of Athena is the tomb of Preugenes, and they offer solemn sacrifices annually to Preugenes, as they do also to Patreus, celebrating the feast dedicated to Limnatis. Not far from the theater are a shrine of Nemesis and another of Aphrodite; both statues are large in size and made of white marble.

Chapter 21

7.21.1

In this part of the city stands a sanctuary of Dionysus called Calydonian, for the image of Dionysus was also brought over from Calydon. When Calydon was still inhabited, various Calydonians served as priests to this god, among them Coresus, who suffered from love more unjustly than anyone ever had. He fell in love with a maiden named Callirhoe, but as deeply as Coresus was overcome with passion for Callirhoe, so deeply did the maiden despise him. ★

7.21.2

When Coresus, despite repeated pleadings and promises of all manner of gifts, failed to change the resolve of the maiden, he went to the sacred image as a suppliant of Dionysus. The god heard the priest's prayer, and the Calydonians immediately became as if mad through drunkenness and were overcome by a deadly affliction. Thus, they turned for help to the oracle at Dodona. Indeed, the people inhabiting that mainland–the Aetolians, as well as their neighbors the Acarnanians and Epeirotes–especially relied on the doves and oak-tree oracles for truthful revelations. ★

7.21.3

Then the oracle from Dodona pronounced that the wrath was Dionysus, and that no remedy would come until Coresus sacrificed to Dionysus either Callirhoe herself or whoever would dare to die in her stead. Since no rescue could be found for the maiden, she next sought refuge with her foster parents. When she failed with them as well, nothing remained for her but death itself. ★

7.21.4

When everything else prescribed by the oracle from Dodona for the sacrifice had been previously accomplished, Callirhoe was brought to the altar in the manner of a sacrificial victim. Coresus, standing ready to perform the sacrifice, yielded not to anger but to love, and slew himself instead of Callirhoe. Indeed, he showed by his deed that the passions of love can provoke the most genuine acts known among men. ★

7.21.5

When Callirhoe saw that Coresus was dead, her heart turned toward love for the youth; moved by pity for Coresus and shame for what had been done to him, she slew herself at the spring near the harbor at Calydon, not far from the port. From that time onward, people have called that spring Callirhoe. ★

7.21.6

Near the theater, the people of Patrae have fashioned a sacred precinct dedicated to a local woman. There are also images here of Dionysus, equal in number to the ancient settlements and sharing their names; for they are called Mesateus, Antheus, and Aroeus. During the festival of Dionysus, these images are carried to the sanctuary of Aesymnetes; this sanctuary lies on the right side of the road leading from the agora towards the seaside district of the city.

7.21.7

★ Below Aesymnetes, as one goes further down, there is another sanctuary and a stone image. It is called the sanctuary of Soteria, and they say it was originally founded by Eurypylus after escaping from madness. Near the harbor is a temple and a standing stone image of Poseidon. In addition to those names of Poseidon created by poets as decorative epithets in verse, and those that various places assign to him as their own local titles, there are three epithets common to all Greeks: Pelagaios ("of the Sea"), Asphalios ("Securing Safe Passage"), and Hippios ("Horse God").

7.21.8

★ Certainly one might be persuaded that the god was named Hippios ("Horse-god") for other reasons as well; but in my own view, since he was the inventor of horsemanship, he probably derived his name from this circumstance. Indeed, Homer, in the contest of horses, makes Menelaus swear an oath with an invocation of this very god:

"Lay hands upon the horses and swear by the Earth-shaking Earth-holder that you did not willingly impede my chariot through guile." (Homer, Iliad 23.584-585)

7.21.9

★ Pamphos, who composed the most ancient hymns for the Athenians, says that Poseidon is the giver of horses and ships with upright hulls. Thus, it is from his association with horses, and not from another cause, that he has received this name.

7.21.10

In Patrae, not far from the sanctuary of Poseidon, is one dedicated to Aphrodite. One of the statues within it was recovered a generation before my time by fishermen who drew it up in their nets. Near the harbor there are also bronze statues: one of Ares, another of Apollo, and one of Aphrodite–whose sanctuary likewise stands by the harbor. The image of Aphrodite has a face, hands, and feet of stone, but the rest of it is constructed from wood.

7.21.11

They also have a grove by the sea, which has excellent paths suitable for running and provides, in other respects as well, a pleasant retreat during the summer season. Within this grove are temples of gods–one of Apollo and another of Aphrodite, whose statues, like the temples themselves, are made of stone. Adjacent to the grove is a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter; she and her daughter stand upright, while the image of Earth is depicted seated.

7.21.12

Before the temple of Demeter there is a spring. On the temple side, the spring is surrounded by a low wall of stones, but on the outer side steps have been constructed leading down to the water. Here there is

an oracle whose prophecies do not deceive; however, it is consulted not for every matter, but specifically concerning the sick. Using a thin string they lower a mirror into the spring, carefully measuring so that it does not sink deeply below the surface but merely touches the water with its rim. After this they offer prayers to the goddess and burn incense, then look into the mirror; therein appears to them an image revealing whether the sick person shall live or has already died.

7.21.13

This water has such an extraordinary reputation for truthfulness. And of the Cyanian rocks nearest to ★
Lycia is found an oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus. Beside these Cyanean rocks there is water which, when someone gazes into its spring, clearly reveals to him all that he desires to see. In Patrae near the grove there are two sanctuaries dedicated to Sarapis; and in one of them, there is a monument to Aegyptus the son of Belus. The people of Patrae say that it was to Aroe that he fled, revolted both by the sufferings he had endured through his children and horrified by the very name "Argos," and even more deeply possessed by fear of Danaus.

7.21.14

The Patraeans also have a sanctuary of Asclepius; this sanctuary is situated above the acropolis, near the gates leading to Mesatis. In Patrae, the number of women is twice that of men; and these women partake of Aphrodite's worship no less than women elsewhere. Most of them earn their livelihood from flax produced in Elis, from which they weave head-coverings and the other types of clothing.

Chapter 22

7.22.1

Pharae, a city of the Achaians, belongs administratively to Patrae by decree of Augustus. From the city of Patrae to Pharae is one hundred and fifty stades, and from the sea inland towards the mainland about seventy stades. Near Pharae flows the river Pieros, which, in my opinion, is the same river that passes by the ruins of Olenus, called Peiros by those living along the coast. Beside the river stands a grove of plane trees; most of these trees are hollow due to their great age and have attained such a size that people hold gatherings within their hollows, and indeed anyone who wishes can even sleep inside them.

7.22.2

In Pharae there is a large enclosure for the marketplace in the old style. In the middle of the market square is a stone statue of Hermes, having a beard; this statue stands directly on the ground, rectangular in shape and not very large. Upon it is an inscription stating that it was dedicated by Simylus the Messenian. The statue is called Hermes Agoraios, and beside it an oracle has been established. In front of the statue lies a hearth, itself also made of stone, and bronze lamps are attached to it with lead.

7.22.3

Arriving around evening, the inquirer of the god burns incense upon the hearth, fills the lamps with oil, lights them, and places a local coin–called a chalkous–in the right hand upon the altar of the statue. He then whispers at the gods ear whatever question each has in mind. After this, he departs from the marketplace, covering his ears completely. Having gone forth beyond it, he removes his hands from his ears, and the first voice he overhears he considers as the gods oracle.

7.22.4

A similar mode of divination concerning Apis has also been established among the Egyptians. At Pharae, there is sacred water associated with Hermes; it is called the Spring of Hermes, and no one catches the fish from it, for they consider these dedicated to the god. Near the statue stand about thirty square stones; these the people of Pharae reverence, giving each one the name of a particular deity. Indeed, in older times, all Greeks originally paid their honors to the gods with simple, unworked stones instead of statues.

7.22.5

About fifteen stades beyond the city of Pharae there is a grove sacred to the Dioscuri. Laurels especially grow there; but in it there was neither temple nor images, since, according to the local inhabitants, the statues had been carried away to Rome. In Pharae, within this grove, there is an altar built of selected stones. But I was unable to ascertain whether the founder was Pharis, son of Phylodameia, daughter of Danaus, or another of the same name.

7.22.6

Triteia is also a city of the Achaeans; though situated inland, its people likewise pay tribute to Patrae, by royal decree. From Pharae to Triteia is one hundred and twenty stadia. Before entering the city there is a tomb constructed of white marble, remarkable for many reasons, but especially for the paintings on it, done by Nikias himself. Depicted there is an ivory throne and upon it a young woman of exceptional beauty; beside her stands a servant-girl carrying a sunshade.

7.22.7

There is also an upright figure of a youth, still beardless, who wears a tunic and over it a crimson cloak. Beside him stands a servant carrying hunting spears and leading dogs suitable for men's hunting pursuits. We were not able to discover their names, but it appeared clear to everyone that a man and a woman were buried together in a common tomb.

7.22.8

Concerning the foundation of Triteia, some people say that it was founded by Celbidas, who arrived from Cumae in Opicia; but others say that Ares had intercourse with Triteia, daughter of Triton, who was a priestess of Athena, and that Melanippus, the son of Ares and Triteia, established the city after it had grown in population, and named it after his mother.

7.22.9

In Triteia there is a sanctuary of the gods called the Greatest Gods, whose images are made of clay. Annually, the inhabitants hold a festival for them, celebrated exactly as the Greeks honor Dionysus. There is also a temple of Athena; her statue in our time is of stone, but the ancient one was taken off to Rome, as the people of Triteia say. The local custom here is also to offer sacrifices to Ares and to Triteia herself.

7.22.10

These cities, then, lie inland away from the sea and are firmly situated on the mainland. Sailing from Patrae towards Aegium, one first encounters the promontory named Rhion, at a distance of fifty stades from Patrae. Fifteen stades further than this promontory lies the harbor called Panormus, and at an equal distance again from Panormus is the place known as the Wall of Athena. Sailing from the Wall of Athena to the harbor Erineus is a voyage of ninety stades, and from Erineus to Aegium it is sixty stades. The land route falls short of that number by roughly forty stades.

7.22.11

Not far from the city of Patrae is the river Meilichos and the sanctuary of Triklaria, which no longer has any statue within it. This sanctuary lies on the right hand. After passing beyond the Meilichos, there is another stream, called the Charadros. In the season of spring, herds drinking from this river

generally produce male offspring; on this account, indeed, the shepherds move their flocks elsewhere into another region–except for their cows, which they leave near the river, since bulls are more suitable both for sacrifices and for labor than cows. But among other kinds of livestock, female animals are generally regarded as more valuable.

Chapter 23

7.23.1

After the river Charadros are the indistinct ruins of the city Argyras, as well as the spring Argyra, situated to the right of the main road, and the river Selemnos flowing down into the sea. The local inhabitants relate a story regarding this river, saying that a handsome young shepherd named Selemnos used to pasture his flock here, and that Argyra, one of the sea-nymphs, fell in love with him, and, enamored of Selemnos, she frequently came up from the sea to visit him and would sleep at his side.

7.23.2

But soon after, Selemnus no longer appeared handsome nor likely that the nymph would visit him again. Having become lonely and dying from love after Argyra left him, Selemnus was transformed by Aphrodite into a river. I recount here what is told by the people of Patrae. And even as water he still loved Argyra, just as the tale is told that Alpheios continues still to love Arethusa. Aphrodite granted Selemnus an additional gift:

7.23.3

The Argyra river leads into forgetfulness. I have also heard another story concerning this river, that the water of the Selemnos is beneficial both for men and for women as a remedy for love, and that those who bathe in the river experience forgetfulness of passion. If there is any truth to this story, the water of the Selemnos would be more precious to humankind than much wealth.

7.23.4

Further on is the river Argyra, also called Bolinaeus, and beside it once stood a city called Bolina. They say Apollo fell in love with Bolina, a maiden, and as she fled from him threw herself into the sea here, thereafter becoming immortal through Apollo's favor. Next there is a headland projecting into the sea, and the story is told about it that Kronos cast into the sea at this spot the sickle with which he mutilated his father, Ouranos; for this reason they also call the promontory Drepanon ("Sickle"). A short distance off the road lie the ruins of Rhypes. From Rhypes to Aigion the distance is about thirty stades.

7.23.5

Through the territory of Aigion flows the river Phoenix, as also another river, the Meiganites; both rivers flow into the sea. Close to the city is a portico built in honor of Straton, an athlete who won victories

in the pancration and wrestling contests at Olympia on the same day. This portico was constructed to serve as a place of exercise for that man. The people of Aigion have an ancient sanctuary of Eileithyia; the image of Eileithyia is entirely covered from head to foot with a finely woven garment, the wooden statue concealed except for the face, the tips of the hands, and the feet.

7.23.6

It is made of Pentelic marble; one hand is stretched straight forward, while the other holds up a torch. One might suppose the torches are symbolic of Eileithyia, because childbirth pangs are, for women, like the flame of fire. Another interpretation of torches in this context would be that Eileithyia is she who brings children into the light. The statue is the work of Damophon of Messene.

7.23.7

Not far from the sanctuary of Eileithyia is a precinct of Asclepius, containing statues of Hygieia and Asclepius. An inscription in verse on the pedestal states that the work was done by Damophon the Messenian. While visiting this temple of Asclepius, I became involved in a disagreement with a certain Sidonian man, who asserted that Phoenicians had superior knowledge of divine matters and especially surpassed the Greeks in this field. In particular, he claimed that it was among themselves customary that Asclepius' father was Apollo, but that no mortal woman was named as his mother.

7.23.8

For they say that Asklepios is air, existing for the race of humans and equally conducive to health for all living beings, and Apollo is the sun, being very rightly called father to Asklepios, because the sun, by making its annual path in harmony with the seasons, imparts health even to the air. For my part, I accept what has been said, yet I maintain that this explanation belongs to Greeks as much as to Phoenicians. Indeed, in Titane of the Sikyonians, the same statue is called both Hygeia and–it was clear even to a child–showing that the course of the sun creates health upon the earth for humankind.

7.23.9

The Aigians have a temple of Athena and a grove of Hera. Inside Athena's temple stand two statues made of white stone; but the image of Hera may not be viewed by anyone, except women–and then only the woman who holds the priesthood. Near the theater, they have built a sanctuary and statue of Dionysos, which is represented without a beard. In the marketplace there is also a precinct sacred to Zeus surnamed Soter (the Savior), and on the left as one enters are two bronze statues; of these two statues, the beardless one appeared to me to be the more ancient.

7.23.10

And within a building directly along the road there are also bronze statues: Poseidon and Heracles, and Zeus with Athena. They call these gods "from Argos," according to the Argive tradition, because their statues were fashioned in the city of Argos; but according to the Aegians themselves, the images were deposited with them in trust by the Argives.

7.23.11

They say that the following additional command was also placed upon them–to offer sacrifice daily to the statues. But they devised a clever trick, for although they sacrificed a great deal indeed, they feasted together upon the sacrificial animals, with the result that there was no expense incurred by them for

these sacrifices. Eventually, however, the Argives demanded payment from them, and in turn they demanded to be reimbursed for the expenses incurred from the sacrifices. But, as the Argives were unable to pay, they left the statues themselves in their possession.

Chapter 24

7.24.1

The Aegians have beside their agora a sanctuary shared by Apollo and Artemis, and within the agora itself is a temple of Artemis, where she is represented as shooting an arrow. Also there is the tomb of the herald Talthybius; however, there is another burial place set up for Talthybius in Sparta, and both cities offer sacrifices in his honor. ★

7.24.2

By the seaside in Aigion there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and after it one of Poseidon; likewise one dedicated to Kore, the daughter of Demeter, and a fourth for Zeus Homagyrios. In this place there are statues of Zeus, Aphrodite, and Athena. Zeus acquired the surname Homagyrios ("Gatherer"), because it was here that Agamemnon assembled those who were deemed most esteemed in Greece, that they might jointly deliberate regarding the manner in which war should be waged against Priam's realm. Additional praise for Agamemnon includes that he conquered Troy, as well as all the neighboring cities, with only that army which accompanied him from the beginning, without any later reinforcements joining him. ★

7.24.3

Next to Zeus Homagyrios is a temple of Panachaean Demeter. The seashore, on which stand the sanctuaries already mentioned that belong to the people of Aegium, provides abundant fresh water from a spring, pleasant both to see and to drink. They have also a sanctuary of Soteria (Salvation). The image there may be viewed by no one except the priests, and they observe other customs of this kind as well: when they receive from the goddess local cakes, they cast them into the sea, claiming that these are sent to Arethusa in Syracuse. ★

7.24.4

The people of Aigion also have other bronze statues: Zeus as a child in age, and Herakles, who also does not yet have a beard; both are works of Ageladas of Argos. Each year priests are chosen for these statues, and each image remains in the house of its respective priest during his term of priesthood. In even older times, it was customary to appoint the boy most distinguished for his beauty as priest of Zeus. When he began to grow a beard, this honor of beauty passed on to another boy. These customs, then, were observed thus. Even in our own time, the council of the Achaians still meets at Aigion, just as the Amphictyons gather at Thermopylai and at Delphi.

7.24.5

As one proceeds forward, one reaches the river Selinous, and forty stadia further from Aigion along the seashore is the place Helike. Here was situated the city Helike, and the most sacred sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios revered by the Ionians. They maintained this worship even when, having been expelled by the Achaeans into Athens, they afterward moved from Athens to the coastal region of Asia; and Poseidon Helikonios continued to be honored among them. Thus, among the Milesians as one goes toward the spring called Biblis, there is an altar of Poseidon Helikonios in front of the city; likewise at Teos there is a precinct and an altar dedicated to Helikonios, which is worthy of viewing.

7.24.6

★ Homer also makes references to Helice and to Poseidon Heliconius. Later, the Achaeans living there drove some suppliants out from the sanctuary and slew them; the vengeance from Poseidon did not delay–immediately afterwards, an earthquake struck their land, destroying the buildings, and along with the structures, causing even the very ground of the city to disappear from the sight of future generations.

7.24.7

In general, therefore, when great earthquakes are about to occur–those that surpass others in their magnitude and extend over a very large portion of the world–the god commonly gives warning in ways he most often employs: either continuous rains or droughts occur for a considerable time beforehand, and the atmosphere, according to the particular season of the year, becomes hotter in winter, while in summer the disk of the sun is usually seen dimly through mist, changing its accustomed color either toward red or quietly inclining toward darkness.

7.24.8

For springs of water largely fail, and some winds, sweeping through the land, overturn the trees. Even sometimes fiery trails are seen in the sky, and also shapes of stars have appeared unknown to former generations, causing great astonishment to those who behold them. Moreover, there is an intense subterranean roaring of winds beneath the earth, and many other signs which the god customarily manifests as preliminary warnings of violent earthquakes.

7.24.9

As regards the earthquake itself, its movement does not follow a single pattern; rather, those who have examined such phenomena from the beginning, as well as those instructed by them, have been able to discern several distinct forms of earthquakes. The mildest among them–if indeed we can consider any relief possible amid so great a calamity–is when, simultaneously with the first onset of the earthquake and the initial tilting downwards of buildings, a contrary motion, opposing the fall, arises and sets upright again those structures already tipped. Of this kind is the motion described above.

7.24.10

It is possible to see columns being straightened up after the earthquake, columns which had nearly fallen down entirely; likewise, walls that had separated, returning again into their original positions. Furthermore, beams displaced outward by the shocks move back again into their proper places. Similarly, this same force reconnects disrupted channels for water and any other construction established to guide flowing currents, bringing their severed parts together more effectively than human craftsmen. But the

second of the earthquakes brought outright destruction to structures already weakened; wherever it directed its force, it instantly overturned them, just as siege-engines would do.

7.24.11

They desire to characterize the most destructive type of earthquake by a certain analogy, as being like breath within a person which, if forced by continual feverish heat, becomes denser and is driven violently upwards due to excessive internal pressure. Such a condition leaves marks in various parts of the body, particularly noticeable in the wrists beneath each hand. Likewise, they assert that this type of earthquake directly enters beneath buildings and jolts their foundations upward, similar to the manner in which moles cause disturbance from deep in the earth. Indeed, this sort of seismic movement alone leaves behind no indication in the ground that it ever took place.

7.24.12

Then at Helice the earthquake took this form, stirring the ground beneath them, and together with it another disaster befell the people, they say, during the season of winter. For the sea advanced far inland over their territory and encircled the whole of Helice; and indeed the grove of Poseidon was inundated to such a degree by the wave that only the tops of the trees remained visible. When suddenly the god caused an earthquake, and simultaneously the sea rushed back, the wave dragged down Helice with all of its inhabitants.

7.24.13

Indeed, such a disaster befell them, and another of a similar nature happened, the disappearance of a city on Mount Sipylus into a chasm. From the moment that the mountainside broke away, waters flowed forth at that spot, and the chasm became a lake called Saloe. The ruins of the city were clearly visible in the lake until the water rising from the torrent concealed them. The ruins of Helice are also still visible, although no longer to the same extent, since they have been corroded by seawater.

Chapter 25

7.25.1

The wrath of Hikesios serves as a lesson, both for the people of Helike and for many others as well, highlighting that it cannot be averted. Indeed, even the god of Dodona appears to advise reverence towards suppliants. For during the time of Apheidas, the Athenians received the following oracle from Zeus at Dodona: ★

"Consider the Areios Pagos and the fragrant altars of the Eumenides, where you must accept the Lacedaemonians when, oppressed by the spear, they seek your mercy as suppliants. Do not slay them with iron, nor wrong those who take refuge, for suppliants are both sacred and pure."

7.25.2

These events came to the memory of the Greeks when the Peloponnesians marched against Athens during Codrus, son of Melanthus, who was then king of the Athenians. Now the main part of the Peloponnesian army withdrew from Attica upon learning of Codrus's death and the manner in which it had occurred; for they no longer hoped for victory, according to the oracle which had come from Delphi. But some of the Lacedaemonians, who had entered secretly inside the city walls by night, only at daybreak became aware that their own forces had departed; and noticing the Athenians gathering against them, they fled for refuge to the Areopagus and to the altars of the goddesses whom they call Semnai. ★

7.25.3

The Athenians at that time permitted the suppliants to depart without harm. But later, those who held power themselves slew suppliants of Athena, who had seized and held the Acropolis together with Cylon. Both those who carried out the killings and their descendants were regarded as polluted in the sight of the goddess. Similarly, when the Lacedaemonians also killed men who had fled for refuge into the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum, not long afterward their city suffered from an earthquake so violent and continuous that not one dwelling in Sparta remained standing.

7.25.4

The destruction of Helice took place when Asteius was still archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and first Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii won for the first time. Since the inhabitants of Helice no longer existed, the Aegians occupied their territory.

7.25.5

After Helice you will turn away from the sea to the right, and you will come to the town of Ceryneia. It was built above the highway on a mountain, and took its name either from a local ruler or from the river Cerynites, which flows down from Arcadia and Mount Ceryneia and passes out through the territory of the Achaeans here. Living alongside the inhabitants there are some Mycenaeans, who came here because of a disaster which drove them from Argolis. The Argives, having been unable to seize the wall of Mycenae in its strongest parts–for it was fortified in the same manner–

7.25.6

Because they were compelled by necessity, when provisions failed, the Mycenaeans abandoned the city built in Tiryns by those called Cyclopes. Some withdrew to Cleonae, but more than half of the populace sought refuge in Macedonia with Alexander, whom Mardonius, son of Gobryas, had trusted to carry his message to the Athenians. The rest of the people came to Ceryneia, and through this cohabitation with the Mycenaeans, Ceryneia thereafter grew in both population and importance.

7.25.7

★ In Ceryneia there is a sanctuary of the Eumenides, which they say was founded by Orestes. Anyone who enters this place either stained by blood or defilement of another kind, or even who is impious and yet desires to look upon it, is immediately said to become driven out of his senses by terrors. For this reason, entrance is not permitted to everyone, nor casually. The statues, which are of wood, are not large in size, but at the entrance to the sanctuary there are images of women carved from stone and skillfully crafted. The locals say that these women were priestesses of the Eumenides.

7.25.8

★ Returning from Ceryneia to the main road and travelling a short distance along it, one may take another turning towards Boura. The sea is to the right, while Boura itself lies upon a mountain. They say that the city took its name from Boura, a woman who was the daughter of Ion son of Xuthus and of Helice. When the god rendered Helice invisible to human sight, Boura too was visited by a vehement earthquake, such that not even the ancient statues within the sanctuaries were preserved.

7.25.9

But all those inhabitants who were at that time abroad, either serving in war or for some other reason, were the only ones who survived among the people of Boura, and these became themselves the founders of the new city of Boura. Here there is a temple of Demeter, and another one sacred to Aphrodite and Dionysus, and yet another dedicated to Eileithyia. Their images are made of Pentelic marble, the work of the Athenian artist Eucleides; Demeter's image is adorned with clothing. A sanctuary has also been built here for Isis.

7.25.10

When one descends from Boura toward the sea, there is a river called the Bouraïkos, and close by it a small statue of Heracles located within a cave. This Heracles is also surnamed Buraïkos, and here one can receive oracular answers by means of a tablet and dice. The person consulting the god first prays before the statue, and after prayer takes up four dice–an abundant supply of these lies ready beside Heracles–and casts them upon a table. For each combination turning up on the dice, there is set forth upon a special tablet the interpretation of that particular form.

7.25.11

The straight road from Helice to the sanctuary of Heracles is about thirty stadia. When one proceeds beyond the sanctuary of Heracles, a perennial river flows from an Arcadian mountain down to the sea. The name of both the river and the mountain where the river has its springs is Crathis. From this Crathis the river near Croton in Italy also derived its name.

7.25.12

Beside the Achaian Crathis once stood the Achaian city of Aegae; it is said to have gradually become ★
deserted through weakness. Homer, too, made mention of this Aegae in his account of Hera, saying: "they bring gifts to Helice and Aegae," clearly indicating that Poseidon enjoyed equal honors in both Helice and Aegae.

7.25.13

Not far beyond the Krathis river, you will find on the right side of the road a tomb and, depicted upon the monument, a man standing beside a horse, though the painting is faint. The road from the tomb continues about thirty stades to the place called Gaios. This Gaios is a sanctuary of Earth, with the surname Eurysternos; the wooden cult-image here is ancient indeed and exceptionally similar to the oldest representations.

The woman who at any time receives the priesthood must remain chaste thereafter, nor may she, even previously, have had relations with more than one man. They test the women by making them drink the blood of a bull; if any one of them is found to be untruthful, she immediately suffers punishment because of it. Should several women present themselves as claimants for the priesthood, precedence is given to the one chosen by lot.

Chapter 26

7.26.1

To the harbor of the Aigeiratans–the town and its harbor share the same name–from the road along the territory of Bura, it is seventy-two stadia to the sanctuary of Heracles. On the coast the Aigeiratans have nothing noteworthy; and the road from the harbor up to the city above is twelve stadia in length.

7.26.2

In the poetry of Homer the place is called Hyperesia; however, its present name originated when the Ionians settled there, and it arose from the following circumstance. An army of Sicyonians intended to invade their territory. Since they themselves were not considered capable of facing the Sicyonians in battle, they gathered together all the goats they had in the region, tied torches to their horns and, when the night was advanced, set fire to the torches.

7.26.3

The Sicyonians–for they supposed that an allied force was marching to help the Hyperesians and that ★
the flames came from a beacon-fire lit by these allies–then turned back homeward. The Hyperesians afterward changed their citys present name from "goats," and in the place where their fairest goat, which had led the herd, had crouched down, they established a shrine to Artemis Agrotera ("Huntress"), believing that their trick against the Sicyonians had succeeded not without the aid of Artemis herself.

7.26.4

However, the name Aigeira did not immediately prevail instead of Hyperesia, since even in my time, some continued to call Oreos in Euboea by its ancient name, Hestiaia. Now Aigeira provided the opportunity to record a sanctuary of Zeus, in which stood a seated statue made from Pentelic marble, a work by the Athenian sculptor Euclides. In this sanctuary there is also a statue of Athena; her face, the tips of her hands, and her feet are of ivory, while the rest is a wooden image adorned on its surface with gold and colors.

7.26.5

There is a temple of Artemis and a statue, both the work of our own time; and the priestess is a virgin, ★
who serves until she reaches the age for marriage. Also standing here is an old statue, depicting Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, according to the account of the people of Aigeira; if these people are speaking the truth, it is clear that the temple was originally built in honor of Iphigenia.

7.26.6

? There is also a sanctuary of Apollo, exceptionally ancient, both the temple itself and everything within the pediments. Ancient too is the wooden image of the god, naked and impressive in size. None of the local inhabitants could name the man who carved it, but whoever has seen the Heracles at Sicyon would infer that the Apollo at Aegeira is also the work of the same Lafaias of Phlius.

7.26.7

There are upright statues of Asclepius in the temple, as well as statues of Serapis and Isis in another place, all made of Pentelic marble. They particularly venerate Urania, but no human being may enter her sanctuary. As for the goddess whom they call the Syrian goddess, people enter her sanctuary on appointed days, but only after purifying themselves according to prescribed rites, including practices concerning their diet.

7.26.8

★ I also know having viewed a sanctuary at Aegeira in which stood a statue of Tyche, holding the horn of Amaltheia. Beside her is a winged Eros, signifying that human successes in love depend more upon fortune than upon beauty. For my part, I am persuaded by Pindar's poetry in all matters, including that Tyche is one of the Fates and indeed possesses power somewhat greater than that of her sisters.

7.26.9

In Aigeira, within this structure, there is portrayed a man already aged who appears grieving greatly, along with three women who are removing bracelets from their wrists, three youths equal in number to the women, and one figure dressed in armor. They say that this man, wearing armor, perished after fighting most bravely of the people of Aigeira during a war against the Achaians; the surviving brothers reported his death back home. On account of this, his sisters are represented in mourning attire due to their grief for him, and the locals call their father Sympathes ("Compassionate"), as he appears pitiable even in the depiction.

7.26.10

The road from Aigeira runs straight uphill from the temple of Zeus, passing through the mountains. This route is forty stades long and leads to Phelloe, a small, obscure town, which was not even permanently inhabited while the Ionians still occupied the land. The region around Phelloe is well suited for growing vines, whereas the rocky areas are covered with oak trees and inhabited by wild beasts, including deer and wild boars.

7.26.11

★ If any of the smaller towns in Greece flows abundantly with water, one could number Pelloe among them. There are sanctuaries of Dionysus and Artemis; the image of Artemis is made of bronze, depicted drawing an arrow from her quiver, while the statue of Dionysus is adorned with cinnabar paint. Descending from Aigeira to its harbor, and proceeding further inland again, on the right side of the road stands the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera ("the huntress"), where they say the goat crouched.

7.26.12

★? Next to the territory of the people of Aigeira lies that of the Pelleneans. These inhabit the frontier of Achaia toward Sikyon and a part of Argolis. According to the Pellenean account, the name of their city

is derived from Pallas, who is said to have been one of the Titans; on the other hand, according to the Argive tradition, the city received its name from an Argive named Pellen, who is said to have been the son of Phorbas and grandson of Triopas.

7.26.13

Between Aegeira and Pellene there was a small town called Donoussa, subject to the Sicyonians. Though it was destroyed by the Sicyonians, they say Homer mentions it in his catalogue of Agamemnon's forces:

and Hyperesia and steep Donoessa (Homer, Iliad 2.573).

But they claim that when Peisistratus was gathering together Homers verses, which had become scattered and preserved in separate locations, either Peisistratus himself or one of his companions mistakenly changed the towns name through ignorance.

7.26.14

Aristonautae is the port of the people of Pellene. From the seaside town of Aegeira the distance to this harbor is one hundred and twenty stadia, while half that distance separates the harbor from Pellene itself. They say that the port acquired the name Aristonautae ("Best Sailors") because the Argonauts, sailing aboard the Argo, once put into this harbor.

Chapter 27

7.27.1

The city of the Pellenians stands upon a hill whose summit rises sharply to a high peak. This upper part is steep and therefore uninhabited. On the lower ground, however, dwellings have been established, although the town is not continuous, but divided into two parts separated by the peak standing between. On the road leading toward Pellene stands an image of Hermes, surnamed Dolios ("Crafty"), who readily fulfills the prayers of men. The statue is square in form, with a beard, and upon its head is a carefully worked hat.

7.27.2

On the road leading into the city itself is a temple to Athena, built from the local stone, but the statue is of ivory and gold. They say Phidias crafted this image even earlier than the statues of Athena he made on the Acropolis in Athens and at Plataea. The Pelleneans also say that a sanctuary chamber of Athena extends downward beneath the earth, situated beneath the statue's pedestal, and that the air from this underground chamber is moist and thereby beneficial to the ivory.

7.27.3

Above the temple of Athena is a grove enclosed by a wall, sacred to Artemis called Soteira ("Savior"), whom they invoke with oaths in matters of greatest importance. Entrance to this place is permitted to no human being other than the priests. These priests are chosen from among the local men, selected especially on account of the esteem of their lineage. Directly opposite the grove of Soteira stands the sanctuary of Dionysus named Lampter ("Torch-bearer"); to him they celebrate a festival called the Lampteria, during which they carry torches into his sanctuary by night and set bowls of wine throughout the entire city.

7.27.4

The Pelleneans also have a sanctuary of Apollo Theoxenius, whose statue is made of bronze. They hold a festival in honor of Apollo called the Theoxenia, at which silver is offered as prizes for victory; local men compete in these contests. Near the temple of Apollo stands a temple of Artemis; the statue of the goddess is depicted in the pose of one who is shooting an arrow. In the marketplace there is also a structure built to shelter a fountain; this water provided by the deity serves them for bathing, since they have few springs within the city itself suitable for drinking. The place where the springs are found is called Glyceae.

7.27.5

There is an ancient gymnasium intended chiefly for the training of youths; indeed, no one is permitted to be enrolled among the citizens before having completed this period of youth. Here stands the statue of a man from Pellene, Promachos, son of Dryon, who achieved victories in the pancratium–a single victory at Olympia, three at the Isthmian games, and two at Nemea. The people of Pellene erected two statues in his honor, dedicating one at Olympia and placing the other in their gymnasium; the latter statue is made of stone rather than bronze.

7.27.6

? It is said also that during a war between Corinth and Pellene, Promachus slew a great many of his opponents. It is further said that he defeated even Pulydamas of Scotussa at Olympia. Pulydamas had returned safely home from a journey to the king of the Persians, arriving for a second time at the Olympic games. The Thessalians, however, not admitting that Pulydamas was actually defeated, provide additional proofs, including an elegiac couplet composed about Pulydamas: "O Skotoessa, nurse of unconquered Pulydamas."

7.27.7

? The Pellenians hold Promachos in the highest honour. But they are unwilling even to mention Chairon, who won two victories in wrestling at the Isthmian games and four at Olympia, because, according to my view, he destroyed the constitution of Pellene, having accepted from Alexander, son of Philip, a most hateful gift–to become a tyrant over his own homeland.

7.27.8

The Pelleneans also have a sanctuary of Eileithyia; this is located in the lesser part of the city. The place called Poseidion was formerly in ancient times a populous settlement, but is deserted in our day. This Poseidion lies below the gymnasium, and even in my time a sanctuary of Poseidon continues to be held in honor there.

7.27.9

★ The sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, called Mysaeum, is about sixty stades distant from Pellene. They say it was founded by Mysius, an Argive man, who, according to Argive tradition, hosted Demeter in his house. At Mysaeum there is a grove, the trees of which are all alike, and abundant water flows there from springs. Here they also hold a festival in honor of Demeter, lasting seven days.

7.27.10

But on the third day of the festival, the men depart from the sanctuary; the women remain behind and perform during the night whatever rites it is prescribed for them by custom. Not only are the men excluded, but even the male dogs are removed. On the following day, when the men return to the sanctuary, both the women and the men exchange laughter and joking remarks with one another in turn.

7.27.11

★ Not far away from the sanctuary of Mysaeus is another sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius, called Cyrus. Here too, people receive cures granted by the god. Abundant water is available here, and the statue of

Asclepius stands at the largest of the springs. Rivers flow down from the mountains above Pellene; the one flowing toward Aegeira is called Crius, named from the Titan Crius.

7.27.12

Another river called Krios begins from Mount Sipylos and flows down into the Hermos. At the place where the boundaries of the Pellenians' territory meet those of the Sikyonians, the river Sythas, the last of Achaean rivers, empties into the sea within Sikyonian land.

Part VIII

Book 8: Arcadia

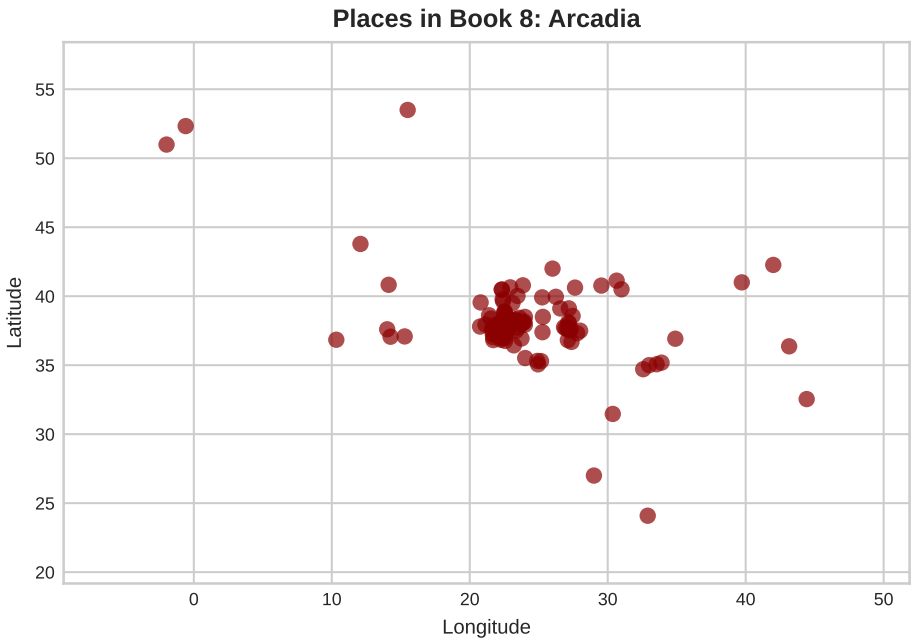

Figure 224.1: Places mentioned in Book 8: Arcadia

Chapter 1

8.1.1

The territory of the Arcadians towards Argolis is possessed by the Tegeans and Mantineans, and these, along with the rest of Arcadia, occupy the inland region of the Peloponnese. The Corinthians dwell first on the Isthmus. Their neighbors on the seacoast are the Epidaurians; and the gulf known as the Argolic Gulf extends along Epidaurus, Troezen, Hermione, and all the seacoast parts of Argolis. Bordering this region are the Perioeci of the Lacedaemonians, who in turn neighbor Messenia. For Messenia stretches down to the sea at Methone, Pylos, and Cyparissiae.

8.1.2

Next to Lechaeum, the Sicyonians are neighbors of the Corinthians, being at this point the farthest settlement within the region of Argolis. Beyond Sicyon, along the coast, dwell the Achaeans. At the opposite boundary of the Peloponnese, directly facing the islands of Echinades, are the Eleans. Concerning the land of Elis, its boundaries toward Messenia are situated near Olympia and the outlets of the Alpheius; toward Achaia, the Eleans border upon the territory of Dyme.

8.1.3

Of these enumerated peoples who dwell upon the sea, the Arcadians alone inhabit an inland region, completely cut off from the sea on every side. On this account even Homer says that they came to Troy on ships provided by Agamemnon, and not on vessels of their own.

8.1.4

The Arcadians say that Pelasgos was the first to be born in this land. Yet it is reasonable to believe that others were born along with Pelasgos, and that he himself was not alone. For otherwise, over what men would Pelasgos have ruled? Nevertheless, Pelasgos excelled the others in stature, strength, and beauty, and also surpassed all in judgment. It seems to me that for these reasons he was chosen by them to be their king. Concerning him, Asios has composed verses such as these:

"Divine Pelasgos, on the lofty forested mountains, The black earth brought forth, that there might be a race of mortals."

8.1.5

Pelagos, when king, devised the making of huts, so that mankind might neither suffer from the cold nor be drenched by rain nor troubled by fierce heat. It was he also who invented tunics fashioned from

the skins of sheep, garments still worn today around Euboea and in Phocis by all who endure poverty. Moreover, Pelasgos stopped people from eating green leaves, grasses, and roots, some of which were not only inedible but even deadly.

8.1.6

★ He discovered as food the fruit, not indeed of every oak, but specifically the acorns of the phegos oak. Among certain peoples, this diet persisted for so long after Pelasgus that even the Pythian priestess, when forbidding the Lacedaemonians from touching the land of the Arcadians, uttered these verses:

"Many are the acorn-eating men dwelling in Arcadia, Who shall hinder you; yet I begrudge you nothing."

During the reign of Pelasgus, they say, the region itself came to be named Pelasgia.

Chapter 2

8.2.1

Lykaon, son of Pelasgos, invented these things, or else his father invented wiser ones. For he founded ★
the city Lykosoura on Mount Lykaion, gave Zeus the name Lykaios, and established the festival Lykaia. I hold that the Panathenaia, celebrated among the Athenians, were not instituted earlier. This festival formerly bore the name Athenaia; they say that it was called Panathenaia in the time of Theseus because all the Athenians had by then been gathered into a single city.

8.2.2

The Olympic contest–for indeed they carry it back into ages earlier than the human race, saying that ★
Cronus and Zeus wrestled there and that the Curetes first ran races–for these reasons let it be aside from my present account. I believe myself that Cecrops, who ruled the Athenians, and Lycaon were contemporaries, although they did not have the same wisdom concerning divine matters.

8.2.3

For he was the first to name Zeus the Supreme, and judged none of the creatures possessing life worthy ★
to be sacrificed to him; rather, he consecrated upon the altar certain local cakes, which the Athenians even to our day call "pelanoi." But Lycaon brought to the altar of Zeus Lycaeus an infant human, slew the child as a sacrifice, and poured its blood out upon the altar; immediately upon performing the sacrifice, they say, he himself changed from human into a wolf.

8.2.4

This account persuades me, for it has been transmitted from ancient times by the Arcadians, and it ★
seems reasonable. At that time, indeed, men were guests and companions at table to the gods by virtue of their righteousness and piety, and it was clear that honors were given to them from the gods when they were virtuous, just as wrath came to them openly when they acted unjustly. For even gods in those days arose from among mortals, and some of these still now retain honors, such as Aristaeus and Britomartis of Crete, Heracles son of Alcmene, Amphiaraus son of Oicles, and moreover, Polydeuces and Castor.

8.2.5

Thus one might well be persuaded that Lycaon became a beast, and Niobe, daughter of Tantalus, ★
was turned to stone. But in my own day–when indeed wickedness has increased greatly and spread

throughout all lands and cities–no one ever becomes a god from among men any longer, except insofar as they are honored through words and flattery toward those in power. As for the unjust, the wrath from the gods awaits them, though late, even after they have departed from this life.

8.2.6

Throughout all history, many stories from ancient times, and indeed some events still occurring even now, have been rendered unbelievable to most people by those who add falsehoods onto true facts. For example, they say that ever since the time of Lykaon, at each sacrifice to Lykaian Zeus, a certain man would always change from a human into a wolf–but not permanently. Yet, whenever he was a wolf, if he restrained himself from human flesh, in the tenth year afterward he would become human again; but if he tasted it, he remained forever an animal.

8.2.7

Similarly, they say Niobe, on Mount Sipylus, weeps during summertime. Besides this, I have also heard accounts of griffins having spots like those of leopards, and that Tritons utter sounds in human speech; some even say they blow through a pierced conch shell. People who delight in mythical tales naturally tend themselves toward wonders, and thus have corrupted truths by blending them with falsehoods.

Chapter 3

8.3.1

In the third generation after Pelasgus, the country increased greatly, both in the number of cities and in population. Nyctimus was the eldest and held supreme power, while the other sons of Lycaon established cities, each according to his own inclination. Pallas, Orestheus, and Phigalus founded Pallantium; Orestheus established Oresthasium; and Phigalus founded Phigaleia. ★

8.3.2

Indeed, even Stesichorus of Himera makes mention of Pallantium in his "Geryoneïs." Phigalia and Oresthasion, however, changed their names over time; the first called Oresteion after Orestes, son of Agamemnon, and Phialia after Phialus, son of Bucolion. Trapezeus, Daseatas, Macareus, Helisson, Akakos and Thoknos also founded cities: Thoknos founded Thoknia, and Akakos founded Akakesion. It is from this same Akakos that Homer, following the Arcadian tradition, derived an epithet for Hermes. ★

8.3.3

Both the city and the river Elisson have received their names from Elisson; similarly, Makaria, Dasea, and Trapezus were also named after the sons of Lycaon. Orchomenus was the founder of both Methydrium and the city called Orchomenus, whose inhabitants Homer in his verses referred to as "rich in sheep." By Hypsous were founded both Melaneae and Hypsous itself, as well as Thyraeum and Haemoniae. According to Arcadian tradition, Thyrea in Argolis and the so-called Thyreatic Gulf derived their names from this Thyraeum. ★

8.3.4

Mantineus and Tegeates and Maenalus–Maenalus, in fact, established the city Maenalus, anciently the most renowned of the cities in Arcadia, while Tegeates and Mantineus founded Tegea and Mantinea respectively. They were also named Kromoi from Kromos, and Charisia after its founder Charisios; Trikolonoi after Trikolon; Peraithoi after Peraithos; Asea from Aseatas; Lykoa from Lykeus; and Soumatia from Soumateus. Alipheros and Heraieus are likewise eponymous founders, each giving their names to their respective cities, Alipheira and Heraia. ★

8.3.5

★

Oenotrus, the youngest of the sons of Lycaon, requested money and men from his brother Nyctimus, and then sailed across by ships to Italy; from its king Oenotrus, the region of Oenotria received its name. This was the first colony dispatched from Greece. Indeed, according to the most careful reckoning, no foreigners either had come before Oenotrus into that foreign land.

8.3.6

Within the entirety of Lykaon's male offspring, there was born to him a daughter named Kallisto. To this Kallisto–as I am repeating the story that the Greeks tell–Zeus became passionately attracted and lay with her. When Hera perceived this, she transformed Kallisto into a bear; Artemis, wishing to please Hera, shot her down with arrows. Zeus dispatched Hermes with orders to save the child whom Kallisto was carrying in her womb.

8.3.7

And he turned Callisto herself into the stars called the Great Bear, which Homer mentions in the voyage of Odysseus departing from Calypso:

"Gazing upon the Pleiades and late-setting Boötes, And the Bear, which they also call by the name Wagon." (Homer, Odyssey 5.272)

Indeed, the stars might otherwise have received their name in honor of Callisto, since the Arcadians point out her tomb.

Chapter 4

8.4.1

After the death of Nyctimus, Arcas, the son of Callisto, assumed the rule. It was he who introduced ★
cultivated crops from Triptolemus, taught people the making of bread, and instructed them in weaving garments and other skills related to spinning wool, having learned these arts from Dristas. From his reign onward, the land, formerly known as Pelasgia, was named Arcadia, and its inhabitants, previously called Pelasgians, were called Arcadians.

8.4.2

They said that he married not a mortal woman, but a Dryad nymph. For indeed there are Dryads ★
and Epimeliads, and of these some were called Naiads; it is notably the Naiad nymphs whom Homer expressly mentions in his verses. This particular nymph they call Erato, and from her, they say, Arkas had three sons–Azan, Apheidas, and Elatos.

8.4.3

Autolaus, an illegitimate son, had been born to him earlier still. When the genuine sons came of age, ★
Arcas divided the land among them into three parts. The portion given to Azan was called Azania after him. They say it was from these people that colonists went forth to settle the region in Phrygia around the cave called Steunos and the river Pencalas. Apheidas obtained Tegea and the territory adjoining it; and because of him, the poets call the land of Tegea the "Apheidantian allotment."

8.4.4

Elatus held the mountain of Cyllene, which at that time was still unnamed. Later, Elatus migrated to ★
the region now called Phocis, aided the Phocians when they were oppressed in war by the Phlegyans, and became the founder of the city Elateia. It is said that Azan had a son named Cleitor, Apheidas a son Aleus, and Elatus five sons: Aepytus, Pereus, Cyllen, Ischys, and Stymphalus.

8.4.5

After Azan, the son of Arcas, had died, funeral games were first established honoring him. Whether ★
there were other contests, I do not know, but certainly a horse-race was instituted. This Azanian, Cleitor, lived in Lycosura, was the most powerful among the kings, and founded the city of Cleitor, naming it after himself. Aleus, meanwhile, inherited and held his ancestral territory.

8.4.6

From Elatus' children they call the mountain Cyllene, after Cyllen, and from Stymphalus a spring is named, as well as the city Stymphalus by the spring. Regarding the death of Ischys, son of Elatus, I have previously related this in my writings on Argolis. As for Pereus, they say he had no male child, but a daughter, Neaera. This woman became the wife of Autolycus, who lived on Mount Parnassus, and was reputed to be the son of Hermes, though in truth he was the son of Daedalion.

8.4.7

Since Clitor, son of Azan, had no children, the royal power of the Arcadians passed to Aepytus, the son of Elatus. Aepytus, while hunting, was killed not by any of the fiercer beasts, but by a snake which he failed to discover beforehand. I myself have seen this serpent. It resembles in size the smallest viper; it is ash-colored and speckled with distinct, scattered spots. Its head is broad, the neck slender, the belly large, and its tail short. This serpent, as well as another snake called the horned serpent, moves sideways, just as crabs do.

8.4.8

After Aepytus, Aleus gained the kingship. Agamedes and Gortys, sons of Stymphalus, were the fourth generation from Arcas, while Aleus, son of Apheidas, was the third. Aleus built the ancient sanctuary to Athena Alea in Tegea, and made there his royal residence. Gortys, son of Stymphalus, founded the city Gortys by a river, from which the river itself is called Gortynius. Aleus had sons Lycurgus, Amphidamas, and Cepheus, and a daughter, Auge.

8.4.9

According to the account of Hecataeus, it was this Auge with whom Heracles consorted whenever he came to Tegea. Eventually, however, she was discovered to have given birth by Heracles, and Aleus, perceiving this, cast her together with the child into a chest and let it drift out to sea. She arrived at the court of Teuthras, a ruler in the plain of the river Caicus, who fell in love with her and married her. Even now there is a tomb of Auge in Pergamus above the Caicus, a mound of earth surrounded by a stone base, and on her tomb there is a bronze image of a naked woman.

8.4.10

After the death of Aleus, Lycurgus, the son of Aleus, succeeded to the throne by right of seniority. But he was remembered for having killed Areithous, a warrior, through treachery and injustice rather than in fair combat. Lycurgus had two sons, Ancaeus and Epochus. Epochus was overtaken by sickness and fate, while Ancaeus participated in Jason's expedition to Colchis and afterward, while hunting with Meleager, was slain in Calydon by the boar. Lycurgus lived to an extremely old age, having witnessed the deaths of both his sons.

Chapter 5

8.5.1

After the death of Lycurgus, the Arcadians were ruled by Echemus son of Aeropus, son of Cepheus, who was the son of Aleus. In his reign, the Dorians under the leadership of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, attempted to invade the Peloponnese. The Achaeans engaged them in battle near the Isthmus of Corinth, and Echemus, accepting a challenge to single combat, killed Hyllus. This version of the event seems to me more plausible than an earlier account I wrote, in which I said Orestes was then king of the Achaeans and that Hyllus tried to invade the Peloponnese during Orestes' reign. The later account might also be confirmed by Timandra, daughter of Tyndareus, who is said to have married Echemus, the slayer of Hyllus.

8.5.2

Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus who was the son of Lycurgus, became king after Echemus and led the Arcadians to Troy. When Troy fell, a storm arose during the Greeks' voyage homeward and carried Agapenor along with the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus. There Agapenor became the founder of Paphos and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite in old Paphos. Previously, the goddess had received honors among the Cypriots in a place called Golgoi.

8.5.3

Later in time, Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent a robe to Athena Alea at Tegea. The inscription on this dedication also indicated Laodice's lineage, reading as follows: "This is the robe of Laodice; she dedicated it to her own Athena, having come from sacred Cyprus with its broad dancing grounds." For Agapenor had not returned home safely from Troy.

8.5.4

Hippothous inherited the kingdom, the son of Cercyon, who was the son of Agamedes, the son of Stymphalos. It is said that no notable event marked his life, except that he chose to establish his royal seat not in Tegea but in Trapezous. After Hippothous, Aepytus, his son, succeeded to the rule, and Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, following an oracle of Apollo at Delphi, migrated from Mycenae to Arcadia.

8.5.5

When Aepytus, son of Hippothous, dared to enter the sanctuary of Poseidon in Mantineia–into which it was forbidden for people to enter, neither then nor at any time up until our own day–he was struck blind upon entering, and not long after this misfortune, his life came to an end.

8.5.6

★ When Cypselus, the son of Aepytus, succeeded Aepytus as king, the Dorian army entered the Peloponnese–not by way of the Isthmus of Corinth, as had happened three generations earlier–but sailed along the place called Rhium. Cypselus, upon learning about their intentions, discovered that Cresphontes, one of the sons of Aristomachus, did not yet have a wife; thus he gave him his daughter in marriage, and having formed this alliance with Cresphontes, both he himself and the Arcadians remained free from fear.

8.5.7

★ Olaeas was the son of Cypselus. Along with Aepytus, the son of his sister, and together with the Heracleidae from Lacedaemon and Argos, he led a return to Messene. Olaeas had a son, Bucolion, whose son was Phialus. This Phialus robbed Phigalus, the founder and son of Lycaon, of his honor, renaming the city after himself–Phialia. Nevertheless, he was not entirely successful in asserting this new name.

8.5.8

During the reign of Simus, son of Phialus, the ancient wooden image of Demeter Melaina at Phigalia was destroyed by fire; and this event soon signified the approaching end of Simus' own life. After Simus, Pompos succeeded to the throne. At that time, the Aeginetans sailed into Cyllene on trading voyages, and from there conveyed their goods by pack animals into Arcadia. Because of this commercial activity, Pompos honored them greatly, even going so far as to name his son "Aeginetes," in recognition of the friendship he had developed with the Aeginetans.

8.5.9

After Aeginetes, Polymestor the son of Aeginetes became king of the Arcadians. During his reign, the Lacedaemonians together with Charillus invaded the territory of the Tegeans for the first time with an army. The Tegeans themselves, along with their women–who had put on armor–defeated them in battle and captured alive both Charillus himself and the rest of his force. We shall speak at greater length regarding Charillus and the army that accompanied him in our account of Tegea.

8.5.10

Since Polymestor had no sons, Aechmis inherited the kingship. He was the son of Briacas and cousin to Polymestor; for Briacas, too, was the son of Aeginetes, though younger than Polymestor. It was under Aechmis's rule over the Lacedaemonians that the war with the Messenians occurred. From the start the Arcadians felt goodwill toward the Messenians, but at that time they openly joined battle against the Lacedaemonians, siding with Aristodemus, who was then king in Messene.

8.5.11

★ Aristocrates, the son of Aichmis, likely committed other offenses against the Arcadians as well; however, I will relate those deeds of his against the gods which I know to have been most unholy. There is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Hymnia situated within the territory of Orchomenus, close to

Mantinean land; from very ancient times all Arcadians have revered Artemis Hymnia. The priesthood of the goddess was at that time always held by a virgin maiden.

8.5.12

But Aristokrates, finding the maiden continually resisting his advances, finally dishonored her as she fled for refuge into the sanctuary of Artemis. When this outrageous act became known among all, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and from that time onward the law was changed. Instead of a maiden, they appointed as priestess of Artemis a woman who had already had sufficient intercourse with men.

8.5.13

The son of this man was Hicetas, and the son of Hicetas was another Aristocrates, who shared his ancestor's name and, indeed, met with the same fate in the course of his life: for the Arcadians stoned him to death also, once they discovered that he had accepted bribes from Sparta, and that the disaster of the Messenians at the Great Trench was due to Aristocrates' treachery. This act of treachery provided grounds for depriving the whole family descended from Cypselus of their rule.

Chapter 6

8.6.1

Regarding the kings, the Arcadians, when I investigated the matter, provided me with the genealogies I have described above. As for common memories among the Arcadians, the most ancient event was the Trojan War; next were the battles they fought against the Spartans while assisting the Messenians; and they also shared in the action against the Medes at Plataea.

8.6.2

The Spartans compelled them by necessity rather than willing allegiance, and thus they fought alongside them against Athens and crossed into Asia with Agesilaus; indeed, they followed the Spartans even to their battle with the Boeotians at Leuctra. Nevertheless, their mistrust toward the Spartans was made evident elsewhere as well, and immediately after Spartas defeat by the Thebans at Leuctra they promptly revolted from them. At Chaeronea against Philip and the Macedonians, and later in Thessaly against Antipater, they refused to fight alongside the Greeks, yet neither did they take up arms openly against them.

8.6.3

They say that the Arcadians did not join the conflict against the Gauls at Thermopylae because of their fear of the Lacedaemonians: they worried lest the Lacedaemonians might ravage their land if their men of military age left to fight abroad. Yet among the Greeks, the Arcadians participated most eagerly in the council of the Achaeans. But those events that concerned them not collectively but affected individual cities separately, I will relate each in its proper place in the narrative.

8.6.4

Thus, there are routes into Arcadia from Argive territory, one near Hysiae and over Mount Parthenion into Tegean land, and two others leading into Mantineia, one through the place called Prinus and another through the path called Klimax (“The Ladder”). Of these latter two, the route of Klimax is wider, and this descent once had steps constructed into it. After passing beyond Klimax, there is a region called Melangeia, from which drinking water flows down to the city for the Mantineans.

8.6.5

As one proceeds onward from the Melangeia, about seven stadia from the city, there is a spring called the Meliastai. The Meliastai here perform the mysteries of Dionysus. Beside the spring stands a temple

dedicated to Dionysus, and nearby there is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite Melainis. This goddess received her surname for no other reason than this: human unions do not typically occur for the most part by day, as with beasts, but rather take place much more frequently at night.

8.6.6

★ The remaining road is narrower than the one previously described, and leads through Mount Artemision. I previously mentioned this mountain as having a temple and statue of Artemis, and also the sources of the Inachos. As the Inachos flows down along the road through the mountain, it forms the boundary between the lands of the Argives and the Mantineans. But from the point at which the water diverges from the road, it descends exclusively through Argive territory. Therefore, from this place onward, Aischylos, among others, calls the Inachos an Argive river.

Chapter 7

8.7.1

After you cross through Artemision into Mantinean territory, there awaits you a plain called Argon ("Idle"), just as it truly is; for the water descending upon it from the mountain renders the plain idle and barren. Indeed nothing would prevent this plain from becoming a lake, were the water not vanishing into a fissure in the earth.

8.7.2

After disappearing here, it re-emerges at the Dine spring. The Dine is located by the place called ★
Genethlion in Argolis, and is fresh water that rises from the sea. In ancient times, the Argives used to offer horses adorned with bridles to Poseidon by sending them down into the Dine. This phenomenon of fresh water emerging in the sea is clearly evident at this spot in Argolis, and also in Thesprotia near the place called Cheimerion.

8.7.3

Yet a still greater wonder exists in the Maeander, a boiling water, partly rising from a rock–though the river flows around the rock–and partly emerging from the mud of the river itself. Before Dicaearchia in the land of the Etruscans, there is also boiling water in the sea, and because of this, an artificial island has been constructed, so that even this water is not unused but serves as hot baths for them.

8.7.4

On the left-hand side of the plain called Argon there is a mountain belonging to the Mantineans, upon which stand the ruins of the village of Nestane and of the camp of Philip son of Amyntas. For they say Philip encamped at Nestane, and the spring there is still named Philippium after him. Philip had come into Arcadia both to establish friendly relations with the Arcadians and to detach them from the rest of the Greek alliance.

8.7.5

As for Philip, one might be convinced that, among the kings who preceded him and those who afterwards ruled over the Macedonians, he performed the greatest deeds; yet no one who judges rightly could call him a good general, since he continually trampled upon oaths sworn by the gods, was always false to his treaties in every circumstance, and showed himself to be the most contemptuous of all men regarding fidelity.

8.7.6

? Not long afterward, divine anger overtook him, bringing upon him first of all the punishments known to us. Philip, who lived no more than forty-six years, fulfilled the oracle given at Delphi, which, as they relate, had been delivered to him in his inquiry about the Persian: "The bull is garlanded; the end is at hand; there is one who will sacrifice him." Indeed, not long afterward, this oracle was clearly revealed to signify not the Persian, but Philip himself.

8.7.7

After the death of Philip, Olympias took his infant child by Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, and put him to death together with his mother by dragging them onto a bronze vessel heated by fire beneath. Sometime later, she also killed Arrhidaeus. But it seems heaven intended evil likewise to destroy Cassander's line. Cassander's sons were begotten of Thessalonice, daughter of Philip, and both Thessalonice and Arrhidaeus had Thessalian mothers. Regarding Alexander, his death and its circumstances are equally well known to everyone.

8.7.8

? But if Philip had taken heed of his treatment of Glaucus the Spartan, and had reminded himself of this saying at each of his actions–that the descendants of a righteous man are made better–then it seems to me beyond doubt that no god would so swiftly have extinguished the life of Alexander and simultaneously ended the glory of the Macedonians.

Chapter 8

8.8.1

This much has been an episode in my narrative. Beyond the ruins of Nestane is a sanctuary sacred to Demeter; the Mantineans hold a festival there in her honor every year. Near Nestane, at the foot of the mountain above it, there is a place that forms part of the plain of Argos, called the Dancing-ground of Maira. The outlet from the plain of Argos is about ten stades in length. Passing beyond it for not much distance, you descend into another plain; here, beside the highway, is a spring called Arne.

8.8.2

The Arcadians also relate the following: when Rhea gave birth to Poseidon, she placed him among a ★
flock to be raised there with the sheep, and therefore the spring received its name because the sheep grazed around it. They further say that she declared to Cronus that she had given birth to a horse, and she offered him a foal to devour instead of the child, just as later she gave him a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes instead of Zeus.

8.8.3

When I began this work, I inclined more toward naïvely accepting these Greek traditions. However, ★
once I had proceeded to the Arcadian accounts, I developed the following conviction about them: that the Greeks considered wise from ancient times spoke in riddles, rather than plainly and directly, and thus I concluded that the stories told about Cronus contain some kind of concealed Greek wisdom. As for those subjects that pertain to the divine realm, I shall adhere to what has been stated.

8.8.4

The city of the Mantineans lies about twelve stades beyond this spring. Mantineus, son of Lycaon, ★
seems to have founded a city elsewhere, which to this day the Arcadians still call "Ptolis." Later, Antinoë, the daughter of Cepheus, son of Aleus, removed the inhabitants from there–guided by an oracle–and led them to this place. She made a serpent–of what kind they do not record–her guide for the journey. For this reason, the river flowing near the city received the name Ophis ("Serpent").

8.8.5

If one must judge by the verses of Homer and use them as evidence, I am convinced that this "serpent" ★
was a dragon. For concerning Philoctetes, when Homer describes in the Catalogue of Ships how the Greeks abandoned him in his suffering on Lemnos due to his wound, he does not designate the

water-serpent as an "ophis"; yet the dragon sent by the eagle against the Trojans he calls precisely an ophis. Thus it is reasonable to suppose also that the guardian spirit at Antinoe was a dragon.

8.8.6

The Mantineans did not fight in the battle at Dipaea together with the other Arcadians against the Lacedaemonians; however, during the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, they allied themselves with the Eleans against the Lacedaemonians. When reinforcements arrived from Athens to support them, they fought directly against the Lacedaemonians. They also participated in the expedition to Sicily out of friendship toward the Athenians.

8.8.7

Sometime later, an army of the Lacedaemonians, along with Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias their king, invaded Mantinean territory. When Agesipolis prevailed in battle and drove the Mantineans back within their walls, he shortly thereafter took the city, not through a siege against strong fortifications, but by diverting the course of the river Ophis toward their wall, which had been built out of unbaked bricks.

8.8.8

Brickwork offers more security against siege-engines than structures made from stone; for stone blocks break apart and leap from their joints, while bricks do not suffer similarly from siege-engines. Yet brick dissolves in water no less easily than wax does in the sun.

8.8.9

? This stratagem for capturing the wall of Mantineia was not devised by Agesipolis; rather, it had earlier been discovered by Cimon, son of Miltiades, when he besieged Boges, a Mede, and the Persian forces occupying Eion on the Strymon. Agesipolis merely imitated a tactic already established and celebrated among the Greeks. After he had taken Mantineia, he allowed only a small portion of the city to remain inhabited; the greater part he razed entirely to the ground and dispersed the inhabitants, settling them in separate villages.

8.8.10

After their victory at Leuctra, the Thebans intended to bring back the Mantineans from the villages into their city. But once the Mantineans had returned, they did not behave altogether justly; instead, caught negotiating secretly with the Lacedaemonians and privately arranging a peace with them independently of the Arcadian League, out of fear of the Thebans, they openly transferred their alliance to the Spartans. Thus, during the confrontation at Mantineia between Epaminondas and the Thebans against the Spartans, the Mantineans formed ranks together with the Spartans.

8.8.11

Afterward, the Mantineans came into dispute with the Lacedaemonians and deserted them, joining the Achaean League. While defending their territory, they defeated Agis, son of Eudamidas, then king at Sparta, prevailing with the aid of an Achaean army under the leadership of Aratus. They also took part with the Achaeans in the struggle against Cleomenes, and together they broke the power of the Lacedaemonians. At the time when Antigonus was guardian of Philip, the son of Perseus' father, in Macedonia, and particularly friendly toward the Achaeans, among other honors shown to Antigonus, the Mantineans renamed their city Antigoneia.

8.8.12

Some time later, when Augustus was about to engage in naval battle at Actium near the promontory of ?
Apollo Actius, the Mantineans fought alongside the Romans, whereas the rest of Arcadia supported Antony–not, as it seems to me, for any other reason than that the Lacedaemonians favored Augustus. Ten generations afterward, Hadrian became emperor; he removed from the Mantineans the name brought from Macedonia and restored to them once again their citys original name, Mantineia.

Chapter 9

8.9.1

The Mantineans have a temple, remarkable for being double, divided approximately in the middle by a wall. In one part of the temple there is an image of Asclepius, made by Alcamenes; the other sanctuary is dedicated to Leto and her children, and the statues were made by Praxiteles, who lived in the third generation after Alcamenes. On their pedestal are represented the Muses and Marsyas playing the flute. Here also the figure of Polybius, son of Lycortas, is wrought in relief upon a pillar.

8.9.2

Concerning this one, we shall speak again later. As for the Mantineans, they also have other sanctuaries, ★ one dedicated to Zeus Soter (the Savior) and another to a god called Epidotes ("the Giver"), since indeed he bestows benefits upon men. There is also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri and elsewhere one of Demeter and the Maiden. Here they keep a perpetual fire burning, carefully ensuring that it never unintentionally goes out. Near the theater too, I saw a temple of Hera.

8.9.3

Praxiteles fashioned the statues–Hera herself seated on a throne and standing beside her Athena and ★ Hebe, daughter of Hera. Near the altar of Hera is also the tomb of Arcas, son of Callisto. The bones of Arcas were brought there from Mount Maenalus, in accordance with an oracle delivered to them from Delphi.

8.9.4

Mount Maenalus is a harsh place in winter; there lies the tomb of Arcas, from whom all Arcadians ★ derive their name, at a crossroads of three, four, and five paths. At this spot, I urge you to go and, with reverent heart, to bring the bones of Arcas forth and carry them down into the delightful town; there you shall establish a sanctuary and sacrifices in honor of Arcas. The place itself, where the tomb of Arcas stands, is called the Altars of the Sun.

8.9.5

Not far from the theater there are tombs remarkable for their prominence. One tomb, known generally ★ by the name "Hearth," is circular in shape. It was said that Antinoë, the daughter of Cepheus, was buried there. Nearby another grave is marked with a stele, upon which is carved a mounted soldier. This represents Gryllus, the son of Xenophon.

8.9.6

Behind the theater remain the ruins of a temple of Aphrodite surnamed Symmachia ("Alliance"), as well as a statue. The inscription upon the base stated clearly that Nikippe, daughter of Paseas, dedicated the statue. This sanctuary was built by the Mantineans as a memorial for future generations of their allied involvement together with the Romans at the naval battle of Actium. They also worship Athena Alea, and possess both a sanctuary and a statue dedicated to Athena Alea.

8.9.7

? Antinous was also considered by them to be a god; the newest temple in Mantineia is indeed that of Antinous. He was exceedingly honored by Emperor Hadrian. I myself never saw him while he yet lived among men, but I have seen him represented in statues and pictures. He receives honors elsewhere as well; an Egyptian city beside the Nile is named after Antinous. His honors at Mantineia arose from the following circumstance: Antinous was of Bithynian origin, from the land across the river Sangarius; and the Bithynians themselves are Arcadians and Mantineans by descent.

8.9.8

Because of these things, the emperor established honors for him also in Mantineia; there is an annual rite and a festival every fifth year held for him. Within the gymnasium at Mantineia is a building containing statues of Antinous, remarkable in other respects as well for the costly stones with which it is adorned and for the paintings it has, most of which depict Antinous, generally portrayed in the likeness of Dionysus. Moreover, there is also a replica there of the painting in the Ceramicus at Athens that depicts the battle of the Athenians at Mantineia.

8.9.9

? In the marketplace of the Mantineans there is a bronze statue of a woman–whom the Mantineans call Diomeneia, the daughter of Arkas–and a hero shrine dedicated to Podares. They say Podares died in the battle against Epaminondas and the Thebans. Three generations before my time, they transferred the epitaph from his tomb to a later man, a descendant and namesake of that Podares, who lived at an age when they had already come under Roman rule.

8.9.10

In my time, the Mantineans honored Podares, as was their ancient custom, asserting that Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, had been bravest among themselves and their allies in the battle; that after Gryllus was Cephisodorus of Marathon, who at the time happened to be commanding the cavalry of the Athenians; and that Podares was assigned third place for valor.

Chapter 10

8.10.1

From Mantineia into the rest of Arcadia there are roads; I shall also describe whatever along each of them is especially worthy of attention. Taking the road to Tegea, on the left side of the highway near the walls of Mantineia, there is land prepared for horse-races, and not far from it a stadium where contests are held in honor of Antinous. Above this stadium rises Mount Alesion, so named, as they say, from the wandering (al) of Rhea. On the mountain is also a sacred grove of Demeter.

8.10.2

Beyond the mountain lies the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios, situated at the furthest edge of Mantineia, less than a stade distant. Regarding this sanctuary, I record both what I personally have heard and what others before me have preserved in memory. In our time, the Emperor Hadrian rebuilt the temple, appointing overseers among the workmen to ensure that no one could look into the old sanctuary nor even displace any of its ruins; rather, he ordered the construction of the new temple to take place around it. Originally, it is said, this sanctuary of Poseidon was built by Agamedes and Trophonius, who worked oak timbers and fitted them together.

8.10.3

At the entrance to this place, they set no barrier whatsoever to block people's entry, but instead stretch across it a woollen thread. Perhaps those who originally conducted the sacred rites thought even this would inspire reverential fear, or perhaps the thread itself possessed some power. Indeed, it is reported that Aepytus, son of Hippothous, neither leaped over nor crept beneath this thread; rather, he broke it, entered the sanctuary, and, having committed this sacrilegious act, was blinded immediately as a wave surged into his eyes, and without delay the destined punishment came upon him.

8.10.4

There is an ancient tradition that says a wave from the sea appeared in the sanctuary. Similar stories are told by the Athenians concerning the wave on their Acropolis, and by the Carians from Mylasa about the sanctuary of the god whom they call, in their local tongue, Osogoa. Now, the Athenians are situated about twenty stades from the sea at Phalerum, and likewise the port serving the people of Mylasa is eighty stades distant from their city. But for the Mantineans, the sea is the farthest removed and thus its appearance here is most clearly a manifestation of divine intent.

8.10.5

Beyond the sanctuary of Poseidon stands a trophy made of stone, commemorating victory over the Lacedaemonians and Agis. The manner of the battle is also recounted as follows: the Mantineans themselves took the right flank, furnishing an army from all ages and led by Podares, who was a third-generation descendant of that Podares who had fought against the Thebans. Accompanying them was the Eleian seer Thrasyboulos, son of Aineas, of the lineage of the Iamidai; this man had foretold the victory of the Mantineans and himself took part in the fighting alongside them.

8.10.6

On the left wing was positioned all the rest of the Arcadian force, with commanders appointed from their respective cities, among whom were Lydiades and Leocydes from Megalopolis. The center had been entrusted to Aratus, who commanded both the Sicyonians and the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians and Agis extended their battle line to match the opposing army, and the center was held by Agis himself along with those who accompanied the king.

8.10.7

But Aratus, according to the plan agreed upon with the Arcadians, himself and his army began a controlled withdrawal, since the Lacedaemonians were pressing hard against them. And in their withdrawal, the formation of their forces gradually assumed the shape of a crescent. The Lacedaemonians and Agis, believing victory was within their grasp, pressed upon the troops around Aratus even more vigorously; those from the flanks also pursued with them, regarding it as a great accomplishment to rout Aratus and the army under his command.

8.10.8

The Arcadians got behind the Lacedaemonians without their noticing, encircled them, and the Spartans consequently lost the greater part of the rest of their army, while King Agis, son of Eudamidas, fell. The Mantineans claimed that Poseidon himself had appeared, aiding them in battle, and for this reason they set up a trophy as an offering to Poseidon.

8.10.9

As for the presence of gods in warfare and the slaughter of men, those concerned with the sufferings of heroes at Ilium have affirmed this; and the Athenians sing of how the gods took part in their deeds at Marathon and Salamis. But most clearly of all, the host of the Gauls was destroyed at Delphi by divine agency, manifestly through supernatural powers. Thus the Mantineans also attribute their victory explicitly to the assistance of Poseidon.

8.10.10

The Arcadians say that Arcesilaus–a ninth ancestor before Leocydes the Megalopolitan, who shared command with Lydiades–dwelling at Lycosoura, saw a sacred deer of the goddess known as Despoina, exhausted by old age. Around this deers neck was a collar, and upon the collar were inscribed characters: "I was captured as a fawn, when Agapenor went to Ilium." This account clearly shows that the deer is an animal far longer-lived even than the elephant.

Chapter 11

8.11.1

After the sanctuary of Poseidon, you will come upon a place full of oak trees, called Pelagos ("Sea"), and the road from Mantineia to Tegea passes through these oaks. On the boundaries between Mantineia and Tegea there is a round altar by the roadside. If, however, you wish to turn left from Poseidon's sanctuary, you will go about five stades and arrive at the tombs of the daughters of Pelias. The Mantineans say these women settled among them when fleeing from the reproaches connected to the death of their father. ★

8.11.2

For indeed, when Medea arrived in Iolcus, she immediately plotted against Pelias, practically assisting Jason but outwardly showing hostility toward him. She promised Pelias' daughters that, if they wished it, she would restore their father to youth, turning him young instead of being an old man. Having slaughtered a ram by some contrivance, she boiled its flesh together with magical herbs in a cauldron, through whose powers she then brought forth from that cauldron the ram–no longer a ram, but rather a living young lamb. ★

8.11.3

Indeed, after cutting Pelias into pieces, she persuaded his daughters to boil him, and thus they received their father's body, no longer fit even for burial. This compelled the women to migrate to Arcadia, and having died there, their tombs were built in that very place. No poet, at least among those whom I have examined, has named these women; but Micon the painter, in his inscriptions accompanying their portraits, identified them as Asteropeia and Antinoe. ★

8.11.4

About twenty stades further away from these tombs is a place called Phoizon. Phoizon is a grave surrounded by a stone base, rising only a little above the ground. At this point, the road becomes especially narrow, and they say the tomb is that of Areithoös, who was surnamed Korynetes ("Clubman") because of his weapon. ★

8.11.5

About thirty stadia along the road from Mantineia toward Pallantium, the grove called Pelagus extends to the highway. Here the cavalry forces of the Athenians and Mantineians fought against the Boeotian ?

horsemen. The Mantineians say Epaminondas was killed by Machaerion, a Mantineian; likewise, the Lacedaemonians report that the slayer of Epaminondas was a Spartan, yet they, too, give this man the name Machaerion.

8.11.6

? The Athenians have a tradition–which the Thebans also confirm–that Epaminondas was struck down by Grylus. Their account fits closely with the depiction in the painting that portrays the battle of Mantinea. The Mantineans themselves evidently buried Grylus at public expense and erected at the spot where he fell a statue set upon a pillar, honoring him as the bravest of their allies. As for Machairion, both they and the Lacedaemonians indeed praise him verbally, yet in fact there is no monument for Machairion, either in Sparta or among the Mantineans, that honors him as an outstanding man.

8.11.7

When Epaminondas had been wounded, they carried him, still alive, out of the battle. At first he suffered, holding his hand upon the wound and continuing to gaze at the combatants. The place from which he looked upon them was afterward named 'Scope' (Lookout). But after the fighting had reached an indecisive conclusion, he withdrew his hand from the wound, and, having released his life, they buried him on the very spot where their armies had clashed.

8.11.8

Upon his tomb is erected a pillar, and upon it stands a shield adorned with a sculpted serpent. Indeed, this serpent is meant to signify that Epaminondas belonged to the race of those called the Spartoi. There are two inscriptions at the tomb: the older contains an epitaph in the Boeotian dialect; the other was set up later by the Emperor Hadrian, who himself composed the verses inscribed upon it.

8.11.9

One might praise Epaminondas above all the Greeks who became famous for their generalship, or at least regard him as second to none who came after him. For the rulers of Sparta and Athens long possessed great prestige due to the importance of their cities, and their soldiers always had a certain pride in their spirit. Epaminondas, however, took the Thebans, who were faint-hearted and accustomed to obeying others, and in a short time made them foremost among the Greeks.

8.11.10

? Epaminondas had previously received an oracle from Delphi that warned him to beware of "Pelagos." Consequently, he was afraid to embark upon a trireme or even sail aboard a merchant vessel; however, the god, it seems, foretold "Pelagos" as a wooded area rather than the sea. Such homonyms misled Hannibal the Carthaginian later, and even earlier deceived the Athenians.

8.11.11

For Hannibal received an oracle from Ammon, that he would die and be buried in Libyssa. He himself therefore expected that he would destroy the empire of the Romans, return home to Libya, and end his life there in old age. But when Flaminius the Roman was making eager effort to capture him alive, Hannibal fled as a suppliant to Prusias, and, having been rejected by him, he leapt upon his horse, and, as he drew his sword, wounded one of his fingers. After advancing only a short distance, he was seized on the third day by fever from the wound, and died. The place where he met his end is called Libyssa by the people of Nicomedia.

8.11.12

An oracle from Dodona came to the Athenians commanding them to found a settlement in "Sicily," ? and there is indeed, near their city, a hill called Sicily, though not a large one; but failing to understand the true meaning of this oracle, they were drawn into expeditions overseas and into the war against Syracuse. One could find many other instances similar to those I have mentioned.

Chapter 12

8.12.1

About a stade's distance from the tomb of Epaminondas stands a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Charmon. Among the Arcadians, in the woodlands there are various sorts of oak trees; some they call broad-leaved, others phegos (oak), and a third kind whose bark is so thin and especially light that from it they make floats for anchors and nets used in the sea. This type of oak bark is termed "phellos" by certain of the Ionians and by Hermesianax, who composed elegiac poetry.

8.12.2

From Mantineia there is a road to Methydrium–a place that is no longer a city, but now merely a ★
village incorporated into the territory of Megalopolis. Thirty stades further along, there is a plain called Alcimedon, and above this plain rises Mount Ostrakina. On the mountain is a cave, where Alcimedon, one of those called heroes, dwelt.

8.12.3

According to the Phigalians, Heracles had intercourse with Phialo, the daughter of this Alcimedon. ★
When Alcimedon perceived that she had borne a child, he exposed her on the mountain to perish, along with the child she had borne; the Arcadians call this child Aechmagoras. As the child lay exposed and cried aloud, a bird, the jay, heard his weeping and began to imitate his cries.

8.12.4

Once, when Heracles was traveling along this road, he heard the sound of the kissa (jay)–for he believed ★
that the wailing belonged to a child rather than a bird–and promptly turned in the direction of the cry. Recognizing the bird, he freed it from its bonds and rescued the child. From that time forward, the nearby spring was named "Kissa" after the bird. A place called Petrosaka lies forty stades distant from the spring; Petrosaka serves as a boundary between Megalopolis and Mantineia.

8.12.5

Besides these named roads, there are two other ways to Orchomenus. On one of them is the stadium ★
called Ladas, in which Ladas trained himself in running. Next to it is a sanctuary of Artemis, and on the right side of the road a high earthen mound. They claim this mound is the tomb of Penelope, although they do not agree with the account given about her in the poem entitled Thesprotis.

8.12.6

In this particular poem it is said that Penelope bore to Odysseus, after his return from Troy, a child named Ptoliporthes ("Sacker of Cities"). But the version told by the Mantineans about Penelope claims that Odysseus condemned her for bringing loose suitors into his house. Having been rejected by him, she initially went to Lacedaemon and later, over time, migrated from Sparta to Mantinea, where she ended her life.

8.12.7

Next to this tomb is a small plain, and within the plain is a hill on which still stand the ruins of ancient Mantinea. This place is now called by us "Ptolis." A short distance from it along the road that leads north is the spring Alalcomeneia. From Ptolis at a distance of thirty stades are the remains of a village named Maira and the tomb of Maira–if indeed it is here and not in the Tegean territory that she was buried. For the more plausible account belongs to the claim of the Tegeans rather than the Mantineans: that Maira, the daughter of Atlas, was buried among them. Yet perhaps another Maira, a descendant of the Maira who was daughter of Atlas, arrived later in Mantinean territory.

8.12.8

There still remains the road leading to Orchomenus, along which lies Mount Anchisia, and at the foot of this mountain is the tomb of Anchises. For, as the story goes, when Aeneas was sailing towards Sicily, he brought his ships to Laconia, founded the cities Aphrodisias and Etis, and, upon some fitting pretext, Anchises his father came along with him to this place, ended his life here, and was buried on this spot. Accordingly, the mountain, named after Anchises, is called Anchisia.

8.12.9

In support of this belief, the Aeolians who possess Ilium in our time make no claim anywhere among themselves concerning the tomb of Anchises. Near the tomb of Anchises are ruins of a temple of Aphrodite, and the boundaries between Mantineia and Orchomenus run through Anchisia as well.

Chapter 13

8.13.1

In the territory of the Orchomenians, on the left side of the road from Anchisiae, on the slope of the mountain, stands the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia. Both Orchomenians and Mantineans share it, and it has a priestess as well as a male priest. Throughout their entire lives these two are not only bound to strict rules concerning sexual relations but also follow holiness in other regards; neither their bathing nor their other ways of life are the same as those of other people, nor may they enter the house of a common individual. I know of similar practices lasting for a year, though no longer, among those Ephesians who become priests dedicated to Artemis of Ephesus, whom their fellow citizens term "Essenes." To Artemis Hymnia is also held an annual festival.

8.13.2

The earlier city of the Orchomenians stood upon the top of a mountain summit, and remains of the agora and city walls still survive. But the city existing in our time is settled below, alongside the enclosure of the ancient wall. In this place worthy of seeing is a spring from which the inhabitants draw water, and sanctuaries of Poseidon and Aphrodite, whose statues are of stone. Near the city is a wooden image of Artemis set within a great cedar tree, and the goddess is called Cedreatis from this cedar.

8.13.3

Below the city there are mounds of stones standing apart from one another, piled up as memorials for men who had fallen in war. Against whom of the Peloponnesians they fought–whether Arcadians themselves or others–is not indicated by inscriptions on the tombs, nor do the Orchomenians have any memory of it.

8.13.4

Opposite the city is Mount Trachy. The water flowing from the deity through a ravine between the city and Mount Trachy descends into another plain belonging to Orchomenus. This plain is considerable in size, being mostly occupied by a lake. About three stades outside Orchomenus, the straight road to the city of Caphyae runs alongside the ravine itself, and then continues on the left, along the standing water. The other road crosses the water flowing through the ravine and leads beneath Mount Trachy.

8.13.5

Along this road, first there is the tomb of Aristokrates, who once forcibly dishonored the maiden priestess of the goddess Hymnia. After the tomb of Aristokrates, there are springs called Teneiai, and about seven stades from these springs lies a place named Amilos. They say that Amilos once was a city. Near this place, the road again splits into two parts, one leading to Stymphalos, the other toward Pheneos.

8.13.6

On the way leading toward Pheneus, you will next come upon a mountain; on this mountain, the territories of the Orchomenians, the Pheneatians, and the Caphyatans meet. Above the boundary markers rises a lofty crag, which they call the Caphyatic Rock. Beyond these borders of the aforementioned cities lies a ravine through which the road to Pheneus passes. At approximately the midpoint of this ravine, water emerges from a spring, and at the far end of the ravine is a place called Caryae.

Chapter 14

8.14.1

The plain of Pheneus lies below Caryae. They say that when its waters once became too abundant, the ancient city of Pheneus was flooded, so that even in our own days the marks could still be seen on the mountains to which, it is said, the water reached. About five stades from Caryae stands the mountain called Oryxis, and another mountain called Sciathis. At the foot of each mountain there is a chasm, into which the water from the plain flows down.

8.14.2

The pits, the Pheneatians say, were made by hand; they assert that Heracles constructed them during the time when he was living in Pheneus with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryon. For they state that Amphitryon was born to Alcaeus, son of Guneus, by Laonome, who was a woman of Pheneus, and not by Lysidice, who was the daughter of Pelops. Now if Heracles truly resided among the Pheneatians, one might reasonably suppose that after being driven out from Tiryns by Eurystheus he did not immediately go to Thebes, but came first to Pheneus.

8.14.3

Heracles dug a channel through the middle of the plain of Pheneus, to provide an outlet for the river Olbios–whom some of the Arcadians call Aroanios rather than Olbios. The length of this excavation is fifty stadia, and its depth, where it has not collapsed, reaches up to thirty feet. However, the river no longer flows through this channel, but has reverted again to its original course, leaving behind the channel as evidence of the labor of Heracles.

8.14.4

About fifty stades away from the chasms formed in the mountains I have mentioned lies the city. According to the Pheneatians, their founder was an indigenous man named Pheneos. Their citadel stands steep on all sides; in most places, this natural steepness suffices as a defense, though in a few spots they have additionally fortified it for safety. Within the acropolis there is a temple of Athena, surnamed Tritonia, of which only ruins remained.

8.14.5

There is also a bronze statue of Poseidon, surnamed Hippios ("Horse God"). They say that Odysseus dedicated this image of Poseidon. For it happened that Odysseus lost his horses, and as he proceeded

throughout Greece in search of them, he founded there a sanctuary to Artemis, naming the goddess Eurippa ("Finder of Horses"), because it was in that part of Pheneatian territory he found them. He also set up the statue of Poseidon Hippios.

8.14.6

★ They say that when Odysseus discovered the mares, he decided it would be best to keep them in the territory of the Pheneatians, just as he pastured his cattle on the mainland opposite Ithaca. The Pheneatians even showed me an inscription upon the base of the statue, which was a certain injunction from Odysseus himself, addressed to those tending the horses.

8.14.7

★ Now all the rest of the account provided by the people of Pheneus is likely believable to those who follow my narrative; but I cannot accept their assertion about the dedication of a bronze statue by Odysseus. For at that time they did not yet possess comprehensive skill in making statues of bronze, as one might weave clothing. The method of bronze-work available to them at that period I have already pointed out in my discussion of Sparta concerning the statue of Zeus Hypatos.

8.14.8

The Samians Rhoecus, son of Philaeus, and Theodorus, son of Telecles, were the first to cast bronze and to pour statues. The work of Theodorus also was the engraved emerald seal set in gold which Polycrates, who ruled as tyrant of Samos, customarily wore and upon which he took particularly great pride.

8.14.9

★ As one descends from the acropolis of the Pheneatians, there is a stadium, and upon a hill is the tomb of Iphikles, brother of Herakles and father of Iolaos. All Greeks indeed agree that, for the most part, Iolaos shared in the labors of Herakles. But Iphikles, father of Iolaos, when Herakles fought his earlier battle against the Eleans and Augeas, was then wounded by the sons of Aktor, who were called after their mother Molione. When he lay wounded, his relatives carried him to Pheneos. There a man of Pheneos named Bouphagos, along with Bouphagos' wife, Promne, tended him kindly, and when he died from his wound, they buried him.

8.14.10

★ Even now they continue offering sacrifices to Iphicles as to a hero. Among the gods, the Pheneatians honor Hermes most especially, and they celebrate a contest called the Hermaia. There is a temple of Hermes among them, and a stone statue made by an Athenian named Eucheir, son of Euboulides. Behind this temple is the tomb of Myrtilus. The Greeks say that Myrtilus was the son of Hermes and served as charioteer to Oenomaus. Whenever someone arrived seeking marriage to the daughter of Oenomaus, Myrtilus would cunningly delay the horses of Oenomaus, and during the course of the race, Oenomaus would hurl his spear against the suitor whenever he drew near.

8.14.11

★ Myrtilus himself was in love with Hippodameia, yet feeling hesitant about entering the contest, he yielded and served as charioteer to Oenomaus. Ultimately, they say, he was persuaded by vows to betray Oenomaus, for Pelops pledged to allow him to lie with Hippodameia for one night. However,

reminding Pelops thereafter of the promised oath, he was cast from the ship by him. The Pheneatians say his body, after being washed ashore by the waves, was recovered and buried by them; and every year they offer nocturnal sacrifices to his spirit.

8.14.12

Pelops is plainly known to have crossed not a very great stretch of sea, but only such distance as lies from the mouth of the Alpheius to the harbor serving the Eleans. Thus, the Myrtoan Sea could not reasonably be said to take its name from Myrtilus, son of Hermes, since it begins from Euboea and extends past the desert isle of Helene into the Aegean. Instead, it seems to me that those Euboeans who have preserved ancient traditions speak plausibly in asserting that the name "Myrtoan" was given to the sea from a woman named Myrto.

Chapter 15

8.15.1

The Pheneatians have also a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian, and they celebrate mysteries ★ in honor of the goddess, asserting that this rite established among them is the same as that performed at Eleusis. For according to an oracle from Delphi, Naos came to them, who they claim was the great-grandson of Eumolpus. Beside the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter stands a structure called Petroma ("the Rock"), which is formed by two large stones fitted together.

8.15.2

Each year, when performing what they call the Greater Rite, they then open these stones. Taking out from within them writings intended for the ceremony, they read them aloud in the hearing of the initiates, and then place them back in the same night. I also know that most of the Pheneatians swear by the Petroma in their most solemn oaths.

8.15.3

Upon it is a circular covering, which contains within it the mask of Demeter called Kidaria. In the ★ greater rite, as it is called, the priest places this mask upon himself and strikes the subterranean deities with rods, according, it seems, to a certain ritual tradition. According to a legend of the Pheneatians, Demeter also wandered to this place before she arrived at Naos; those among the Pheneatians who received the goddess into their homes and as a guest were given by her all the pulses except the bean.

8.15.4

For the reason why beans are considered an impure vegetable there exists a sacred account. But those ★ who, according to the tradition of the Pheneatians, once received the goddess, namely Trisaules and Damithales, constructed a temple to Demeter Thesmia beneath Mount Cyllene, and also established rites in her honor, which they celebrate to this very day. This temple of Thesmia is situated roughly fifteen stades from the city.

8.15.5

On the road from Pheneus toward Pellene and Aegeira (a city belonging to the Achaeans), at approxi- ★ mately fifteen stadia along, there stands a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. Only ruins remain there, along with a great altar of white stone. Even today at this place, the people of Pheneus still make sacrifices to Apollo and Artemis, claiming that Heracles built this sanctuary after his victory over Elis. There are

also monuments of heroes there, dedicated to those who joined Heracles in his campaign against the Eleans but did not survive to return home from the battle.

8.15.6

Telamon is buried very near the river Aroanius, slightly further away than the sanctuary of Apollo, and Chalkodon lies not far from a spring called Oinoe. Now Elephenor, who led the Euboeans to Troy, and Ajax and Teucer–no one could suppose that their fathers fell in this battle. For how could Chalkodon have cooperated with Heracles in his undertaking, when it is attested–and the testimony from Thebes is worthy of belief–that Amphitryon had already killed him earlier?

8.15.7

Indeed, how could Teucer have founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus if no one expelled him from his homeland when he returned from Troy? And who else could have expelled him other than Telamon himself? Thus it is clear that neither Chalkodon of Euboea nor Telamon of Aegina took part in Heracles' expedition against Elis; rather, men less celebrated happened to share the same names as notable figures, then as now, and indeed at all times.

8.15.8

The Pheneatians do not share a common boundary line with the neighboring territory of Achaea. Instead, on the side toward Pellene is a place called Porinas, while toward Aegeira is the district called "to Artemis." Within the territory of the Pheneatians, shortly after passing the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, if you proceed forward for only a short distance, you will find yourself within the road leading up the mountain to Krathis.

8.15.9

On this mountain are the springs of the river Krathis, which flows into the sea near Aegae–a place deserted in my time, but formerly a city of the Achaeans. From this Krathis, a river in Italy, too, in the land of the Brettians, takes its name. On Mount Krathis there is also a sanctuary of Artemis Pyronia, and in still earlier times the Argives used to carry fire from this goddess to the Lernaean festival.

Chapter 16

8.16.1

From Pheneus, on the road towards the rising sun, there is a mountain peak called Geronteion, and the road passes by it. Geronteion is the boundary point of the Pheneatian territory with that of the Stymphalians. Traveling through the land of Pheneus, the mountains called Trikrena lie to the left of Geronteion. There are three springs there, and local tradition holds that the nymphs who dwell around the mountain washed Hermes when he was born in these springs. For this reason, the people regard the springs as sacred to Hermes.

8.16.2

Not far from Trikrena is another mountain called Sepia, and it is said that here Aepytus, son of Elatus, met his death from a serpent's bite; they made his tomb on the spot, as it was impossible for them to carry his corpse forward from there. The Arcadians claim that these particular serpents still live upon this mountain even in our time, although they are not many, indeed extremely rare; for since most of the year the mountain is covered with snow, those snakes that are caught outside their lairs perish from the snow, and even if they happen to flee into their dens beforehand, still the snow destroys some of them, so severe is the cold that penetrates even their very holes.

8.16.3

I was especially careful to examine the tomb of Aepytus, because Homer makes mention of it in his verses referring to the Arcadians. It is a mound of earth, not very large, encircled all round by a stone coping. For Homer–since he had not seen a more remarkable tomb–it was understandably marvelous; indeed, he likewise likens the dance worked by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles to the dance made by Daedalus, having seen nothing wiser.

8.16.4

Though I know of many tombs worthy of admiration, I shall mention two among them, namely the one in Halicarnassus and that in the land of the Hebrews. The one at Halicarnassus was built for Mausolus, who was king of the Halicarnassians, and it is so extraordinary in size and remarkable in craftsmanship that even the Romans, greatly admiring it, call their own splendid tombs "mausolea."

8.16.5

The Hebrews have a tomb in the city of Jerusalem, their local city, of a woman named Helen, which the Roman emperor razed to the ground. At the tomb there is constructed a door of stone, which, like the rest of the tomb, is devised in such a way that it cannot be opened until a particular day and hour of the year arrives. At that precise moment, it opens of its own accord through the mechanism alone, remains open a brief time, and then closes shut again by itself. Thus does it function; but should a man try to force it open at another time, he would be unable to open it and, indeed, would sooner break it by violence.

Chapter 17

8.17.1

After the tomb of Aipytos is Mount Kyllene, the loftiest of all the mountains in Arkadia, and upon the peak of this mountain stands a temple dedicated to Hermes Kyllenios, now fallen into ruins. It is obvious that both the name of the mountain and the surname given to the god derive from Kyllenos, the son of Elatos.

8.17.2

In ancient times, as far as we have been able to ascertain, men used the following materials for making wooden statues: ebony, cypress, cedar, oak, yew, and lotus. The image of Hermes of Cyllene, however, is made from none of these, but from juniper wood; we estimate the statue to be approximately eight feet tall.

8.17.3

Cyllene offers also the following marvel: there the birds called blackbirds are altogether white. Those which the Boeotians call by this name, however, are a different kind of bird entirely, not songbirds. I myself have seen near Sipylus, by the lake called Tantalus' lake, certain birds called swan-eagles, resembling swans especially in whiteness. Moreover, white wild boars and white bears from Thrace have already at times been kept by private individuals.

8.17.4

There are also hares and deer, the white hares being animals native to Libya. White deer I myself saw in Rome, and upon seeing them I marveled; but from which mainland region or island they were brought, I did not inquire. These points I have mentioned on account of the blackbirds on Cyllene, so that no one should doubt the truth of what has been said concerning their color.

8.17.5

Next to Cyllene is another mountain, Chelydorea, where Hermes, having found a tortoise, is said to have stripped the animal of its shell and from this fashioned a lyre. At this point lie the boundaries between the lands of Pheneus and Pellene. The greater part of Mount Chelydorea is held by the Achaeans.

8.17.6

★ From Pheneus, going westward towards the setting of the sun, the road on the left leads to the city of Cleitor, while the one on the right leads to Nonacris and the waters of the Styx. Nonacris was anciently a city of the Arcadians, named after the wife of Lycaon; but in our time it has become ruins, and these ruins themselves are mostly no longer distinguishable. Not far from the ruins stands a high cliff; I know of no other that rises to such a height. Water drips down this cliff, and the Greeks call this water the Styx.

Chapter 18

8.18.1

Now, Hesiod in the Theogony has also composed a description of Styx–for there are indeed those who consider the verses of the Theogony to belong to Hesiod. At any rate, Styx is here portrayed as a daughter of Oceanus, and as the wife of Pallas. They also say that Linus has created something similar to these accounts; however, upon careful reflection, these particular narratives appeared to me altogether dubious.

8.18.2

Epimenides the Cretan, indeed, also made Styx a daughter of Oceanus, but did not represent her as living with Pallas; rather, she bore Echidna from Peiras, whoever this Peiras may be. Homer was especially responsible for introducing the name of Styx into poetry, for it is in Hera's oath that he composed:

"Now let this be witnessed by Earth and broad Heaven above, and the down-flowing water of Styx."

Indeed, Homer wrote these lines as if he had seen the dripping water of Styx; and in the Catalogue [of Ships] he also wishes the water of Styx to flow as the river Titaresios, a tributary of the Peneios, near Guneus.

8.18.3

He also represented water as existing in Hades, and Athena says that Zeus did not remember how she had saved Heracles many times during the labors assigned by Eurystheus: "For had I known this in my prudent mind, at the time when he sent him forth from Erebus to the gatekeeper of Hades, to fetch the hound of dread Hades, he would never have escaped the steep-flowing currents of the water of Styx." Homer, unknown location.

8.18.4

The water dripping from the cliff near Nonacris first falls upon a high rock, and then, passing through the rock itself, empties into the river Crathis. This water brings death alike to humans and to every other living creature. It is said that goats were once destroyed by it, having been the first to drink the water. Afterwards, over time, it became known whether there was indeed any other extraordinary property belonging to this water.

8.18.5

★ Glass, rock crystal, porcelain, and whatever else humans fashion from stone, as well as earthenware pottery, are shattered by the water of the Styx. Objects made of horn or bone, as well as iron and bronze, and even lead, tin, silver, and amber, are corroded by this water. The same effect that occurs with these metals also befalls gold. Nevertheless, there is testimony, provided both by the poetess from Lesbos and by gold itself, that gold alone is purified from this destructive force.

8.18.6

★ And so the god has granted that those who appear most insignificant may prevail over those whose fame surpasses them. For instance, pearls are naturally destroyed by vinegar, and the adamant, hardest of stones, is dissolved by goats blood. Likewise, the water of the Styx cannot overpower a horse's hoof alone, but if thrown therein, the hoof remains unharmed and is not dissolved. Whether Alexander, the son of Philip, actually met his end through this poison, I do not know for certain, but I do know that such a claim is made.

8.18.7

★ Above Nonacris are mountains called the Aroania, and there is a cave among them. They say it was to this cave that the daughters of Proetus fled when they were driven mad, and that Melampus brought them down from there by means of secret sacrifices and purifications, leading them to a place called Lousoi. Most of the Aroanian mountain was occupied by the Pheneatians, but Lousoi is already in the territory bordering Kleitor.

8.18.8

★ They say that Lousoi was once indeed a city, and Agesilas, a man from Lousoi, was proclaimed victor with the riding horse when the Amphictyons introduced a competition for the first time at the tenth Pythiad. But in our time not even ruins of Lousoi remain. Melampus brought down the daughters of Proitos to Lousoi and cured them of their madness in the sanctuary of Artemis. From that time the Kleitorians have called this Artemis by the name Hemerasia ("the Gentle").

Chapter 19

8.19.1

There are others who are also Arkadians by race, and these are called the Kynaithaians; they dedicated at Olympia a statue of Zeus, holding a thunderbolt in each hand. These Kynaithaians dwell about forty stades further than Lousoi; in their agora are altars of the gods, and also a statue of the emperor Hadrian.

8.19.2

The most notable thing there connected with Dionysus is a sanctuary, and they hold a festival in the season of winter. During this, men, having been smeared with fat, lift up a bull from the herd–whichever one the god himself guides them to choose–and carry it to the temple. Such is their established sacrifice. At the same place there is a spring of cold water, about two stades distant from the city, and above it grows a plane tree.

8.19.3

And whoever has been seized by madness from the bite of a rabid dog, or who otherwise meets with such danger, drinking the water of this spring brings healing. This is why they call the spring Alyssos ("Curative against madness"). Thus it would appear that among the Arcadians, the water near Pheneos, called Styx, was discovered for man's misfortune, whereas the spring at Kynaitha, being beneficial, serves as an antidote to that evil.

8.19.4

From Pheneus, among the roads which lead towards the west, the one on the left remains. This road ★ indeed leads to Cleitor and passes by the place where Heracles performed the deed of creating a channel for the river Aroanius. From there the road descends to a place called Lykouria, and Lykouria serves as the boundary between the territory of the Pheneates and that of the Cleitorians.

Chapter 20

8.20.1

About fifty stades from Lykouria, you will come to the sources of the Ladon river. I have heard that the water gathering in the Pheneatic plain descends into the chasms in the mountains and rises again here, creating the springs of the Ladon. Whether this is true or otherwise, I cannot state with certainty. Among all rivers in Greece, Ladon provides water of surpassing beauty, and furthermore, it has gained renown among people due to the story of Daphne and the songs that are sung about her.

8.20.2

Regarding the story about Daphne, I pass over the details given by the Syrians who dwell beside the river Orontes; but there is another version told by the Arcadians and Eleans as follows. Oenomaus, who reigned over Pisa, had a son named Leucippus. Leucippus fell in love with Daphne, but realizing from the outset that he had no hope of marrying her, since she shunned the entire male sex, he devised the following stratagem to approach her.

8.20.3

Leukippos dedicated his hair to the river Alpheios. After braiding it in the manner of maidens and clothing himself in women's attire, he came to Daphne, claiming upon his arrival to be the daughter of Oinomaos and desiring to go hunting with Daphne. Since he was believed to be a maiden, and because he excelled beyond the other maidens both through the nobility of his lineage and his skill in the hunt, as well as through the extraordinary care he showed her, he thus won Daphne over into strong friendship.

8.20.4

Those who sing about Apollo's love for her also recount this–that Apollo resented Leucippus for his success in love. Then Daphne and the other maidens wished to bathe in the Ladon, and they undressed Leucippus against his will. When they saw that he was not a girl, they struck him with spears and daggers and thus killed him.

Chapter 21

8.21.1

These things indeed are related thus. The city of the Cleitorians is distant sixty stadia from the sources of the Ladon, and the road from the springs of the Ladon is a narrow valley along the river Aroanius. Near the city you will cross a river called Cleitor. The Cleitor empties into the Aroanius about seven stadia from the city.

8.21.2

In the Aroanius river there are fishes, both of other kinds and those called "poikiliai" (spotted fish); ? these poikiliai fish are said to produce a sound similar to that of a thrush. I myself saw them after they had been caught, but though I remained by the river until sunset, the time when they were said particularly to emit their voices, I heard nothing.

8.21.3

The city of Kleitor took its name from the son of Azan, and lies situated in a plain surrounded in a ★ circle by mountains that are not high. Among the Kleitorians the most notable sanctuaries are those of Demeter, of Asklepios, and the third is said to be that of Eileithyia, although its sacred songs have no orderly arrangement. Olen the Lycian, who lived in an earlier age, composed hymns for the Delians, including one to Eileithyia, in which he clearly calls her "spinner of destinies," thus evidently identifying her with Fate, and declares her to be older even than Kronos.

8.21.4

The Kleitorians have also a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, whom they call the Great Gods; it lies about ★ four stades distant from the city, and there are bronze statues of them there. They have erected, moreover, on the summit of a mountain, about thirty stades beyond the city, a temple and statue of Athena Koria.

Chapter 22

8.22.1

My narrative now brings me to Stymphalos and to the frontier between the Pheneatians and Stymphalians, to a place called Geronteion. The Stymphalians are no longer arranged among the Arcadians, but have willingly transferred themselves into Argolis and are counted part of that region. Nevertheless, their Arcadian origin is testified by the verses of Homer, and Stymphalos, their founder, was the third descendant from Arkas, the son of Callisto. It is said that in the beginning their city was founded elsewhere in the region, and not in the location of the present city.

8.22.2

In ancient Stymphalos, they say Temenos, son of Pelasgos, lived, and that Hera was raised by this Temenos; he himself established three sanctuaries for the goddess, assigning three titles to her. While she was still a maiden, he named her Child (Pais); after she married Zeus, he called her Perfected (Teleia); and when she quarreled for some reason with Zeus and returned to Stymphalos, Temenos called her Widow (Chra). Such are the stories about the goddess as reported by the Stymphalians, as far as I am aware.

8.22.3

In my time, the city possessed nothing of what I have just described, but had instead the following features. In the land of the Stymphalians there is a spring, and from this spring the emperor Hadrian brought water to Corinth, conducting it into the city. In Stymphalos, during wintertime, this spring forms a small lake, from which flows the river Stymphalos; in summer, however, water no longer gathers into a lake at all, and the river immediately issues from the spring itself. This river descends into a chasm in the earth, and reappearing again in Argolis, it changes its name: the Argives now call it Erasinos rather than Stymphalos.

8.22.4

Concerning the lake at Stymphalus, the story prevails that man-eating birds once were nourished there. Heracles, it is said, shot these birds down. Pisander of Camirus, however, denies that Heracles killed them, but states that he drove them away by the noise of rattles. Moreover, the Arabian desert also yields other creatures and birds called Stymphalian, which are no less savage towards humans than lions or leopards.

8.22.5

★ These birds attack those who approach to hunt them; they wound and kill men with their beaks. Indeed, anything worn by humans made of bronze or iron is pierced through by the birds. But if men weave thick garments of bark fibre, the beaks of the Stymphalian birds become caught in the bark clothing, just as the wings of small birds are caught by bird-lime. These birds are about the size of a crane, resemble ibises in appearance, but have stronger beaks that are not curved like those of ibises.

8.22.6

★? Whether the Arabian birds of my own day bear the name of those once in Arcadia, but differ in appearance from them, I cannot say; but if throughout all time the Stymphalian birds have been similar to hawks and eagles, these present-day birds seem to me indeed to be Arabian in origin, and it would have been possible for some of them, flying astray, to reach Arcadia at Stymphalos. Originally, however, they must have been called by some other name among the Arabs and certainly not Stymphalian; but the fame of Herakles, along with the honored status of things Greek compared to the barbarian, has prevailed to the extent that even the birds in the Arabian desert are called Stymphalian up to our own times.

8.22.7

★? At Stymphalus there is also an ancient sanctuary of Artemis Stymphalia; the statue is a wooden image, mostly overlaid with gold. Upon the roof of the temple are fashioned the Stymphalian birds; although it was difficult clearly to discern whether they were constructed of wood or plaster, by inference they appeared to us rather to be of wood than plaster. There are also here maidens carved from white marble, with the legs of birds, standing behind the temple.

8.22.8

? And they say that a marvel of the following sort also occurred in our time. At Stymphalos, they celebrated the festival of Artemis Stymphalia and generally conducted it without due reverence, neglecting to a great extent the established customs. Thus, wood having fallen into the mouth of the chasm through which the river called Stymphalos descends, prevented the water from flowing down, and it is said that a lake formed covering the plain to an extent of four hundred stades.

8.22.9

★ They say that once a hunter was pursuing a fleeing deer. The deer rushed into the marsh, and the hunter, driven by his passion, swam after it; thus, the chasm swallowed both the deer and the man chasing it. It is said that the water from the river followed after them, so that in a single day the marshy water covering all the plain of Stymphalus was drained away completely. Because of this event, the people now celebrate the festival of Artemis with even greater eagerness.

Chapter 23

8.23.1

After Stymphalus is Alea, which also shares in the meetings of the Argolic council. They assert that ★
Aleus, the son of Apheidas, was their founder. The sanctuaries of gods there are dedicated to Artemis Ephesia and Athena Alea, and there is also a temple and statue of Dionysus. In his honor they hold a yearly festival called Skiereia, and during the festival of Dionysus women are scourged in accordance with an oracle from Delphi, just as the Spartan youths are scourged at the altar of Orthia.

8.23.2

I have already explained in my account of the Orchomenians that the straight route first follows alongside the ravine, and after this, lies to the left of the stagnant water. In the plain of the Caphyans stands an earthen embankment, constructed to prevent the water that flows from Orchomenia from causing damage to the cultivated land of the Caphyans. Inside this embankment, another stream of water emerges, abundant enough to constitute a river; it descends underground into a chasm, then rises again near the place called Nasoi. The spot where it reemerges is named Rheunos, and after rising here, the water gives rise from this point onward to the river Tragos, ever-flowing.

8.23.3

The city evidently derived its name originally from Cepheus, the son of Aleus, yet it has come to be ★
known, according to the Arcadian dialect, as Caphyae. The inhabitants of Caphyae say they were originally from Attic territory, but that after being driven out of Athens by Aegeus, they fled into Arcadia and, becoming suppliants of Cepheus, settled there. The town itself lies on a plain at the foot of mountains, which are not very high. The Caphyans possess sanctuaries dedicated to the gods Poseidon and Artemis called Knakalesia.

8.23.4

They have a mountain called Knakalos, where they celebrate an annual rite in honor of Artemis. A little ★
above the city there is a water-spring, and at this spring has grown up a tall and beautiful plane-tree. They call this tree Menelaïs, because they say Menelaus came to this place when gathering his army for Troy and planted the plane-tree beside the spring. In our own day, they also call the spring itself Menelaïs, following the name of the plane-tree.

8.23.5

If, following the traditions of the Greeks, I must enumerate how many trees remain that are still alive and flourishing, the oldest among them is the willow growing in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos; after this come the oak at Dodona, and the olive tree on the Acropolis, and also the one among the Delians. Third in antiquity, according to the Syrians themselves, would be their laurel; but of all the others, this plane-tree is the oldest.

8.23.6

About a stade distant from Kaphyai is a place called Kondylea, and there is there a grove and a sanctuary of Artemis, anciently called Kondyleatis. They say the goddess received this change of name because of the following event. Some children–whose exact number is not remembered–were playing around the temple when they found a small cord. After tying this cord about the neck of the statue, they jokingly said that Artemis was being strangled.

8.23.7

When the Kaphyeans discovered what had been done by the children, they stoned them to death. After committing this deed, a disease afflicted their women, causing their unborn offspring to be expelled dead from the womb before delivery. The affliction continued until the Pythia instructed them to bury the children and to offer them annual sacrifices, declaring that the children had perished unjustly. The Kaphyeans continue even now to fulfill all these requirements according to this oracle and, because the oracle also mentioned this, they still call the goddess in Kondyleai "the Hanged Woman."

8.23.8

Going up from Kaphyai for about seven stades, you come down to the place called Nasoi. Fifty stades further on from there is the Ladon river. After crossing over the river, you will arrive at the oak forest called Soron, passing through the places named Argeathai, Lycountes, and Skotane.

8.23.9

Soron leads to Psophis. This mountain and all the other forests that the Arcadians possess produce the following beasts: wild boars, bears, and tortoises remarkable for their great size. From these tortoise-shells one could fashion lyres equal to those made from the shell of the Indian tortoise. Near the borders of Soron are the ruins of the village called Paos, and a little farther off are the so-called Seirai. The Seirai themselves mark the boundary between the Kleitorian territory and that of the Psophidians.

Chapter 24

8.24.1

Concerning Psophis, some say that its founder was Psophis, the son of Arrhon, son of Erymanthus, son of Aristus, son of Parthaon, son of Periphetes, son of Nyctimus; others have said that Psophis was the daughter of Xanthus, the son of Erymanthus, son of Arcas. Such, then, is the tradition preserved among the Arcadians concerning their kings.

8.24.2

But the most accurate of the accounts is that Psophis was the daughter of Eryx, who reigned in Sicily. When Heracles had relations with her, he did not think it proper to bring her into his own household; instead he left her pregnant with Lycortas, who was his friend, residing in the city called Phegia at that time, but earlier named Erymanthus before the reign of Phegeus. Echephron and Promachus, who were born and raised there and were the children of Heracles and the Sicilian woman, changed the name of the city from Phegia to Psophis after their mother.

8.24.3

In the citadel of the Zacynthians there is also a place named Psophis, because the first man transported by ship to the island–who became its founder–was Psophidian by origin, along with Zacynthus, son of Dardanus. Psophis itself lies thirty stades distant from Seirai. Beside it, the river Aroanius flows, while slightly further from the city, the Erymanthus also runs.

8.24.4

The Erymanthus River has its sources on Mount Lampeia, and this mountain is said to be sacred to Pan; indeed, Lampeia might properly be considered part of Mount Erymanthus. Homer himself represented Erymanthus as a place for hunting, as he did for Mount Taygetus. Thus, originating from Lampeia and flowing across Arcadia–with Mount Pholoe on its right and the district of Thelpusa on its left–the Erymanthus descends into the Alpheius River.

8.24.5

It is also said that Heracles, at the command of Eurystheus, hunted by the river Erymanthus a boar that surpassed all others in size and strength. The inhabitants of Cumae in the Opician land claim that the tusks preserved by them in the sanctuary of Apollo belong to the Erymanthian boar; yet their claim is not at all likely or credible.

8.24.6

In the city of Psophis, there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite surnamed Erycina; in our time, only its ruins remained. It was said that the sanctuary had been founded by the children of Psophis, a statement which is plausible, for also in Sicily, in the territory of Eryx, there is a sanctuary of Erycine Aphrodite, renowned for its great antiquity and scarcely inferior in wealth to the sanctuary at Paphos.

8.24.7

At my time, the hero-shrines of Promachus and Echephron at Psophis were no longer remarkable. Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraus, is also buried in Psophis, and his monument is a building neither great in size nor decorated in any other way. However, around it have grown cypress trees that have reached such a great height that even the mountain by Psophis is overshadowed by them. The locals refuse to cut them down, regarding the trees as sacred to Alcmaeon. They call these cypresses "virgins."

8.24.8

When Alcmaeon fled from Argos after killing his mother, he went to Psophis (still called Phegia after Phegeus at that time) and married Alphesiboea, the daughter of Phegeus, giving her, among other customary gifts, the necklace. However, since his affliction did not ease at all while he was living among the Arcadians, he sought refuge at the oracle at Delphi. There the Pythia instructed him that the avenging spirit of Eriphyle would cease to pursue him only when he came to a land that was new, formed recently by the sea, having appeared after the pollution of his mothers blood.

8.24.9

The man who found the silted land of the Acheloos settled there, and, according to the account of the Acarnanians, took as wife Callirhoe, the daughter of Acheloos. He fathered two sons, Acarnan and Amphoteros. It is said that from Acarnan the people living on this mainland acquired their present name, though before him they were known as Curetes. Many men, and even more women, frequently succumb to foolish passions.

8.24.10

Callirhoe desired to possess Eriphyle's necklace, and therefore sent Alcmaeon unwillingly to Phegia, where death overtook him, treacherously murdered by Phegeus' sons, Temenus and Axion. The sons of Phegeus are said to have dedicated the necklace to Apollo at Delphi. During their reign over the city then still called Phegia, the Greeks, it is said, undertook the expedition against Troy. But the people of Psophis claim that their city did not participate in this expedition, alleging that the Argive leaders bore hostility toward their own kings, since the majority were related by birth to Alcmaeon and had assisted him in his campaign against Thebes.

8.24.11

As for the Echinades islands, it is the people of Aetolia who are responsible for their not having been joined to the mainland by the river Achelous even down to our own time. For the Aetolians have themselves become refugees, and all their land has been abandoned. Since Aetolia thus remains uncultivated, the Achelous does not deposit silt towards the Echinades as it once did. As proof for my statement: the river Maeander, flowing year by year through a region cultivated by Phrygians and Carians, has within a short period turned the sea between Priene and Miletus into dry land.

8.24.12

The people of Psophis have beside the Erymanthus river a temple and statue of Erymanthus. Statues of rivers are made from white marble for all rivers except the Egyptian Nile; the Nile alone, because it flows through Ethiopia on its way down to the sea, is believed to have its statues fashioned of black stone.

8.24.13

The story which I heard in Psophis concerning Aglaos, a Psophidian who was contemporary with Croesus the Lydian, that this Aglaos throughout the whole course of his life experienced continuous happiness, did not persuade me. Rather, among men, one might admit that his own troubles are fewer, just as one ship may suffer fewer storms than another.

8.24.14

It is impossible for us to find a man who has always stood apart from misfortune, or a ship that has sailed entirely with a favorable wind. Homer himself represented this when he attributed to Zeus two jars, one filled with good and the other with evil, having learned this from the god at Delphi, who once called Homer himself unhappy but also fortunate, as one equally endowed with both conditions from birth.

Chapter 25

8.25.1

On the way from Psophis to Thelpousa, the first place encountered is called Tropaea, situated on the left bank of the Ladon river. Next to Tropaea is the grove Aphrodision, and thirdly there are ancient inscriptions carved on a stele marking the boundaries of Psophidian territory toward the land of Thelpousa. In Thelpousian territory there is a river named Arsen; having crossed this river and proceeded about twenty-five stades beyond it, one reaches the ruins of the village Kaous, along the road to which is built a sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius Kaousios.

8.25.2

The city stands around forty stades distant from this sanctuary. They say it was named after the nymph ★
Thelpusa, who is said to have been a daughter of Ladon. The water of the Ladon begins in springs at Kleitoria, as I have already described. It flows first near the place Leukasion and Mesoboa, then through the Nasoi, on toward Oryx, also called Halous; and from Halous it descends toward Thaliades and the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia.

8.25.3

This sanctuary lies within the territory of Thelpousa. Inside, there are stone statues, each nearly seven ★
feet tall, representing Demeter, her daughter, and Dionysus, all similarly made of stone. Past the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter, the Ladon river flows by the city of Thelpousa on the left. The city is positioned upon a lofty hill but has been mostly deserted in our times, so that even the agora, which is now at its farthest edge, was originally situated in the very center. In Thelpousa, there is a temple devoted to Asklepios, as well as a sanctuary to the Twelve Gods.

8.25.4

Most of this temple already lay in ruins. After passing Thelpusa, the river Ladon flows down toward the ★
sanctuary of Demeter at Onkeion. The Thelpusians call the goddess Erinys (Fury), and Antimachus agrees with them, having recorded the Argives expedition against Thebes. He has expressed this in the verse:

"There, they say, is the seat of Demeter Erinys."

Of this Antimachus nothing further is known. Onkeios, according to tradition, was a surname of Apollo, who once held lordship over that region around Thelpusa called Onkeion. Yet the goddess received the surname Erinys (Fury).

8.25.5

★ For when Demeter was wandering while searching for her daughter, they say that Poseidon followed after her, desiring to unite with her. She changed herself into a mare and grazed together with the horses of Onkios; but Poseidon, realizing her deception, assumed the form of a stallion and thus united with Demeter.

8.25.6

★ At first, indeed, Demeter became angry at what had happened, but later, they say, her anger abated, and she chose willingly to bathe herself in the Ladon river. For this reason, the goddess gained additional surnames: "Erinys," because among the Arcadians anger is called "erinuein," and "Lousia" due to her bathing in the Ladon. The images within the temple are made of wood, but their faces, and the ends of their hands and feet, are made of Parian marble.

8.25.7

★ The statue of the Erinys holds what is called a cista, and in her right hand a torch; we estimate the figure to be about nine feet tall. The statue of Lousia appeared to be six feet in height. Those who think that this statue of Lousia represents Themis rather than Demeter should know they are holding a mistaken opinion. It is said that Demeter gave birth, by Poseidon, to a daughter whose name they do not consider proper to reveal to the uninitiated, and also to the horse Areion. For this reason, they say, the Arcadians first named Poseidon Hippios ("Horse-god").

8.25.8

★ They bring in quotations from the Iliad as well as from the Thebaid as evidence to support their account. In the Iliad, Arion himself is mentioned:

"Nor even if he drove behind noble Arion, Adrastus' swift horse, that was of divine descent." (Hom. Il. 23.346)

And in the Thebaid, how Adrastus fled from Thebes:

"Wearing mournful garments, together with dark-maned Arion." (Thebaid, unknown location)

Thus, by these verses they wish to intimate that Poseidon was Arion's father, although Antimachus asserts that Arion was the offspring of Earth.

8.25.9

★ Adrastus, son of Talaus and descendant of Cretheus, was the very first of the Danaans who drove his famous horses: swift Caerus, and Arion from Thelpusa, whom Earth herself brought forth near the grove of Apollo Ogygius, a marvel for mortals to behold. Antimachus, unknown location.

8.25.10

★ One could believe also from the horse's having sprung forth from the earth that its lineage was divine, and also from its hairs, whose color resembled dark blue. This story too is told: that when Heracles was waging war against the Eleans, he requested the horse from Oncus, and having received Arion mounted him into battle and so captured Elis; and that afterward, Heracles gave this horse to Adrastus. It is about this very Arion that Antimachus composed the following lines: "Who once was mastered by lord Adrastus as the third possessor."

8.25.11

The Ladon, after leaving the sanctuary of Erinys on the left, next passes on the left the temple of Apollo Ongaeates, and on the right a sanctuary of Asclepius Païs, where lies the tomb of Trygone, his nurse. They say that Trygone was nurse to Asclepius. For when the child Asclepius had been exposed at Thelpusa, Autolaus, an illegitimate son of Arcas, chanced upon him, picked up the infant, and thereupon I considered it more likely that Asclepius was indeed a child, a matter I have already explained in my discussion of the Epidaurians.

8.25.12

There is a river called Tuthoa, which also flows into the Ladon. Tuthoa lies along the boundary between Thelpusa and Heraea, an area Arcadians call "Pedion" (Plain). At the point where the Ladon itself empties into the Alpheios, there is an island known as Korakon ("of the crows"). Some believe that Enispe, Stratie, and Rhipe–mentioned by Homer in his verses–were once islands located within the Ladon river and inhabited by men; but those who trust in such accounts should know that their beliefs are in vain.

8.25.13

For the Ladon would never offer islands that could rival even a ferry-boat in size. Indeed, in beauty it is second to none of the rivers, neither among the barbarian nor among the Greek; yet it is not large enough for islands to appear in it, as they do in both the Ister and the Eridanos.

Chapter 26

8.26.1

The founder of Heraea was Heraeus, son of Lycaon. The city lies on the right bank of the Alpheius river, for the most part occupying gently rising slopes, though in some places descending right down to the Alpheius itself. Alongside the river there are promenades planted with myrtle trees and other cultivated trees. Here also are baths, and temples dedicated to Dionysus; one of them they call Polites ("the Citizen"), the other Auxites ("the Growth-Giver"). They have, moreover, a building in which they hold festivities for Dionysus. ★

8.26.2

They conduct mysteries here. Within Heraea there is also a temple dedicated to Pan, as he is native to the Arcadians; of the temple of Hera, other ruins together with its columns still remain. Among all those athletes who have arisen among the Arcadians, Damaretos of Heraea surpassed the rest in fame, as he was the first to win the hoplite race at Olympia.

8.26.3

Going down into Elis from Heraia, after proceeding about fifteen stades from Heraia, you cross the Ladon, and from there you arrive at the Erymanthos after approximately twenty stades. According to the Arcadians account, the boundary separating Heraia from Elis is the river Erymanthos, but the Eleans claim that the tomb of Koroibos marks the border of their territory. ?

8.26.4

When Iphitus renewed the Olympic contests after they had been discontinued for a long period and recommenced holding the Olympic Games from the beginning, at first only prizes for running were offered, and Coroebus was victorious. There is an inscription on his tomb stating that Coroebus was the first of men to win at Olympia, and that his grave is situated at the boundary of Elis.

8.26.5

Aliphera is a small settlement; for it was abandoned by many of its inhabitants during the gathering of the Arcadians into the Great City (Megalopolis). Coming to this town from Heraia, you cross the Alpheios, and after traveling across a plain for about ten stades, you reach a mountain. Then, you ascend the mountain about thirty stades until you arrive at the town itself.

8.26.6

★ The city of Aliphera received its name from Alipherus, son of Lycaon. It has sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius and to Athena, whom the inhabitants honor above all the gods, maintaining that she was born and reared among them. They have also erected an altar to Zeus Lecheates, because they say it was there that he begot Athena, and they call a spring Tritonis, thus associating their account with that concerning the river Triton.

8.26.7

★ The statue of Athena is made of bronze, a work of Hypatodorus, and is worthy of inspection both for its size and its artistry. They hold a festival in honor–I think–of Athena; and during this festival they first sacrifice to Myagros, offering victims and praying to the hero, invoking him under the name Myagros. After performing these rites, flies no longer trouble them.

8.26.8

★ Along the road leading from Heraea towards Megalopolis are the Melaineai settlements, founded by Melaineus, the son of Lycaon; but in my day these places were deserted, having been flooded by water. About forty stadia above Melaineai is Buphagium, where the river Buphagus, descending into the Alpheius, has its sources. Around the springs of the Buph river are boundary markers between the Megalopolitans and the Heraeans.

Chapter 27

8.27.1

Now Megalopolis is the youngest city, not only among Arcadian cities but also among all the Greek ones, except for those whose inhabitants have changed under disaster in the time of Roman rule. The Arcadians came together into it for the sake of strength, being aware that the Argives, in still earlier days, had been in nearly daily peril of war at the hands of Sparta, but after they enlarged Argos by abandoning Tiryns, Hysiae, Orneae, Mycenae, Mideia, and any other insignificant town in Argolis that existed at the time, the Argives thereafter became freer from fear of the Spartans and also gained power over their neighbors.

8.27.2

It was with this intent that the Arcadians began their foundation together, but Epaminondas the Theban could justly be named as founder of their city. For he was the one who stirred the Arcadians to this settlement and sent one thousand picked Thebans under Pammenes as commander to aid the Arcadians, in case the Lacedaemonians attempted to hinder the founding. Moreover, the Arcadians themselves also elected founders: Lycomedes and Opoleas from Mantineia; Timon and Proxenus from Tegea; Cleolaus and Acriphius from Cleitor; Eucampidas and Hieronymus from Maenalus; and Possicrates and Theoxenus from Parrhasia.

8.27.3

The following were the cities whose inhabitants, through zeal as well as hatred against the Lacedaemonians, were persuaded by the Arcadians to abandon their native homes: Alea, Pallantion, Eutaia, Soumateion, Asea, Peraitheis, Helisson, Oresthasion, Dipaia, and Lykaia, which were all cities from Mainalos; from the region of the Eutresioi, Trikolonoi, Zoiton, Charisia, Ptolederma, Knauson, and Paroreia.

8.27.4

Beside the Aigytes were Aigys, Skirtonion, Malea, Kromoi, Blenina, and Leuktron. From the Parrhasii were Lykosoura, Thoknia, Trapezous, Prosia, Akakesion, Akontion, Makaria, and Dasea. Among the Kynourians in Arcadia were Gortys, Theisoa near Lykaion, the Lykaeatai, and Aliphera. Of those who contributed to Orchomenos were Theisoa, Methydrion, and Teuthis; and another called Tripolis also was added, as were Kallia, Dipoinon, and Nonakris.

8.27.5

The rest of Arcadia did not in any way disregard the common resolution, but earnestly gathered together into the Great City. Only the Lycaeans, the Tricolonians, the Lycosoureans, and the Trapezuntians among the Arcadians changed their stance. For they refused henceforth to abandon their ancient towns; yet some of them were forcibly compelled against their will to remove to the Great City, whereas the Trapezuntians left the Peloponnesus entirely.

8.27.6

Altogether they withdrew, at least those among them who remained and were not immediately destroyed by the fury of the Arcadians. Those who escaped safely and sailed back by ship into the Pontus, the inhabitants of Trapezus on the Euxine received as settlers, since they were both colonists from the same mother-city and shared its name. Even against the Lycosurians, who had also disobeyed them, the Arcadians nevertheless showed reverence, for the sake of Demeter and the Mistress, to those who came to the sanctuary.

8.27.7

Of the other cities previously mentioned, some in our day are completely deserted, while others are occupied by the Megalopolitans as villages: Gortys, Dipoenae, Theisoa near Orchomenus, Methydrium, Teuthis, Calliae, and Helisson. Pallantium alone, among these cities, was evidently destined to experience even then a gentler fate from the deity. The Alipheraeans, however, have continued from the beginning down to this time to retain their city and their distinct identity.

8.27.8

Megalopolis was founded in the same year, a few months after the defeat suffered by the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra; during the archonship of Phrasicleides at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii won the foot-race.

8.27.9

The Megalopolitans, once enrolled in alliance with the Thebans, had nothing more to fear from the Lacedaemonians. But when the Thebans engaged in the so-called Sacred War, the Phocians came to face them as opponents, holding territory bordering on that of Boeotia and proving formidable through the wealth they possessed from having seized the sanctuary at Delphi.

8.27.10

At that time, the Lacedaemonians, through sheer eagerness, would have made homeless both the other Arcadians and particularly those of Megalopolis. But since the Arcadians then resisted courageously and the neighboring peoples, without hesitation, came to their aid, neither side achieved anything worthy of mention. However, this hostility of the Arcadians toward the Lacedaemonians most notably increased the power of Philip son of Amyntas and of the Macedonians, with the result that the Arcadians took no part in the struggle of the Greeks either at Chaeronea or subsequently around Thessaly.

8.27.11

Not long afterwards Aristodemus rose up as tyrant over the Megalopolitans. He was of Phigalean descent, the son of Artylas, and owed his elevation to Tritaïeus, one of the most influential men in Megalopolis. Yet, despite his tyrannical rule, it happened that he earned the surname “the Good.”

While Aristodemus held power, the Lacedaemonians invaded Megalopolitan territory under Acrotatus, the eldest son of King Cleomenes. I have previously detailed the genealogy both of this Acrotatus and the entire dynasty of Spartan kings. A fierce battle ensued, and many fell on both sides; nevertheless, the Megalopolitans prevailed in the encounter. Among the Spartans killed was Acrotatus himself, who thus never succeeded to his ancestral throne.

8.27.12

After the death of Aristodemus, about two generations later, Lydiades became tyrant. He came from a house not without distinction, and in character was ambitious by nature, and, as he later showed clearly, also devoted to his city. He attained his power while still young; yet, as soon as he began to think more deeply, he willingly laid aside the tyranny, although by that time his rule had been securely established. At that period, when the Megalopolitans were already joining the Achaean League, Lydiades became so esteemed among both his fellow-citizens in Megalopolis and among the whole body of the Achaeans that his reputation came to equal that of Aratus.

8.27.13

The Lacedaemonians themselves marched out in full force, along with Agis the son of Eudamidas, king of the other royal house, against Megalopolis, with more substantial preparation of greater significance than that previously assembled by Acrotatus. In battle they defeated the Megalopolitans, and bringing up a powerful siege engine against the wall at this point, shook the tower by means of it, and expected to overthrow it on the next day with their machine.

8.27.14

Thus it was destined that Boreas would benefit not only all the Greeks by wrecking most of the Persian fleet at Sepias, but this wind also saved the Megalopolitans from capture. For it destroyed the siege engine of Agis, scattering it utterly to ruin by a violent and continuous blast. This Agis, whose attempt against Megalopolis was frustrated by Boreas, is the very one who lost Pellene in Achaea to Aratus and the Sicyonians, and who afterward met his end at Mantineia.

8.27.15

Not long afterwards Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, seized Megalopolis during a period of truce. Some of the Megalopolitans immediately fell that same night defending their homeland; among them Lydiades met his destined fate, fighting in a manner worthy of remembrance. But Philopoemen, son of Kraugis, led the greater part–about two-thirds–of those capable of bearing arms, together with the women and children, and escaped safely into Messenia.

8.27.16

Cleomenes was killing those who had been left behind, and he entirely razed and burned the city. By what manner the Megalopolitans saved themselves and what fortune befell them upon their return, will be made clear in my narrative concerning Philopoemen. But the Spartan people bear no share of responsibility for the suffering of the Megalopolitans, since Cleomenes transformed their constitution from a kingship into a tyranny.

8.27.17

As I have already mentioned, near the sources of the Bouphagos river lie the boundaries between the territories of the Megalopolitans and the Heraeans. They say the river got its name from the hero Bouphagos, who was the son of Iapetos and Thornax. This Thornax gives her name also to Thornax in Laconia. They further relate that upon Mount Pholoe, Artemis slew Bouphagos with an arrow for daring unholy deeds against the goddess.

Chapter 28

8.28.1

As you go along from the sources of the river, the first place you encounter is the district of Maratha, and afterward Gortys, which in my time was a village, though in earlier days it was a city. There is here a temple of Asclepius, built of Pentelic marble; the god himself, represented without a beard, and an image of Hygieia, are the works of Skopas. The local inhabitants also relate that Alexander, the son of Philip, dedicated his breastplate and spear to Asclepius; and in my time at least, the breastplate and the spearhead still remained.

8.28.2

Through Gortyna flows a river which is named by those who dwell near its sources the Lousios–after the baths in which Zeus himself is said to have been bathed at his birth; those who live farther downstream call it the Gortynios after the village Gortys. This Gortynios has the coldest water of all rivers. The Ister and the Rhine, indeed, and also the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, and all other rivers whose streams freeze during the winter season, might justly, in my opinion, be called winter rivers, as they flow for the greater part of the year through snow-covered land, and the air around these streams is filled with frost.

8.28.3

Those rivers whose course traverses land enjoying a mild climate, offering in summer water that refreshes people who drink or bathe in it but is not troublesome in winter–I call such rivers providers of cold water. Indeed, cold is also the water of the Cydnus, which flows by Tarsus, and of the Melas near Side in Pamphylia. As for the Ales in Colophon, even elegiac poets have sung of its coldness. But the Gortynius surpasses these rivers in the coldness of its water–especially during the summer season. Its sources lie in Theisoa, neighboring Methydrium, and as it mixes its current into the Alpheius, people call the place Rheiteai.

8.28.4

Adjacent to the territory of Theisoa is a village called Teuthis; Teuthis, however, was formerly a town. During the Trojan War, the inhabitants here contributed a leader of their own: his name was Teuthis, although some assert it was Ornytus. When favorable winds to Ilium did not arise for the Greeks from Aulis, but a violent wind constrained them and held them back for a considerable time, Teuthis came into dispute with Agamemnon and was on the point of leading back the Arcadians whom he commanded.

8.28.5

★ At this place, they say, Athena appeared resembling Melas, the son of Opus, and sought to deter Teuthis from his journey back home. But he, his anger swelling within him, struck the goddess with his spear in her thigh, and nevertheless withdrew his army from Aulis, leading them back again. When he returned home, it is said that the goddess herself appeared to him wounded in the thigh. After this event Teuthis fell ill with a wasting disease, and from that time onward the land yielded no fruit whatsoever for these Arcadians alone.

8.28.6

After some time, other oracles came to them from Dodona instructing them on the rituals they must perform to appease the goddess, and accordingly they crafted a statue of Athena bearing a wound upon her thigh. This very statue I myself have seen, its thigh bound up with a purple bandage. There are other sanctuaries in Teuthis as well, one of Aphrodite and another of Artemis.

8.28.7

These things, then, stand in this place. On the road leading from Gortys to Megalopolis is a memorial constructed for those who died in battle against Cleomenes. This memorial the Megalopolitans call "Paraibasion" (Treaty-violation), because Cleomenes broke a truce made with them. Next to the Paraibasion is a plain extending approximately sixty stades. On the right side of the road lie the ruins of a city called Brenthe, from which the river Brentheates flows forth and, after running about five stades, joins the Alpheios.

Chapter 29

8.29.1

After crossing the Alpheios, there is a region called Trapezountia and the ruins of a city, Trapezous. Proceeding again toward the Alpheios, descending from Trapezous on the left, not far from the river is a place called Bathos. There every third year they hold rites in honor of the Great Goddesses. At this place there is also a spring called Olympias, whose water flows only every other year, and near the spring, fire emerges from the ground. The Arcadians say that the battle between Giants and gods occurred here rather than at Pallene in Thrace, and here they make offerings to lightning, storms, and thunder.

8.29.2

Homer makes no mention of Giants in the Iliad, but in the Odyssey he describes how the Laestrygonians attacked Odysseus' ships–beings he compares more to giants than men; he also has the king of the Phaeacians say that the Phaeacians are close kin to the gods, just as are the Cyclopes and the tribe of Giants. Thus, in these passages, Homer clearly indicates that the Giants are mortal and not of divine race, and even more explicitly here:

"who once ruled over the arrogant Giants, but he destroyed the reckless people, and was himself destroyed."

Yet in these verses, the majority of men wish to be called by the term 'people.'

8.29.3

That giants had serpents instead of feet has seemed, here as in many other places, an exceedingly foolish story. When the Roman emperor desired to sail upriver by ship from the sea to the city of Antioch upon the Orontes, the river of Syria, since the river did not flow at an even level all the way to the sea but rather descended abruptly from a steep cliff, he undertook with great effort and expense of money to construct a suitable artificial channel for sailing upstream, and diverted the river into this canal.

8.29.4

When the original stream had dried up, there was discovered in it an earthen coffin more than eleven cubits long, and the corpse inside corresponded to the coffin in size and was human in all parts of the body. When the Syrians came to the oracle at Claros, the god there declared that this corpse was Orontes and that he was descended from the race of Indians. Now, if originally, when the earth was still moist and filled with humidity, the sun warming it fashioned the first human beings, what other region would one reasonably suppose either earlier than India or more likely to have produced greater

men, seeing that even in our time India breeds creatures remarkable both for extraordinary appearance and size?

8.29.5

★ About ten stades from the place called Bathos is the site named Basilis. Cypselus was its founder, having given his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes, the son of Aristomachus. In my time Basilis was in ruins, and among these ruins there still remained a temple of Demeter Eleusinia. Proceeding from there, you again cross the Alpheius and reach Thocnia, named after Thocnus, the son of Lycaon, but wholly deserted by our day. Thocnus was said to have built the city on a hill. The river Aminius flows by this hill and empties into the Helisson, and not far away the Helisson itself joins the Alpheius.

Chapter 30

8.30.1

This Elisson river rises from a village of the same name–for indeed the village is also called Elisson–and flows through the territories of the Dipaeans and the Lycaeatae, and thirdly passing through the city of Megale, it joins the Alpheios twenty stadia from the city of the Megalopolitans. Near the city is a temple dedicated to Poseidon Epoptês; the head of his statue was missing.

8.30.2

The city called Megalopolis is divided by the river Helisson, just as canals similarly divide cities like Cnidus and Mytilene. On the northern side (the part to the right when looking downstream along the river), the inhabitants have made their marketplace. Here there stands an enclosure made of stone, and within it is a sanctuary of Zeus Lycaeus, although there is no entry to it. Everything inside is clearly visible: there are altars dedicated to the god, two tables, eagles upon the tables of equal size, and a stone statue of Pan.

8.30.3

His epithet is Sinoeis, and they say this epithet came to Pan from the nymph Sinoe, who, along with ★
other nymphs, was said particularly to have been his nurse. And before this sanctuary stands a bronze statue of Apollo, worthy of viewing, twelve feet high. It was brought as an offering from the Phigalians for the adornment of Megalopolis.

8.30.4

The place where the statue was originally set up by the people of Phigaleia is called Bassae. The god adopted the surname according to the appellation given by the Phigaleians; however, the reason why he obtained the name Epikourios ("Helper") will become clear to me in my account of the Phigaleians. At the right side of Apollo there stands a small statue of the Mother of the Gods. Besides the columns, nothing else remains of the temple.

8.30.5

In front of the temple of the Mother, there stand no statues, but clearly visible were the pedestals upon which statues once stood. An elegiac inscription written on one of these pedestals says it once supported the statue of Diophanes, son of Diaeus, the first man who united the whole Peloponnese into the confederation named the Achaean League.

8.30.6

? The portico in the marketplace called the Philippeion was not built by Philip, son of Amyntas, but the Megalopolitans, wishing to honor him, gave the structure his name. Near it had once been a temple of Hermes Acacesius, which had fallen into complete ruin so that nothing remained except the stone foundation. Next to this Philippeion stands another portico, smaller in size: here the archives of the Megalopolitans were built, consisting of six separate chambers. In one of these chambers is a statue of Ephesian Artemis, and in another a bronze statue of Pan about a cubit tall, known by the surname Scoleitas.

8.30.7

It was brought from the hill called Skoleitas, and this hill is within the city wall; from it there flows water from a spring down into the Elisson. Behind the government offices stands a temple of Tyche, and an image of stone has been created, not far short of five feet tall. The portico they call Myropolis is situated in the marketplace, and was built from spoils taken at the time of the defeat suffered by Acrotatus son of Cleomenes and the Spartans who fought alongside him, when they engaged in battle with Aristodemus, who at that time held the tyranny of Megalopolis.

8.30.8

The Megalopolitans have in their market-place, behind the enclosure sacred to Zeus Lycaeus, a statue upon a pillar, portraying Polybius, the son of Lycortas. Elegiac verses are inscribed on it, saying that he had traveled over all earth and sea, that he had become an ally of the Romans, and that he had appeased their anger towards Greece. This Polybius composed other works as well, among them an account of the deeds of the Romans, recording how war arose between them and the Carthaginians, the reason behind this conflict, and how it happened at a late stage.

8.30.9

Not without great dangers did the Romans bring the Carthaginian war to an end through that Scipio whom they call "Africanus," and reduce Carthage entirely to the ground. Whenever the Roman followed Polybius' advice, his actions turned out successfully; but, whenever he failed to heed Polybius' guidance, it is said he committed errors. As for all the Greek cities that belonged to the Achaean League, these obtained permission from the Romans for Polybius himself to organize their constitutions and establish laws. The council-chamber, with Polybius' statue, stands on the left.

8.30.10

This place, then, is situated here. They say that a citizen named Aristandros built the portico in the marketplace, which is called Aristandreion after him. Nearest to this portico, toward the rising sun, is a temple of Zeus surnamed Soter ("Savior"), adorned with columns around it. The statue of Zeus is seated upon a throne. Standing beside him are personifications–on one side, the goddess Megale Polis ("Great City"), and on his left a statue of Artemis Soteira ("Savior"). These figures, made from Pentelic marble, are the work of the Athenians Kephisodotos and Xenophon.

Chapter 31

8.31.1

At the other end of the colonnade, towards the west, is an enclosure sacred to the Great Goddesses. ★ Now, these Great Goddesses are Demeter and the Maiden, as I have previously mentioned in my account of Messenia; however, the Arcadians call the Maiden "Saviour." In relief sculptures in front of the entrance, Artemis is depicted on one side, and on the other side are Asclepius and Hygieia.

8.31.2

The Great Goddesses are depicted thus: Demeter is carved entirely of stone, but the Saviour Goddess ★ has garments made of wood. In height each of them measures about fifteen feet. Damophon made these statues, and also placed before them smaller figures of maidens, not large, clothed in tunics reaching to their ankles; each maiden carries upon her head a basket full of flowers. It is said these maidens are daughters of Damophon himself, but for those who interpret the figures in a more divine sense, the maidens are thought to represent Athena and Artemis gathering flowers along with Persephone.

8.31.3

Beside Demeter is a statue of Heracles, about a cubit tall. Onomacritus asserts in his verses that this ★ Heracles is one of those called the Idaean Dactyls. In front stands a table, on which are sculpted two Horae, Pan with pipes, and Apollo playing the lyre. There is also an inscription upon them, stating that they belong to the earliest of the gods.

8.31.4

On the table are also represented Nymphs: Neda is carrying the infant Zeus; Anthrakia, an Arcadian ★ nymph as well, is holding a torch; Hagno holds an urn in one hand and in the other a drinking-cup; Anchiroë and Myrtoessa are bearing water-jars, and apparently water flows down from them. Within the enclosure is a temple of Zeus Philios. The statue was made by Polycleitus of Argos, and resembles Dionysus: for it wears buskins, holds a cup in one hand and a thyrsus in the other, and an eagle is perched upon the thyrsus. Yet this is not consistent with the established traditions related to Dionysus.

8.31.5

Behind this temple is a grove of trees, not large, enclosed by a wall. There is no entrance allowed to ★ humans into the inner part, but in front of it stand statues of Demeter and Kore, each about three feet tall. Within the enclosure there is also a sanctuary of the Great Gods and of Aphrodite. Before

the entrance stand ancient wooden figures, representing Hera, Apollo, and the Muses–these, they say, were brought from Trapezus. The statues within the temple itself were made by Damophon.

8.31.6

He made a wooden figure of Hermes, and also a carved image of Aphrodite; her hands, face, and the tips of her feet are of stone. And their surname for the goddess, "Machanitis" ("Deviser"), seems to me exceedingly appropriate; for it is because of Aphrodite and her deeds that most contrivances have been devised, and these contrivances discovered by humankind are of every kind imaginable.

8.31.7

There also stand statues inside a building of Callignotus, Mentas, Sosigenes, and Polus. These men are said to have first established among the Megalopolitans the rites of the Great Goddesses; the ceremonies performed are imitations of those at Eleusis. Within the precinct there are also statues of other divinities arranged in a square: Hermes called Agetor ("Leader"), Apollo, Athena, Poseidon, Helios bearing the surname Soter ("Savior"), and Heracles as well. A sanctuary of great size has also been constructed for them, and there they celebrate the sacred ceremonies in honor of the goddesses.

8.31.8

To the right of the temple of the Great Gods there is a sanctuary of Kore, and her statue, made of stone, is approximately eight feet high. Ribbons constantly encircle its pedestal. Women have perpetual access to this sanctuary, but men may enter it only once each year. Adjoining the marketplace on the west is a gymnasium.

8.31.9

Behind the colonnade called after Philip of Macedon are two hills, neither of considerable height. On one of these stand the ruins of a sanctuary of Athena Polias, and upon the other hill is a temple of Hera Teleia–this too now lies in ruins. Beneath this second hill is a spring called Bathyllos, which also contributes significantly to the size of the river Helisson.

Chapter 32

8.32.1

These noteworthy sights were there. Beyond the river, in the southern district, lay what was considered the largest theater in all of Greece; within its precinct stands a perpetual spring of water. Not far from the theater remain the foundations of the Council-house, constructed for the Ten Thousand Arcadians, and named Thersilion after its founder. Nearby, there is a house, privately owned in my day, originally built for Alexander, the son of Philip. Beside this dwelling stands a statue of Ammon, resembling the square Herm figures, bearing upon its head the horns of a ram.

8.32.2

The sanctuary of the Muses, Apollo, and Hermes, constructed jointly for these deities, now offers few foundations to recall its existence. Still standing, however, was one statue of the Muses and another of Apollo, each crafted in the manner of square-shaped Herms. There also lay in ruins the sanctuary of Aphrodite, apart from part of the pronaos still surviving and three statues remaining within; one of these had the surname Ourania ("Heavenly"), another Pandemos ("Common"), while the third bore no name at all.

8.32.3

Not far away is an altar of Ares, and it was said that originally a temple to the god had also been built ★ there. Above the sanctuary of Aphrodite there is a stadium, one side of which extends toward the theater. At this place there is also a spring, which they regard as sacred to Dionysus. At the opposite end of the stadium stood a temple of Dionysus, said to have been struck by lightning sent by the god two generations before my time, and only a few limited ruins remained even in my day. Near the stadium once stood a joint temple of Heracles and Hermes, but it no longer existed; only an altar remained for them.

8.32.4

In this part there is a hill facing the rising sun, and on it is a temple to Artemis Agrotera, also dedicated ★ by Aristodemus. On the right of Artemis Agrotera is a sacred precinct; there stands a sanctuary of Asclepius containing statues of himself and Hygieia. Slightly lower down there are gods–these also made in square form–nicknamed Ergatai ("Workers"), as well as Athena Ergane and Apollo Agyieus. Hermes, Heracles, and Eileithyia have traditions derived from the verses of Homer: Hermes is said to serve Zeus as his messenger and to bring the souls of those who have died down into Hades; Heracles is famed for

having accomplished many difficult labors; and Homer in the Iliad made Eileithyia responsible for the pains of women in childbirth.

8.32.5

★ There is also another sanctuary beneath this hill, dedicated to Asklepios Pais ("the Child"). The statue of this deity is made standing and measures approximately one cubit, whereas the statue of Apollo, sitting upon a throne, is nearly six feet tall. There are also displayed bones which exceed the human standard in size, and these were said to belong to one of the Giants whom Hopladamos gathered as allies for Rhea; I shall speak further about these events at a later point. Near the sanctuary there is a spring, and from it flows water down into the river Helisson.

Chapter 33

8.33.1

But if the Great City, though established by the Arcadians with the utmost enthusiasm and with the greatest hopes among the Greeks for its absolute splendor and ancient prosperity, has been stripped of all its glory and stands mostly in ruins in our time, I am not at all surprised; for I know that the divine power is always inclined to produce new events, and that fortune continually shifts everything alike–both strong and weak, things coming into existence as well as those perishing–and leads them wherever she wills by an irresistible necessity. ?

8.33.2

Mycenae, it is true, once led the Greeks in the Trojan War; Nineveh had been the royal capital of the Assyrians; and the Boeotian Thebes was deemed worthy at one time to assume leadership of Greece. Yet these cities have fallen into complete ruin, and the name of Thebes itself is now confined merely to the acropolis, inhabited by only a few residents. As for other cities once conspicuous for their ancient wealth, Egyptian Thebes, Minyan Orchomenus, and Delos, formerly the common marketplace of all Greeks–these have declined into a state of well-being inferior even to that of an average private citizen. Delos, in particular, now lacks inhabitants altogether, since the Athenians removed the security garrison from the sanctuary, causing the people of Delos to abandon the island entirely. ★

8.33.3

Of Babylon, the sanctuary of Bel remains, but of Babylon herself, which the sun saw as the greatest of the cities of that time, nothing remained except its wall, just as is the case with Tiryns in Argolis. All these things have been reduced to nothing by divine power. But the city of Alexander in Egypt, and that of Seleucus on the Orontes, founded only yesterday or the day before, have grown now to such greatness and prosperity, because fortune favors them.

8.33.4

This phenomenon shows in yet another way a force greater and even more wondrous than the vicissitudes and prosperities of cities. For the island Chryse, lying at no great distance from Lemnos–where, according to tradition, the snake inflicted torment upon Philoctetes–was wholly overwhelmed by waves; Chryse sank and vanished beneath the depths. Moreover, at that time there was no other island called Hiera. Thus it is that human affairs are fleeting and utterly devoid of certainty. ★

Chapter 34

8.34.1

From Megalopolis, on the road to Messene, after advancing about seven stades, there is situated on the left side of the highway a sanctuary dedicated to goddesses. Both the goddesses themselves and the district around their sanctuary are called Maniai ("Madnesses"). It seems to me that this epithet refers to the Eumenides, and they say that it was at this very place that Orestes became mad because of the murder of his mother.

8.34.2

Not far from the temple is a small earthen mound bearing on it a stone carved to resemble a finger; indeed, the mound itself is known as the "Tomb of the Finger." Here, people say, Orestes, being driven mad, bit off one of the fingers of his own hand. Immediately next to this spot is another place called Ake ("Healing"), so named because there Orestes recovered from his illness; and here too a sanctuary has been established for the Eumenides.

8.34.3

These goddesses, they say, appeared black to Orestes when they were about to drive him into madness. But when he had bitten off his finger, they suddenly appeared white again to him, and at the sight of them he regained his sanity. Then he offered sacrifices to the dark ones to avert their anger, and sacrificed also to the white ones. It is customary, moreover, to sacrifice to them at the same time with the Graces. Near the place called Akesai is another sanctuary named Koureion, the "place of haircutting," because there Orestes cut off his hair after he had recovered his reason.

8.34.4

But among the Peloponnesians, those who recall ancient traditions claim that Orestes' experiences in Arcadia at the hands of Clytemnestra's Erinyes happened prior to his trial on the Areopagus; and that not Tyndareus–who no longer survived–but Perilaus accused Orestes, bringing a charge against him for his mother's blood, since Perilaus was the cousin of Clytemnestra; for Perilaus was the son of Icarius, and Icarius later also had daughters.

8.34.5

From Maniae there is a road leading to the Alpheios of about fifteen stades. At this point, the river Gatheatas flows into the Alpheios, and earlier still the Karnion descends into the Gatheatas. The springs

of this Karnion lie in the territory of Aigytis, below the sanctuary of Apollo Kereatas, while the springs of the Gatheatas are located in the district of Kromitis, at Gatheai.

8.34.6

Cromitis lies about forty stades from the Alpheios, and in this area the ruins of the city Cromi were still not altogether erased. From Cromi it is about twenty stades to Nymphas, a place flowing with water and dense with trees. About twenty stades from Nymphas lies the Hermaion, which marks the boundary between the Messenians and the Megalopolitans; here they have set up an image of Hermes upon a pillar.

Chapter 35

8.35.1

This road leads toward Messene; a different route from Megalopolis leads to Carnasium, a place belonging to the Messenians. Taking this road, the Alpheius River first meets you, since the Malous and the Scyrus flow down into it, joining their streams beforehand. From this point, keeping the Malous on your right for about thirty stadia, you cross it and ascend by a steeper road toward a place called Phaedria.

8.35.2

About fifteen stades from Phaidrias is the place called Hermaion, sacred to Despoina. This spot, too, marks the boundary between the Messenians and the Megalopolitans. Here stand small statues of Despoina and Demeter, as well as Hermes and Herakles. It seems to me that it was here, at the border between Messenia and Arcadia, that the wooden image of Herakles crafted by Daidalos formerly stood.

8.35.3

The road that leads from Megalopolis to Lacedaemon extends for thirty stades to the Alpheius. From there, continuing along the river, one reaches the river Theius–this Theius also flows into the Alpheius. Leaving the Theius on the left and proceeding approximately forty stades from the Alpheius, one arrives at Phalaisiai. Phalaisiai stands twenty stades from Hermaion, near Belemina.

8.35.4

The Arcadians indeed say that Belemina was once theirs, but was detached from their territory by the Lacedaemonians. This claim seemed improbable to me for several reasons, most especially because the Thebans, in my view, would not have allowed the Arcadians to be deprived even of this possession, if they could have expected justice to be on their side in recovering it.

8.35.5

From Megalopolis there are also roads leading to other places within Arcadia: to Methydrium the distance is one hundred and seventy stadia. About thirteen stadia farther from Megalopolis is a place named Skias, and there are ruins of a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Skiatis, which Aristodemus, who was once tyrant, is said to have founded. About ten stadia from there are some slight remains of the city Charisiai; from Charisiai it is another ten stadia to Trikolonoi.

8.35.6

★ The city of Tricoloni was also inhabited once; even up to our time there remains there upon a hill a sanctuary of Poseidon and a square-shaped statue, as well as a grove of trees surrounding the sanctuary. The sons of Lycaon founded this city. Zoitea, lying about fifteen stades further from Tricoloni, not directly ahead but to the left as one comes from Tricoloni, they say was founded by Zoiteus, the son of Tricolonus. Paroreus, the younger of Tricolonus' sons, founded Paroria, which lies ten stades from Zoitea.

8.35.7

★ Both were deserted even in my day. Yet, in Zoitia remain sanctuaries of Demeter and Artemis, which endured still into my own time. There exist also other ruins of cities: Thyraeum, at a distance of five stadia farther away, and Paroria at ten; while the remains of Hypsus stand upon a mountain situated above the plain, called Hypsus. The territory lying between Thyraeum and Hypsus is entirely mountainous and full of wild animals. Tradition has previously declared to us that both Thyraeum and Hypsus were founded by Lycaon.

8.35.8

★ From Trikolonoi, on the right, the road at first ascends toward the spring called Krounoi ("Springs"). About thirty stades descent from Krounoi is the tomb of Kallisto, a lofty earthen mound covered with trees, many wild as well as many cultivated. On the summit of this mound there is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Kalliste ("Most Beautiful"). It seems to me that Pamphos, having learned something from the Arcadians, was the first who named Artemis "Kalliste" in his verses.

8.35.9

★ Twenty-five stades from that place, and one hundred stades from Trikolonoi altogether, lies a locality called Anemosa by the river Helisson; and by the direct route from Methydrion–for this one remains further from Trikolonoi–there is a mountain named Phalanthos, where stand the ruins of the city Phalanthos. They say that Phalanthos was the son of Agelaos of Stymphalos.

8.35.10

★ Above it is a plain called Polos, and after that is Schoenus, named from Schoeneus, a man from Boeotia. If this Schoeneus indeed migrated here among the Arcadians, then the racecourses of Atalanta, named after his daughter, would appropriately be located near Schoenus. Next to it is a place called, as it seems to me and as is generally agreed, Arcadia.

Chapter 36

8.36.1

After this, nothing worth recalling remains except Methydrium itself. The road from Tricoloni to this place measures one hundred and thirty-seven stades. Methydrium received its name because it stands upon a high hill situated between the rivers Maloetas and Mylaon, where Orchomenus established the city. Even before the establishment of Megalopolis, men from Methydrium had already attained victories at the Olympic Games.

8.36.2

There is in Methydrium a temple of Poseidon Hippios, situated along the river Mylaon. The mountain ★
called Thaumasios stretches above the river Maloitas. The people of Methydrium say that Rhea, when she was pregnant with Zeus, came to this mountain and there prepared for herself a defense against Cronus, in case he attacked her, enlisting Hopladamos and other giants who were with him.

8.36.3

They agree that she gave birth on some part of Mount Lykaion, and also say that it was here that ★
occurred the deception against Kronos and the substitution of the stone for the child, a substitution called by the Greeks an "antidosis." Near the summit of the mountain there is a cave sacred to Rhea, into which none may enter among men, except only women who serve as priestesses to the goddess.

8.36.4

From Methydrium at a distance of about thirty stades is a spring called Nymphasia; from Nymphasia it is likewise about another thirty stades to the boundaries shared jointly by the Megalopolitans, Orchomenians, and Caphyatans.

8.36.5

For the Megalopolitans, as one goes through the gate known as the Gate toward the Marsh, by this road ?
heading toward Maenalus alongside the river Helisson, there is on the left a temple of the Good God. Now if the gods indeed bestow good things upon people, and Zeus is supreme among the gods, one might reasonably conclude from this argument that this epithet refers to Zeus. A little further along is an earthen mound, the tomb of Aristodemus, whom they did not refrain from calling 'the Good', even though he was a tyrant. There is also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Machanitis ("the Inventive"), because the goddess is considered the originator of all sorts of strategies and ingenious devices.

8.36.6

On the right side of the road, there is a precinct sacred to the wind Boreas, and the Megalopolitans offer sacrifices to him every year, granting Boreas honors second to none among the gods, for he became their savior from the Lacedaemonians and from King Agis. Next follows the tomb of Oicles, the father of Amphiaraus–provided that fate indeed overtook him in Arcadia, and that he did not join Heracles in the expedition against Laomedon. Beyond this is a temple and a grove sacred to the so-called Demeter in the Marsh, located five stades away from the city, and entrance into this sanctuary is permitted solely to women.

8.36.7

Thirty stadia farther on lies a district called Paliskios. From Paliskios, if one leaves the river Elaphos, which is not perennial, on the left and proceeds about twenty stadia, one finds among other ruins those of Peraethae and a sanctuary of Pan. But if one crosses the torrent, straight ahead fifteen stadia beyond the river there is a plain, and after crossing this plain one reaches Mount Nainalion, bearing the same name as the plain. At the foot of the mountain, along its slopes, there are remains of the city Lykóa, a temple of Artemis, and a bronze statue of Artemis Lykoatis.

8.36.8

On the southern slopes of the mountain was built a settlement named Soumetia. In this same mountain are also the places called Triodoi ("Three Roads"), from where the Mantineans, following an oracle from Delphi, brought back the bones of Arkas, son of Kallisto. There still remain ruins of Mainalos itself, traces of a temple dedicated to Athena, a stadium built for athletic contests, and another intended for horse races. The mountain of Mainalos is considered especially sacred to Pan, and those who dwell around it say they even hear Pan playing his reed pipes.

8.36.9

Between the sanctuary of Despoina and the city of the Megalopolitans are forty stades. Halfway along the route lies the stream of the Alpheios; after crossing, two stades from the Alpheios are the ruins of Macareae. From there, seven stades further, lie other ruins, those of Daseae. From Daseae to the hill known as Acacesium, the distance is likewise seven stades.

8.36.10

Below this hill there was the city Akakesion; there still remains even in our time upon the hill a stone image of Hermes Akakesios. There is a tradition among the Arcadians concerning him that Hermes was reared there as a child, and that Akakos, son of Lykaon, became his foster father. On these points, however, the Thebans differ, and the Tanagraeans, disagreeing in turn with the account of the Thebans, have yet another version.

Chapter 37

8.37.1

The sanctuary of Despoina lies four stades from Akakesion. At first there stands the temple of Artemis ★
Hegemone, housing a bronze statue holding torches–we estimate it to stand around six feet tall. From there, one enters the sacred enclosure of Despoina. Approaching the temple, there is a portico on the right side, and on its wall are reliefs carved in white marble. On the first relief are portrayed the Fates and Zeus surnamed Moiragetes; on the second is depicted Herakles taking away Apollo's tripod. As for the tradition associated with these scenes, I will recount that too, when I come to the relevant point in my narrative concerning Delphi in the Phocian account.

8.37.2

In the portico by the sanctuary of Despoina, among the statues previously mentioned, there is a tablet with an inscription, giving the details of the mysteries. On the third panel there are depicted Nymphs and figures of Pan, and on the fourth is Polybius son of Lycortas. The inscription says plainly that Greece would never have gone astray from the beginning if she had fully trusted Polybius; and even after her mistakes, only through him did she receive assistance. Before the temple, there is an altar for Demeter, another one for Despoina, and after that, one dedicated to the Great Mother.

8.37.3

The images of the goddesses themselves–Despoin and Demeter–as well as the throne on which they ★
are seated and the footstool beneath their feet, are all alike carved from a single stone. Neither the decoration upon their garments nor any ornamentation around the throne is made from any different stone joined by iron clamps or adhesive; rather, everything is formed from one single stone. This stone was not brought in to them from elsewhere; instead, they state that in obedience to a dream's vision, they discovered it by digging up the ground within the sanctuary enclosure. Regarding the size of the statues, each one is about equal in size to the statue of the Mother at Athens.

8.37.4

These are also works by Damophon. Demeter carries a torch in her right hand, while she has placed ★
her other hand upon Despoina. Despoina herself holds a scepter and what is called the kiste upon her knees, and with her right hand she grasps the kiste. On each side of the throne stands a figure: Artemis beside Demeter, clad in a deer-skin, a quiver upon her shoulders, holding a torch in one hand and two serpents in the other. Beside Artemis reclines a hound, of the kind suitable for hunting.

8.37.5

Beside the statue of Despoina stands Anytos, depicted with the form of one armed. Those who dwell around the sanctuary say that Despoina was nurtured by Anytos, who himself is reckoned amongst those called Titans. Homer was the first to introduce the Titans into poetry, describing them as gods dwelling beneath what is called Tartarus; this is found in the passage concerning Hera's oath. From Homer, Onomacritus borrowed the name of the Titans, composed rites in honor of Dionysus, and made the Titans responsible for the sufferings inflicted upon Dionysus.

8.37.6

Such are indeed the Arcadians' accounts concerning Anytus. That Artemis is the daughter of Demeter and not of Leto is originally an Egyptian tradition, and it was Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, who taught it to the Greeks. Regarding the Curetes–for these figures have been carved under the statues–and the Corybantes depicted upon the base (who are a different race entirely and distinct from the Curetes), knowing these matters, I willingly pass them by.

8.37.7

Of cultivated trees, the Arcadians bring all kinds into the sanctuary except the pomegranate. On the right as one exits the temple is fixed a mirror upon the wall; if someone gazes into this mirror, he will either see himself very indistinctly or perhaps not at all, whereas the images of the gods and the throne itself are clearly visible.

8.37.8

Near the temple of Despoina, after ascending a little, there is, on the right, a building called the Megaron. Here the Arcadians perform their rites and sacrifice to Despoina many rich offerings. Each devotee sacrifices whatever he possesses; however, they do not cut the throats of the victims as in other sacrifices, but instead each severs from the animal whatever limb the chance may bring.

8.37.9

The Arcadians especially venerate this goddess, Despoina, whom they say is the daughter of Poseidon and Demeter. Her popular title among most people is Despoina, in the same manner as they also call by the name Kore the daughter of Zeus, but whose personal name is Persephone, as Homer and still earlier Pamphos composed. As for the name of Despoina, I feared to record it for those who are uninitiated.

8.37.10

Above the building called the Megaron there is a grove sacred to Despoina, enclosed by a stone wall; within it various trees are growing, including an olive and a holm-oak, sprung from a single root. This marvel is not due to any skill of a gardener. Above the grove there are altars to Poseidon Hippios–as father of Despoina–and to other gods; on the last of these altars there is an inscription stating that it is shared among all the gods.

8.37.11

From here you ascend by a staircase to a sanctuary of Pan. A colonnade also leads into this sanctuary, and within it stands an image of no great size, yet this god shares equally with the mightiest deities the power of fulfilling human prayers and granting suitably deserved punishments upon wrongdoers. Beside this Pan a fire is kept burning that is never extinguished. It is said that in still earlier times this

god gave oracles, and that the nymph Erato served him as prophetess–this same Erato who was married to Arcas, the son of Callisto.

8.37.12

They also recall certain verses by Erato, which I myself have read. Here there is an altar dedicated to Ares, and within a temple there stand images of Aphrodite, one made of white marble, and the other, which is older, carved of wood. Likewise, here there are also wooden statues of Apollo and of Athena; and for Athena a sanctuary has been constructed.

Chapter 38

8.38.1

A little higher up is the enclosure of the wall of Lycosura, where there dwell but few inhabitants. Of all ★
the cities the earth has shown upon the mainland and on islands, Lycosura is the oldest; this city was the first that the sun saw, and from it humans learned how to establish the remaining cities.

8.38.2

To the left of the sanctuary of Despoina is Mount Lykaion; some Arcadians call this peak also Olympos, ★
and others name it the Holy Peak. They say that Zeus was nurtured on this mountain, and there is a region on Lykaion called Cretea–this Cretea lies to the left of the grove sacred to Apollo, surnamed Parrhasios. The Arcadians maintain that it is this place called Cretea, rather than the island of Crete, which is referred to in the Cretan tradition as the place where Zeus was nurtured, and accordingly they dispute the islands claim.

8.38.3

The names given to the Nymphs, who are said to have nurtured Zeus, are Thesoa, Neda, and Hagno. ★
From Thesoa a city was founded in Parrhasia; in my day Thesoa is a village belonging to the territory of Megalopolis. From Neda the river has taken its name; and from Hagno comes a spring on Mount Lycaeus whose waters flow like the river Ister, maintaining the same volume in winter as in the summer season.

8.38.4

If drought persists for a long time, when their crops and trees begin already to wither in the ground, ★
the priest of Zeus Lycaeus prays to the water, performs the sacrifices appointed by custom, and then lowers an oak branch upon the surface–not into the depths–of the spring. Once the water has been stirred, a vapor resembling a mist rises up; after lingering a short while, this mist becomes a cloud and, drawing other clouds toward itself, causes rain to fall upon the land of the Arcadians.

8.38.5

On Mount Lykaion, there is a sanctuary of Pan with a grove of trees surrounding it, a hippodrome, ?
and in front of it a stadium; in ancient times, the Lycaean Games were held here. There are also here pedestals for statues, although the statues themselves no longer exist. An elegiac inscription on one of

these pedestals states that the statue was of Astyanax, and that this Astyanax was descended from the lineage of Arkas.

8.38.6

★ Mount Lykaion also provides other wonders, and especially the following. There is a sanctuary there dedicated to Zeus Lykaeus, into which no human being is permitted to enter. If someone disregards this prohibition and enters, he inevitably cannot live beyond a year. Yet another marvel is said concerning this sacred precinct: everything within it–both animals and people alike–is said to cast no shadow. For this reason, if an animal flees into the precinct, the hunter does not dare to pursue it there. Standing outside the boundary and watching the animal, he notices that it casts no shadow at all. During the period when the sun passes through Cancer in the heavens, at Syene, which lies south of Egypt toward Ethiopia, neither tree nor creature casts a shadow; but the sanctuary on Mount Lykaion experiences this phenomenon continuously and in all seasons.

8.38.7

★ On the highest peak of the mountain there is a mound of earth, the altar of Zeus Lycaeus, from where most of the Peloponnese can be seen. In front of the altar stand two columns, positioned toward the rising sun; upon these were originally placed gilded eagles, made in even earlier times. Upon this altar they sacrifice offerings to Zeus Lycaeus in secret. It was not pleasing to me to inquire closely about the details of this sacrifice; let it remain as it is, and as it was from the beginning.

8.38.8

On the eastern slopes of the mountain there is a temple of Apollo surnamed Parrhasios; they also give him the title Pythios. Each year they hold a festival in the god's honor, at which they sacrifice a boar in the agora to Apollo Epikourios; after performing this sacrifice, they immediately carry the victim to the temple of Apollo Parrhasios, accompanied by a flute-player and a solemn procession. There they cut out the thigh-bones and burn them, and there too they consume the meat of the sacrificial animal.

8.38.9

★ They hold these customs thus. North of Mount Lycaeus lies the territory of Theisoa, and the inhabitants there especially honor the nymph Theisoa. Through the country of Theisoa flows the river Mylaon, which empties into the Alpheius. Tributaries of Mylaon are the Nous, the Acheloüs, the Celadus and the Naliphus. Besides this Acheloüs in Arcadia, there are two other rivers of the same name, both better known and more frequently mentioned.

8.38.10

★ Indeed, Homer in the Iliad said that the Achelous river, flowing toward the Echinades islands through Acarnania and Aetolia, is leader over all rivers. However, he created another Achelous, flowing from Mount Sipylus; both this river and Mount Sipylus were added to the account of Niobe. There is also yet a third river called by the name Achelous around Mount Lycaeus.

8.38.11

★ To the right of Lycosura are mountains called Nomia, and there is a sanctuary there dedicated to Pan Nomios; the place itself they name Melpeia, for they say it was there that the melody of Pan's pipe was first discovered. That the mountains were named Nomia after Pan's pasturings is indeed the simplest conjecture, but the Arcadians themselves assert that the name comes from a nymph.

Chapter 39

8.39.1

Near Lykosoura, towards the west, flows the river Plataniston. A traveler heading to Phigalia must necessarily cross the Plataniston, and beyond it the ascent is approximately thirty stadia, or slightly more.

8.39.2

Regarding Phigalos, son of Lykaon–for indeed this man was the original founder of the city–and how in the course of time the city changed its name from Phigalia to Boukolion, after Phialos son of Boukolos, and later recovered its former name, I have already mentioned this previously. However, other stories are also told about him which are not reliable enough to believe, such as that Phigalos was earth-born, and not a son of Lykaon, and some further say that Phigalia was one of the so-called Dryad nymphs.

8.39.3

When the Lacedaemonians undertook an expedition against the Arcadians and invaded Phigalia with an army, they defeated the inhabitants in battle and placed the city under siege by encamping around it. As the walls were about to fall, the Phigalians either fled secretly, or else the Lacedaemonians allowed them to depart under agreed terms. This capture of Phigalia and the resulting exile of the Phigalians occurred when Miltiades was archon in Athens, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, at which Chionis of Lacedaemon gained his third victory.

8.39.4

The Phigaleians who had survived decided to come to Delphi and ask the god about their return home. The Pythia responded that if they attempted by themselves to return to Phigaleia, she saw no way down for them; but if they should take as allies one hundred chosen men from Oresthasion, some of these men would die in battle, yet through them the Phigaleians would have their path home. When the Oresthasians heard the oracle delivered to the Phigaleians, each man eagerly strove to be among these hundred chosen warriors, surpassing one another in zeal to participate in the expedition to Phigaleia.

8.39.5

Having advanced against the Spartan garrison, they carried the oracle to complete fulfillment: for after they had fought bravely in battle according to prophecy, the end turned out fittingly for them; driving

out the Spartans, they enabled the Phigalians to reclaim their homeland. Phigalia itself lies mostly upon a high and precipitous site, and the city's walls are constructed on the cliffs. Once one has ascended, however, the hill at the top is flat and level. There is here a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Soteira (the Savior) with an upright stone statue; it is from this sanctuary that they established the sending forth of their processions.

8.39.6

? In the gymnasium there is a statue of Hermes; although it seems to wear a cloak, it does not end in feet, but instead terminates in a square form. There is also a temple of Dionysus. The local people call him by the surname Akratophoros ("Giver of Unmixed Wine"), and the lower parts of his statue are hidden from view beneath leaves of laurel and ivy. All that can be clearly seen of the statue is painted with cinnabar to make it gleam; this cinnabar is said to be discovered by Iberians together with gold.

Chapter 40

8.40.1

The Phigaleians have in their market-place a statue of Arrhachion the pancratiast. It is ancient in every respect, particularly in its posture; the feet are not set far apart, and the arms hang straight down alongside the sides as far as the hips. The statue itself is made of stone, and it is said that an epigram was written upon it, though this had been effaced by time. Arrhachion gained two Olympic victories in the Olympiads before the fifty-fourth, and also another in that very Olympiad, awarded to him justly by the judges of the Greeks and through his own excellence.

8.40.2

For as he fought for the olive crown against the one opponent who was left, that opponent had already gained the upper hand; he held Arrhachion bound fast with his legs and at the same time pressed Arrhachion's throat with his hands. But Arrhachion broke one of the toes on his opponent's foot; and as Arrhachion breathed out his life due to strangulation, the man who choked him also surrendered at the same moment because of the pain in his toe. Consequently, the Eleans crowned Arrhachion's dead body and proclaimed him victor.

8.40.3

I am aware also that the Argives acted similarly in the case of Kreugas, a boxer from Epidamnos. For indeed, the Argives awarded the crown of the Nemean games to Kreugas after his death, since the Syracusan Damoxenos, who fought against him, violated the agreement made between them. Evening had already come when they were still boxing, so they agreed openly that each in turn would deliver a blow to the other. At that time, boxers did not yet have sharp thongs bound around each wrist, but they still competed using soft thongs called meilichai, tied beneath the hollow of the hand, leaving the fingers uncovered. These meilichai were thin straps of raw oxhide, woven together in an ancient manner.

8.40.4

Then Creugas delivered his blow upon the head of Damoxenus; but Damoxenus ordered Creugas to raise his hand, and when he raised it, Damoxenus struck him under the ribs with fingers extended straight. Due to the sharpness of his nails and the force of the blow, he drove his hand inside Creugas' body, seizing the entrails, which he drew out by violence, causing his opponents death.

8.40.5

Immediately Kreugas gave up his life, and the Argives drove out Damoxenos because he had exceeded the agreed terms, striking his opponent with many blows instead of the single one permitted. They awarded the victory to Kreugas, though he was dead, and set up a statue of him in Argos. Down to my own time, this statue was standing in the temple of Apollo Lykeios.

Chapter 41

8.41.1

In the market-place of Phigaleia there is also a common tomb of the picked warriors of Oresthasion, and every year they offer sacrifices to them as heroes.

8.41.2

The river called Lymax flows into the Neda, passing right by Phigalia. They say that the river acquired its name from the purifications associated with Rhea. For when Rhea had given birth to Zeus, the nymphs cleansed her after her labor and cast the impurities into this river; the ancients used to call such impurities "lymata." Homer, too, bears witness to this usage when he speaks of the Greeks purifying themselves to end the plague and throwing their impurities, which he calls "lymata," into the sea. ★

8.41.3

The springs of the Neda are located on Mount Kerausion, which is part of Lykaion. Because the Neda flows very close to the city of Phigaleia, the youths of Phigaleia cut their hair in honour of the river. Near the sea, the Neda is navigable by small vessels. Among all rivers we know, the Maeander has by far the most winding course, with many bends and frequent twists that turn back upon themselves; second to the Maeander in meandering flows the Neda.

8.41.4

About twelve stades beyond Phigalia there are hot baths, and not far from them the river Lymax flows down into the Neda. At the junction of these streams stands the sanctuary of Eurynome, holy from ancient times and difficult of access due to the ruggedness of the place; around it grow many cypress trees, closely clustered together. ★

8.41.5

The people of Phigalia believe that Eurynome is an epithet of Artemis; but those among them who have inherited ancient traditions say that Eurynome was a daughter of Oceanus, whose name is also mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, where she, along with Thetis, is described as having received Hephaestus. Each year, on one specific day, they open the sanctuary of Eurynome; at all other times, it is their custom not to open it. ★

8.41.6

★? And at this time both the community and private individuals perform sacrifices. I myself did not arrive in time for the festival, nor did I see the statue of Eurynome. However, I heard from the people of Phigaleia that the wooden image is bound with golden chains and is shaped as a woman down to the hips, while below that point it has the form of a fish. Indeed, the fish feature might suitably serve as a distinguishing mark for a daughter of Ocean who dwells with Thetis in the depths of the sea; however, no rational argument could plausibly connect Artemis to such a form.

8.41.7

Phigalia is surrounded by mountains: on the left side by the mountain called Kotilion, while on the right another mountain, Elaion, stretches forth. Kotilion lies about forty stades from the city. In the same place is a locality called Bassai, and here also is the temple of Apollo the Helper, built entirely of stone, including its roof.

8.41.8

★ Among all the temples in the Peloponnese, next to the one at Tegea, this temple would be most esteemed both for the beauty of its stone and for the harmony of its construction. It acquired its name because Apollo gave assistance against a plague epidemic, just as among the Athenians he took the surname Alexikakos ("Averter of Evil") for having turned away disease from them also.

8.41.9

The war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians also brought an end to the hostilities of the Phigalians, and at no other time than this. Evidence for this is provided both by the epithets of Apollo in the two places, which seem to point to something similar, and by the fact that Ictinus, the architect who built the temple at Phigalia, was contemporary with Pericles, and also constructed for the Athenians the temple called the Parthenon. My inquiry has already informed me that the statue stands in the marketplace of the Megalopolitans and represents Apollo.

8.41.10

? There is on Mount Kotilion a spring of water, and whoever has maintained that the stream of the river Lymakos begins from this spring, has written neither from his own eyewitness account nor hearing from someone who had actually seen it. Both these conditions were present for me: for we saw in fact the stream flowing as a river, whereas the water from the spring on Mount Kotilion does not extend very far at all, but disappears altogether shortly after emerging. Moreover, I did not investigate precisely the spring that the Arcadians ascribe to the Lymakos. Above the sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios is a place named Kotilon, and in Kotilon there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite; her temple still stood, though it no longer had its roof, and a statue of her had been fashioned there.

Chapter 42

8.42.1

The other mountain, Elaion, is about thirty stades distant from Phigalia; there is a cave there, sacred to Demeter surnamed Melaine ("the Black"). The Thelpousians' account concerning the union of Poseidon and Demeter is the same as that held by the Phigalians; however, the Phigalians assert that the offspring born to Demeter was not a horse but the goddess whom the Arcadians call Despoina ("the Mistress").

8.42.2

After this event, they say, in anger towards Poseidon and grief over the rape of Persephone, Demeter dressed herself in black clothing and departed into this cave, remaining absent there for a long period. Meanwhile, everything that grows upon the earth began to wither away, and the race of mankind especially suffered, perishing increasingly from the famine. None of the other gods knew where Demeter had concealed herself, but Pan, setting out...

8.42.3

They say that Pan, at different times, hunted on various of the mountains in Arcadia, and having come also to Mount Elaion, he looked upon Demeter, noting the form she had assumed and the manner of garment she wore. Zeus, having learned these things from Pan, accordingly sent the Fates to Demeter. And she, persuading herself by the Fates message, laid aside her wrath and also began to diminish her grief. In return for these events, say the Phigalians, they considered this cave sacred to Demeter, and dedicated within it a wooden statue to her.

8.42.4

They say the image was made for them thus: it was seated upon a rock, and in all other respects it resembled a woman except for the head. It had the head and mane of a horse, with images of snakes and other beasts growing out of the head. It wore a tunic that reached down to its very feet, and in one hand it had a dolphin, while on the other hand there rested a dove. As to why the statue was made in such a fashion, this is clear to any intelligent man who is acquainted with traditions. They say that they gave her the name Melaina ("the Black One") because the goddess wore black garments.

8.42.5

They do not record by whom the image was crafted, nor in precisely what manner the fire seized it; yet after the loss of the original image, the Phigalians neither consecrated another statue for the goddess nor continued diligently their customary rites relating to festivals and sacrifices–indeed, they largely neglected these too–until barrenness gripped their land. When they sought aid, the Pythian priestess gave them this oracle:

8.42.6

★ Arcadians, acorn-eating Azanes, who inhabit Phigaleia, the cave which hides horse-bed Demeter, you have come seeking a solution for your grievous famine. Alone are you twice nomads, alone again wild dwellers. Demeter stopped you from pasturing, and Demeter once more made you pastoralists of grain-bound harvests and feasts returned, having been deprived of her former privileges and ancient honors. Soon she shall make you devour one another and feed upon your own children, unless you appease her wrath with communal libations and adorn the recess of her cave with holy rites.

8.42.7

? When the Phigalians heard the response of the oracle that had been brought to them, they honored Demeter even more greatly than before, and persuaded Onatas, son of Micon, of Aegina, agreeing with him upon a certain sum as payment, to create for them an image of Demeter. This same Onatas is the artist of a bronze Apollo at Pergamon, an extraordinary statue, admired particularly for its size and artistic merit. Thus at that time, having discovered a depiction or copy of the ancient wooden cult-image–though, it is said, relying mostly upon what he had seen in dreams–he made for the Phigalians a bronze statue, approximately two generations after the Persian invasion of Greece.

8.42.8

My account is supported by evidence; for at the time of Xerxes' crossing into Europe, Gelon, son of Deinomenes, was ruling as tyrant over Syracuse and the rest of Sicily. When Gelon died, the sovereignty passed to his brother Hieron. However, Hieron died before he could dedicate to Olympian Zeus the votive offerings he had vowed in celebration of his victories with horses; thus Deinomenes, son of Hieron, made the dedication on behalf of his father.

8.42.9

These also are works of Onatas, and inscriptions in Olympia; one of them, upon a dedication, runs thus:

"O Olympian Zeus, having once won your revered contest with his four-horse chariot, and twice with a single steed, Hieron presented to you these gifts; his son dedicated them as memorials of his father Deinomenes of Syracuse."

8.42.10

The other of the inscriptions says: "Onatas, son of Micon, dwelling in houses on the island of Aegina, completed me." According to the Athenian Hegias, the period of Onatas coincides with that of Ageladas the Argive.

8.42.11

It was chiefly for the sake of this Demeter that I came to Phigaleia. And I performed sacrifice to the goddess according to the custom followed by the inhabitants: they offer no animal victim, but instead

place on the altar built in front of the cave fruits from cultivated trees, including grapes, as well as honeycombs from bees, and wool not yet worked but still full of oily grease. Having placed these things there, they pour oil upon them. This manner of sacrifice is customary both for private individuals and annually as a communal rite among the people of Phigaleia.

8.42.12

Their priestess performs the rites, together with the youngest of the so-called sacred sacrificers, who are three in number and drawn from the citizens. Around the cave is a grove of oaks, and cold water rises up from the earth. As for the statue made by Onatas, it was not there in my time; nor were most people aware whether it had ever been there at Phigaleia from the beginning. ?

8.42.13

The oldest among our guides informed us that three generations before his own time rocks had fallen from the roof onto the statue, shattering it and causing it to be completely destroyed. And in fact on the ceiling we too could still clearly see the places from which the stones had broken away.

Chapter 43

8.43.1

Next our narrative requires us to speak about Pallantium, telling whatever memorial is preserved there, and the particular reason for which the emperor Antoninus the elder elevated Pallantium from a village to the rank of a city, and granted its inhabitants freedom and exemption from taxation.

8.43.2

They say that among the Arcadians there was a man named Evander, who was foremost in intellect and skill for warfare. He was said to be a son of Hermes and a nymph, a daughter of Ladon. Sent out to establish a colony, leading a force of Arcadians from Pallantium, he founded a city beside the river Tiber. Thus, that part of Rome now inhabited, which Evander and the Arcadians who accompanied him settled, received the name Pallantium, in memory of the original city in Arcadia. Later, with the passing of time, the name changed due to the dropping of the letters lambda and nu. Because of these events, the emperor granted privileges to the Pallantians.

8.43.3

Antoninus, who also granted benefactions to the people of Pallantium, never willingly brought war upon the Romans, yet he drove back the Mauri, who had initiated hostilities and constituted the largest portion of the autonomous Libyans. These nomadic tribes, even more troublesome in warfare than the Scythian race–for they and their women raided not from chariots but upon horseback–he expelled from all their territory and compelled to flee to the furthest boundaries of Libya, toward Mount Atlas and the communities dwelling around it.

8.43.4

He also took away much of the territory of the Brigantes in Britain, because they too had initiated an armed incursion into the region of Genounia, which was subject to the Romans. As for the cities of the Lycians and the Carians, as well as Kos and Rhodes, these had been overturned by a violent earthquake that suddenly fell upon them; Emperor Antoninus restored these also through exceptional expenditure and eager dedication to their rebuilding. As for the monetary contributions which he granted both to Greek cities and to those among the barbarians who asked him, as well as the public works he constructed in Greece, in Ionia, around Carthage, and on Syrian soil, these other authors have already recorded in full detail.

8.43.5

This emperor also left behind another memorable example. Among his subjects who possessed Roman citizenship, if their sons were part of the Greek community, it was customary either to have their property given to unrelated persons or to enlarge the imperial wealth according to a certain law. Antoninus, however, allowed these citizens to bequeath their estates to their children as well, thus choosing to appear merciful rather than to keep a financially advantageous law. The Romans called this emperor "the Pious," for he seemed especially devoted to honoring the divine.

8.43.6

? In my opinion, even Cyrus the Elder would deserve the title given to him: "Father of Men." And he too left behind a son of the same name to inherit his throne. This second Antoninus undertook punitive campaigns against both the Germans, the fiercest and most numerous of the barbarian tribes in Europe, and the Sarmatian nation, who had been the instigators of war and injustice.

Chapter 44

8.44.1

Now, indeed, the remainder of our account of Arcadia concerns the route from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea, a way leading as far as the place called Choma. Along this road lies a locality just outside the city called Ladokeia, named from Ladokos, son of Echemos. After this, there was in ancient times a city named Haemoniae; its founder was Haemon, a son of Lycaon. Even to this day, this place has kept the name Haemoniae.

8.44.2

After Haimoniai, on the right-hand side of the road is the city Oresthasion, with other ruins remaining as memorials, and columns still standing of a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis; the epithet of Artemis there is Hiereia ("Priestess"). Proceeding straight ahead from Haimoniai there is a place called Aphrodision, and following that another place named Athenaios. On the left side of this place stands a temple of Athena, and within it a statue made from stone.

8.44.3

About twenty stades farther from Athenaion lie the ruins of Asea; the hill, formerly its acropolis, still bears traces of its walls to this day. About five stades from Asea, a little distance off the road, lies the source of the Alpheios, whereas the source of the Eurotas is beside the road itself. Near the source of the Alpheios stands a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, roofless, and there are two stone lions.

8.44.4

The water of the Eurotas mingles with that of the Alpheios, and for about twenty stadia they flow onwards in a single, common stream; but afterward, descending underground into a chasm, one of them, the Eurotas, comes up again within the land of the Lacedaemonians, while the other, the Alpheios, emerges at Pegae in the territory of Megalopolis. From Asea there is an ascent to the mountain called Boreion, and at its summit there are visible remains of a sanctuary; it is said that Odysseus, after returning home from Troy, founded the sanctuary there for Athena Soteira and Poseidon.

8.44.5

The place called the Mound ("Choma") marks the Megalopolitans boundary toward the land of the Tegeans and Pallantians. Turning left from the Mound, one reaches the Pallantian plain. In Pallantium, there is a temple and stone images, one of Pallas and another of Evander; there is also a sanctuary of

Kore, the daughter of Demeter, and not far from it a statue of Polybius. On the hill above the city are the remains of what was formerly used as the acropolis; even today, on its summit, there still stands a sanctuary of the gods.

8.44.6

★ Their epithet, in fact, is "Katharoi" ("Pure Ones"), and among them the most solemn oaths are held sacredly binding. They either do not know the names of the gods, or, if they do know them, refuse to utter them aloud. One might conjecture that they came to be called Katharoi for the following reason: because Pallas did not sacrifice to the Lykaian Zeus in the same manner as his father had.

8.44.7

★ On the right side of the so-called mound lies the plain named Manthuric. This plain is already within the borders of Tegea, being approximately fifty stadia distant from Tegea itself. On the right side of the road is also a not large mountain called Cresium, upon which is built the sanctuary of Aphneius. For according to the Tegeans, Ares had intercourse there with Aerope, the daughter of Cepheus, son of Aleus. Aerope died during childbirth, but the child survived even though she was already deceased.

8.44.8

★ He was still clinging to his mother and drawing abundant milk from her breasts. And since these events took place according to the will of Ares, they call the god "Apneios" ("Giver of Plenty"); they also say that the child was named Aeropos. There is a spring called Leukonia along the road to Tegea. Leukone is said to have been a daughter of Apheidas, and not far from the city of the Tegeans is her tomb.

Chapter 45

8.45.1

The Tegeans say that their land took its name originally from Tegeates, the son of Lycaon; at that time the inhabitants dwelt separately in parishes, namely the Gareatae, Phylakeis, Caryatae, Corytheis, Potachidae, Oeatae, Manthyreans, and Echeuetheis. In the reign of Apheidas a ninth parish, that of the Apheidantes, was added to these. Aleus was the founder of the city as it exists in our time. ★

8.45.2

The Tegeans, besides the honours common to all Arcadians–among which are included the Trojan War, the Persian wars, and the battle at Dipaea against the Lacedaemonians–have also privately the following claims to glory: Ancaios, son of Lycurgus, stood his ground against the Calydonian boar, though wounded, and Atalanta shot her arrow at the beast and was the first to hit it. Because of these deeds, the head and hide of the boar were awarded to her as a prize of honour. ★

8.45.3

When the Heracleidae were descending into the Peloponnese, Echemos, son of Aeropos, a Tegean, engaged in single combat individually against Hyllos, and defeated Hyllos in the battle. The Tegeans also were the first of the Arcadians to defeat the Lacedaemonians who had attacked them, capturing many of them as prisoners. ★

8.45.4

For the Tegeans, Aleos built the ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea. Later, in the course of time, the Tegeans constructed for the goddess a temple that was large and worthy of admiration. But this temple was suddenly destroyed by fire spreading swiftly, during the archonship of Diophantus at Athens, in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, in which Eupolemos of Elis won the stadion race. ★

8.45.5

The temple of our day surpasses indeed by far all temples that exist among the Peloponnesians, both in terms of its general construction and its size. Its outer colonnade is in the Doric order, and upon this there is a Corinthian one; inside the temple as well stand columns in Ionic workmanship. I was informed that the architect was Scopas the Parian, who also made statues in many places throughout ancient Greece, and even some around Ionia and Caria.

8.45.6

★ On the front pediment is depicted the hunt of the Calydonian boar. The boar is placed particularly at the center, and around it stand Atalanta and Meleager, as well as Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeuces, and Iolaus, the latter having been Heracles' frequent companion in his labors; also there are the sons of Thestius, Prothous and Cometes, brothers of Althaea.

8.45.7

★ Opposite the boar, on the other side, is Epochos, who is supporting Ankaios, already wounded and having dropped his axe. Beside him are Kastor and Amphiaraos, the son of Oikles; beyond them is Hippothoos, the son of Kerkyon, who was the son of Agamedes of Stymphalos. Last depicted is Peirithoos. On the back of the shield, carved upon the ornamental borders (eagles), is the battle of Telephos against Achilles in the plain by the Kaikos.

Chapter 46

8.46.1

The ancient image of Athena Alea, together with the tusks of the Calydonian boar, was taken by Augustus, emperor of the Romans, after defeating Antony and his allied forces in war, among whom were also the Arcadians, with the exception only of the Mantineans.

8.46.2

It appears that Augustus was not the initiator of removing dedications and images of the gods from conquered peoples, but rather employed a custom long established from earlier times. For when Troy was captured and the Greeks were distributing the spoils, the wooden image of Zeus Herkeios was given to Sthenelos, the son of Kapaneus. Years later, too, when the Dorians settled in Sicily, Antiphemos, the founder of Gela, having destroyed Omphake, a town of the Sikanians, carried off to Gela an image crafted by Daidalos.

8.46.3

Xerxes, son of Darius, the king of the Persians, carried away from Brauron, besides what he took from the city of the Athenians, the image of Artemis Brauronia–we know he took this–and furthermore, having laid blame upon the Milesians, asserting that they had deliberately behaved cowardly when fighting against the Athenians in the naval engagement in Greece, he seized the bronze Apollo from Branchidae. This statue, at a later time, Seleucus was destined to restore to the Milesians. As for the Argives, even down to my day, the objects taken from Tiryns are still with them: the wooden statue placed beside Hera, and the other object dedicated in the temple of Apollo Lycius.

8.46.4

The Cyzicenes, having compelled the Proconnesians by war to combine and live with them, took from Proconnesus the statue of Mother Dindymene. The statue is made of gold, and its face, instead of ivory, is fashioned from the teeth of river horses. Augustus, after becoming emperor, made regular the rites that had existed from ancient times, observed both by Greeks and barbarians. As for the Romans, the statue of Athena Alea stands in the marketplace which was constructed by Augustus; one encounters it upon entering this marketplace.

8.46.5

This object here is set up entirely fashioned of ivory, the workmanship being by Endoios. Of the boars tusks, those responsible for the religious treasures say that one has been broken off, while the remaining one was deposited in the gardens of the king, in the sanctuary of Dionysos; it measures approximately half a fathom in circumference along its length.

Chapter 47

8.47.1

The statue at Tegea in our day was brought there from the township of Manthurea. Among the Manthureans it had the surname Hippia, because, according to their tradition, during the battle between the gods and the giants, Athena drove her chariot and horses against Enkelados. Nevertheless, the name Alea prevailed as the standard usage among other Greeks as well as the Peloponnesians themselves. Beside this statue of Athena stand images of Asclepius on one side, and Hygieia on the other, both made from Pentelic marble and works of Skopas of Paros.

8.47.2

The most notable dedications in the temple are the hide of the Calydonian boar, though by this time it had decayed through age and was entirely stripped of hair; there also hang chains, except for those destroyed by rust, which the captive Spartans wore when they dug the plain for the Tegeans. There is moreover a sacred couch of Athena, a painted portrait of Auge, and a representation of Marpessa, surnamed Choira–a woman from Tegea. Her shield is also dedicated here.

8.47.3

Of this matter we shall speak again later. A girl serves as priestess to Athena for a period whose precise duration I cannot say, but only until she reaches puberty and no longer. They say the altar to the goddess was constructed by Melampus, the son of Amythaon. Upon the altar there are sculpted figures of Rhea and the nymph Oinoe holding the infant Zeus, still a child, and on either side of them are four additional figures. On one side, these are Glauke, Neda, Thisoa, and Anthrakia; while on the other, Ide, Hagno, Alkinoe, and Phrixa. There are also statues of the Muses and Mnemosyne.

8.47.4

Not far from the temple is an earthen mound serving as a stadium, and here they hold games, called Aleaia after Athena, but one contest is named Halotia ("Prize of Capture"), because in battle they took most of the Lacedaemonians there alive. To the north of the temple stands a fountain; they say that at this fountain Auge was forced by Heracles, though they do not agree with Hecataeus regarding her. At about three stades beyond the fountain stands a temple of Hermes of Aepytus.

8.47.5

The Tegeans have also another sanctuary of Athena Polias, into which the priest enters only once in each year. They call this shrine the Eryma ("Defense"), saying that Athena gave it as a gift to Cepheus, son of Aleus, that Tegea might remain unconquered for all time. They say that the goddess, having cut off hairs from the head of Medusa, gave them to him as a protection for the city.

8.47.6

★ Concerning Artemis, surnamed Hegemone, they relate this story: Aristomelidas had established a tyranny over the Orchomenians in Arcadia. Becoming enamored of a maiden from Tegea and having seized her by some means, he entrusted her guardianship to Chronios. Before she could be brought before the tyrant, the maiden, moved by fear and shame, took her own life. Afterwards, Artemis appeared to Chronios, inciting him against Aristomelidas. Having killed the tyrant, Chronios fled to Tegea and there built a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis.

Chapter 48

8.48.1

In the marketplace, which most resembles a brick in shape, there is a temple of Aphrodite called "in the Brick," and within it a stone image. On carved reliefs, one represents Antiphanes, Crisus, Tyronidas, and Pyrrhias, who, having established laws for the Tegeans, are even now honored by them. On another stele is carved Iasius, holding a horse and carrying in his right hand a palm branch; they say that Iasius won a victory in the horse race at Olympia during the festival which Heracles the Theban founded.

8.48.2

At Olympia, the victor is awarded a crown of wild olive, while at Delphi it is made of laurel. The reason for the former I have already explained in my account of Elis, and I shall clarify the latter also in what follows. At the Isthmus the pine tree was chosen, and at Nemea celery, both selections associated with the sufferings of Palaemon and Archemorus. Most other games crown victors with palm; moreover, the palm branch is everywhere placed into the right hand of the victor.

8.48.3

The origin of this custom is said to be as follows: they say that Theseus, when returning from Crete, celebrated athletic contests in Delos in honor of Apollo, and crowned the victors with palm-branches. From this event, they say, originated this practice. Homer too makes mention of the palm in Delos in the passage where Odysseus appeals as a suppliant to the daughter of Alcinous.

8.48.4

There is also a statue of Ares in the marketplace of the Tegeans. This statue is carved upon a stele and is called "Women's Banquet." For during the Laconian war, at the time when Charillus king of the Lacedaemonians first invaded their territory, the women took up arms, set an ambush beneath the hill that in our time is called Phylactris. And when the armies joined battle, with many memorable deeds of valor performed by men on both sides, it is said thus to have become clear to them (the women) the divine manifestation.

8.48.5

It was said that the defeat of the Lacedaemonians was due to women, and among them Marpessa, commonly called Choira, surpassed the other women by her bravery. The Spartan king Charillus himself was captured along with others. Though he was set free without ransom, having sworn an oath

to the Tegeans never again to lead the Lacedaemonians on a campaign against Tegea, he nevertheless broke this oath. Meanwhile, the women, independently of the men, offered a victory sacrifice to Ares, refusing to share the sacrificial meat with their husbands. Hence arose the surname given to Ares.

8.48.6

★ There is also an altar of Zeus Teleios, and his image is square-shaped; indeed, the Arcadians seem to me particularly fond of this particular form. Here also are the tombs of Tegeates, son of Lycaon, and of Maera, the wife of Tegeates. They say Maera was a daughter of Atlas, and Homer himself made mention of her in Odysseus' account to Alcinous concerning his journey to Hades and the souls he beheld there.

8.48.7

★ The Tegeans call Eileithyia–whose temple and statue also stand in their marketplace–Auge-on-her-knees. They explain this epithet by saying that Aleus entrusted his daughter to Nauplius, commanding him to take her to sea and drown her. However, they say that as she was being led away, she fell onto her knees, and there gave birth on the very spot now occupied by Eileithyia's sanctuary. This account differs from another one, according to which Auge secretly gave birth unbeknownst to her father, and Telephus was exposed on Mount Parthenion, where a deer fed milk to the abandoned child. Nonetheless, this story is no less current among the Tegeans.

8.48.8

★ Near the sanctuary of Eileithyia is an altar of Earth, and adjoining this altar is a stele of white stone. Upon it is represented Polybius, son of Lycortas, and on another stele is carved Elatus, one of the sons of Arcas.

Chapter 49

8.49.1

Not far from the marketplace there is a theater, and beside it pedestals which formerly bore bronze images; the statues themselves no longer remain. Upon one of these pedestals there is an elegiac inscription stating that this was the statue of Philopoemen. This Philopoemen is remembered by the Greeks to an exceptional and indeed to the greatest degree, both for the wisdom he manifested and for the boldness he showed by his deeds.

8.49.2

As regards noble lineage, Philopoemen's father Craugis was second to none among the Arcadians at Megalopolis. But when Craugis died while Philopoemen was still an infant boy, a Mantinean named Cleander served as his guardian, a man who had fled Mantinea and settled in Megalopolis owing to a domestic misfortune, and who had previous guest-friendship ties with the household of Craugis. It is said that Philopoemen studied under various teachers, among whom were Megalophanes and Ecdelus; these men are said to have been pupils of Arcesilaus of Pitane.

8.49.3

In terms of bodily size and physical strength he excelled beyond any of the Peloponnesians, but the appearance of his face was ugly. He disdained to train for athletic crown-contests, but cultivated his own land and did not neglect to rid it even of wild beasts. They say he also used to read books of the sophists popular among the Greeks as well as any works dealing with military history and books providing instruction in military tactics. He willingly arranged his entire way of life around the thought and deeds of Epaminondas, striving to imitate him in every respect, though he could not equal Epaminondas in everything; for Epaminondas character possessed many virtues, especially a remarkable gentleness in moments of anger, whereas the Arcadian had a temperament rather prone to passion.

8.49.4

But when Cleomenes captured Megalopolis, Philopoemen was not dismayed by the unexpected calamity; instead, he rescued the two most vulnerable groups among the population, namely the women and children, bringing them safely into Messene, since at that time the Messenians were both allies and friendly to them. Now, among those who had escaped, there were some whom Cleomenes was trying to persuade to reconsider their daring stance and to come to terms and make peace agreements with the Megalopolitans, so that they might return to their own homes. But Philopoemen convinced

the citizens collectively to return home only fully armed and to avoid entering into agreements or treaties altogether.

8.49.5

When the battle at Sellasia took place against Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians, in which the Achaeans with Arcadians from all their cities fought alongside Antigonus, who had brought an army from Macedonia, Philopoemen at that time was posted among the horsemen. However, when he saw that the decisive issue would largely depend upon the infantry, he voluntarily became a foot soldier. Fighting in a manner worthy of renown, he was wounded by one of his opponents, who drove a spear right through both his thighs.

8.49.6

Nevertheless, although restrained even to such a degree, he bent his knees and struggled forward with such force that he broke the spear shaft against his legs in the movement. After the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes were overcome, and Philopoemen had returned to the camp, the physicians removed from both his thighs the spear-tip from one thigh and the butt-spike from the other. When Antigonus learned of this and saw his remarkable bravery, he was eager to persuade Philopoemen to accompany him into Macedonia.

8.49.7

He, indeed, had little care for Antigonus; sailing instead to Crete–for the island was then troubled by civil war–he was appointed commander of mercenary troops. Upon his return to Megalopolis, he was immediately chosen by the Achaeans to command their cavalry, and soon proved them the finest horsemen among the Greeks. Later, while the Achaeans and their allies fought around the river Larissus against the Eleans and the Aetolians aiding them out of kinship, he first personally slew Demophantus, commander of the enemy cavalry, and afterwards routed the rest of the cavalry of both the Aetolians and the Eleans.

Chapter 50

8.50.1

Since the Achaeans by this time were directing their gaze upon him and entrusting every matter into his hands, he altered for their appointed foot-soldiers the character of their arms. For whereas they wore small spears and shields rather elongated like the Celtic targets or the Persian wicker shields, he persuaded them instead to put on breastplates, to equip themselves with greaves, and to use Argolic shields and long spears.

8.50.2

When Machanidas rose up as tyrant in Sparta, war once more broke out between the Achaeans and the Spartans led by Machanidas. Philopoemen commanded the Achaean forces. A battle took place near Mantineia, in which the Spartan skirmishers defeated the lightly armed Achaeans, and Machanidas himself pursued them in their flight. However, Philopoemen, commanding the phalanx of infantry, routed the Spartan hoplites. As Machanidas was returning from the pursuit, Philopoemen encountered and slew him. For the Spartans, though defeated in battle, their fortune afterward proved greater than their disaster, since by his death they were freed from the tyrant.

8.50.3

Not long after, while the Argives were celebrating the Nemean games, Philopoemen was present at the contest of the citharoedes. Pylades, a man of Megalopolis by birth and esteemed as the most distinguished citharoedus of his time, who had won a Pythian victory, was singing then the "Persae," a composition of Timotheus of Miletus, beginning his song with the words, "Fashioning glorious and great adornment of freedom for Greece." He turned his gaze towards Philopoemen as he sang these very words, and by their applause, the Greek audience directed the performance towards him. I have heard of a similar incident occurring at Olympia concerning Themistocles; for there, too, the theater rose in honor of Themistocles.

8.50.4

Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, who also killed Aratus the Sicyonian with poison, sent men to Megalopolis, instructing them to murder Philopoemen. But having failed in the attempt, he was thereafter hated throughout the whole of Greece. Moreover, the Thebans, who had defeated the Megarians in battle and were already mounting the walls of Megara, were deceived by the Megarians, who pretended that Philopoemen had come into their city. They became so cautious that they withdrew back to their homeland, leaving their campaign unfinished.

8.50.5

In Lacedaemon, however, Nabis again arose as a tyrant, who was the first among the Peloponnesians to attack the Messenians. He fell upon them by night, capturing their city–except the acropolis–while they were completely unprepared and unsuspecting of the assault. But on the following day, when Philopoemen arrived with an army, Nabis was forced by treaty to withdraw from Messene.

8.50.6

When Philopoemen's term as general ended and other men had been chosen to lead the Achaeans, he once again crossed over to Crete and assisted the Gortynians, who were hard pressed by war. However, as the Arcadians expressed anger at his absence, he returned from Crete, arriving at the time when the Romans had resumed their war against Nabis.

8.50.7

When the Roman naval forces had made preparations against Nabis, Philopoemen, eager to take part in the engagement, intended to join them. However, being entirely inexperienced in maritime matters, he boarded a trireme which had already been launched without being noticed, thus causing the Romans and other allies to recall the verses which Homer in his catalogue composed regarding the Arcadians' ignorance of the sea.

8.50.8

Not many days after the naval battle, Philopoemen and the force accompanying him, taking advantage of a moonless night, attacked and set fire to the camp of the Lacedaemonians at Gythium. Here, Nabis caught Philopoemen himself and the Arcadians around him in difficult terrain. These Arcadians, though otherwise courageous soldiers, were few in number.

8.50.9

Philopoemen, having reversed the order in which he had previously arranged his troops during the retreat, managed to turn the strongest positions toward himself rather than allowing them to remain with the enemy. After winning the battle against Nabis and killing many of the Lacedaemonians in the night, he gained even greater renown among the Greeks.

8.50.10

After these events, Nabis, who had obtained a truce from the Romans for a specified period, met his end before the agreed cessation of hostilities had expired. He was killed by a man from Calydon, who had arrived ostensibly as an ally, but who, in practice, was hostile and had been sent specifically for this purpose by the Aetolians.

Chapter 51

8.51.1

At that time Philopoemen made a sudden incursion into Sparta and compelled the Lacedaemonians to join the Achaean League. Not long afterwards, Titus, the commander of the Romans in Greece, and Diophanes son of Diaeus, of Megalopolis, who had been chosen at that time to lead the Achaeans, marched against Sparta, making the accusation that the Lacedaemonians were plotting fresh troubles against Rome. But Philopoemen, although at that moment he was a private citizen, nonetheless shut the gates against their advancing forces.

8.51.2

The Lacedaemonians, both on account of these deeds and because of the boldness he had shown against both tyrants, offered him the house of Nabis, valued at more than a hundred talents. But he scorned the money and advised the Lacedaemonians instead of him to secure by gifts the men who possessed persuasive influence with the multitude within the council of the Achaeans. It is said that by these words he implied especially Timolaus. Again afterwards he was appointed general of the Achaeans.

8.51.3

At that time, as the Lacedaemonians had advanced towards civil strife amongst themselves, he expelled from the Peloponnese the three hundred men most responsible for the sedition and sold off about three thousand of the helots. He destroyed the walls of Sparta and commanded the Spartan youths to cease practicing the customs established by Lycurgus, prescribing instead that they adopt the training methods of the Achaean youths. However, later the Romans were to restore the traditional education to them.

8.51.4

When Manius and the Romans defeated Antiochus, descendant of Seleucus surnamed Nicator, and the Syrian army with him at Thermopylae, and when Aristaenus of Megalopolis urged the Achaeans to approve whatever pleased the Romans, and never to oppose them on any matter, Philopoemen looked angrily at Aristaenus and declared him to be hastening the fate appointed for Greece. Later, when Manius wished the Spartans to receive back their exiles, Philopoemen opposed his proposal; but after Manius departed, Philopoemen himself permitted the exiles to return to Sparta.

8.51.5

Yet it seemed justice for his arrogance was destined also to overtake Philopoemen. When he was then appointed commander of the Achaeans for the eighth time, he openly reproached a certain distinguished man for having been captured alive by the enemy. And since at that time the Achaeans were at odds with the Messenians, Philopoemen sent Lycortas with an army to ravage the Messenian countryside. Although Philopoemen himself was suffering severely from fever and was already over seventy years old, he nonetheless hurried to join Lycortas in the expedition three days later, accompanied by about sixty horsemen and light infantry.

8.51.6

At this moment, Lycortas and the troops with him had already returned to their homeland, neither having inflicted any great harm upon the Messenians nor suffering any themselves. Philopoemen, however–since he had been struck upon the head during the battle and had fallen from his horse–was led still living into Messene. When the assembly immediately came together, opinions differed widely, and not all were of the same mind regarding him.

8.51.7

Deinokrates and those Messenians who were influential through wealth urged the killing of Philopoemen, but the common people made every effort to save him, calling him a father to them even more than to all the Greeks. However, Deinokrates intended to eliminate Philopoemen, even against the will of the Messenians, by sending him poison.

8.51.8

Not long after, Lycortas gathered a force from Arcadia as well as from among the Achaeans and marched against Messene. Immediately, the people of Messene sided with the Arcadians; and those responsible for bringing about the death of Philopoemen were captured, and with the exception of Deinocrates, the rest suffered punishment. Deinocrates, however, took his own life. Moreover, the Arcadians brought back the bones of Philopoemen to Megalopolis.

Chapter 52

8.52.1

After this time Greece ceased to produce successive generations of truly noble men. For Miltiades, son of Kimon, who conquered in battle the barbarians that had landed at Marathon and thus held back from advancing farther the expedition of the Medes, was the first man who served as a benefactor to Greece as a whole, while Philopoemen, son of Kraugis, was the last. Others before Miltiades–such as Kodros, son of Melanthos, and the Spartan Polydoros, and Aristomenes of Messenia and perhaps a few more–each individually achieved distinguished deeds, but they benefited their own native cities and did not in any united way benefit Greece collectively.

8.52.2

After Miltiades, Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides, and Themistocles, the son of Neocles, repelled Xerxes from Greece, the latter through two naval battles, Leonidas through the conflict at Thermopylae. As for Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, and Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who commanded at Plataea, the former was later prevented, owing to subsequent misconduct, from being esteemed a benefactor of Greece, while Aristides was similarly denied credit because he had imposed tribute upon those Greeks occupying the islands. Before Aristides, all of Hellas had been free from tribute.

8.52.3

Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, along with King Leotychides of Sparta, destroyed the Persian fleet at Mycale, while Cimon achieved many exploits worthy of admiration on behalf of the Greeks. But as for those who led the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, someone might readily call them responsible for bringing ruin and nearly drowning all Greece, especially those among them who enjoyed the greatest reputation.

8.52.4

After the Greeks had already suffered devastation, Conon, the son of Timotheus, and Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis, restored their fortunes. Conon recovered the islands and those areas which lay closest to the sea, while Epaminondas reclaimed the inland cities, driving out the Spartan garrisons and harmosts and abolishing the governing councils of ten men. Moreover, Epaminondas founded notable cities–Messene and the great city of the Arcadians–and thus made Greece more illustrious.

8.52.5

Among all Greeks, I regard both Leosthenes and Aratus as benefactors. The former succeeded in bringing safely back to Greece by ship the Greek mercenaries–about fifty thousand men–who had gone down to the sea in the Persian service, and did so even against Alexander's wishes. Regarding Aratus, my account of the Sicyonians has already made clear his achievements.

8.52.6

The following is the inscription for Philopoemen at Tegea:

"This mans valour and glory spread throughout Greece, Who by strength of arms achieved many exploits, And many also through wise counsels– Philopoemen, spear-bearing son of Arcadia, Whose great renown accompanied him in war, Leader with the spear. Witness the twin trophies He raised over Sparta's tyrants and the bondage He lifted when it was growing heavier. For all this Tegea set up the magnanimous son of Craugis, Peerless champion and guardian of freedom."

Such is the inscription found at this place.

Chapter 53

8.53.1

The Tegeans say they set up the statues of Apollo Agyieus for the following reason. They report that ★
Apollo and Artemis exacted vengeance throughout this entire region upon those people who, at the time Leto wandered pregnant and came to their land, took no heed of her whatsoever.

8.53.2

When the gods had come to the land of the Tegeans, it happened that Skephros, son of Tegeates, ★
approached Apollo and spoke secretly with him. But Leimon–who was also one of the sons of Tegeates–suspected that Skephros' words concerned an accusation against himself, and so, rushing upon his brother, slew him.

8.53.3

Justice immediately overtook Artemis for the killing of Leimon, whom she had shot with an arrow; as ★
for Tegeates and Maira, the people initially sacrificed to Apollo and Artemis, but later, when a severe famine overcame them, an oracle came from Delphi directing them to mourn for Skephros. At the festival of Apollo Agyieus, they perform certain rites in honor of Skephros, and among these, the priestess of Artemis pursues somebody, just as Artemis herself once pursued Leimon.

8.53.4

They also say that those sons of Tegeates who survived migrated voluntarily to Crete–namely Cydon, ★
Archedius, and Gortys–and from them, they claim, the cities of Cydonia, Gortyna, and Catreus received their names. The Cretans, however, not agreeing with the account of the Tegeans, assert that Cydon was born from Acacallis, daughter of Minos, and Hermes; that Catreus was a son of Minos; and that Gortys was a son of Rhadamanthys.

8.53.5

As for Rhadamanthys himself, Homer states in the instructions of Proteus to Menelaus that Menelaus ★
will reach the Elysian plain, but Rhadamanthys had arrived there even earlier. Cinaethon, however, in his poetry, made Rhadamanthys the son of Hephaestus, Hephaestus the son of Talos, and Talos the son of Cres. Indeed, the traditions of the Greeks vary widely for the most part, particularly with regard to genealogies.

8.53.6

★ The Tegeans have four statues of Apollo Agyieus, each dedicated by one of the tribes. These tribes bear the names Clareotis, Hippothoitis, Apolloniatis, and Athaneatis. They are named after the allotment that Arcas made for his sons regarding the land, and after Hippothous, the son of Cercyon.

8.53.7

★ In Tegea there is also a temple dedicated to Demeter and Kore, whom they call the Karpophoroi ("Bringers of Fruit"); nearby is a temple to Aphrodite called Paphian. Laodice established this temple, who was, as I have previously mentioned, descended from Agapenor, who led the Arcadians to Troy, though she herself lived in Paphos. Not far from this place are two sanctuaries of Dionysus, an altar of Kore, and a temple and a gilded statue of Apollo.

8.53.8

★ Cheirisophos was the artist, a Cretan by birth, although we do not know either his period or the identity of his teacher. The life that Daedalus spent at Knossos, under the patronage of Minos, secured for the Cretans a longstanding reputation and a tradition in the carving of wooden cult-images. A statue of Cheirisophos himself, fashioned from stone, stands beside the image of Apollo.

8.53.9

★ The Tegeans also call this place the Common Hearth of the Arcadians. Here there is a statue of Heracles, and on his thigh a wound is represented, which he received in that first battle fought against the sons of Hippocoon. The elevated ground, on which most of the altars of the Tegeans stand, is named Zeus Klarios; clearly this epithet was given to the god because of the casting of lots among the sons of Arcas.

8.53.10

The Tegeans hold a yearly festival there. They say that the Lacedaemonians once attacked them at the time of the festival: the god brought snow, so that the Lacedaemonians, chilled and under arms, were worn out by the cold, while the Tegeans secretly lit a fire. Untroubled by the frost, they armed themselves, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and, they say, gained the advantage in the fight. I also saw in Tegea these other objects: the house of Aleus, the tomb of Echemus, and a relief carved on a stele depicting the battle between Echemus and Hyllus.

8.53.11

Going from Tegea toward Laconia, there is on the left side of the road an altar of Pan, and also one of Zeus Lycaeus; there remain also foundations of sanctuaries. These altars are located about two stades beyond the city wall. Proceeding about seven stades further from them, one comes upon a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Limnatis; in it there is a statue made of ebony wood, carved in a manner known among the Greeks as Aeginetan style. Approximately ten stades further from this sanctuary lie the ruins of the temple of Artemis Knakeatis.

Chapter 54

8.54.1

The boundary of the land between the Lacedaemonians and the Tegeans is the river Alpheios. Its water arises at Phylake, and not far from its source it receives additional water flowing into it from a number of springs, small in size but greater in number; for this reason, the place has come to be named Symbola ("Meeting-places").

8.54.2

The Alpheios, compared to other rivers, clearly displays a special sort of nature in the following respect: it regularly disappears underground, only to appear again. Indeed, having left Phylake and the place called Symbola, it vanishes into the plain of Tegea. Then, resurfacing at Asea and mingling its stream with the Eurotas, it sinks underground for the second time.

8.54.3

Rising again at the place the Arcadians call Pegae, and flowing onward past the territory of Pisa and Olympia, it discharges itself into the sea beyond Cyllene, the port of the Eleans. But even the Adriatic Sea could not hold back its further advance; having crossed this great and formidable expanse of ocean, it reappears on the island of Ortygia opposite Syracuse, revealing itself there as indeed the river Alpheios and mingling its waters with those of Arethusa.

8.54.4

The straight road toward Thyrea and the villages in the Thyreatis from Tegea led to what is commonly recorded as the tomb of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon; and the Tegeans say that the Spartans removed his bones from there. In my time, however, the tomb was no longer within the city gates. Along the road flows also the river Garates; after crossing the Garates and proceeding forward ten stadia, there is a sanctuary of Pan, and next to it an oak-tree, itself likewise sacred to Pan.

8.54.5

The road from Tegea to Argos is well suited to carriage-travel and is above all a main thoroughfare. Along the road, first you come to a temple and statue of Asclepius. Then, turning off about one stade towards the left, there is a sanctuary of Apollo surnamed Pythius, now destroyed and completely in ruins. Along the straight route itself are many oak trees and a temple of Demeter located in this oak grove, called Demeter in Corytheis. Nearby there is another sanctuary dedicated to Dionysus Mystes.

8.54.6

★ From here begins Mount Parthenion. On it is shown a sanctuary of Telephus, and there, they say, he was exposed as a child and nurtured by a deer. A little further on stands a sanctuary of Pan, where Pan is said to have appeared to Philippides and spoken those words which the Athenians record concerning him, a story also told in the same way by the Tegeans.

8.54.7

Mount Parthenion also provides tortoises exceptionally suitable for the making of lyres; the inhabitants near the mountain themselves have always feared to catch them, nor do they allow strangers to seize them, believing as they do that the creatures are sacred to Pan. Once over the peak of the mountain, there is, in the cultivated area beyond, a boundary between the land of the Tegeans and that of the Argives, at Hysiai in the Argolid. These then are the districts of the Peloponnese, together with cities within those districts, and in each city those features most worthy to be remembered.

Part IX

Book 9: Boeotia

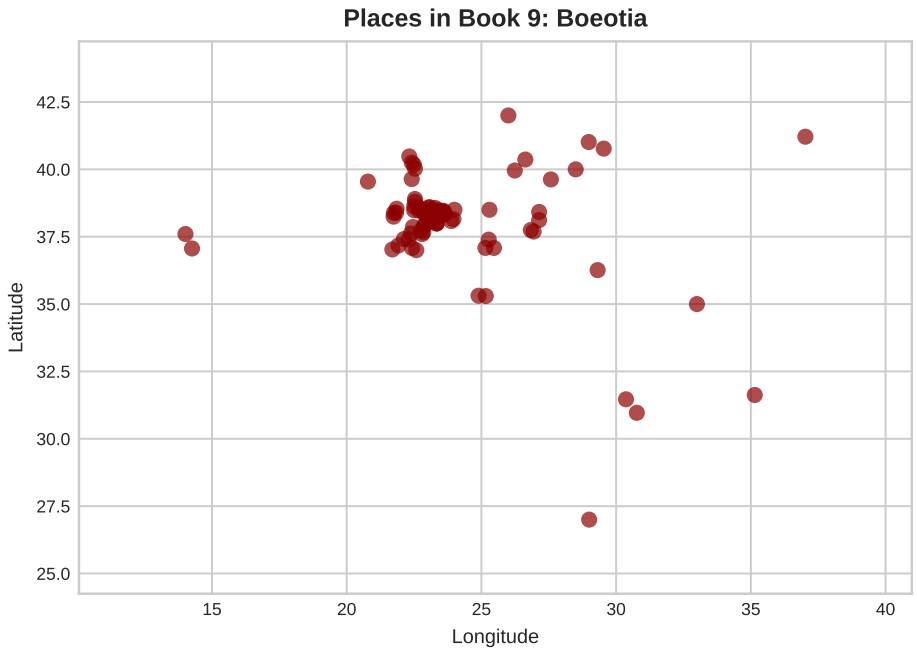

Figure 278.1: Places mentioned in Book 9: Boeotia

Chapter 1

9.1.1

Boeotia borders the Athenians in various places along Attica, and near Eleutherae, the Plataeans are neighbors. As for the Boeotians, the whole nation received its name from Boeotus, who was the son of Itonus and the nymph Melanippe; Itonus, they say, was the son of Amphictyon. The people of the individual cities are named chiefly after men, but in most cases after women. The Plataeans, however, seem to me from the beginning to have been indigenous; their name comes from Plataea, whom they regard as a daughter of the river Asopus.

9.1.2

That indeed the Plataeans were also anciently ruled by kings is clear; for in every region of Greece kingdoms and not democracies were formerly established. But of their kings the Plataeans know none apart from Asopus, and earlier still Cithaeron; they say that the latter gave his own name to the mountain and the former to the river. In my opinion, Plataea as well, from whom the city derives its name, was a daughter of King Asopus and not of the river.

9.1.3

The Plataeans held no great reputation before the battle in which the Athenians fought at Marathon. But after participating in the fight at Marathon, and later, when Xerxes had already retreated to his ships, they even dared to embark alongside the Athenians. Furthermore, in their own territory they repelled Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who commanded the armies of Xerxes. Twice, however, it fell to their lot to be driven from their homes into exile and again to return to Boeotia.

9.1.4

Indeed, during the war which arose between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians captured Plataea by siege. Afterwards, in the course of that peace arranged for the Greeks with the Persian king by the negotiations of Antalcidas, a Spartan, Plataea was resettled, and its inhabitants returned from Athens; yet they were again destined to suffer a second calamity. Although no declared war openly existed yet against the Thebans, nevertheless the Plataeans asserted that peace still held for them, since they had taken no part, either by planning or by action, in the Lacedaemonians' occupation of the Theban Cadmea.

9.1.5

The Thebans declared that the Lacedaemonians had been responsible for making peace, and later, when they violated it, the treaty was therefore dissolved. They accordingly claimed that the truce was broken for all. Thus the Plataeans, suspecting hostility from the Thebans, kept their city under careful guard; even those who had their farms farther from the city would not venture to visit them at all hours of the day. Moreover–for they knew that the Thebans usually deliberated altogether and at length–they would watch carefully the times when the Thebans met in their assemblies, and in those intervals, even those farming the furthest land tended their fields in peace.

9.1.6

Neocles, who was then serving as Boeotarch in Thebes–for the Plataeans had not been unaware of his stratagem–ordered each of the Thebans to come to the assembly fully armed, and immediately led them not directly from Thebes across the plain, but rather by a way toward Hysiae, in the direction of Eleutherae and the Attic border, where no guard had been stationed by the Plataeans. He planned to arrive at the city walls at about midday.

9.1.7

The Plataeans, thinking that the Thebans were holding an assembly, had gone out to their fields and were shut out from the city gates. The Thebans made an agreement with those who had been trapped within the city, permitting the men to depart before sunset, each wearing a single garment, and the women each permitted two garments. Thus fortune gave the Plataeans an experience precisely opposite to their earlier capture by Archidamus and the Lacedaemonians. At that former time, the Lacedaemonians had besieged them, enclosing them within a double wall to prevent their leaving the city; but now, conversely, the Thebans prevented them from re-entering their own walls.

9.1.8

The second capture of Plataea occurred two years before the battle of Leuctra, in the archonship at Athens of Asteius. The city was razed to the ground by the Thebans, except for the sacred precincts. As for the Plataeans themselves, the manner of the city's fall provided equal safety for all of them, and after their exile the Athenians once more received them. Later, when Philip prevailed at Chaeronea and placed a garrison in Thebes, taking further measures leading to the overthrow of the Thebans, the Plataeans also were restored by him to their homeland.

Chapter 2

9.2.1

Within Plataean territory, after turning a short distance to the right from the direct path on Mt. Cithaeron, lie the ruins of Hysiae and Erythrae. These cities once belonged to the Boeotians, and even now among the ruins of Hysiae there remains a half-built temple of Apollo and a sacred well. In ancient times, according to the Boeotian account, those who drank from this well practiced divination.

9.2.2

When one returns to the main road, there is again on the right hand side a tomb said to be that of Mardonius. It is agreed that immediately after the battle the body of Mardonius was nowhere to be found; but accounts differ as to who it was that buried him. However, it seems that Artontes son of Mardonius gave abundant gifts to Dionysophanes, a man of Ephesus, and bestowed gifts also upon other Ionians, so that they too did not neglect the burial of Mardonius.

9.2.3

This road goes from Eleutherae to Plataea; but for those who travel from Megara, there is on the right hand a spring, and a little further on, a rock. They call the rock the "bed of Actaeon," saying that Actaeon used to rest here when weary from hunting, and they assert that it was into this spring that he looked and saw Artemis bathing. The poet Stesichorus of Himera wrote that the goddess threw a deer-skin around Actaeon, thereby bringing about his death at the jaws of his own dogs, in order that he might not marry Semele.

9.2.4

But I myself, without divine intervention, am inclined to believe that madness, a disease, seized the dogs of Actaeon, and that, driven insane and incapable of distinguishing their master, they would have torn apart whomever they encountered. Now, no one knows precisely where on Mount Cithaeron Pentheus son of Echion met disaster or where Oedipus was exposed at birth. Unlike these places, we do know the Schiste road which leads toward Phocis, on which Oedipus killed his father. Mount Cithaeron is sacred to Zeus Cithaeronius; concerning these matters I shall return and speak more fully as soon as my account reaches that point.

9.2.5

Along the road as one enters Plataea are tombs of those who fought against the Medes. For the rest of the Greeks, there is a common memorial; but for the Lacedaemonians and Athenians who fell, there are separate tombs, upon which elegiac verses composed by Simonides are inscribed. Not far from the common tomb of the Greeks stands an altar of Zeus Eleutherios; this altar is made of bronze, while the altar and statue of Zeus himself are crafted from white marble.

9.2.6

Even now they still hold a contest every fifth year called the Eleutheria, in which the greatest honours are awarded in the footrace; the competitors run fully armed before the altar. The trophy that the Greeks dedicated after the battle for the Plataeans stands roughly fifteen stadia outside the city.

9.2.7

★ Within the city itself, as you proceed onward from the altar and the statue dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios, there is a heroic shrine of Plataea. The matters concerning this city–both the traditions related to it and the conjectures I myself formed about them–have already been stated. The Plataeans have a temple of Hera that is worthy of viewing, both for its great size and for the splendor of its statues. As you enter, there is Rhea, depicted holding the stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, as though she were bringing to Cronus the child she had supposedly given birth to. Hera they call "Teleia" (the Perfect), and her statue, upright in posture and very large in size, is carved, like both statues, from Pentelic marble, the work of Praxiteles. Another statue of Hera here is seated and was made by Callimachus; this goddess they call the "Bride," naming her thus due to the following story.

Chapter 3

9.3.1

They relate that Hera, having become angry at Zeus for some reason, withdrew to Euboea; and Zeus, as he could not reconcile her, is said to have come to Cithaeron, who at that time was ruling in Plataea–for Cithaeron was inferior to no one in wisdom. Cithaeron advised Zeus to fashion a wooden statue and, placing it covered upon a wagon drawn by oxen, to proclaim that he was taking home as a wife Plataea, the daughter of Asopus.

9.3.2

And he acted according to the advice of Cithaeron; but Hera soon learned of it and immediately arrived. As she approached the wagon and tore away the garment of the statue, she was delighted at the deception when she discovered a wooden image instead of a human bride, and thus she became reconciled with Zeus. In honor of this reconciliation they hold a festival, called the Daedala, because in ancient times wooden statues were called "daedala." And it is my belief that they were called this even before Daedalus, son of Palamaon, lived at Athens, and that afterwards this Daedalus received his surname from these "daedala," rather than it being his original birth name.

9.3.3

The Plataeans celebrate the Daedala festival every seventh year, according to the account of the local guide; but in truth the interval is shorter and not as long as that. Despite our desire to reckon with complete precision the time interval from one Daedala festival to the next, we were not able to determine it exactly. They celebrate the festival in the following manner.

9.3.4

Not far from Alalcomenae is a grove, and here stand the largest oak trees in all Boeotia. To this grove the Plataeans come, and they offer portions of boiled meat. Other birds avoid approaching because of their numbers, but as for ravens–who regularly visit–they keep careful watch. Whichever raven seizes the meat, they observe upon which tree it settles. Having noted this, they cut down that very tree to fashion from it the image. Indeed, they call this wooden effigy a "daedalon."

9.3.5

This festival the Plataeans celebrate by themselves, calling it the Little Daedala; but the Greater Daedala the Boeotians join them in celebrating, holding it at intervals of sixty years. For they say that the festival

was interrupted for precisely this length of time during the exile of the Plataeans. Fourteen wooden images are prepared for them beforehand, each made ready annually at every Little Daedala.

9.3.6

These positions are assigned by lot among the Plataeans, the Coronaians, Thespians, Tanagraeans, Chaeroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeians and Thebans. The latter also thought it appropriate to reconcile with the Plataeans, participating in their common assembly and sending envoys to the Daedala sacrifices, ever since Cassander, the son of Antipater, refounded Thebes. As for the lesser-known smaller towns, they group together in offering their contributions.

9.3.7

After bringing the image to the Asopus and setting it upon a wagon, they place a woman beside it to serve as attendant bride. Next, they again cast lots to determine the order in which they will lead the procession. From this point onward, they drive the wagons from the river upward toward the summit of Mount Cithaeron. An altar is prepared for them upon the peak of the mountain, and they build this altar in the following manner: fitting squared timbers closely together, they construct the structure just as if they were erecting masonry from stones, and after raising it to height, they place brushwood upon it.

9.3.8

Of the cities and local communities, each group sacrifices a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, then together they consecrate upon the altar the offerings, filled with wine and incense, as well as the wooden images (daidala). Private individuals who are wealthy offer as many victims as they wish; those of more modest means customarily sacrifice smaller animals, but all alike burn their offerings together as sacred. Along with these, the flame also seizes upon and consumes even the altar itself. I know that this fire is the greatest and clearly visible from the farthest distances.

9.3.9

Below the peak, upon which they have erected the altar, about fifteen stadia downward, there is a cave of the Cithaeronian Nymphs called Sphragidion. It is said that in ancient times the Nymphs used to deliver oracles there.

Chapter 4

9.4.1

The Plataeans have a sanctuary dedicated to Athena with the epithet Areia ("Warlike"). They built it from the spoils awarded to them by the Athenians from the battle of Marathon. The statue is a wooden image gilded over; the face, the extremities of the hands, and the feet are made from Pentelic marble. In size it is not much smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis, which the Athenians themselves dedicated as a first-offering from the spoils of Marathon. Pheidias also made for the Plataeans this statue of Athena.

9.4.2

There are paintings within the temple: one by Polygnotus depicting Odysseus, who has already slain ★
the suitors; another by Onasias showing Adrastus and the earlier expedition of the Argives against Thebes. These paintings are placed on the walls of the pronaos. At the feet of the statue lies the image of Arimnestus. Arimnestus commanded the Plataeans in both the battle against Mardonius and, earlier still, at Marathon.

9.4.3

There is also at Plataea a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinia, and the tomb of Leitus. Of the ★
leaders who brought the Boeotians to Troy, this Leitus alone returned home. As for the Gargaphian spring, Mardonius and the Persian cavalry defiled it, because the Greek army encamped opposite drank from its waters; later, however, the Plataeans restored the spring.

9.4.4

On the way from Plataea to Thebes there is a river named Oeroë; they say that this Oeroë is a daughter ★
of the Asopus. But before crossing the Asopus, turning aside beside the stream itself and proceeding downstream about forty stadia, one comes upon the ruins of Scolus. Within these ruins is an unfinished temple of Demeter and Kore, and the statues of the goddesses are only half-completed. Even now, the Asopus remains the boundary dividing the land of Plataea from the territory of the Thebans.

Chapter 283

Chapter 5

9.5.1

They say that the land of Thebes was first inhabited by the Ectenes; and that their king was Ogygus, a man born of the earth. Because of him, it has become customary for many poets to call Thebes "Ogygian." The Ectenes, it is said, perished from a virulent disease; after them, the Hyantes and the Aones occupied the land–peoples who, in my opinion, were originally Boeotian, not foreigners. Later, when Cadmus and his Phoenician army invaded, the Hyantes were defeated in battle and fled under cover of the approaching night; the Aones, however, became suppliants to Cadmus, who allowed them to remain and blend with the Phoenicians.

9.5.2

The Aones still inhabited villages at that time, but Cadmus founded the city which even down to our day is known as Cadmeia. Later, when the city had grown larger, Cadmeia became accordingly the citadel of Thebes, which lay below it. Cadmus had a notable marriage indeed, if, according to the tradition of the Greeks, he took the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite as his wife. His daughters also gained renown: Semele for bearing a child to Zeus, and Ino as one of the sea-deities.

9.5.3

During the reign of Cadmus, next to Cadmus himself the greatest in power were the Sparti–Chthonius, Hyperenor, Pelorus, and Udaeus. But it was Echion who excelled so greatly in valour that Cadmus considered him worthy to become his son-in-law. Regarding these men–since I myself have been unable to find any definite confirmation–I therefore follow the tradition naming them "Sparti" from the manner of their birth. When Cadmus migrated to the Illyrians and specifically to the people called Encheleans among them, Polydorus, the son of Cadmus, took over the kingship.

9.5.4

Pentheus son of Echion himself was influential both by the dignity of his lineage and by his friendship with the king. However, since he behaved arrogantly and irreverently toward Dionysus in other respects, he received punishment from the god. Labdacus was the son of Polydorus. When his death was at hand, since his son was still a child, he entrusted both the boy and the rule to Nycteus.

9.5.5

The subsequent portion of my account has been clarified for me by the Sicyonian chronicle, especially regarding the death of Nycteus, how precisely it occurred, and how the guardianship of the child and sovereignty over the Thebans passed to his brother Lycus. Lycus, indeed, entrusted the kingship to Labdacus once he had grown up; but when Labdacus also died not long afterwards, Lycus again became guardian, this time for Laius, son of Labdacus.

9.5.6

★ During the second regency of Lycus, Amphion and Zethus returned after gathering an army. Although Laius was secretly removed by those who were careful that the race of Cadmus should not become extinct in succeeding generations, the sons of Antiope overcame Lycus in battle. Thus, having secured kingship, they colonized the lower city around the Cadmeia and called it Thebes, after their kinship with Thebe.

9.5.7

★ Homer in the Odyssey also supports my account, saying: "Those who first built the seat of seven-gated Thebes, and fortified it–for although they were strong, they could not inhabit broad-streeted Thebes without walls."

But that Amphion sang and constructed the wall to the accompaniment of his lyre, Homer made no mention in his poetry. Amphion, however, acquired great fame for music, having learned from the Lydians, through his kinship with Tantalus, the harmony named after them, and having added a fourth string to the previous three.

9.5.8

★ The poet who composed verses about Europa states that Amphion first employed the lyre on Hermes' instruction; he also wrote of stones and beasts, for by his singing Amphion led even these. Myro of Byzantium, who composed both epic and elegiac poetry, says that Amphion first erected an altar to Hermes, and thereafter received his lyre from the god. It is also said that Amphion pays punishment in Hades for the insults he himself uttered against Leto and her children.

9.5.9

★ There exist verses composed by Minyas concerning the punishment of Amphion, a subject shared in common also with Thamyris the Thracian. After a plague had made utterly desolate the house of Amphion and Zethus, and the son of Zethus had been slain by his own mother because of some fault, Zethus himself also died from grief; accordingly, the Thebans brought back Laius to assume the kingship.

9.5.10

★ While Laius was king and married to Jocasta, an oracle came to him from Delphi declaring that he would meet his end through his son, if Jocasta should bear him any child. Because of this, he exposed Oedipus. Oedipus, however, once grown up, was destined to kill his father and married his mother. Yet I do not believe that his children were born from her, relying upon Homer as witness, who composed in the Odyssey:

9.5.11

★

I saw the mother of Oedipus, fair Epicaste, who unwittingly performed a great deed when she married her own son. He, after slaying his father, married her; but straightway the gods made these matters notorious among the people (Homer, Odyssey, 11.271). But how, then, did they make it immediately notorious if indeed four children born to Oedipus came from Epicaste? In fact, they were born from Euryganeia, daughter of Hyperphas. This is also made clear by the poet who composed the verses called the Oedipodeia, and Onasias likewise portrayed Euryganeia at Plataea in grief over the battle of her sons.

9.5.12

Polyneices, while Oedipus was still alive and ruling, departed from Thebes for fear that his father's ★ curses might be fulfilled upon him. Coming to Argos and having taken Adrastus' daughter in marriage, he returned to Thebes when summoned by Eteocles following Oedipus' death. Upon his return, however, he became embroiled in a dispute with Eteocles, and thus fled a second time. After beseeching Adrastus to grant him an army that would restore him, he lost the host and himself engaged Eteocles in single combat, according to a mutual challenge.

9.5.13

And those fighting in single combat died, and when the kingship fell to Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, ★ Creon, son of Menoeceus, exercised authority, acting as guardian for the boy. When Laodamas grew older and took up the rule, then for the second time the Argives led their army against Thebes. The Thebans encamped opposite them around Glisas, and when the two armies engaged in battle, Laodamas killed Aegialeus, the son of Adrastus. But since the Argives won the battle, Laodamas, accompanied by those of the Thebans who voluntarily followed him, withdrew the following night to the land of the Illyrians.

9.5.14

After taking Thebes, the Argives handed it over to Thersander, the son of Polyneices. Later, when those ★ who marched with Agamemnon against Troy made their mistaken voyage and fought the unsuccessful battle around Mysia, Thersander met his end there, slain by Telephus, after having shown himself the bravest of the Greeks in that battle. His tomb stands within the city of Elaea, situated in the plain of the Caïcus; it is marked by a stone set openly in the marketplace.

9.5.15

And the local inhabitants say that ritual offerings were made to him. When Thersandros had died, and ★ a second expedition was being assembled against Alexander and Ilium, they chose Peneleos as their leader, since Tisamenos, son of Thersandros, was not yet of mature age. But after Peneleos had been killed by Eurypylos, son of Telephos, they appointed as king Tisamenos, the son of Thersandros and Demonassa, daughter of Amphiaraos. Now, the Erinyes from Laios and Oedipus showed no anger against Tisamenos himself, but rather against Autesion, the son of Tisamenos, who, following the gods oracle, migrated among the Dorians.

9.5.16

After the departure of Autesion, they thus chose Damasichthon, son of Opheltes, son of Peneleus, as king. Ptolemaeus was the son of this Damasichthon, and Xanthus was the son of Ptolemaeus. Andropompus killed this Xanthus, having fought against him in single combat, treacherously and not

justly. After this event, it seemed preferable to the Thebans to have government by many rather than for everything to depend upon the authority of a single individual.

Chapter 284

Chapter 6

9.6.1

Among the successes occurring for them in contests of war, as well as events of the opposite kind, I find the following to have been most conspicuous: They were defeated by the Athenians in a battle, in which the Plataeans joined to defend themselves, when they attempted to wage war over disputed boundaries of the land; and they suffered another reverse, again opposed by the Athenians near Plataea, precisely at the time when they thought themselves about to seize the side of King Xerxes against the interests of Greece.

9.6.2

They are publicly free from this blame, because at that time an oligarchy, rather than the ancestral form of government, held power in Thebes. Indeed, if the barbarians had invaded Greece when Peisistratus or his sons were still ruling as tyrants in Athens, the Athenians, too, would surely have been accused of siding with the Medes.

9.6.3

Later, however, the Thebans also gained a victory over the Athenians at Delium in the territory of Tanagra; here Hippocrates, son of Ariphron, who was the general of the Athenians, fell, along with the greater part of the army. For the Lacedaemonians, immediately after the departure of the Persian and until the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, relations with Thebes were favorable. But once this war had been fought out and the naval power of Athens destroyed, the Thebans, not long after, entered into war against the Lacedaemonians alongside the Corinthians.

9.6.4

After suffering defeat in battle near Corinth and at Coroneia, they subsequently won at Leuctra, gaining the most remarkable victory we know of among Greeks fighting against Greeks. They put an end to the decarchies that the Lacedaemonians had set up in the cities, and they expelled the Spartan harmosts. Later, they also carried on war against the Phocians–a conflict the Greeks have named the Sacred War–for ten continuous years.

9.6.5

I have already stated in my account of Attica that the defeat at Chaeronea proved disastrous for all of Greece; yet it brought even greater disaster on the Thebans, upon whom a garrison was introduced into

their city. After Philip's death, and when the Macedonian rule had passed to Alexander, the Thebans attempted to drive out the garrison. But when they undertook this action, the god immediately foretold their approaching destruction; indeed, portents appeared to them in the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros, opposite in meaning to those signs that had preceded their victory at Leuktra.

9.6.6

For at that time, spiders spun white webs upon the doors of the temple, but at the invasion of Alexander and the Macedonians, they wove them black. It is also said that one year before the war inflicted by Sulla, which brought great suffering upon the Athenians, the god caused ashes to rain down upon them.

Chapter 7

9.7.1

At that time the Thebans, having been expelled from their city by Alexander and having fled to Athens, were later restored by Cassander, the son of Antipater. The Athenians showed the greatest eagerness for the rebuilding of Thebes, and the Messenians also contributed assistance, along with the Arcadians who inhabited Megalopolis.

9.7.2

It seems to me that Cassander founded Thebes chiefly because of his hatred toward Alexander. He also carried out the destruction of Alexander's entire family, inciting the Macedonians against Olympias so that they stoned her to death, and murdering Alexander's sons, both Heracles, born from Barsine, and Alexander, the son of Roxane, by poison. Yet Cassander himself did not end his life happily; for he became full of dropsy, and worms arose from his flesh while he was still alive.

9.7.3

Of his sons, Philip, the eldest, having shortly after succeeded to power, was carried off by a consuming disease. Antipater, who followed him, murdered his mother, Thessalonice–who was daughter of Philip son of Amyntas and Nicasipolis–accusing her of showing greater favor toward Alexander. Alexander was the youngest of Cassander's sons; after inviting Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, through his assistance he both overthrew and avenged himself upon his brother Antipater, but in doing so, he discovered that he had gained for himself a murderer rather than an ally.

9.7.4

Whichever of the gods it was who was to exact punishment on Cassander, he indeed paid the penalty. As for the Thebans, under Cassander's rule the entire ancient circuit-wall was rebuilt; yet even afterwards they were evidently destined to experience great misfortunes. For when Mithridates had entered upon war against the Romans, the Thebans joined him–not, as I suppose, from any other motive than friendship for the Athenian people. But when Sulla invaded Boeotia, fear overtook the Thebans, and they swiftly reconsidered their decision, returning once again to friendship with the Romans. ?

9.7.5

Nevertheless, Sulla continued to bear a grudge against them, devising numerous other schemes to harm the Thebans; and under the following pretext he stripped them of half their territory. When he was

setting out for the war against Mithridates, he was short of funds. He therefore gathered offerings from Olympia, and those from Epidaurus, as well as from Delphi, insofar as they had been spared by the Phocians.

9.7.6

These, then, he distributed among the army, but as for the money due to the gods, in exchange he gave them half of the Theban territory. Afterwards the Thebans recovered this sacred land, which could not be taken away, due to the favor of the Romans; but in all other respects they declined from that time onward to the weakest condition. In my own day, indeed, the lower city was entirely deserted, except for its sanctuaries; but the acropolis was inhabited, and is called Thebes rather than Cadmeia.

Chapter 8

9.8.1

After crossing the Asopus and going about ten stades from the city, one finds the ruins of Potniae, and within them is a grove sacred to Demeter and Kore. The images of the goddesses are named after the river that runs near Potniae. At a prescribed time, the inhabitants perform certain other established rites, among which is the practice of releasing young pigs into a place they call the Megaron ("sanctuary"). Regarding these pigs, it is said that in the following season of the year at Dodona–on what account another person elsewhere might be convinced–they appear.

9.8.2

Here too there is a temple of Dionysus "Aigobolos" (Goat-slayer). For once, while sacrificing to the god, the worshippers became so drunken they were driven into reckless violence and even killed the priest of Dionysus. Immediately after having committed this murder, a contagious plague struck them, and an oracle came from Delphi that their cure was to sacrifice to Dionysus a beautiful boy. But not many years later, the god replaced the boy as their sacrificial offering with a goat. At Potniai there is also shown a well, whose water, they say, causes madness to the native horses that drink from it.

9.8.3

As you travel from Potniae toward Thebes, there is on the right side of the road an enclosure that is not large, containing pillars within it. There, they say, the earth opened to receive Amphiaraüs, adding further this tradition, that no birds perch upon these columns, nor does any grass grow there, nor do animals, either domestic or wild, graze upon the spot.

9.8.4

For the Thebans, within the circuit of the ancient wall, there were seven gates in number, and they remain even to our own time. As I learned, their names were derived for them partly from Electra, the sister of Cadmus, and partly from Proetus, a local man. But it proved difficult to discover the epoch of Proetus or the facts about his earlier lineage. The Neistan gates, they say, got their name for the following reason: among the musical strings, they call the lowest one "Neate." This particular string, then, they claim Amphion discovered at these gates. But I have also heard another account, that Zethus, Amphion's brother, had a son named Neis, and that these gates were named Neistan after this Neis.

9.8.5

★ There are gates called Krenaean, and others named Highest (Hypsistai), for the following reason: near these Highest gates stands a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Hypsistos (Most High). The gates beyond these they call the Ogygian, and the last gates are the Homoloian. It seemed to me that the Homoloian gates bore the most recent of these names, while the Ogygian were named from the earliest times.

9.8.6

★ They say the Homoloïdae received their name in the following way. After their defeat by the Argives in the battle at Glisas, most of them fled together with Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. Of these fugitives, a certain portion shrank from the journey to Illyria, and turning instead toward Thessaly, they occupied Homole, a region among the Thessalian mountains especially fertile and abundantly watered.

9.8.7

★ When Thersander, Polyneices' son, recalled them to their homeland, the gates through which they made their descent from Homole were called the Homoloidian Gates. For someone coming from Plataea, the entrance into Thebes is through the Electran Gates; it was here, they say, that Capaneus, son of Hipponous, while making an especially fierce assault against the wall, was struck down by a thunderbolt.

Chapter 9

9.9.1

But this war fought by the Argives, I consider to have been, among all those waged by the Greeks in the age commonly called heroic, the most worthy of mention. For indeed, the war of the Eleusinians against the rest of the Athenians, and likewise that of the Thebans against the Minyans, involved only brief campaigning by the invading forces and was decided in a single battle; and immediately afterward they turned toward agreements and treaties.

9.9.2

The Argive army came into central Boeotia from the heart of the Peloponnese, and Adrastus gathered allies from Arcadia and from the Messenians. Likewise, mercenaries came to the Thebans from the Phocians, and from the region of Minyas came the Phlegyae. A battle took place near the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo, and the Thebans were defeated in this encounter; when forced to flee, they sought refuge within the city walls.

9.9.3

Since the Peloponnesians lacked expertise in fighting against fortifications, conducting their siege attempts rather with courage than with skill, the Thebans, shooting them from the walls, killed many, and thereafter, having counterattacked, overcame the rest when they became disarrayed, until finally the entire army, except Adrastus, was destroyed. Yet the matter was not accomplished for them without enormous losses on their own side as well. Ever since that occasion, a victory in which the victors suffer ruin is called "Cadmean."

9.9.4

Not many years later, along with Thersander, they undertook an expedition against Thebes–these men whom the Greeks call the Epigoni. It is evident that not only the Argives but also the Messenians and Arcadians joined them; moreover, allies from Corinth and Megara were invited to participate. On the other hand, Thebes was aided by its neighboring peoples, and a fierce battle between both sides took place near Glisas.

9.9.5

Some of the Thebans fled immediately after their defeat along with Laodamas, while the rest who stayed behind endured a siege. This war was also the subject of a poem, known as the Thebaïs. Concerning

these verses, Callinus attributed their composition to Homer, claiming that Homer composed them when he referred to them from memory. Many others, notable and worthy of mention, shared Callinus' view. As for myself, I consider this poem to be particularly praiseworthy, second only to the Iliad and the Odyssey. Let this, then, suffice as an account of the war fought between the Argives and Thebans on behalf of the sons of Oedipus.

Chapter 10

9.10.1

Not far from the gates is a common grave, where lie those who happened to fall fighting against Alexander and the Macedonians. Nearby they point out the place where, according to the story about Cadmus–whoever believes it–he killed the dragon at the spring and sowed its teeth, from which men sprang up from the earth.

9.10.2

On the right of the gates there is a hill sacred to Apollo; both the hill and the god are called Ismenian from the river Ismenus which flows by at this point. At the entrance there are first stone images of Athena and Hermes surnamed Pronaoi ("Before the Temple"). They say Pheidias made the Hermes, and Skopas the Athena. Beyond these is the temple itself. The cult statue is equal in size and entirely similar in appearance to that in Branchidae; thus, one who has viewed either of these statues and ascertained its artist would find no great difficulty in recognizing that the other also is a work of Kanachos. The difference between them is this: the one in Branchidae is made of bronze, whereas the Ismenian is of cedar wood.

9.10.3

Here there is a stone upon which they say Manto, daughter of Teiresias, used to sit. It lies before the entrance, and even now is called the Seat of Manto. On the right side of the temple there are images made of stone: one is said to be Henioche, and the other Pyrrha. They say these were daughters of Creon, who governed as regent for Laodamas, son of Eteocles.

9.10.4

This custom, at least, I know still continues in my day at Thebes: they choose as annual priest of Apollo Ismenius a boy from a noble family, handsome and strong in body as well. His title is Daphnephoros (the Bearer of Laurel), for these boys wear a crown made of laurel leaves. I cannot say with certainty whether it is customary for all who have served as daphnephoroi to dedicate a bronze tripod to the god–I suppose it is not customary for everyone, since I have not seen many such tripods dedicated there. But the wealthiest among the chosen boys certainly dedicate one. The tripod dedicated by Amphitryon when Heracles was daphnephoros is most celebrated, both due to its antiquity and the fame of the dedicated person.

9.10.5

★ Above the Ismenion, one may see the spring which is said to be sacred to Ares, and a dragon, it is believed, was appointed by Ares himself as guardian of this spring. Near this spring is the tomb of Caanthus. They relate that Caanthus was the brother of Melia and the son of Oceanus, and that he was sent by his father to search for his sister after she had been abducted. But when he found Apollo holding Melia and could not take her away, he dared to set fire to the sanctuary of Apollo, the one that is now called the Ismenion. The god himself, according to the Thebans' story, shot and killed Caanthus with an arrow.

9.10.6

★ Here is the tomb of Caanthus. They say that Apollo had by Melia two sons, Tenerus and Ismenus. To Tenerus Apollo granted the gift of prophecy, while the river received its name from Ismenus. Even previously, however, it was not without a name, being called Ladon before it was named Ismenus after Apollo's son.

Chapter 11

9.11.1

On the left of the gates called Electran Gates, there are the ruins of a house where, they say, Amphitryon dwelt when he fled from Tiryns on account of the death of Electryon. The bedchamber of Alcmena is still discernible among these ruins. They say that Trophonius and Agamedes built it for Amphitryon, and the following inscription was engraved upon it: "When Amphitryon was about to bring here Alcmena as his wife, he prepared this bridal chamber for himself; Trophonius and Agamedes of the land of Anchasia built it."

9.11.2

This, say the Thebans, was painted here. And they also show the tomb of Herakles' children by Megara, relating the story of their death in no way differently than how Stesichorus of Himera and Panyassis described it in their poems. Further, the Thebans add that in his madness Herakles also intended to kill Amphitryon himself, but before this happened he was overcome by sleep because of the blow of a stone; and they say that Athena threw upon him this stone, which they call "the Saviour."

9.11.3

Here there are images shaped like women; the figures are already somewhat indistinct. The Thebans call these statues Pharmakides ("Sorceresses"), and say they were sent by Hera to obstruct the birth pangs of Alcmene. Indeed, these beings delayed Alcmene from giving birth, until Historis, the daughter of Teiresias, devised a clever trick against the Pharmakides. She cried out loudly in their hearing, saying that Alcmene had already given birth; deceived in this way, they departed, and thus–according to the story–Alcmene was able to bear her child.

9.11.4

Here there is a sanctuary of Heracles. The statue called Promachos, made of white stone, is the work of Xenocritus and Eubius of Thebes. As for the ancient wooden image, the Thebans consider it to have been made by Daedalus, and it appeared thus to me as well. This image was, they say, dedicated by Daedalus himself, as payment for a favor done to him. When he fled from Crete, he built small ships for himself and his son Icarus, and moreover invented sails for these vessels–a thing not yet discovered at that time–so that by using the wind blowing steadily they might outrun the rowing vessels of Minos' fleet. Thus Daedalus himself was saved.

9.11.5

★ They say that due to Icarus steering incompetently, the ship capsized; after he drowned, the waves carried his body ashore onto an island beyond Samos that was then nameless. Heracles happened upon the corpse, recognized him, and buried him there. Even now a small mound for him remains on a headland projecting into the Aegean Sea. Thus, from this Icarus both the island and the surrounding sea received their names.

9.11.6

★ For the Thebans, Praxiteles fashioned at the sanctuary called "The Eagles" most of the so-called twelve labors; however, the birds from Stymphalus and the manner in which Heracles purified the land of Elis are missing among these, and instead the wrestling contest with Antaeus is depicted. Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and those Athenians with him who overthrew the tyranny of the Thirty–since their return march was embarked upon from Thebes–dedicated colossal statues of Athena and Heracles carved from Pentelic marble, works of Alcamenes, in the sanctuary of Heracles.

9.11.7

Next to the sanctuary of Heracles there is a gymnasium and a stadium, both named after the god. Above the stone called the "Sophronister," there stands an altar of Apollo, called Spodios, made from the ashes of sacrificial victims. At this place there is established a form of divination through sounds and utterances, of which the Smyrnaeans, among all the Greeks, I know to make most use; for indeed, the Smyrnaeans also have a sanctuary of utterances outside their city, beyond the walls.

Chapter 12

9.12.1

In earliest times, the Thebans used to sacrifice bulls to Spodios Apollo. Once, on the occasion of their festival, when the hour appointed for the sacrifice was pressing close upon them and the messengers sent to fetch the bull had not arrived, it happened that a wagon passed by, and they offered up to the god one of the oxen drawing it. From that time forth, it has been their established custom to sacrifice work-oxen. The following tale is also told by the Thebans: when Cadmus departed from Delphi, a cow guided him on his journey toward the land of the Phocians. Cadmus had purchased this cow from the herdsmen of Pelagon, and on both of her flanks she bore a white marking resembling the circle of the full moon.

9.12.2

At this point Cadmus and the army with him were destined to settle according to the oracle of the god, at the spot where the cow was to sink down exhausted. So they identify this place also. There stands an open-air altar and an image of Athena, which they say Cadmus himself dedicated. Now for those who claim that Cadmus arrived in Egyptian Thebes and was not from Phoenicia, the name of this Athena gives clear contradiction to that argument; for she is called "Onga" in the Phoenician tongue, and not "Sais," as the Egyptians would name her.

9.12.3

The Thebans say that the place which in our day serves as their market-place, below the acropolis, was originally the dwelling of Cadmus. They still point out among the ruins certain chambers, one said to have belonged to Harmonia, and another claimed to be Semele's, the latter continuing even to our day to be guarded and kept inaccessible to human beings. Within the market-place itself there is also the spot where, according to those Greeks who hold that the Muses sang at the wedding of Harmonia, these goddesses performed their chants.

9.12.4

The following story is also told: that at the same time as the thunderbolt struck Semele's chamber, a piece of wood fell from heaven. They say that Polydoros adorned this piece of wood with bronze and called it "Dionysos Cadmos." Near it stands a statue of Dionysos created by Onasimedes, entirely composed of solid bronze; the altar was made by the sons of Praxiteles.

9.12.5

There is also a portrait statue of Pronomos, a man who played the flute in a manner exceptionally appealing to the public. Until his time, flute-players possessed three different types of flutes: on some flutes they performed the Dorian melody alone; for the Phrygian mode they employed flutes specifically tuned differently; and what is called the Lydian mode was again played upon another sort of flute. It was Pronomos who first invented flutes suitable entirely for every kind of harmony, and was also the first who performed compositions of such varied style upon these same flutes.

9.12.6

It is said that by the expression of his face and the entire movement of his body he especially delighted the audience in the theater. Moreover, he composed a processional-song for the Chalcidians who dwell by the Euripus, to be sung at their procession to Delos. Here indeed the Thebans dedicated statues both of him and of Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis.

Chapter 13

9.13.1

Epaminondas inherited from his ancestors renown of lineage, though his father's limited financial means placed him within the middle rank of Theban society. His education included meticulous mastery of the customary native subjects, and when he was already a youth he studied under Lysis, a man who was by birth from Tarentum and knowledgeable in the doctrines of Pythagoras of Samos. It is said that when the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Mantineans, Epaminondas was sent along with other men from Thebes to assist the Lacedaemonians. During the battle, he himself sustained wounds, yet saved Pelopidas, who had been injured, rescuing him at the utmost risk to his own life.

9.13.2

Some time afterward, Epaminondas arrived in Sparta on an embassy, when the Lacedaemonians said that they were ready to make peace with the Greeks on terms known as the peace of Antalcidas. At this time Agesilaus asked Epaminondas whether the Thebans would allow the oath concerning the peace to be sworn on a city-by-city basis. Epaminondas replied, "We will certainly not consent to that, Spartans, until we see your own perioikoi likewise swearing their oaths city by city."

9.13.3

When war now had broken out between the Lacedaemonians and Thebans, the Lacedaemonians advanced against the Thebans with the full force of themselves and their allies. Epaminondas, having a part of the army, took up a position by Lake Cephisis, in the expectation that the Peloponnesians would invade through that region. Cleombrotus, the Lacedaemonian king, however, turned towards Ambrossus, a city belonging to the Phocians. After killing Chaereas, who had been assigned to guard the passes, along with the other Thebans who were with him, he passed through and arrived in Leuctra, in the territory of Boeotia.

9.13.4

At this place, signs from the god appeared both to Cleombrotus himself and to the Spartan people in common. It was customary for their kings, whenever they set out on expeditions, to have sheep accompany them for sacrifices to the gods and divination before battles; yet in these flocks goats served as leaders on the march, which the shepherds call "katoiades." At that time, wolves attacked the flock, but no harm befell the sheep; instead, the wolves killed only the goats called "katoiades."

9.13.5

★ And it was said that resentment towards the Lacedaemonians came also from the daughters of Skedasos. For Skedasos, who lived near Leuktra, had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo; and when they reached youthful maturity, they were outrageously violated by two Spartans, Phrurarchidas and Parthenios. Immediately afterward, the maidens–since they could not bear the shame of their violation–hanged themselves. Skedasos, traveling to Lacedaemon, could obtain no redress whatsoever; then returning thus to Leuktra, he ended his own life.

9.13.6

Then Epaminondas offered sacrifices and prayed to Skedasos and his daughters, declaring that the battle would be fought no less for vengeance upon their murderers than for the safety of Thebes. But among the Boeotarchs opinions did not coincide, and their views differed considerably from one another. Epaminondas, along with Malgis and Xenokrates, preferred to engage the Spartans swiftly, whereas Damokleidas, Damophilos and Simangelos opposed giving battle, advising instead to send away their women and children to Attica and to prepare themselves to endure a siege.

9.13.7

The votes of the six commanders had thus far been equally divided. However, when the vote of the seventh Boeotarch, who was stationed to guard the passage by Cithaeron–his name was Brachyllides–was added to the side of Epaminondas upon his return to the camp, all agreed at last to decide the issue through battle.

9.13.8

Epaminondas had suspected the loyalty of other Boeotians as well, but his suspicion was even greater against the Thespians. Therefore, fearing they might betray him in the midst of action, he gave leave to depart openly from the camp to whoever wished to go home. As a consequence, the Thespians departed altogether, along with any other Boeotians who harbored disaffection toward the Thebans.

9.13.9

But when they had come to close combat, at this point the allies of the Lacedaemonians, never having previously been satisfied with them, showed their animosity most clearly: unwilling to hold their ground, they yielded wherever the enemy attacked them. But the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Thebans were equally matched in battle, the former relying upon their previous military experience and at the same time motivated by a sense of shame lest they undermine the prestige of Sparta, while the Thebans saw the danger ahead as a struggle for their homeland, their women, and their children.

9.13.10

But when Cleombrotus, the king, as well as other high-ranking Lacedaemonians had fallen, then even in their distress necessity compelled the Spartans not to yield; for among the Lacedaemonians, it was considered most shameful that the body of a king who had fallen among enemy forces should be left abandoned to them.

9.13.11

For the Thebans, the victory was the most glorious of any ever won by Greeks against Greeks. The Spartans the following day decided to bury their dead and sent a herald to the Thebans. Epaminondas,

aware that the Spartans were always accustomed to concealing their misfortunes, told them he would grant permission to recover their dead only after they had first given leave for their allies to do so; and once the allies had recovered their dead, then he judged it right that the Spartans should bury their own.

9.13.12

Since some of their allies entirely denied having casualties, claiming that none of their men had fallen, and others appeared to have suffered only slight losses, the Lacedaemonians buried their own dead, and it had by this time become clear that those lying there were Spartans. Of the Thebans and those of the Boeotians who had remained with them, forty-seven men perished, while of the Lacedaemonians themselves more than a thousand were killed.

Chapter 14

9.14.1

After the battle with the Peloponnesians, Epaminondas initially kept the Lacedaemonians hemmed in at Leuctra, though he had permitted the other survivors to depart each to their homes. When he learned, however, that the Spartans from the city were marching to aid their people at Leuctra with their full forces, he allowed the men held at Leuctra to withdraw under truce. He declared it would be better for the Thebans to push the war away from Boeotia and into Lacedaemonian territory itself.

9.14.2

The Thespians, perceiving both the long-standing hostility of the Thebans and their present misfortune, resolved to abandon their city and retreat to Keressos. Keressos is a fortified site in Thespian territory, where they had also in former times sought refuge during the Thessalian invasion. On that occasion, when the Thessalians discovered that capturing Keressos seemed beyond their hopes despite their efforts, they went to Delphi to consult the god, and

9.14.3

An oracle was delivered to them as follows: "Shady Leuctra concerns me, and the soil of Alesium; ★
I care also for the ill-fated daughters of Scedasus. There a tearful battle is coming, which no mortal shall foresee until the Dorians destroy glorious youth in the flower of its prime, when the destined day arrives. Only then shall Ceressus be taken; at no other time."

9.14.4

Then Epaminondas, after removing the Thespians who had fled to Ceresus, immediately turned his attention toward affairs in the Peloponnese, as the Arcadians also were eagerly summoning him. When he arrived, the Argives willingly joined him as allies, and he reunited the Mantineans, who had been dispersed by Agesipolis into separate villages, back into their original city. Likewise, he persuaded the Arcadians to abandon the villages that were weakly held, settling them together into a common homeland, a city that even in our own time continues to be called Megalopolis.

9.14.5

The period prescribed by law for Epaminondas to serve as Boeotarch had already expired, and he was liable to the penalty of death if he retained his command beyond the appointed time. Yet Epaminondas, disregarding this ordinance as ill-timed, continued on as Boeotarch. When he led the army against

Sparta and Agesilaus chose not to oppose him in battle, Epaminondas proceeded towards the founding of Messene. Thus Epaminondas became the founder of the city of the present-day Messenians. I will explain further on about the settlement and matters concerning the Messenians themselves.

9.14.6

At this time, the allies of the Thebans, scattered about the countryside, were ravaging the land of Laconia and plundering all they could seize from it. This circumstance led Epaminondas to decide to lead the Thebans back to Boeotia. As he marched with his army toward Lechaeum, and was about to traverse narrow and difficult terrain, Iphicrates, the son of Timotheus, commanding peltasts and other Athenian forces, launched an attack against the Thebans.

9.14.7

Epaminondas routed those who attacked him and proceeded to the city of the Athenians itself; however, as Iphicrates prevented the Athenians from coming forth to battle, Epaminondas returned again to Thebes. Afterwards, he stood trial on a capital charge because he had continued to serve as Boeotarch after his allotted term had expired. It is said, however, that those assigned to judge his case refused outright even to cast their votes concerning him.

Chapter 15

9.15.1

Afterwards, Alexander, who held power in Thessaly, arrested Pelopidas when he came as if to a man who was personally well-disposed towards him and friendly to the Thebans as a people in general. Indeed, upon Pelopidas' arrival, Alexander, prompted by mistrust and insolence, immediately seized and imprisoned him. The Thebans straightaway resolved to march forth against Alexander. They appointed Cleomenes and Hypatus, then serving as Boeotarchs, as leaders of the expedition. Epaminondas also happened to be numbered among those who marched out.

9.15.2

After they had marched out beyond the Gates, Alexander, having set an ambush at a difficult pass, attacked them with his force. And when it appeared that their situation offered no hope of escape, the rest of the army chose Epaminondas as their leader, and the Boeotarchs willingly yielded command to him. Alexander, seeing Epaminondas now leading his opponents, no longer had the courage to continue the war, and he voluntarily released Pelopidas.

9.15.3

But while Epaminondas was absent, the Thebans drove out the Orchomenians completely from their land. Epaminondas considered the expulsion of the Orchomenians a misfortune, and declared that such a deed would never have been committed by the Thebans had he himself been present.

9.15.4

When he was chosen again as Boeotarch and led an army of the Boeotians once more into the Peloponnese, he defeated the Lacedaemonians in battle near Lechaeum, and along with them the Pelleneans from Achaea and those Athenians whom Chabrias had led from Athens. The Thebans had a policy of releasing all prisoners they captured for ransom, except for Boeotian exiles, whom they punished with death. Having thus captured the Sicyonian town of Phoebia, where most of the exiled Boeotians had gathered, he freed those he found there, assigning to each a new citizenship in whatever place he happened to designate as their new homeland.

9.15.5

When he arrived with his army near Mantineia, though victorious there also, he was slain by the hand of an Athenian. It is recorded that this man, Gryllos, the son of Xenophon, killed Epaminondas during

a cavalry engagement. Gryllos was indeed the son of Xenophon, who took part in Cyrus' expedition against King Artaxerxes and afterward led the Greeks safely back to the sea.

9.15.6

Upon the statue of Epaminondas there are additional elegiac verses inscribed, recounting among other things that he was the founder of Messene and that through him freedom was granted to the Greeks. These elegiac lines read thus:

"By our counsels Spartas fame was sheared away; Sacred Messene now at last receives her children. The Great City was crowned by Theban arms, And all of Hellas freely governs itself in liberty."

Such was Epaminondas' reputation.

Chapter 16

9.16.1

Not far away is a temple of Ammon; its statue was dedicated by Pindar, but is the work of Kalamis. Pindar also sent to the Ammonians of Libya a hymn in honor of Ammon. Even down to my own time, this hymn remained inscribed on a triangular stele beside the altar, which Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, dedicated to Ammon. Near the sanctuary of Ammon the Thebans also have the place called the Oracle of Tiresias and, close by, a shrine of Tyche.

9.16.2

She indeed carries as child Plutus; and as the Thebans relate, the hands and face of the statue were made by the Athenian Xenophon, but the remainder by the local artist Callistonikos. Wise indeed was their conception also, in setting Plutus in the hands of Tyche as if she were his mother or nurse; no less wise was that of Cephisodotus, who similarly made for the Athenians the statue of Eirene holding Plutus.

9.16.3

The Thebans have wooden images (xoana) of Aphrodite so ancient that they even claim they were dedicated by Harmonia, saying that they were fashioned from the wooden figureheads upon Cadmus' ships. They call one of these Urania, another Pandemos, and the third Apostrophia ("She who averts"). Harmonia gave Aphrodite these appellations, naming Urania after pure and heavenly love.

9.16.4

One (Aphrodite Urania), who is free from bodily desire; another, Pandemos, concerned with physical unions; and thirdly, Apostrophia, whose function is to turn away humankind from unlawful passions and impious deeds. For Harmonia knew of many such things among the barbarians, and some already dared by the Greeks–of the kind that were later sung about regarding the mother of Adonis, Phaedra the daughter of Minos, and the Thracian Tereus.

9.16.5

They say that the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros was once the house of Cadmus and his descendants. The image of Demeter standing there is visible only down to the chest. In this place bronze shields are also dedicated, said to belong to those Spartan commanders who fell in the battle at Leuctra.

9.16.6

★ Near the gates known as the Proetidian, a theatre has been built, and very close to this theatre stands a temple dedicated to Dionysus, surnamed Lysius ("the Deliverer"). For the god delivered certain Theban men who had been taken prisoner by Thracians; as they were passing through the lands of Haliartus, the god freed them and delivered over to them the Thracians whom they slew as they lay asleep. The Thebans assert that one of the statues here represents Semele, and say that this sanctuary is opened only once each year, upon fixed days.

9.16.7

★ There are also the ruins of Lycus' house and the tomb of Semele; but there is no tomb of Alcmena. They say that upon her death she was transformed from human form into stone. The Megarians, however, tell a different story concerning her; indeed, the Greeks generally differ greatly in their accounts about such matters. Here the Thebans have also erected tombs for the children of Amphion–separate tombs for the males and a separate tomb for the maidens.

Chapter 17

9.17.1

Near this (temple) is the sanctuary of Artemis Eukleia; the statue is a work of Skopas. It is said that the daughters of Antipoenus, Androkleia and Alkis, are buried inside the sanctuary. As the Thebans and Herakles were about to engage in a battle against the Orchomenians, an oracle declared that victory in war would belong to them if a citizen of the most distinguished lineage chose voluntarily to sacrifice himself. Antipoenus–for to him ancestral honor was especially prominent–was not willing to die for the sake of the community; but it seemed good to his daughters. Having willingly caused their own deaths, they received honors in return for this deed. ★

9.17.2

In front of the temple of Artemis Eukleia there is a lion, made of stone; it is said that Heracles dedicated it after defeating in battle the Orchomenians and their king Erginus, son of Clymenus. Nearby also stands Apollo with the surname Boedromios, and Hermes, who is called Agoraios; this too is an offering of Pindar. About half a stade away from the graves is the pyre of Amphion's children, and to this day the ashes from the pyre still remain. ★

9.17.3

Near the dedication of Amphitryon, they say, are two stone statues of Athena, surnamed Zosteria ("Girding"). For it was at this place, they say, that he put on his arms, when he was about to engage in battle against the Euboeans and Chalkodon. Indeed, the ancients called the act of putting on armor "girding oneself" (zosasthai). Thus they explain Homer, asserting that when Homer likens Agamemnons equipment of armor to the war-belt (zone) of Ares, he too refers metaphorically to the putting on of armor. ★

9.17.4

The tomb of Zethus and Amphion is a common mound of earth, not large in size. Those who inhabit Tithorea in Phocis wish to carry away earth from this mound, and they do so whenever the sun passes through the constellation Taurus. For at that time, if they take earth from here and place it upon the tomb of Antiope, their land in Tithorea will yield good crops, while the land of the Thebans will not fare likewise. Because of this, the Thebans at that season appoint guards for the tomb. ★

9.17.5

These cities have trusted these matters because of oracles of Bacis, for it is written also thus in these same oracles:

"But whenever a man of Tithorea pours libations and soothing prayers upon the earth to Amphion and Zethus with the sacrifice of a bull, as the bright sun is setting, then truly guard the city from approaching harm, not feeble; for the fruits in it dwindle away when those who divide the land bring offerings to the tomb of Phocus."

9.17.6

Bacis mentions the tomb of Phocus for the following reason. Lycus' wife especially revered Dionysus above all the other gods; and accordingly, after she suffered the events that tradition recounts, Dionysus turned his wrath against Antiope. Yet in the affairs of gods, excessive punishments always somehow provoke resentment. It is said that Antiope was driven mad, lost her senses, and wandered throughout all Greece. Phocus, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus, happened upon her, took her as his wife, and cured her. Thus, the tomb was built as a common resting place for both Antiope and Phocus.

9.17.7

The stones near the tomb of Amphion, roughly placed beneath it and with no precise craftsmanship, are said to be the very rocks that once followed Amphion's singing. Similarly, stories are told about Orpheus also, how wild beasts would follow him when he played the lyre.

Chapter 18

9.18.1

The road from Thebes to Chalkis passes through these gates, the Proitides. Near the main road is shown the tomb of Melanippus, who was among the bravest of the Thebans in warfare. When the Argives attacked, this Melanippus killed Tydeus and Mecisteus, brother of Adrastus; and they say his own death came at the hands of Amphiaraus.

9.18.2

Very near this place there are three unworked stones. Those among the Thebans who preserve ancient memories say that the one lying here is Tydeus, and that he was buried by Maion; as proof of this story they cite the line from the Iliad concerning Tydeus: "whom the heaped earth covers in Thebes."

9.18.3

Next come the tombs of the children of Oedipus. Although I have not witnessed myself what is performed upon them, I nevertheless consider the reports reliable. For the Thebans say that they make offerings both to other heroes who are considered such and to the children of Oedipus. And when they offer sacrifices to these, the flame, and likewise the smoke arising from it, divides itself into two parts. Something else I saw convinced me of the truth of what they say.

9.18.4

In Mysia, above the Kaïkos, there is a small town called Pioniai. The inhabitants here say that their founder was Pionis, one of the descendants of Herakles. Whenever they intend to offer a sacrifice to him, smoke spontaneously ascends from his tomb. I myself have witnessed this occurring.

The Thebans point out the tomb of Teiresias as well, situated approximately fifteen stadia farther away than that of the children of Oedipus. Yet, although even they admit that Teiresias died in the territory of Haliartos, they claim that the burial site in their land is an empty monument.

9.18.5

The Thebans also have a tomb of Hector, the son of Priam, beside the spring called Oedipodia. They say that his bones were brought from Ilium according to the following oracle:

"You Thebans, dwelling in the city of Cadmus, if you desire to inhabit your homeland enriched with blameless prosperity, take home from Asia the bones of Hector, son of Priam, and by Zeus's command duly honor him as a hero."

9.18.6

The spring Oedipodia received its name because there Oedipus washed away the blood of the murder of his father. Near the spring is the tomb of Asphodicus. This Asphodicus killed Parthenopaeus son of Talaus in the battle against the Argives, as the Thebans claim; however, in the poems of the Thebaid, it is said that Periclymenus was the one who slew Parthenopaeus.

Chapter 19

9.19.1

On this highway there is a place called Teumessos. They say that Europa was hidden here by Zeus. Another story concerns a fox named the Teumessian Fox, asserting that the beast was raised by the wrath of Dionysus for the destruction of the Thebans. It was close to being captured by the dog given by Artemis to Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, but at the moment of capture, both the fox and the dog were turned into stone. At Teumessos there is also a sanctuary of Athena Telchinia, though it contains no statue. Regarding her epithet, it may be conjectured that some of the Telchines who once lived in Cyprus migrated to Boeotia, establishing there the sacred precinct of Athena named Telchinia.

9.19.2

About seven stades along the road, with Teumessus on the left, there are ruins of Glisas; immediately before them, on the right side of the way, is a low-hilled mound shaded by wild woodland and cultivated trees. Here were buried those who followed Aegialeus in Adrastus' expedition against Thebes, including other Argives of distinguished rank as well as Promachus, son of Parthenopaeus. As for Aegialeus himself, in my account treating of Megaris, I have previously indicated that his tomb lies in Pagai.

9.19.3

On the direct road from Thebes to Glisas, the Thebans identify a certain place enclosed by stones as the head of the serpent, asserting that this serpent–whoever it might have been–once raised its head there from its lair, and that Tiresias came upon it and severed the head with his sword. Thus the place owes its name to this tradition. Above Glisas rises the mountain called Hypatos, and on its summit stands a temple and a statue dedicated to Zeus Hypatos. The stream that flows down from it is named Thermodon. Turning back again toward Teumessos and the road that leads to Chalkis, there is the tomb of Chalkodon, who died at the hands of Amphitryon in the battle fought between the Euboeans and the Thebans.

9.19.4

Next are the ruins of the cities Harma and Mykalessos. Harma, according to the Tanagraeans, was named from the chariot ("harma") of Amphiaraos, which vanished at this place, rather than where the Thebans claim it occurred. It is generally agreed that Mykalessos acquired its name because here the cow guiding Kadmos and his army towards Thebes lowed. How Mykalessos came to devastation, involving events concerning the Athenians, I have already related in my account.

9.19.5

★ By the sea near Mykalessos is a sanctuary of Demeter Mykalessia. They say that it is closed every night, yet always opened again by Herakles; this Herakles is said to be one of those called the Idaean Daktyloi. A remarkable phenomenon is also shown here: before the feet of the statue they place fruits which ripen naturally in autumn, and these remain fresh throughout the entire year.

9.19.6

★ At the point where Euboea is separated from Boeotia by the Euripus strait, there lies on the right-hand side the sanctuary of Demeter of Mycalessus; a short distance beyond this stands Aulis. They say it was named after the daughter of Ogygus. Here there is a temple of Artemis and statues made of white stone, one holding torches, the other appearing to shoot an arrow. They say that when the Greeks were about to sacrifice Iphigenia on the altar according to the oracle of Calchas, the goddess substituted a deer as the sacrificial victim in her stead.

9.19.7

★ They still preserve in the temple a remnant of the wood from the plane tree that Homer also mentioned in the Iliad. It is said that the Greeks at Aulis lacked favorable wind, but when suddenly a fair wind appeared, each man sacrificed to Artemis whatever he had at hand, both male and female victims alike. Ever since then it has remained customary at Aulis that every sacrificial victim is acceptable. They also show the spring beside which the plane tree once grew, and on a nearby hill a bronze threshold of the tent of Agamemnon.

9.19.8

In front of the sanctuary palms are growing, which do not yield fruit entirely edible as those in Palestine, though the fruit of palms in Ionia is riper than these. Few people dwell in Aulis, and these inhabit a clayey region. The Tanagraeans control this land, as well as the territory around Mycalessus and Harma.

Chapter 20

9.20.1

On the seacoast of the Tanagran territory there lies a place called Delium; within it are statues of Artemis and Leto. The Tanagrans claim that their founder was Poimandros, the son of Chairesilaos, who himself was the son of Iasios, the son of Eleuther; this Eleuther, they say, was the son of Apollo and Aithousa, the daughter of Poseidon. They add that Poimandros took as his wife Tanagra, daughter of Aiolos. But according to Corinna's poem about her, she was a daughter of Asopos.

9.20.2

When this woman's life had extended to a very great age, they say that her neighbours, dropping her actual name, began to call both the woman herself and, in time, the city "Graia." This name continued long enough even for Homer to include it in his Catalogue, writing "Thespeia and Graia and spacious Mykalessos." But later, with the passing of time, the original name was restored.

9.20.3

At Tanagra there is the tomb of Orion, and a mountain called Cerycius, where they say Hermes was born, as well as a place named Polus ("Heaven"). Here, they assert, Atlas sat and diligently studied both subterranean matters and heavenly affairs. Homer has also composed verses concerning him:

"The daughter of baleful Atlas, who knows all the depths of the sea; and he himself holds the tall pillars which keep heaven and earth apart." (Homer, Odyssey 1.52)

9.20.4

In the temple of Dionysus there is a statue worth seeing. It is made of Parian marble, the work of Calamis. Yet an even greater wonder is presented by the Triton. According to the more solemn account, the women of Tanagra, before celebrating the rites of Dionysus, went down to the sea for purifications. As they were swimming, Triton attacked them, and the women beseeched Dionysus to come to their aid. The god heard their entreaty and overpowered Triton in battle.

9.20.5

The other story is less reputable than the previous one, but more persuasive. It states that Triton used to lie in wait and seize all the cattle that were driven towards the sea. He even attacked smaller vessels, until the Tanagraeans set out for him a bowl of wine. They say that immediately, drawn by its scent, he arrived, drank the wine, and then fell asleep on the shore. While he lay there sleeping, a man of

Tanagra struck him with an axe and cut off his head. For this reason, the figure lacks a head. Because they captured him while he was drunk, they believe he died through the agency of Dionysus.

Chapter 21

9.21.1

I also saw another Triton among the marvelous sights of the Romans, smaller in size than the one at Tanagra. Tritons have an appearance as follows: upon their heads is hair resembling that of marsh frogs, similar in color and in that none of the individual hairs can be separated from the others. The rest of their bodies are covered by thin scales, as rough as those found on a shark. Beneath their ears they possess gills, the nose is like that of a human, but the mouth is wider and furnished with teeth like those of a wild beast. Their eyes seem to me to be greenish-grey. They have hands, fingers and nails shaped similarly to the shells of sea-snails. From beneath their chest and belly extends a tail instead of feet, like those of dolphins.

9.21.2

I saw also Ethiopian bulls, which are called rhinoceros from their distinctive feature: each has one horn at the tip of the nose and another smaller one above it, but on the head there are no horns at all. I saw also bulls from Paeonia–these Paeonian bulls are shaggy over their entire body, particularly around the chest and the jaw. I also saw Indian camels colored similarly to leopards.

9.21.3

There is an animal called the elk, shaped somewhat between a deer and a camel, which lives in the land of the Celts. Of all the animals we know, it alone cannot be tracked or seen beforehand by man, though hunters sent out in pursuit of other game are sometimes led by divine fortune to capture the elk as well. For the elk senses the odor of man even from a great distance and, as people say, immediately withdraws into the steepest ravines and caverns. Therefore, whenever hunters, forming a circle around a plain of about a thousand stades or even encircling a mountain, draw very close to one another, they never break their formation, but always continuously narrowing their circle, they capture all animals enclosed inside, including the elk itself. But if it does not happen to dwell within the area thus enclosed, there is no other possible way to take an elk.

9.21.4

The beast described in Ctesias' account of India–called by the Indians a martichora, but by the Greeks, he says, a man-eater–I am convinced was the tiger. As for the claim that it has triple rows of teeth on each jaw and spines on the tip of its tail, with which it strikes nearby targets and shoots at distant ones as accurately as a bowman with an arrow, that story, it seems to me, is an untrue report passed among the Indians themselves out of their great fear of the beast.

9.21.5

? They were deceived also regarding its color; when the tiger appeared to them in sunlight, due to the brightness it seemed both red and of uniform color, either because of its swiftness or–if it were not running–due to its continual turning about, especially since their observation was not made at close quarters. I suppose indeed that if someone from Libya, India, or the land of the Arabs went to the farthest extremes with the intent of discovering all the animals found among the Greeks, he would find some not existing at all there, and others appearing to him not quite as they are described.

9.21.6

? Indeed, it is not only mankind that acquires a variety of forms according to the differing qualities of air and earth, but other creatures would experience the same effect as well. For even among wild beasts, the snakes in Libya differ from those in Egypt in respect to their coloring; and in Ethiopia the land nurtures snakes that are black, no less than it does humans. Therefore, one should neither adopt a hasty judgment nor display skepticism toward rarer phenomena. Indeed, although I myself have not seen winged serpents, I find it credible that they exist; for I do trust that a Phrygian man brought into Ionia a scorpion having wings closely resembling those of a locust.

Chapter 22

9.22.1

In Tanagra beside the temple of Dionysus is one of Themis, another of Aphrodite, and a third temple belongs to Apollo, where Artemis and Leto are worshipped together with him. Regarding the shrines of Hermes called Kriophoros ("Ram-bearer") and Promachos ("Champion"), it is said concerning the surname that Hermes once turned aside a plague from their city walls by carrying a ram around them. In memory of this event, Calamis made a statue of Hermes carrying the ram on his shoulders. The youth judged the handsomest among those undergoing the rites takes part in the festival of Hermes and walks around the city walls carrying a lamb upon his shoulders. ★

9.22.2

They say that Hermes, called Promachos ("the Champion"), when the Eretrians landed from Euboea at Tanagra with their ships, led forth the youths to battle, and that he himself, appearing as a youth, defended himself using a scraper (strigil), and played the greatest part in routing the Euboeans. Within the sanctuary of Promachos still lies the remnant of a wild strawberry-tree, under whose branches they believe Hermes was nurtured. Not far from this stands a theater, and beside it a portico. ★

In my judgment, the Tanagraeans appear especially reverent among the Greeks in matters relating to the gods, for they have their houses separate from the sanctuaries, which are set above them in places that are pure and apart from human dwellings.

9.22.3

Of Corinna, who alone composed songs in Tanagra, there is a tomb prominently located within the city, and in the gymnasium there is a picture portraying her binding her head with a ribbon, commemorating her victory over Pindar in a contest of song at Thebes. It seems to me that she won partly because of her dialect, as she sang not in the Doric tongue as Pindar did, but in a dialect more understandable to the Aeolians. Additionally, it was because at that time she was the most beautiful woman in appearance, if indeed we should judge anything from her portrait. ?

9.22.4

There are here also two breeds of fowl: the fighting kind and those called "kossyphoi." These kossyphoi are about as large as the birds common to Lydia, black in color, resembling a crow, while their wattles and comb closely resemble the anemone flower. They have small white markings at the tip of the beak and at the end of the tail.

9.22.5

★ These places present such an aspect. On the left side of the Euripus, in Boeotia, is a mountain called Messapion, and beneath it by the sea is a Boeotian city called Anthedon. Regarding the city's name, some say it derived from a nymph named Anthedon, while others claim it was named after Anthas, who ruled there, and who was the son of Poseidon and Alcyone, daughter of Atlas. In the center of Anthedon especially is a sanctuary of the Cabeiri, surrounded by a grove, and nearby stands a temple of Demeter and her daughter, containing statues carved from white marble.

9.22.6

★ There is a sanctuary and a statue of Dionysus, situated outside the city toward the mainland. Here are the tombs of the children of Iphimedeia and Aloeus. Both Homer and Pindar record that the end of their lives came about through Apollo's agency. Pindar further adds that this destiny overtook them on Naxos, the island lying beyond Paros. In Anthedon there are monuments to these figures, and beside the sea is a place called the Leap of Glaucus.

9.22.7

★ They say that he was a fisherman who, after eating a certain herb, became a divine being dwelling in the sea, and thenceforth foretold future events to men. Both others consider these prophecies trustworthy, and sailors especially relate numerous stories each year about Glaucus' oracle. When Pindar and Aeschylus inquired about him from the people of Anthedon, the former was moved only briefly to sing about matters regarding Glaucus, whereas Aeschylus found in this material sufficient inspiration to compose a dramatic work.

Chapter 23

9.23.1

Before the Proetidian Gate of the Thebans is located the gymnasium called "of Iolaus," and also a ★ stadium similar in form to the one at Olympia and to the earthen one in the territory of Epidaurus. At this site is also shown the hero shrine of Iolaus. The Thebans themselves agree that Iolaus, along with the Athenians and Thespians who crossed over with him, met their end in Sardinia.

9.23.2

After passing the stadium, on the right is a race-course for horses, and within it is the tomb of Pindar. It ★ is told that when Pindar was a young man, journeying once to Thespiae during the height of summer around noontime when the heat is greatest, exhaustion and sleep overtook him. He lay down just beside the road where he happened to be, and as he slept, bees flew toward him and molded honeycomb upon his lips.

9.23.3

Such was the occasion of Pindar's first composition of poetry; but when his fame already extended throughout all of Greece, it was further enhanced by the oracle at Delphi, which commanded the Delphians that of all offerings dedicated to Apollo, a portion equal to the god's own should be assigned likewise to Pindar. It is also said that, when Pindar was advanced in years, a vision appeared to him in sleep. Persephone stood beside him as he slept and complained of having alone among the gods failed to receive praise from him; however, she declared that Pindar, when he came at last to her, would yet compose a song in her honor.

9.23.4

Immediately the fate overtook him before the tenth day had passed from his dream. At Thebes there ★ was an elderly woman, of the family related to Pindar, who had often practiced singing his poetry. To her Pindar appeared in a dream, and standing before this elderly woman, he sang a hymn about Persephone. Immediately upon awakening, she wrote down everything she had heard him singing in her dream. In this song are various invocations addressed to Hades and one to the "golden-reined" goddess, clearly referring to Persephone's abduction.

9.23.5

From here the road to Akraiphion passes mostly through plains. It is said that this city was originally a part of the Theban territory, and later served as a refuge for certain Thebans who fled and took shelter within it at the time when Alexander destroyed Thebes. These men, unable due to weakness and old age even to make their way safely into Attica, made their homes here. The small city is situated upon Mount Pton; noteworthy among the sights here are a temple and statue of Dionysus.

9.23.6

★ About fifteen stades from the city, on the right-hand side as one proceeds, is the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios. Asios relates in his verses that Ptoös was a son of Athamas and Themisto, from whom both Apollo gets his surname and the mountain its name. Before the expedition of Alexander and the Macedonians and the destruction of Thebes, there was a truthful oracle located there. It is said that once a man from Europe–whose name was Mys–was sent by Mardonius, and this Mys questioned the god in his own native tongue; without replying in Greek, the god uttered his prophecy in the Carian dialect.

9.23.7

After crossing Mount Ptoon there is a city of the Boeotians called Larymna situated by the sea. They say it received its name from Larymna, the daughter of Cynus, and regarding her more remote ancestors, I shall reveal these when my account reaches the Locrians. Larymna originally contributed to Opus, but when the Thebans rose greatly in strength, the inhabitants willingly transferred allegiance to the Boeotians. There is a temple and a standing statue of Dionysus at Larymna. They also have a harbor with shallow water near the shore, and the mountains above the city offer hunting grounds for wild boars.

Chapter 24

9.24.1

Going straight from Akraiphnium to the lake called Kephisian–also called Kopais by some–there is a plain known as Athamantion. They say Athamas himself once dwelt in it. Into the lake flows the river Kephisos, whose source is at Lilaia among the Phokians, and sailing across the lake, one arrives at Kopai. Kopai is a small city situated on the shore of the lake, and Homer has also mentioned it in his catalogue. Here there are sanctuaries of Demeter, Dionysos, and Sarapis.

9.24.2

The Boeotians say that other towns, once inhabited, called Athenae and Eleusis, existed near the lake, but one winter season the lake flooded and caused their disappearance. The fish inhabiting Lake Cephisus do not differ at all from other lake-fish, but the eels found there are the largest in size and most delicious to taste.

9.24.3

On the left side of Copae, at a distance of about twelve stades, is Olmones; and about seven stades from Olmones lies Hyettus. Both these settlements, villages from the beginning and still so at the present time, seem to me to have belonged originally to the territory of Orchomenus, as does also the Athamantian plain. Whatever accounts I heard concerning Hyettus, an Argive hero, and Olmus, the son of Sisyphus, these likewise will be recounted in my description of Orchomenus. At Olmones there was nothing at all worthy of note, even briefly; at Hyettus, however, there is a temple of Heracles, where cures are said to be granted by the god to the sick. The image there is of no great artistry, but is instead, according to the ancient fashion, simply a rough stone.

9.24.4

About twenty stades from Hyettus are the Cyrtones. They say the settlement was originally named Cyrtone. It is built upon a high mountain, and here there is a temple and grove of Apollo. There are upright statues of Apollo and Artemis. Here also is a spring of cold water flowing out of a rock. At the spring is a sanctuary of the Nymphs and a small grove, in which all the trees are likewise cultivated.

9.24.5

After Kyrtones, as one crosses over the mountain, there is a small town called Korseia; at the foot of it is a grove of wild trees, mainly oaks. In the open air within the grove stands a rather small statue of Hermes.

This lies at a distance of about half a stade from Korseia. As one descends to the plain, a river called Platanios flows into the sea. On the right side of this river dwell the inhabitants of Halai-on-the-Sea, the last settlement of the Boiotians here, where the Lokrian mainland is separated from Euboia.

Chapter 303

Chapter 25

9.25.1

Near the Neistan gates in Thebes is the tomb of Menoikeus, son of Kreon. He willingly killed himself ★ according to an oracle from Delphi, at the time when Polyneikes and the army accompanying him arrived from Argos. Upon the tomb of Menoikeus grows a pomegranate tree; when the fruit is ripe, if you break its outer skin, you will find within it something resembling blood. Such is the nature of the pomegranate tree in question. As for the vine, the Thebans maintain that it first grew among themselves, earlier than among any other men; however, they could produce no further record as evidence for this assertion.

9.25.2

Not far from the tomb of Menoikeus, they say, the sons of Oedipus fought in single combat and slew ★ each other. As a memorial of their battle stands a pillar, upon which rests a stone shield. There is also shown a certain place where, according to the Thebans, Hera, through a deception contrived by Zeus, suckled Heracles as a child. The entire area is called the "Dragging of Antigone." For when she was unable, despite her earnest efforts, to lift the body of Polyneices, she conceived instead the plan of dragging it; and indeed she dragged it and cast it onto the lit pyre of Eteocles.

9.25.3

After crossing a river called Dirce, named after the wife of Lycus–according to tradition, Antiope was ★ abused by this Dirce and therefore Dirce met her death at the hands of Antiope's sons–having thus crossed the Dirce, one sees the ruins of Pindar's house and a sanctuary of the Mother Dindymene. The sanctuary contains an offering dedicated by Pindar himself, a statue whose artists were Aristomedes and Socrates, both Thebans. It is their custom to open the sanctuary only once a year, and no more. It happened that I arrived on precisely that day and thus saw the statue, which, along with its throne, is made of Pentelic marble.

9.25.4

Along the road running from the Neistan gates there is a sanctuary of Themis with a statue of white ★ stone, and next to it a sanctuary of the Fates, then one of Zeus Agoraios. This statue of Zeus is made of stone, but the Fates have no statues. A short distance further on stands Heracles, called Rhinokoloustes ("nose-mutilator"), in the open air. He received this name because, according to the Thebans, he cut off the noses of heralds who had come from the Orchomenians demanding tribute, thus dishonoring them.

9.25.5

★ About twenty-five stades onward from here is a grove sacred to Demeter Cabeiria and the Maiden, into which only those initiated may enter. About seven stades from this grove stands the sanctuary of the Cabeiri. Who the Cabeiri truly are, and the nature of the rites performed for them and for the Goddess, let me pass over in silence; may those readers who respect such things forgive me.

9.25.6

★? But nothing at all prevented me from making known at least this much to all people, namely, the origin which the Thebans claim for these rites. For they say that once there was a city in this place, and in it men called Cabeiri; Demeter, arriving at Prometheus–one of the Cabeiri–and Aetnaeus, the son of Prometheus, entrusted something sacred to them. Concerning the nature of this trust and the rites performed in connection with it, I did not consider it lawful for me to write. Nevertheless, the initiation (telete) is Demeters gift to the Cabeiri.

9.25.7

★ But during the expedition of the Epigoni and the capture of Thebes, the Cabeirian sanctuary was demolished by the Argives, and the rites themselves ceased for some time. Later, they say, Pelarge, daughter of Potnieus, along with Isthmiades her husband who lived with her in Pelarge, restored these mysteries once again from the beginning, but subsequently transferred them to a place called Alexiarus.

9.25.8

★ Because Pelarge initiated individuals outside the prescribed boundaries of ancient custom, Telondes and the remaining members of the Cabeirite lineage returned again to Cabeiraea. Now, Pelarge, according to an oracle from Dodona, was destined to receive other honors, including a particular form of sacrifice–the offering of a pregnant sacrificial victim. Nevertheless, the wrath of the Cabeiri is unavoidable for humans, as has been demonstrated often and in many ways.

9.25.9

? Indeed, private individuals in Naupactus ventured to perform rites identical to those done in Thebes, and justice soon overtook them. As for the soldiers from Xerxes' army who were left behind with Mardonius around Boeotia, some of these, having entered the sanctuary of the Cabeiri–likely motivated partly by the expectation of great wealth, but mostly, it seems to me, by their disregard for the divine–immediately became insane and perished, throwing themselves into the sea or from cliffs.

9.25.10

But after Alexander had won the battle and was delivering both Thebes itself and the whole of the Theban territory to fire, some men from Macedonia entered the sanctuary of the Cabeiri, being in a hostile land, and were destroyed by thunderbolts and lightning from heaven.

Chapter 26

9.26.1

Thus this sanctuary has been sacred from earliest times. On the right side of the Cabeirion lies a plain called after Tenerus, the seer, whom they regard as a son of Apollo and Melia. Here also stands the great sanctuary of Heracles, surnamed Hippodetus ("Horse-binder"). They say that when the Orchomenians once came here with an army, Heracles took their horses at night and bound together those yoked to the chariots.

9.26.2

As one proceeds, there is a mountain from which they say the Sphinx launched herself, singing forth her riddle to the ruin of those she carried off. But others assert that, living as a pirate, she wandered about with a naval force, and landed at the sea near Anthedon, and occupied this mountain, engaging in acts of robbery, until Oedipus overcame her, surpassing her in battle with a greater force, which he brought with him from Corinth.

9.26.3

It is also said that she was an illegitimate daughter of Laius, and that Laius himself, out of affection, taught her the oracle delivered to Cadmus at Delphi. Moreover, no one else knew this oracle except the royal family. Thus, whenever anyone challenged the right to royal power and approached the Sphinx–for Laius had sons born from concubines, and the oracle from Delphi had declared that rule belonged only to Epicaste and her offspring–the Sphinx accordingly employed subtle riddles against these brothers, reasoning that as sons of Laius, they must surely know the oracle given to Cadmus.

9.26.4

Since they could not answer, they punished them with death, on the grounds that they had improperly disputed their lineage and royal power. Oedipus, it is said, arrived, having learned of the oracle through a dream.

9.26.5

Fifteen stades from this mountain are the ruins of the city Onchestos; it is said that Onchestos, the son of Poseidon, dwelt there. In my time there still remained both the temple and the image of Poseidon Onchestios, and also the sacred grove, which Homer himself praised.

9.26.6

Turning away from the Cabeirium and proceeding on the road that lies to the left for about fifty stadia, Thespiae lies situated beneath Mount Helicon. They say that Thespia was a daughter of Asopus, and from her the city derived its name; others maintain that Thespios, having come from Athens, gave the city its name.

9.26.7

That he himself was descended from Erechtheus. In the city of Thespiae there is a bronze image of Zeus Saotas. They relate that when a dragon once ravaged their city, the god commanded them yearly to give the beast the youth selected by lot from among the citizens. They say that they do not preserve the memory of the names of those who perished; but when Cleostratus was chosen by lot, his lover Menestratus, they say, devised a stratagem.

9.26.8

He made for himself a bronze breastplate, which had on each of its scales a hook curving upward. Putting on this breastplate, he willingly surrendered himself to the dragon, intending both to be killed and simultaneously to destroy the creature. In recognition of this deed Zeus received the surname Saotes (“Savior”). He also made the statue of Dionysus, as well as one of Tyche, and elsewhere one of Hygieia; and Athena called Ergane and Plutus he represented standing by her side.

Chapter 27

9.27.1

Among the gods, the Thespians honor Eros above all from the earliest times, and their most ancient image of him is an unwrought stone. Who it was that first established among the Thespians this particular veneration of Eros more than the other deities, I do not know. Eros is held in equal reverence by the Parians on the Hellespont, who originally migrated out of Ionia and Erythrae, and who in our times pay tribute to the Romans.

9.27.2

Most people consider Eros to be the youngest of the gods and the son of Aphrodite; but Olen the Lycian, who composed the most ancient hymns sung by the Greeks, says in his hymn to Eileithyia that she was the mother of Eros. After Olen, Pamphos and Orpheus composed verses, and both writers have produced poetry about Eros, which the Lycomidae sing during their rites. I myself spoke with a torch-bearer about these matters; though I shall make no further mention of their conversation. As for Hesiod, or at least whoever composed the Theogony attributed to him, he wrote that Chaos first came into existence, and after Chaos arose Gaia, Tartarus, and Eros.

9.27.3

Sappho of Lesbos composed many poems about Love, various and even contradictory in their sentiments. Later, Lysippos made for the Thespians a bronze statue of Love, and earlier still Praxiteles had carved one from Pentelic marble. Elsewhere I have already related the story concerning Phryne and the craftiness practiced by that woman upon Praxiteles. It is said that Gaius was the first to remove from its place the statue of Love, during his reign in Rome, and afterward Claudius restored it to the Thespians; but Nero subsequently took it away a second time.

9.27.4

The flame destroyed him there on the spot. Of the others who acted impiously toward the god, one officer, who was continually giving a certain soldier the same watchword along with subtle mockery, drove the man to such an extreme degree of wrath that he eventually killed the officer as he was giving him the watchword. And Nero, aside from his crimes against his mother, also committed vile and unnatural deeds concerning married women. The Eros in Thespiae existing in my own time was sculpted by Menodoros, an Athenian who imitated the statue of Praxiteles.

9.27.5

Here also is a statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles himself and an image of Phryne, both figures carved from stone, the goddess as well as Phryne. Elsewhere too there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Melainis, as well as a theater and marketplace worth seeing; here stands a bronze statue of Hesiod. Not far from the market is a bronze figure of Nike and a temple of the Muses that is not large; within it stand small stone images.

9.27.6

★ The Thespians also have a sanctuary of Heracles. His priestess must remain a virgin until the time fixed by custom has passed. The reason given for this is as follows: it is said that Heracles lay with fifty daughters of Thestius, all in the same night, except for one. This single daughter refused to unite herself with him. Considering himself insulted, Heracles decided that she must remain a virgin for the rest of her life, serving him as his priestess.

9.27.7

★ I have heard another story as well–that Heracles lay with all of Thestius' daughters in a single night, and each of them bore him male offspring, and that the youngest and the eldest sisters bore twins. But this account I cannot at all consider credible, that Heracles would have come to such an extreme outrage against the daughter of a man who was his friend. Moreover, while he still dwelt among mankind, since it was he who avenged wrongdoing and punished arrogance, especially of those who showed impiety toward the gods, he surely would never himself have established for his own worship a temple and a priestess as if he were indeed divine.

9.27.8

★ Yet it appeared to me that this sanctuary was older than the time of Heracles, son of Amphitryon, and belonged rather to that Heracles who is called one of the Idaean Dactyls, whose sanctuaries I discovered among the Erythraeans in Ionia and among the Tyrians. Nor indeed were even the Boeotians ignorant of this Heracles name, since they themselves say that the sanctuary of the Mycalessian Demeter was entrusted to Idaean Heracles.

Chapter 28

9.28.1

Mount Helicon is among the mountains of Greece most esteemed for excellence of its soil and the abundance of cultivated trees. Its shrubs of strawberry-tree especially yield fruit sweeter for goats than those of any other region. The inhabitants around Helicon also report that none of the grasses and roots growing on this mountain are likely to cause human death. Moreover, even the pasture grounds here render the venom of serpents more feeble, so that those who have been bitten usually survive if they receive treatment from a Libyan of the Psylli race or other suitable remedies.

9.28.2

Indeed, the venom of the fiercest snakes is destructive in all respects alike to both humans and all living ? creatures. Their feeding-grounds especially contribute greatly to the potency of their venom; indeed, I have even heard from a Phoenician man that roots growing in the mountains of Phoenicia render vipers there more savage. He related that he himself had seen a man fleeing from the attack of a viper; this man climbed up into a tree to escape, and when afterward the viper came to the tree, it discharged venom toward it, and consequently the man no longer survived.

9.28.3

Such things I have heard about this matter. As for the land of the Arabs, I know the following additional ? facts concerning the snakes that dwell around the balsam-trees there. The balsam-trees are about the size of a myrtle bush, and their leaves resemble the herb called sampsuchon. Beneath each tree in Arabia dwell snakes, sometimes fewer and sometimes greater in number, for their most delightful nourishment is the sap of the balsam-trees, and they also find pleasure in resting in their shade.

9.28.4

When the time has come for the Arabs to gather the juice of balsam, each man brings two wooden ? sticks against the snakes, striking these sticks together to drive the snakes away; yet they refuse to kill them, considering the snakes sacred to the balsam. And if it ever happens that someone is bitten by these snakes, the wound resembles one inflicted by iron, but the venom carries no danger. For since the snakes feed upon this most fragrant of aromatic substances, their venom is tempered from a deadly poison to something milder.

Chapter 29

9.29.1

These things then stand thus. It is said that Ephialtes and Otus were the first to sacrifice to the Muses at Helicon, and to name the mountain sacred to the Muses. They are also said to have founded Ascra. Indeed, Hegesinus makes mention of this in his poem "Atthis":

"To Ascra too did earthquake-shaking Poseidon lie nearby, who bore to him a son in revolving years, Oeoclus, who was first after Aloeus children to found Ascra, which rests at Helicon's spring-rich foot."

9.29.2

This poetry of Hegesinus I did not examine personally; rather, it had already disappeared before my time. However, Callippus of Corinth, in his treatise concerning Orchomenus, uses the verses of Hegesinus in support of his account. In the same manner, I myself have relied upon Callippus, having learned from him. In my day, Ascra had only a single tower remaining, nothing else was left as a memorial. The sons of Aloeus believed the Muses to be three in number, and gave them the names Melete, Mneme, and Aoide.

9.29.3

Later, they say, Pierus the Macedonian–from whom the mountain was also named among the Macedonians– came to Thespiae and established there nine Muses, changing their names to the ones still used today. Pierus believed this either because it seemed wiser to him, or due to some oracle, or because he had been taught by one of the Thracians; for in ancient times the Thracians were regarded as generally more skilled than the Macedonians, and were not equally indifferent toward divine matters.

9.29.4

There are some who say that Pierus himself also had nine daughters, and that they received the very same names that had been given to the goddesses; thus, all whom the Greeks called children of the Muses would actually be descendants of Pieruss daughters. But Mimnermus, in the elegies he composed about the battle of the Smyrnaeans against Gyges and the Lydians, states in his prologue that the elder Muses were daughters of Uranus, and that beside these there are other, younger ones, who are daughters of Zeus.

9.29.5

★ On Helicon, as one proceeds toward the grove of the Muses, there is on the left side the spring Aganippe. They say Aganippe was the daughter of Termessus, and this Termessus also flows around Helicon. Continuing straight ahead towards the grove, one encounters an image of Eupheme, carved in stone. Eupheme, they say, was the nurse of the Muses.

9.29.6

★ There is a statue of her, and after her is Linus, placed in a small rock shaped into the form of a cave. To him they make offerings every year before the sacrifice to the Muses. This Linus is said to be the son of Urania and Amphimarus, son of Poseidon, and to have earned the greatest renown of his contemporaries as well as those who lived before him for his achievements in music; it is said also that Apollo killed him because he equalled the god in song.

9.29.7

★ At the death of Linus, grief for him spread even as far as all the barbarian lands, to such an extent that even the Egyptians composed a song called Linus; but the Egyptians call this song in their native tongue "Maneros." Among the Greek epic poets, Homer, who was acquainted with the sufferings of Linus as a song known to the Greeks, says that Hephaestus, among other works depicted on the shield of Achilles, crafted a boy, a lyre-player, singing of Linus. He says:

"...and among them a boy played delightfully on the clear-toned lyre, singing beautifully the song of Linus."

9.29.8

★ Pamphos, who composed the oldest hymns for the Athenians, called this Linus Oitolinos during the heyday of the sorrowful lamentation. Sappho of Lesbos, learning the name Oitolinos from the verses of Pamphos, sang of Adonis along with Oitolinos. The Thebans say that Linus was buried among them, and that after the Greek defeat at Chaeronea, Philip son of Amyntas, following some vision in a dream, exhumed Linus' bones and brought them to Macedonia.

9.29.9

★ And afterward again, following other dreams, they say that he [the dreamer] sent the bones of Linus back to Thebes. But as for the ornaments upon the tomb, and whatever other markers there had been, these vanished with time. The Thebans report other stories also, such as that after this Linus there was a later Linus, called the son of Ismenius, and that the young Heracles, while still a child, killed him, though he was his music teacher. But neither Amphimarus' Linus nor the one later born after him composed any epic poetry; or if indeed anything was composed, it did not survive into later times.

Chapter 30

9.30.1

The first set of statues of the Muses are all the work of Cephisodotus. A little further on, there are three more again made by Cephisodotus, and as many others by Strongylion, a sculptor especially skilled in making statues of oxen and horses. The remaining three were crafted by Olympiosthenes. On Helicon, there is also a bronze representation of Apollo and Hermes disputing about the lyre, and a statue of Dionysus by Lysippus. Another statue of Dionysus standing upright was dedicated by Sulla. This is the work of Myron and is especially worth seeing, after the Erechtheus statue in Athens. However, Sulla did not dedicate this statue from his own possessions, but took it from the Minyae of Orchomenus. This illustrates the Greek saying of worshipping the divine with incense belonging to others.

9.30.2

Statues were dedicated of poets and others distinguished in music, as follows: Thamyris already blind, holding broken lyres; Arion of Methymna is mounted on a dolphin. But the sculptor who made the statue of Sacadas the Argive misunderstood the introduction by Pindar devoted to him, and thus depicted the flute-player as in no way taller in stature than his pipes.

9.30.3

Hesiod also sits here, holding a lyre upon his knees–an instrument which is in no way appropriate to Hesiod; for it is clear from his own poems that he sang with a laurel staff. Concerning the chronological relationship of Hesiod and Homer, although I have looked carefully into the matter, it was not pleasant for me to write exact details, knowing full well the contentiousness of others, especially of those who in my own day have undertaken the composition of epic poetry.

9.30.4

Beside Orpheus the Thracian there stands a figure representing Initiation, and around Orpheus are animals, sculpted in stone and bronze, listening to his singing. The Greeks indeed believe many other improbable things as well; among these are the claims that Orpheus was a son of Calliope the Muse rather than of the daughter of Pierus, that animals were attracted and charmed by his music, and that, while still alive, he descended into Hades to ask the gods of the Underworld to return to him his wife. In my opinion, Orpheus excelled beyond all poets who preceded him in elegance of verse and achieved such remarkable influence because he was believed to have devised rites concerned with the gods, purifications for impious deeds, cures for diseases, and ways of averting divine wrath.

9.30.5

The Thracian women, it is said, plotted to bring about his death, because he persuaded their husbands to follow him on his wanderings; yet, in fear of the men, they did not dare to act at first. When, however, they became inflamed with wine, they carried out the audacious deed. This event thus influenced their husbands thereafter to enter battle while intoxicated. According to another tradition, Orpheus met his end by the thunderbolt of the god, struck down on account of the teachings he imparted in the mysteries, revealing to people knowledge previously unheard.

9.30.6

But others narrate that when his wife died before him, he journeyed on her account to Aornos in Thesprotia, for there was in ancient times a necromantic oracle there. Believing that Eurydice's soul followed behind him, and erring in turning around, he killed himself from grief. The Thracians claim that those nightingales who nest upon Orpheus' tomb sing sweeter and more powerfully than others.

9.30.7

The Macedonians who dwell in the region below Mount Pieria and possess the city of Dium say that it was here that Orpheus met his end at the hands of women. Traveling from Dium towards the mountain, after going forward about twenty stades, there is a pillar on the right side with a stone urn resting upon it; this urn contains the bones of Orpheus, according to local tradition.

9.30.8

The river Helicon also flows here. After advancing roughly seventy-five stadia, its stream disappears from sight, sinking beneath the ground. Then, after an interval of about twenty-two stadia, the water emerges again, now bearing the name Baphyras instead of Helicon, and flows on as a navigable river into the sea. The people of Dium declare that the river originally flowed continuously over the earth. However, when the women who had killed Orpheus sought to wash off his blood in its water, the river sank underground so that it might not cleanse them of their murder.

9.30.9

I also heard in Larisa another tale concerning Olympus–that at the foot of the mountain facing Macedonia there once existed a city called Libethra, and not far from that city stood the tomb of Orpheus. The Libethrians had received from Dionysus an oracle from Thrace, declaring that whenever the sun should behold the bones of Orpheus, then their city Libethra would be destroyed by a boar. They paid little heed to this prophecy, simply deeming that no creature, certainly no animal so mighty and strong, would ever be able to capture their city, and supposing that a boar was more likely known for bold rashness rather than actual strength.

9.30.10

When the god planned it, these events occurred as follows. A shepherd, around midday especially, would lean himself down by the tomb of Orpheus; and while the shepherd slept, he would begin, even in sleep, to sing verses of Orpheus, uttering a voice both loud and sweet. Those nearby who were grazing flocks or ploughing fields abandoned their various tasks and gathered near the shepherd to listen to his song in sleep. Once upon a time, pushing and competing with one another as to who would stand closest to the shepherd, they overturned the pillar; and as the tomb fell, it broke open due to the collapse, and the sun beheld whatever remained of the bones of Orpheus.

9.30.11

Indeed, on the very next night, the god sent down vast quantities of water from heaven, and the river ★
Sys–one of the torrents flowing around Olympus is called Sys– burst forth. At that time this river destroyed the walls of Libethra, toppled both the sanctuaries of the gods and the dwellings of men, and equally drowned all the human beings and animals in the city. And when Libethra had been thus destroyed, the Macedonians in Dion, according to the account given by the guest from Larisa, thereafter carried away the bones of Orpheus into their own territory.

9.30.12

Whoever has previously devoted close attention to poetry knows that the hymns of Orpheus are each ★
extremely brief, and that altogether they are composed of no great number; the Lycomidae both know these hymns and chant them during their sacred rites. In literary elegance these hymns would be considered second only after those of Homer, yet in terms of divine honor and sacredness, they surpass even those.

Chapter 31

9.31.1

On Helicon there is also a statue of Arsinoe, whom her brother Ptolemy married. Arsinoe is carried by an ostrich, a bronze figure of a winged bird; although these birds also produce feathers similar to other birds, owing to their weight and size, they are unable to lift themselves into the air by means of their feathers.

9.31.2

Here also is represented Telephus, the son of Heracles, with a deer giving milk to the infant child; near at hand are an ox and an image of Priapus, worthy of note. This god receives honor elsewhere also, wherever there are pastures of goats or sheep, or even swarms of bees. But the people of Lampsacus honor him above other gods, saying that he is the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite.

9.31.3

On Helicon there are other tripods, including a very ancient one, which they say Hesiod once received at Chalcis upon the Euripus, having won victory in a poetic contest. Men dwell around the grove, and there the Thespians hold a festival and perform the contest called the Museia. They also hold a competition in honor of Eros, offering prizes not merely for music but also for athletic events. At a distance of about twenty stades above this grove is the spring called Hippocrene ("Horse's Fountain"); they say that this was produced by the horse of Bellerophon, which created it by striking its hoof against the ground.

9.31.4

But the Boeotians dwelling around Helicon, following a widely held opinion among them, say that Hesiod composed no work other than the Works; moreover, from this poem itself they remove the proem addressed to the Muses, asserting that its true beginning is the part concerning the Strifes. They also showed me a lead tablet at the spring, seriously damaged by age.

9.31.5

Inscribed upon it are the Works of Hesiod. And there is another tradition separate from the first, that Hesiod composed a considerable number of verses, including those sung about women, called the Great Eoiae, and the Theogony, verses about the seer Melampus, concerning Theseus' descent into Hades alongside Peirithoüs, and the instructions of Chiron for the education of Achilles, as well as

everything contained within the Works and Days. The very same authorities also relate that Hesiod learned divination from the Acarnanians; indeed, there exist prophetic verses attributed to him–many of which I myself have collected–along with explanations of prodigies.

9.31.6

? There are conflicting accounts also concerning Hesiod's death. All agree in stating that Ctimeneus and Antiphus–the sons of Ganyctor–fled from Naupactus to Molycria because of the murder of Hesiod, and there, having committed sacrilege against Poseidon, met their punishment at Molycria. Regarding this, everyone has given the same version. However, concerning the young men's sister, some say that Hesiod was unjustly accused due to another man's assault upon her, while others assert that the deed was indeed committed by Hesiod himself. Such then are the manifold and contradictory accounts regarding Hesiod himself as well as his poetry.

9.31.7

On the very peak of Mount Helicon, the river Lamos flows, which is not large. In the territory of Thespiae is a place called Donakon. Here is located the spring of Narcissus. It is said that Narcissus gazed into this water, and not understanding that he saw merely his own reflection, he unwittingly fell in love with himself, and due to this passion he met his end at the spring. This entire account seems altogether foolish, that one should reach such an age at which love could affect a person, yet still be unable to distinguish between a human being and a mere human shadow.

9.31.8

There is also a different story about him, less widely known than the previous one but still told, that Narcissus had a twin sister who resembled him exactly in appearance and who wore her hair and clothing in the same way as he did. Indeed, they used to hunt together. Narcissus came to love his sister, and when the girl died, he would visit the spring, aware that he was seeing his own reflection. Yet despite this knowledge, he found relief for his passion by imagining that what he saw was not his own reflection but the image of his sister.

9.31.9

I believe that the narcissus flower grew from the earth even earlier; if we should draw conclusions from the verses of Pamphos. For he lived many years before Narcissus of Thespiae, and he says that the Daughter of Demeter, while she was playing and gathering flowers, was carried away–not deceived by violets, but by narcissi.

Chapter 32

9.32.1

For those who dwell in Kreusis, the harbor of the Thespians, there is nothing held in common; however, in the home of a private individual there was a statue of Dionysus made of plaster and decorated with paintings. Sailing to Kreusis from the Peloponnesus is both indirect and generally troubled by bad weather; for headlands project into the sea, preventing a straight crossing, and at the same time fierce winds blow down from the mountains.

9.32.2

Sailing from Kreusis, not upward but alongside Boeotia itself, you have the town of Thisbe on the right. First there is a mountain by the sea, and having crossed this, a plain receives you, followed afterward by another mountain. The city lies at the foot of this mountain's slope. Here there is a sanctuary of Heracles and an upright stone image, and they celebrate a festival, the Herakleia, in his honor.

9.32.3

The plain lying between the mountains would undoubtedly become a lake due to the abundance of ★
water, were it not that a strong embankment has been built through its midst. Thus, each year, they divert the water beyond the embankment to one side, while they cultivate the land on the other side. They say that Thisbe was a local nymph, from whom the city took its name.

9.32.4

Sailing from there, there is a small town on the coast called Tipha. The inhabitants have a sanctuary of ★
Heracles and celebrate an annual festival in his honor. Among the Boeotians, these people have, from ancient times, been especially eager to claim expertise in maritime matters, recalling Tiphys, a local man remembered as having been chosen to serve as the helmsman of the Argo. They also point out a spot in front of their town where they say the Argo anchored upon its return journey from Colchis.

9.32.5

From Thespiae, as you move inland toward the interior, lies Haliartus. Concerning whoever founded ?
Haliartus and Coroneia, I ought not to have separated their history from that of Orchomenus. When the Persian invasion occurred, because the Haliartians had sided with the Greek cause, a portion of Xerxes army advanced against their land and city and destroyed them by fire. At Haliartus there is the tomb of Lysander the Spartan. When Lysander had led an attack upon Haliartus, at whose wall was

stationed a force from Thebes, and Athenians as well, the enemy made a sortie, and Lysander fell in the battle.

9.32.6

Regarding Lysander, there are aspects thoroughly deserving praise, but also others worthy of sharp criticism. He demonstrated the following sort of cleverness: while commander of the Peloponnesian fleet, he kept watch until Alcibiades was absent from the naval forces, leaving in command his steersman Antiochus. At that moment, he led Antiochus into believing that he was competent enough to fight at sea against the Lacedaemonians, and when Antiochus set sail, driven by rashness and arrogance, Lysander defeated him near the city of the Colophonians.

9.32.7

And when Lysander returned a second time from Sparta to assume command of the fleet, he so won the favor of Cyrus that, whenever he requested funds for the navy, they were generously provided to him without delay and in abundance. Now while the Athenians were mooring their fleet of one hundred ships at Aegospotami, Lysander captured their vessels, having closely watched until the sailors had dispersed ashore to gather water and provisions. Furthermore, he showed the following action regarding justice.

9.32.8

Autolykos, who prevailed in the pankration–whose statue I myself have seen in the Prytaneion of the Athenians–was disputed by the Spartan Eteonikos over a certain piece of property. When Eteonikos, in the course of pleading his cause, was evidently losing because he argued unjustly–for at that time in Athens the Thirty were in power, and Lysander was still present–he was moved to begin striking Autolykos. After Autolykos defended himself, Eteonikos seized him and brought him before Lysander, fully expecting Lysander to render a judgment favorable to him. But Lysander ruled that Eteonikos had acted unjustly and dismissed him, disgraced by the decision.

9.32.9

Such were the deeds that brought glory to Lysander, but there were also deeds equally numerous which brought him reproach. At Aegospotami Lysander put to death Philocles the Athenian general, along with approximately four thousand other Athenians whom he had taken prisoner; and not even earth for burial was given to them after death, a concession that the Athenians had granted even to the Persians who landed at Marathon, and one likewise granted by the Persian king Xerxes to the Spartans who had fallen at Thermopylae. Lysander caused even greater disgrace to the Lacedaemonians by establishing the rule of ten men (“decadarchies”) in the cities and by stationing Spartan governors (“harmosts”) to control them.

9.32.10

? Since the Lacedaemonians were not accustomed to acquiring money, adhering indeed to a certain oracle that greed for wealth alone would cause the ruin of Sparta, he nevertheless implanted in them a great desire for money. For my part, following the Persians in this matter and judging by their principle, I conclude that Lysander brought to the Lacedaemonians rather harm than benefit.

Chapter 33

9.33.1

In Haliartus there is the tomb of Lysander, as well as a heroön dedicated to Cecrops, son of Pandion. Mount Tilphusium and the spring called Tilphusa lie approximately fifty stadia from Haliartus. The Greeks say that when the Argives, together with the sons of Polyneices, had captured Thebes, they brought to Delphi for the god not only other spoils, but also Tiresias himself. It is told that Tiresias, suffering from thirst along the journey, drank from the spring Tilphusa and there gave up his spirit. His tomb is situated near the spring.

9.33.2

They say that the daughter of Teiresias was given by the Argives to Apollo, and, by command of the god, was carried by ships to the land now called Ionia, more precisely to that part of Ionia belonging to Colophon. There, Manto married Rhacius the Cretan and settled. As for everything else concerning Teiresias–the number of years he is recorded to have lived, his change from woman into man, and the fact that Homer in the Odyssey makes him alone among the souls in Hades to retain understanding–these things are commonly known to everyone from the traditions.

9.33.3

The Haliartians have, in the open air, a sanctuary of goddesses whom they call Praxidikai ("exacters of justice"). Here they swear oaths, but do not take them lightly. Their sanctuary is near Mount Tilphousion, while in Haliartos itself are temples which contain neither statues nor roofing. Nor could I discover for whom these temples were built.

9.33.4

In Haliartia there is a river called Lophis. It is said that originally, as the territory was parched and lacking water, one of the ruling men went to Delphi and inquired how they might find water in the region. The Pythian priestess instructed him that he must kill the first person he met upon returning to Haliartus. On his return, he first encountered his own son, Lophis. Without hesitation, he struck the youth with his sword. The wounded son, still breathing, began to run about, and wherever the blood flowed, water sprang forth from the ground. For this reason, the river is named Lophis.

9.33.5

Alalcomenae is a small village, situated at the foot of a mountain not very high. Some say that it took its name from Alalcomeneus, an autochthonous man who, they say, raised Athena. Others claim that Alalcomenia was one of the daughters of Ogygus. A little distance away from the village, in the low ground, stands an ancient temple of Athena, and within it an ancient statue made of ivory.

9.33.6

Sulla displayed cruelty towards the Athenians, actions alien to the Roman character, and behaved similarly toward the Thebans and Orchomenians. At Alalcomenae also he committed an additional outrage, plundering the very statue of Athena. Having thus acted violently towards cities of Greece and against divine beings of the Greeks, he was seized by a disease that is most loathsome of all indignities: he became infested with lice, and what had previously appeared as outstanding good fortune ended for him in such ignominy. From this time onward, neglect befell the sanctuary at Alalcomenae, as though it were abandoned by the goddess.

9.33.7

In my own time another incident of the following sort also happened to bring about the temple's destruction: a large and powerful ivy had grown upon it, loosening the joints of the structure and forcing the stones apart from each other. A stream runs by this place–not a large one, but a torrent-stream–which they call Triton, since, according to the tradition, Athena was raised by the river Triton. But they maintain it was this Triton, and not the river in Libya, which flows from Lake Tritonis into the sea off the Libyan coast.

Chapter 34

9.34.1

Before reaching Coroneia from Alalcomenae, one comes to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. It is named after Itonius, the son of Amphictyon, and the Boeotians assemble here for their common gathering. Within the temple are bronze statues of Athena Itonia and Zeus, made by Agoracritus, who was both pupil and beloved of Pheidias. In my own time, statues of the Charites were also dedicated here. ★

9.34.2

It is also said that Iodama, who was priestess of the goddess, entered the precinct at night, and Athena herself appeared to her; upon the goddess's tunic was the head of Medusa the Gorgon, and when Iodama saw it, she was turned to stone. For this reason, every day a woman places fire upon the altar of Iodama and three times repeats in the Boeotian dialect that Iodama still lives and asks for fire. ★

9.34.3

In the marketplace of Coroneia there remained an altar of Hermes Epimlios ("Guardian of the flocks") and another altar dedicated to the Winds. Slightly below is a temple of Hera containing an ancient image, the work of the Theban artist Pythodorus. This statue holds the Sirens in one hand, for the tale tells how the daughters of Acheloüs were persuaded by Hera to compete against the Muses in song. When the Muses emerged victorious, they are said to have plucked out the feathers of the Sirens and fashioned crowns from them. ★

9.34.4

Mount Libethrius is about forty stades distant from Coroneia. On this mountain are statues of the Muses and of the nymphs known as Libethrian. There are springs as well: one they call Libethrias, and the other Petra. These are shaped like a woman's breasts, and from them flows water resembling milk. ★

9.34.5

From Coroneia to Mount Laphystium and the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystius is about twenty stades. There stands a stone image of Zeus. They say that Athamas was here about to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle, when Zeus provided for the children a ram whose fleece was golden, and upon this ram they escaped safely. Higher up is Heracles surnamed Charops ("with bright eyes"). According to the Boeotians, this is the place where Heracles ascended leading the Hound of Hades. Descending from Mount ★

Laphystium towards the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, there is the river Phalarus, which flows into Lake Cephisus.

9.34.6

★ Beyond Mount Laphystius lies Orchomenus, a city as distinguished as any other among the Greeks for its renown. It once rose to the highest degree of prosperity, and yet was destined, like Mycenae and Delos, soon thereafter to suffer its final downfall. Regarding ancient events, the following traditions are preserved: they say that Andreus, son of the river Peneius, first settled the area, after whom the land came to be called Andreis.

9.34.7

★ When Athamas arrived, he assigned to him from his own domain the land around Laphystion, as well as what are now Coroneia and Haliartia. Athamas, believing that none of his male children remained–since he himself had acted rashly against Learchus and Melicertes, Leukon had died of illness, and he was unaware either that Phrixus survived or that descendants of Phrixus remained–consequently adopted Haliartus and Coronus, sons of Thersander, son of Sisyphus. For Athamas was the brother of Sisyphus.

9.34.8

★ Later, after he returned from Colchis, some say it was Phrixus himself, others say it was Presbon–who was born to Phrixus from the daughter of Aeëtes–who came to this agreement with the sons of Thersandros: the house of Athamas should belong to Athamas and his descendants henceforth. But they themselves–for Athamas granted them a portion of land–became the founders of Haliartos and Koroneia.

9.34.9

★ Yet even before these events, Andreus took Euippe, daughter of Leucon, as a wife from Athamas, and she bore him a son named Eteocles. According to local tradition, however, Eteocles' father was said to be the river Cephisus, so that some among the poets even called him Cephisiades ("son of Cephisus") in their verses.

9.34.10

★ After Eteocles became king, he allowed the territory to keep its name derived from Andreus; however, he established tribes, naming one Cephisiad, and another after himself. When Almus, son of Sisyphus, came to him, he granted him a small portion of land to inhabit. At that time, the village took its name Almones after this Almus, but eventually the form "Olmones" prevailed as the village's name.

Chapter 35

9.35.1

The Boeotians say that Eteocles was the first among men to sacrifice to the Graces. They also know that he established the Graces as being three in number, but they do not record the names that he gave them. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, claim there are only two Graces, and they say that Lacedaemon, son of Taygete, established them and gave them the names Cleta and Phaenna.

9.35.2

Indeed these names also seem suitable for the Graces, and fitting as well are those among the Athenians; for from ancient times even the Athenians have honored the Graces named Auxo and Hegemone. For Karpo's name is that not of a Grace, but of an Hora; and the Athenians grant honors jointly to Pandrosos and another Hora, calling the goddess Thallo.

9.35.3

Having learned from Eteocles of Orchomenus, we now customarily pray to three Graces. And Angelion and Tectaios, who fashioned an image of Apollo for the Delians, placed three Graces in his hand; also, at Athens, before the approach to the Acropolis, there are likewise three Graces, beside whom rites are conducted that must not be revealed to the multitude.

9.35.4

Indeed, Pamphos was the first, so far as we know, to sing about the Charites; yet he composed nothing concerning either their number or names. Homer also mentions the Charites, claiming that one of them is the wife of Hephaistos and naming her Charis; he says furthermore that Pasithea was beloved by Hypnos, and in the speech of Hypnos he composed the verse:

"And that you would give me one of the younger Charites." (Homer, Iliad 14.270-276)

Because of this statement, some people have come to suspect that Homer was thus aware of other, older Charites.

9.35.5

Hesiod, however, in his Theogony–and let anyone who pleases accept the Theogony–within this poem he declares the Graces to be daughters of Zeus and Eurynome, naming them Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thaleia. Omacritus, in his poems, accords precisely with this view. Antimachus, on the other hand, neither stating the number nor the names of the Graces, says that they are daughters of Aegle and the

Sun. Moreover, Hermesianax, who composed elegies, diverges so far from previous opinion that he maintains Peitho ("Persuasion") herself is also one of the Graces.

9.35.6

? But as for determining who among men first depicted the Graces naked, either sculpting them or representing them in painting, I have been unable to discover. In earlier works both sculptors and painters portrayed them clothed. At Smyrna there stand golden Graces, dedicated in the sanctuary of the Nemeses, placed above the statues, the work of Boupalos; and also at Smyrna in the Odeion there is a painting of the Graces by Apelles. Likewise, the Pergamenes have in the chamber of Attalos figures of the Graces, these also by Boupalos.

9.35.7

? Near the so-called Pythian sanctuary there are also Graces, made here by Pythagoras of Paros; and Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, before the entrance to the Acropolis, fashioned images of the Graces for the Athenians. All these are alike clothed. Later artists–I do not know the reason–changed their appearance, for those sculptors and painters of my own time represent the Graces nude.

Chapter 36

9.36.1

Upon the death of Eteocles, the kingdom passed into the family of Almus. Almus himself had daughters named Chrysogeneia and Chryse. It is said that Chryse, daughter of Almus, bore a son, Phlegyas, by Ares. After Eteocles died without issue, Phlegyas succeeded to his throne. Afterward, the inhabitants renamed the entire region Phlegyantis instead of Andreis.

9.36.2

Originally, the city that was founded was Andreis, and Phlegyas later enlarged it, giving it his own name and gathering into it the best warriors among the Greeks. Over time, however, through their arrogance and rash courage, the Phlegyans revolted against the rest of the Orchomenians and began to oppress and harass their neighbours. In the end, they even marched against Delphi itself to plunder its sanctuary. At this point, Philammon, together with a picked band of Argives, came to defend Delphi against them; both he and the chosen Argives perished in the battle.

9.36.3

The fact that the Phlegyans among all the Greeks took particular delight in warfare is testified to me also by the verses from the Iliad about Ares and his son Phobos, composed as follows:

"They indeed arm themselves for war among the Ephyrians or among the great-hearted Phlegyans." [Homer, Iliad 13.301-302]

By "Ephyrians" here Homer seems to me to speak of those dwelling in Thesprotian Epirus. Now the Phlegyan race was utterly destroyed to its foundations by the god with continual lightning-bolts and powerful earthquakes; and those who survived this were wasted by a pestilential disease that fell upon them. Only a few escaped from among them into Phocis.

9.36.4

Since Phlegyas had no children, Chryses succeeded him in his rule; he was the son of Chrysogeneia, daughter of Almus, and of Poseidon. To this Chryses was born a son, Minyas, and from him the people whom he ruled still today are called Minyans. Minyas amassed revenues so great in amount that he surpassed in wealth all who had lived before him; he was indeed the first among men known to us to have constructed a treasury as a storehouse for riches.

9.36.5

? Indeed, Greeks are inclined to marvel more at things abroad than at their own; this is clearly so, since famous authors have taken pains to describe most precisely the pyramids of Egypt in their writings, while the treasure-house of Minyas and the walls of Tiryns have not received even a brief mention, though these are no less wondrous.

9.36.6

★ Orchomenus belonged to Minyas, and during his reign both the city of Orchomenus and its people received the name Orchomenians. Yet it continued nonetheless that they were also called Minyans, to distinguish themselves from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. While Orchomenus reigned, Hyettus arrived from Argos; he was fleeing after killing Molouros, the son of Arisbas, whom he had slain because he had taken Hyettus's wife. Orchomenus granted him a portion of land, the region which now includes the village named Hyettus and its adjacent territory.

9.36.7

★ The poet who composed the verses which the Greeks call the Great Eoeae also made mention of Hyettus, saying:

"Hyettus, after having slain Molurus, the beloved son of Arisbas, in his own halls on account of the bed of his wife, forsook his home and fled from horse-pasturing Argos. He came to Minyan Orchomenus, and there the hero received him kindly and granted him a fitting share of possessions."

9.36.8

★ This Hyettus is the first recorded to have been punished for adultery; and later, when Draco established laws for the Athenians, among the ordinances enacted during his administration was one that particularly specified impunity for certain actions, but explicitly prescribed punishment for adultery. The prestige of the Minyans had meanwhile grown to such an extent that Neleus, son of Cretheus, while reigning as king in Pylos, took as his wife Chloris, daughter of Amphion son of Iasius, from Orchomenus.

Chapter 37

9.37.1

Thus it was necessary that the line of Almus should also end, for Orchomenus left no child behind ★
him, and the kingship therefore passed over to Clymenus, son of Presbon, who was the son of Phrixus. Clymenus had sons; the eldest was Erginus, next after him was Stratius, and then Arrhon and Pyleus, and the youngest was Azeus. Now, at the festival of Poseidon at Onchestus, certain Theban men slew Clymenus, having been led by an insignificant cause into great anger. Erginus, being the eldest of the sons of Clymenus, succeeded to the throne.

9.37.2

Immediately after gathering an army, he himself and his brothers marched against Thebes. They ★
prevailed in battle and thereby compelled the Thebans to an agreement, according to which the latter would pay an annual tribute as recompense for the killing of Clymenus. But after Heracles had been raised at Thebes, the Thebans were freed from this tribute, and the Minyans suffered a severe defeat in war.

9.37.3

But Erginus, noting that his fellow-citizens had reached the utmost misery, made peace with Heracles. ★
However, as he sought to restore his earlier wealth and former prosperity, he neglected all other matters entirely, and so reached old age unmarried and childless. When at last he had accumulated considerable riches, he then wished to have children.

9.37.4

When he came to Delphi and asked about offspring, the Pythia delivered this oracle: ★

"Erginus, son of Clymenus from Presbon, Late have you come in search of progeny; Yet even now, fix a youthful bride To your aged, ox-driving plow."

Following the prophecy, he took a young wife, and thus were born to him Trophonius and Agamedes.

9.37.5

It is said that Trophonius was a son of Apollo and not of Erginus; I myself am persuaded of this, and ★
likewise any man who has come before Trophonius for prophecy. They say these brothers became remarkable when fully grown, both for constructing temples for the gods and royal palaces for men.

For they built Apollo's temple at Delphi and the treasury for Hyrieus. There they arranged one of the outer stones in such a way that they could remove it easily. Thus they kept taking some of the offering secretly. Hyrieus was baffled, for although he saw the locks and other seals untouched, the amount of treasure was always found diminished.

9.37.6

★ Therefore, he set up snares or some other device above the vessels in which he kept his silver and gold, designed to catch and hold anyone who entered and touched the treasure. Thus, when Agamedes went inside, the trap held him fast; but Trophonios cut off his head, ensuring that, when daylight came, his brother would not be found alive and tortured, and that he himself would not be implicated as an accomplice in the crime.

9.37.7

★ At this place the earth, opening up, received Trophonius; there in the grove at Lebadeia is both the pit called "Agamedes"' and beside it a stele. The command over the Orchomenians was held originally by Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, who are said to have been sons of Ares, their mother being Astyoche, daughter of Actor, son of Azeus, son of Clymenus. Under these leaders the Minyans marched to Troy.

9.37.8

? The Orchomenians also joined the sons of Codrus in their expedition to Ionia. Later, when they had been driven from their homes by the Thebans, Philip, son of Amyntas, restored them once more to Orchomenus; nevertheless, henceforth their fortunes, directed by divine will, were inevitably destined toward continual decline.

Chapter 38

9.38.1

The Orchomenians have also a shrine dedicated to Dionysus, but their most ancient sanctuary is that ★ of the Charites (Graces). They hold the stones in great reverence, affirming that they fell from heaven during the reign of Eteocles. The statues, however, adorned with their ornaments, were set up in my own time, and these too are made of stone.

9.38.2

They also have a spring worthy of note, to which they descend in order to draw water. The treasury of ★ Minyas, a marvel among the sights of Greece itself and not inferior to any elsewhere, is constructed in the following manner. It is built of stone, and its shape is round, its roof rising to a height not excessively pointed. They say that the topmost stone serves as a keystone binding the entire structure together.

9.38.3

There are tombs of Minyas and Hesiod. About the bones of Hesiod, they recount this story: when ★ a plague afflicted both the people and their cattle, they sent envoys to the god [at Delphi]. These envoys received an answer from the Pythian oracle instructing them that their only remedy was to bring Hesiod's bones from the region of Naupactus to Orchomenus. Then the envoys asked again in a second inquiry where precisely in the region of Naupactus they would find these bones, and the Pythia further responded that a crow would show them the location.

9.38.4

Thus, when the emissaries of the oracle landed in this region, it is said that they saw a rock not far from the road, and a bird perched upon this rock. There too, within a hollow of the rock, they discovered the bones of Hesiod. Upon the tomb was inscribed the following elegiac verses:

"Though fertile Ascra was his native land, Now the Minyan soil, famed for swift steeds, Holds Hesiod's bones; whose glory greatest shines In all of Greece, when men in contests strive Through rigorous test to measure wisdom's worth."

9.38.5

Concerning Actaeon, the Orchomenians said that their land was troubled by a phantom appearing as a ★ rock. When they consulted the oracle at Delphi, the god instructed them that if anything of Actaeon still remained, they should bury it in the earth, and further advised them to fashion a bronze image of

the phantom and fasten it firmly to a rock with iron bonds. I myself saw this statue thus bound, and every year they perform offerings to Actaeon as to a hero.

9.38.6

Seven stades distant from Orchomenos is a temple of Heracles containing a statue that is not large. Here are the sources of the river Melas, which itself also flows into Lake Cephisida. The lake ordinarily covers much of the territory of Orchomenos, but in the winter season when the south wind blows more strongly, the water spreads out even further over the country.

9.38.7

★? The Thebans say that the river Cephisus was diverted by Heracles into the plain of Orchomenus. Previously the river passed under the mountain and flowed into the sea, until Heracles blocked the cleft through the mountain. Homer, however, knows that Lake Cephisus existed naturally, not as a creation of Heracles, and for this reason he says, "dwelling by Lake Cephisus." (Homer, Iliad 5.709)

9.38.8

★? Nor does it make sense that the Orchomenians would not have discovered the chasm and, completing the unfinished work of Heracles, restored the ancient channel for the Cephisus, given that even up to the Trojan War they were not lacking financial means. Homer himself testifies to this point in Achilles' reply to the envoys sent by Agamemnon: "nor all the wealth that flows into Orchomenus"–clearly indicating that even at that time the Orchomenians were in possession of great wealth.

9.38.9

★ They say that Aspledon was abandoned by its inhabitants due to scarcity of water; its name, it is said, came from Aspledon, who was the son of the nymph Mideia and of Poseidon. Supporting their claim are also the verses composed for them by Chersias, a man from Orchomenus:

"And from Poseidon and glorious Mideia Aspledon the son was born in the city of broad dancing-grounds."

9.38.10

? In my time no memory remained of these verses of Chersias, but Callippus added also the following lines within the same work concerning the Orchomenians. Moreover, the Orchomenians preserve an epigram by this same Chersias upon the tomb of Hesiod.

Chapter 39

9.39.1

The Phocians dwell above Orchomenus, near the mountains, and in the plain below them lies Lebadeia, their neighbor. Originally this city stood upon high ground and was called Mideia, named after the mother of Aspledon. When Lebados arrived there from Athens, the people descended to the lower ground, and the city was afterward renamed Lebadeia after him. They do not know the father of Lebados or for what reason he came, but only that Lebados' wife was Laonike.

9.39.2

The city is adorned in other respects just like the most prosperous of Greek cities. A river, the Herkyna, separates from it the grove of Trophonius. They say that here Herkyna was once playing with Kore, the daughter of Demeter, and that as she held a goose, she let it go inadvertently. The goose flew away into a hollow cave and concealed itself under a rock. Kore entered the cave and retrieved the bird, which lay hidden beneath the stone. Then water, they say, began to flow forth from that very spot from which Kore had lifted the stone, and on account of this the river was named Herkyna.

9.39.3

Beside the bank of the river there is a temple of Hercyna; within it stands a maiden holding a goose in her hands. In the cave are the springs of the river and upright statues, with serpents entwined around their scepters. One might suppose these images to represent Asclepius and Hygieia, but they may equally be Trophonius and Hercyna, since serpents are regarded as sacred not more to Asclepius than to Trophonius. Near the river there is a tomb of Arcesilaus; it is said that Leïtus brought back the bones of Arcesilaus from Troy.

9.39.4

The most notable things in the grove are the temple and statue of Trophonius, which statue resembles Asklepios; this sculpture is the work of Praxiteles. There is also a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Europa, and Zeus Hyetios ("God of Rain"), set up in the open air. Proceeding up towards the oracle and then forward from there to the higher part of the mountain, there stands what is called the Thera ("Hunt") of Kore and a temple of Zeus Basileus ("the King"). This temple, indeed, has been left half-finished, owing perhaps to its great size or to wars continually breaking out. Within another temple are statues of Kronos, Hera, and Zeus. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo.

9.39.5

★ The ritual performed at the oracle is as follows. When a man decides to descend to Trophonius, he first lives for a set number of days in a dedicated building. This building is sacred to the Good Spirit (Agathos Daimon) and Good Fortune (Agathe Tyche). While he stays there, he maintains ritual purity in various ways, abstaining from warm baths; his bath is instead the river Hercyna. He also has abundant meat from sacrifices, for the one descending offers sacrifices to Trophonius himself and to Trophonius' children, as well as to Apollo, Cronus, Zeus with the title Basileus (King), Hera called Henioche (Charioteer), and Demeter whom they surname Europa, claiming her to have been the nurse of Trophonius.

9.39.6

★ At each of the sacrifices, a seer is present who examines the entrails of the sacrificial victim; having examined them, he declares in advance to the one who is about to descend whether Trophonius will receive him favorably and graciously. Now, the entrails of the other sacrificial animals do not equally make clear the intention of Trophonius; but on the night when each person descends, it is in this night that they sacrifice a ram into the pit, invoking Agamedes. There is no account of previous favorable signs from earlier victims being valid unless the entrails of this ram should also give the same verdict. Only when these also agree, each person then descends already full of good hope; and the descent is accomplished thus.

9.39.7

First, during the night, they lead him to the river Hercyna. After guiding him there, two boys, citizens about thirteen years old, whom they call "Hermae," anoint him with oil and bathe him. These boys bathe and attend the one descending into the sanctuary, taking care of whatever is needed by virtue of their youth. Next, he is led from there by the priests, not immediately to the oracle, but to the springs of water, which are located very close to each other.

9.39.8

★ Here he must drink the water called Lethe ("Forgetfulness"), so that he may forget everything about which he was previously anxious, and afterward he must drink another water, called the water of Mnemosyne ("Memory"), causing him thereby to remember clearly what he has seen below. Having viewed a certain image which is said to have been wrought by Daedalus–an image concealed by the priests from all except those who are preparing to descend to Trophonius–and having seen this image, having made prayers to it and rendered homage, he then proceeds toward the oracle, clothed in a linen tunic girded with ribbons and shod with sandals according to local custom.

9.39.9

The oracle is situated above the grove upon the mountain. It is enclosed by a base (krepis) made of white stone built in a circle; the perimeter of this base is roughly equal to the smallest threshing-floor, and its height is just short of two cubits. Set upon this base are bronze rods and bronze bands fastening them together, with gates made between them. Within the enclosure there is a chasm in the earth, which is not natural but has been constructed artificially, with the greatest precision of skill and craftsmanship.

9.39.10

The shape of this building resembles that of an oven; its breadth across the diameter might be estimated at four cubits, while the depth of the structure one would judge does not extend farther than eight

cubits. They have not made a built-in descent to the floor; instead, whenever a man comes to visit Trophonius, they provide him with a narrow and lightweight ladder. Upon descending, there is an opening between the floor and the structure, two spans wide, and appearing to be one span high.

9.39.11

Therefore, the one going down reclines himself upon the ground, holding cakes kneaded with honey; he thrusts his feet into the hole, and then advances himself, eager to have his knees pass inside the opening. Immediately the rest of his body is drawn through and swiftly pulled down after the knees, just as might a man, caught by a whirlpool, be swiftly hidden away by the greatest and quickest of rivers. From this point onward, for those who find themselves within the chamber, there is not one single nor identical manner in which they are instructed about the future; rather, one sees something, another hears something else. Those who have descended return back through the same opening, feet first and extended ahead of them.

9.39.12

They say that none of those who have descended have died, except only one of the bodyguards of Demetrius. It is said that this man neither performed any of the customary rites in the sanctuary nor went down intending to consult the god, but descended hoping to carry out gold and silver from the inner shrine. It is reported that even this man's corpse appeared elsewhere, not having been expelled from the sanctuary by the usual entrance. I have thus related the most notable of the accounts told about this man, although other stories are also told.

9.39.13

When the visitor has ascended from the oracle of Trophonios, the priests seize hold of him again and seat him upon a seat called the Throne of Mnemosyne, situated not far from the sanctuary. When seated there, they ask him about everything he saw and heard. After they have learned these things from him, they return him into the care of his relatives, who lift him and carry him back into the dwelling where he previously stayed in the company of Good Fortune and the Good Spirit. At this point he is still overcome by fear, unaware both of himself and of those around him. Later, however, he will regain his former faculties and suffer no diminution in reason; his capacity for laughter, too, will return.

9.39.14

I do not write from hearsay, but as one who has seen others and has himself consulted Trophonius. Those who descend to Trophonius are obliged to dedicate on a tablet all that each has heard or seen. Here still remains also the shield of Aristomenes; what happened concerning it, I have already made clear earlier in my account.

Chapter 40

9.40.1

The Boeotians, who were previously unfamiliar with this oracle, came to know of it under the following circumstances. They dispatched delegates from each city to Delphi, since the god had granted them no rain for two consecutive years. When they requested relief from this drought, the Pythian priestess instructed them to go to Lebadeia and seek from Trophonios the remedy there.

9.40.2

When they came to Lebadeia but were unable to find the oracle, it happened that Saon, one of their company, who was from the city of Akraiphion and the oldest among the envoys, noticed a swarm of bees. It occurred to him that he ought to follow them wherever they went. Immediately he saw the bees fly into that particular spot of the ground, and he entered along with them into the oracle. They say that this Saon learned from Trophonios himself both the established rites and all the other ceremonies performed at the sanctuary.

9.40.3

Of the works of Daedalus, two are in the territory of the Boeotians: a Heracles at Thebes, and a Trophonius by the Lebadeans. Several other wooden images are found in Crete–a Britomartis at Olous, and an Athena among the Cnossians. Besides these, there is also the chorus of Ariadne, which Homer mentions in the Iliad, carved upon white stone. At Delos, too, there is a small wooden image of Aphrodite, whose right hand has been damaged by time; instead of feet, the lower part descends into a square base.

9.40.4

I am persuaded that Ariadne received this image from Daedalus, and when she accompanied Theseus, she brought the statue from home. According to the Delians, when she was taken away from Theseus, he dedicated this wooden figure of the goddess to Delian Apollo, so that he would not carry it home and thus, reminded constantly of Ariadne's memory, continue to find renewed suffering due to his love. Beyond this, I do not know of any other surviving works by Daedalus, for those dedicated by the Argives in the Heraion and those brought to Gela in Sicily from Omphake have perished, destroyed by time.

9.40.5

★ Next to the Lebadeians are the Chaeroneans. Their city was formerly called Arne. They say that this Arne was a daughter of Aeolus, and that another city in Thessaly was also named after her. The present name of the Chaeroneans, however, derives from Chaeron, who is said to be a son of Apollo and whose mother was Thero, daughter of Phylas. The poet who composed the epic poem, the Great Eoeae, also bears witness to this.

9.40.6

★? Phylas married the daughter of famed Iolaus, fairest of form among the daughters of Olympus. In his halls she bore him a son, Hippotes, and handsome Thero, radiant as moonlight. Thero, embraced by Apollo, bore the mighty Chaeron, tamer of horses. Homer, it seems to me, knew already the places called now Chaeroneia and Lebadeia, yet still employed their ancient names, just as he called the Egyptian river Aegyptus, not Nile.

9.40.7

In the territory of Chaeroneia there are two trophies erected by the Romans and Sulla to commemorate their victory over Taxiles and the army of Mithridates. Philip, the son of Amyntas, however, set up no trophy there, nor indeed in any other place after all his victories over barbarians or Greeks; for it was not customary among the Macedonians to erect trophies.

9.40.8

★? It is said by the Macedonians that Caranus, when reigning in Macedonia, defeated in battle Cisseus, who ruled in an adjoining territory. Caranus, according to the laws of the Argives, set up a trophy celebrating his victory. But they say that a lion came down from Olympus, overturned the trophy, and then disappeared, and Caranus understood the meaning of the omen.

9.40.9

Caranus did not, they say, wisely deliberate in entering into irreconcilable hostility with the neighboring barbarians. For he should have established the custom neither for himself nor for those who later ruled Macedonia, of erecting trophies, if ever they were to win over their neighbors' goodwill. Alexander also supports this claim by his example, for he erected no trophies either over Darius or in honor of his victories in India.

9.40.10

? As one draws near the city, there is a common tomb of the Thebans who fell in the battle against Philip. No epitaph has been inscribed upon it, but it has the figure of a lion set upon it, most fitting indeed to the courage of the men. The absence of an epitaph, in my view, is due to the fact that the fortune granted them by the divine was altogether unsuited to their bravery.

9.40.11

★ Among the gods, the people of Chaeronea most highly revere the scepter that Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, which Hermes received from Zeus and gave to Pelops. Pelops left it to Atreus, Atreus to Thyestes, and from Thyestes it passed to Agamemnon. This scepter they honor and call the "Spear." That something divine indeed inhabits it is most clearly demonstrated by its evident manifestations among men.

9.40.12

They say it was found on the borders between their land and Panopeus in Phocis, and that the Phocians ★
discovered gold along with it, but they gladly accepted the scepter itself instead of the gold. I am inclined to believe that it was brought to Phocis by Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon. No public temple has been built for it, but annually the appointed priest keeps the scepter in his dwelling. There are daily sacrifices offered to it, and beside it stands a table filled with all sorts of meats and sweetmeats.

Chapter 41

9.41.1

Of all the works which poets sing, and human tradition has followed, as having been crafted by Hephaestus, there is none worthy of credit except the scepter of Agamemnon. The Lycians, indeed, at Patara, exhibit in the temple of Apollo a bronze bowl, claiming that it was dedicated by Telephus and is the handiwork of Hephaestus; but it has evidently escaped their notice that Theodorus and Rhoecus of Samos were actually the first who melted bronze.

9.41.2

The Achaeans of Patrae claim by tradition that the chest brought by Eurypylus from Troy was made by Hephaestus, but in reality they do not allow anyone to view it. In Cyprus there is a city called Amathus, home to an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite. Here, it is said, lies a necklace originally given to Harmonia but called "Eriphyle's necklace," because it was she who accepted it as a gift for the betrayal of her husband. This necklace was dedicated at Delphi by the sons of Phegeus–how they came to possess it I have already described in my account dealing with the Arcadians–but it was later plundered by the tyrants of Phocis.

9.41.3

However, it does not seem to me that the necklace in the sanctuary of Adonis among the Amathusians is the one Homer speaks of. At Amathus there are green stones joined together by gold into a necklace, but the one given to Eriphyle, Homer says in the Odyssey, was entirely fashioned of gold, and in these words he makes it clear:

"who received precious gold from her beloved husband." Hom. Od. 11.327

9.41.4

Nor indeed was he unfamiliar with richly wrought necklaces; at any rate, in the conversation of Eumaeus addressed to Odysseus, before Telemachus had returned from Pylos to their homestead, occur these words: "A man of much skill came to my father's house bearing a golden necklace, strung with pieces of amber." (Hom. Od. 15.459)

9.41.5

Also among Penelope's gifts–for he has depicted other suitors also, and Eurymachus bestowing gifts upon Penelope–Eurymachus straightway brought her a golden necklace elaborately wrought, set with

amber, as radiant as the sun (Hom. Od. 18.295). He claims, moreover, that Eriphyle's necklace was not adorned with gold and jewels. Thus it seems likely that only the sceptre was fashioned by Hephaestus.

9.41.6

★ Above the city there is a cliff called Petrachos. They say that it was here that Kronos was deceived, accepting from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus. On the summit of the mountain there stands a statue of Zeus, not large in size.

9.41.7

Here in Chaeronea they boil perfumes from the flowers of lily, rose, narcissus, and iris; these serve men as remedies against pains. The perfume made from roses, even if applied to statues carved from wood, protects even these from decay. Iris, which grows in marshy places, is equal in size to the lily, but differs from it in color, for it is not white, and has a weaker scent than the lily.

Part X

Book 10: Phocis

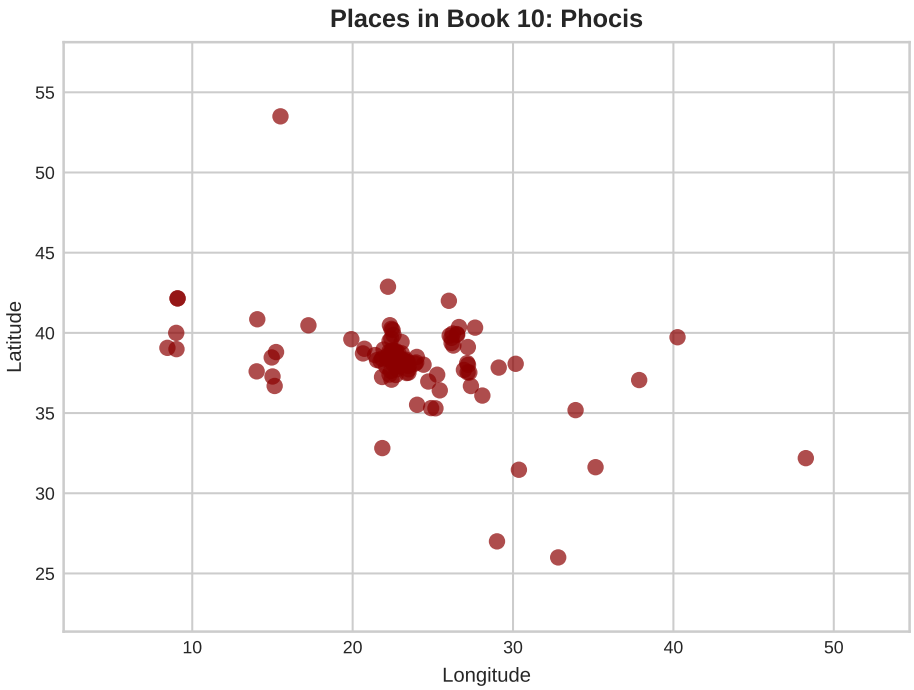

Figure 319.1: Places mentioned in Book 10: Phocis

Chapter 320

Chapter 1

10.1.1

As for the land of Phocis, the part surrounding Tithorea and Delphi clearly received this name from ★
the earliest times from Phocus, son of Ornytion, a Corinthian. Not many years later, however, the name prevailed to include the entire region now called Phocis, after the ships of the Aeginetans crossed over into this land bringing with them Phocus, son of Aeacus.

10.1.2

The Phocians extend to the sea opposite the Peloponnese and along the Boeotian coast; on one side through Cirrha, the port-town of Delphi, and on the other by way of the city of Anticyra. But towards the Malian Gulf the Hypocnemidian Locrians prevent their being a maritime people; indeed, these Locrians occupy the territory lying above Phocis in that direction–Scarphea beyond Elateia, as well as Hyampolis and Abai–and they possess the city of Opus and its harbor Cynus.

10.1.3

The Phocians' most notable deeds belong to the community as a whole. They took part in the war against Ilium and also fought against the Thessalians even before the invasion of Greece by the Mede, displaying on this occasion exploits worthy of remembrance. For at Hyampolis, where they expected the Thessalians to invade their territory, the Phocians buried jars of clay in the ground, covered them over with earth, and awaited the Thessalian cavalry. The Thessalians, unaware of this device of the Phocians due to no prior warning, drove their horses unwittingly onto these hidden jars. Thereupon, as the horses' feet plunged into the jars, the animals became lame, and their riders fell off and were thrown down from their mounts.

10.1.4

When the Thessalians, acting with rage greater than ever before against the Phocians, had gathered their forces from all their cities and were advancing into Phocis, the Phocians were seized with no small fear at both the Thessalians' overall preparations for war and above all at the great number of their cavalry, as well as the skill of horses and horsemen alike in battle. Thus they sent envoys to Delphi to seek from the god deliverance from the impending danger. An oracle reached them, saying:

"I shall bring mortal and immortal together in battle, and I shall grant victory to both, though to mortals somewhat more."

10.1.5

When the Phocians learned this, they dispatched three hundred picked men, under the command of Gelon, against the enemy just as night was beginning. Their orders were to secretly observe the Thessalians' arrangements as discreetly as possible, and then return to their camp by the least known roads, making sure they did not willingly initiate combat. These chosen men, including their leader Gelon himself, were wholly destroyed by the Thessalians, trampled beneath their horses' hooves and slain by their soldiers.

10.1.6

Their disaster struck such terror into those in the Phocian army's camp that they gathered their women and children, along with whatever property they could carry or convey, as well as garments, gold, silver, and even the images of the gods, heaping them all together in one place. Then they constructed as great a pyre as possible, and left behind thirty men to guard it.

10.1.7

It had been commanded to the men that, if it should happen the Phocians were defeated in battle, then first they must slaughter their women and children, and after dedicating them as sacrificial offerings, place them together with their possessions upon a pyre, set fire to it, and finally themselves perish, either killing each other or charging into the cavalry of the Thessalians. Because of this, the Greeks have termed all desperate plans "Phocian madness." At that time, however, the Phocians made immediately a sally against the Thessalians.

10.1.8

Their generals were Rhoius from Ambrossus and Daïphantus from Hyampolis; the latter commanded the cavalry, and the former the infantry forces. Among their leaders, the one who held the highest authority was Tellias, an Elean, who was a seer, and on Tellias the Phocians placed their hopes for salvation.

10.1.9

But when they came to close combat, the Phocians had vividly before their eyes what they anticipated would befall their women and children, and perceiving that their own safety stood uncertain and wavering, for these reasons resorted to all manner of daring acts; moreover, aided by the favor of the gods, they won a most remarkable victory on that occasion.

10.1.10

The oracle that had been given to the Phocians from Apollo became known to all the Greeks; for in battles, the commanders gave passwords accordingly: the Thessalians used "Athena Itonia," and the Phocians theirs after their ancestor, "Phocus." Due to this deed, the Phocians sent offerings to Delphi, including statues of Apollo, of the seer Tellias who was then their prophet, and of those who had served as generals during their battles, as well as statues of local heroes along with them. These sculptures are works by Aristomedon of Argos.

10.1.11

Later the Phocians devised a stratagem no less ingenious than their forebears. When the opposing armies were encamped facing each other near the entrance to Phocis, five hundred select Phocian

troops, waiting until the night of the full moon, made a sudden attack upon the Thessalians during the darkness. They had covered their own bodies with gypsum and wore white armor over this coating. It is said that the Thessalians suffered a very great slaughter, for they imagined that what befell them in the darkness was due rather to some divine visitation than to a human attack by enemies. This stratagem used by the Phocians against the Thessalians was devised by Tellias the Elean.

Chapter 2

10.2.1

When the Persian army crossed into Europe, it is said that the Phocians, compelled by necessity, initially sided with the Persian king, but later deserted from the Medes and joined the Greeks just before the battle at Plataea. At a later time, they were penalized by the Amphictyons with a monetary fine. However, I cannot determine with certainty whether this penalty was imposed on them because they genuinely committed wrongdoing, or whether, due to old enmity, it was the Thessalians who arranged for this punishment against the Phocians. ?

10.2.2

Since they were disheartened by the magnitude of their penalty, Philomelus son of Theotimus addressed them. No one among the Phocians exceeded him in honor; his homeland was Ledon, one of the Phocian cities. This Philomelus then declared to them that repayment of the debt was impossible. He persuaded them instead to seize possession of the sanctuary at Delphi, adding other persuasive arguments, in particular that from the beginning they might rely upon friendship from Athens and assistance from Sparta. Even if the Thebans or any others chose war against them, they would prevail through their own courage and financial resources.

10.2.3

This speech of Philomelus did not seem disagreeable to the mass of the Phocians, either because the god had impaired their judgment, or because they were naturally prone in the first place to prefer profit to piety. The Phocians seized Delphi when Heracleides was prytanis at Delphi, and Agathocles was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, in which Prorus of Cyrene won the stadion.

10.2.4

When they had seized the sanctuary, immediately the strongest available foreign mercenary forces of the Greeks gathered against them, and the Thebans openly declared war upon them, being already previously at variance. They then waged war continuously for ten years, and during this lengthy period of warfare the Phocians with their mercenaries repeatedly prevailed, while at other times the Thebans had the upper hand. Eventually, in a battle fought near the city Neon, the Phocians were routed, and in flight Philomelus threw himself from a high, precipitous cliff, thus ending his life. Furthermore, this very penalty had also been appointed by the Amphictyons as punishment upon those who plundered the sanctuary.

10.2.5

After the death of Philomelus, the Phocians granted the command to Onomarchus, while Philip, son of Amyntas, entered into alliance with the Thebans. Philip won the ensuing engagement; Onomarchus fled and, upon reaching the sea, was there slain by missiles thrown by his own troops, who believed their defeat had been caused by his cowardice and his inexperience in military command.

10.2.6

Such was the fate brought by divine providence upon Onomarchus at the end of his life. Thereupon, the Phocians chose as their supreme commander Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus. It is said that as soon as this Phayllus assumed his rule over the Phocians, he experienced a certain dream vision. Among the dedications in Apollo's sanctuary there was a bronze statue representing an elderly man whose flesh had already wasted away, leaving only the bones. It was said to have been set up by the Delphians, depicting Hippocrates the physician. Phayllus dreamed that he resembled this dedication, and immediately afterwards an ulcerative disease took hold of him, fulfilling thereby the prophecy of his dream.

10.2.7

After the death of Phayllus, power among the Phocians passed to his son Phalaecus. But when Phalaecus was accused of privately appropriating sacred funds, he was removed from power. He then sailed to Crete along with a selection of Phocians loyal to him and a portion of his mercenary troops. While besieging Cydonia–since the inhabitants refused to give him the money he demanded–he lost most of his army and himself perished.

Chapter 3

10.3.1

Ten years after the seizure of the sanctuary, Philip brought the war–called both the Phocian War and the Sacred War–to an end. It was during the archonship of Theophilus at Athens, in the first year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad, when Polycles of Cyrene was victorious in the stadion-race. The cities of the Phocians were captured and razed entirely to the ground; their number included Lilaea, Hyampolis, Anticyra, the inhabitants along the Cephisus (Parapotamioi), Panopeus, and Daulis. These cities indeed had borne their names from ancient times, especially made famous by the verses of Homer.

10.3.2

The army of Xerxes burned these towns, which became still more famous among the Greeks, not least due to the verses of Homer. These places, burned by Xerxes' expedition, were Erochus, Charadra, Amphicleia, Neon, Tithronium, and Drymaea. Except for Elateia, the remaining cities–such as Trachis in Phocis, Phocian Medeon, Echedameia, Ambrossus, Ledon, Phlygonium, and also Stiris–were previously not prominent. At that time, however, the named cities were laid waste and were reduced to villages, with the single exception of Abae; for the people of Abae had established their innocence concerning charges of impiety, and had not participated either in the seizure of the sanctuary or in the war.

10.3.3

The Phocians had their privileges taken away–to have a share in the sanctuary at Delphi and participation in the Hellenic council–and the Amphictyons handed their votes over to the Macedonians. After some time, however, the Phocian cities were rebuilt, and the inhabitants were resettled from the villages back into their native towns, except where the restoration was hindered, either by original weakness or due to a shortage of money at that time. Athenians and Thebans were those who restored them, before the disaster happened to the Greeks at Chaeronea.

10.3.4

The Phocians participated in the battle of Chaeronea, and later fought against Antipater and the Macedonians, near Lamia and at Crannon. Of all the Greeks, they most zealously resisted the Gauls and the Celtic army, avenging, it seems to me, the god at Delphi, and at the same time defending themselves against the accusations of ancient transgressions. ?

Chapter 4

10.4.1

Such, then, are the memorials they possess. From Chaeronea it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians–if indeed one may call them a city who have neither government buildings nor gymnasium, neither theater nor marketplace, nor even running water leading into a fountain. Rather, inhabitants dwell there in huts like mountain cabins, hollowed out dwellings that stand beside a ravine. Nevertheless, they have established territory borders with their neighbors, and even these people send representatives to the assembly of the Phocian confederacy. They say the city's name derives from Panopeus, the father of Epeius, and that originally they themselves were not Phocians, but Phlegyans, who fled from Orchomenian territory and took refuge in Phocis.

10.4.2

Observing the ancient enclosure of Panopeus, we estimated its circuit to be about seven stades. We recalled Homer's verses concerning Tityos, in which he named the city of the people of Panopeus "famed for dancing," as well as how in the battle over the body of Patroclus he described Schedios, the son of Iphitos, king of the Phocians, who was slain by Hector, as dwelling in Panopeus. This fact indeed seemed reasonable to us, as the king would have resided in Panopeus and used it as a fortress, out of fear of the Boeotians–for at this very spot the easiest route from Boeotia into Phocis lies.

10.4.3

The second point I was previously unable to interpret was why Homer called Panopeus "beautiful-for-dancing" (Kallichoros), until I was instructed by those women whom the Athenians call the Thyiades. These Thyiades are women from Attica who travel every second year to Parnassus, and together with the Delphic women, celebrate the rituals in honor of Dionysus. It is customary for these Thyiades, as they journey from Athens, to perform dances along their route in various places, among them the city of Panopeus. And indeed, Homers epithet concerning Panopeus seems to allude to this very dance of the Thyiades.

10.4.4

At Panopeus there is by the roadside a small building made of unbaked bricks, and in it a statue carved from Pentelic marble. Some say it represents Asclepius, others Prometheus. Those who claim Prometheus bring forward evidence to support their story. Near the ravine lie stones, each large enough to make a full cartload. Their colour is that of clay, not of ordinary earth but rather like that found

in ravines or sandy torrent-beds, and they give forth a scent closely resembling human skin. They say these stones are remnants of the clay from which Prometheus formed the entire race of mankind.

10.4.5

Here by the gorge is also the tomb of Tityos; the circumference of the mound measures approximately one-third of a stade. The line from the Odyssey is inscribed on it:

"And he lay stretched over nine plethra."

They say, however, that the reference is not intended to describe Tityos' actual size, but rather that the place where Tityos was buried is called "Nine Plethra."

10.4.6

Cleon, a man from Magnesia, whose people dwell near the Hermus, asserted that men refuse to believe wondrous tales exceeding their own experiences unless they themselves encounter remarkable spectacles beyond their ordinary lives. Yet he himself claimed that he had come to believe in the existence of Tityos and other such figures whose fame was widespread: for, being once at Gadeira, and having sailed out of the island himself and along with all the other populace following a command from Heracles, upon returning afterwards to Gadeira he found a man from the sea washed ashore; this being measured about five plethra in length, and had been struck by a thunderbolt of the god and was ablaze.

10.4.7

This, indeed, is what he said; Daulis is about twenty-seven stades distant from Panopeus. The people of Daulis are not numerous, but even in my day they were esteemed among the Phocians for their stature and valor. They say the name of the city comes from the nymph Daulis, who was reputedly a daughter of Cephisus. Others, however, claim that the place where the city was founded was once thickly wooded, and that in ancient times dense forests were called "daula." It was on this account that Aeschylus also described the beard of Glaucus from Anthedon as "daulon," meaning thickly wooded.

10.4.8

Here in Daulis the women are said to have served up to Tereus his own son, and among men this was the beginning of banquets defiled by such atrocities. The hoopoe–the bird into which story says Tereus was transformed–is slightly larger than a quail, and on its head feathers stand up in the form of a crest.

10.4.9

It is worthy of wonder that in this land swallows neither lay eggs nor hatch them, nor would a swallow ever begin to build its nest upon the roof of a house. The Phocians say this is because Philomela, having become a bird, was so terrified of Tereus that she thus abandoned his homeland. At Daulis there is an ancient sanctuary and image of Athena; and the even older wooden statue, they say, was brought from Athens by Procne herself.

10.4.10

In the territory of Daulis there is a district called Tronis. Here a hero-shrine has been made for the hero Archegetes. Some identify this hero as Xanthippos, renowned for his deeds in war, but others say he is Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphos. At any rate, he receives daily honors. When the Phokians offer sacrifices, they pour the blood through an opening directly into the tomb, while consuming the meat themselves on the spot.

Chapter 5

10.5.1

There is another route upward through Daulis to the summits of Parnassus, longer than the one from Delphi, but not equally difficult. Turning onto the direct road to Delphi from Daulis and advancing further, one finds on the left side of the way a building known as the Phocicum, to which from each city the Phocians assemble.

10.5.2

The building is impressive in size, and within it columns stand arranged lengthwise. Steps rise from these columns toward each wall, and upon these steps the assembled Phocians sit. At the far end there are neither columns nor steps, but statues of Zeus, Athena, and Hera. The image of Zeus is seated on a throne, and standing beside him on either side are Hera on the right hand and Athena on the left.

10.5.3

Advancing from here, you come to a road called Schiste; upon this very road Oedipus committed ★
the murder of his father. Evidently, memorials of the sufferings of Oedipus had to remain scattered throughout all Greece. When he was born, after piercing his ankles with spikes, they exposed him on Mount Cithaeron in the region of Plataea; Corinth and the territory by the Isthmus became the nurse to Oedipus, while Phocis and the Schiste Road received the pollution of his father's murder. But among the Thebans, greater still is the report concerning both the marriage of Oedipus and the injustice of Eteocles.

10.5.4

For Oedipus, the Schiste road and the deed done upon it marked the beginning of his misfortunes. ★
Still standing at the crossroads are the tombs of Laius and of the servant who accompanied him, and a heap of piled-up stones lies upon the spot. They say that Damasistratus, a king at Plataea, happened upon the bodies lying there and buried them.

10.5.5

From that point onward, the road to Delphi becomes steeper and more difficult for a lightly equipped ★
traveler. Many differing tales are reported concerning the Delphians themselves, but even more numerous accounts refer to the oracle of Apollo. They assert that the most ancient oracle was originally that of Earth, and that Daphnis was appointed by Earth herself as prophetess at this place.

10.5.6

They say she is one of the nymphs who dwell around the mountain. Among the Greeks there exists a poem, known as the Eumolpia. The verses of this poem are attributed to Musaeus, son of Antiophemus. In this composition, it is related that the oracle originally belonged jointly to Poseidon and to Earth. The Earth herself uttered the oracles, while Pyrcon served Poseidon as his attendant in matters of prophecy. The verses run thus:

"And straightway the voice of Chthonia spoke an insightful word, And Pyrcon, attendant to glorious Earth-shaking Poseidon..."

According to the story in Musaeus' Eumolpia, somewhat later in time, Earth handed it over to Themis, and Apollo received it as a gift from Themis. In compensation for the oracle, Apollo gave Poseidon Calaureia before Troezen.

10.5.7

I have also heard that men who were tending flocks chanced upon the oracle, and having become inspired by the vapor, they prophesied words from Apollo himself. However, the greatest and most widely held tradition concerns Phemonoe: it is said that she became the god's first prophetess, and was the first to sing her prophecies in hexameter verse. But according to Boeo, a local woman who composed a hymn for the Delphians, the oracle was established for Apollo by visitors from the Hyperboreans, among whom was Olen. She asserts that Olen was the very first to prophesy and the first to sing in hexameter verse.

10.5.8

Boeo composed the following verses:

"Here verily the sons of the Hyperboreans, Pagasos and noble Agyieus, established a renowned oracle."

And having enumerated other Hyperboreans as well, at the conclusion of her hymn she names Olen thus:

"And Olen, who was the first prophet of Phoebus, and first who fashioned song from ancient verses."

Indeed, these traditions have not come down to the memory of any other, but are preserved solely through the prophecies of women.

10.5.9

They say that the earliest temple of Apollo was made from laurel, and that the branches of this laurel were brought from the one growing in Tempe. The structure of this temple would have resembled that of a hut. Secondly, the Delphians say the temple was constructed by bees, made from beeswax and wings. They say also that it was sent by Apollo to the Hyperboreans.

10.5.10

There is another story told that the temple was built by a man from Delphi named Pteras; accordingly, the temple is said to have derived its name from its builder. They say furthermore that from this Pteras, with the addition of a letter, the Cretan city also acquired its name of Aptera. The story, however, that relates the name to a fern ("pteris") growing upon the mountains, from whose still-green foliage they wove together the temple, is a tale I do not accept in the slightest.

10.5.11

As for the fact concerning the third of these temples, that it was constructed of bronze, this is hardly a wonder, especially given that Acrisius made a bronze chamber for his daughter, and among the Lacedaemonians the bronze-temple of Athena Chalcioecus still remains down to our own day. Moreover, the Romans have a forum remarkable for its size and overall design that also has a roof made of bronze. Thus, it is not inconsistent with probability that a bronze temple might have been constructed in honor of Apollo.

10.5.12

However, the story did not convince me concerning either the temple being a work of Hephaestus' skill, or about the golden singing-birds, on account of which Pindar composed verses addressing this temple, saying: "And golden swallows sang above the eagle." But Pindar, as it appears to me, fashioned these lines in imitation of Homer's account of the Sirens. Nor have I found consistency even regarding the manner in which the temple vanished; for it is reported both to have fallen into a chasm in the earth and also to have melted away due to fire.

10.5.13

The fourth temple was the work of Trophonius and Agamedes, and they record it as having been built of stone. It was destroyed by fire during the archonship of Erxicleides at Athens, in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, when Diognetus of Croton was victorious. As for the temple that stands in our day, it was built by the Amphictyons using sacred funds, and its architect was Spintharus of Corinth.

Chapter 6

10.6.1

They say that in this place the most ancient city was founded by Parnassus, who was himself the son of the nymph Cleodora. As with others who are called heroes, they name two fathers for him: the god Poseidon and a mortal man, Cleopompus. It is said that from this Parnassus the mountain derived its name, and that the ravine itself is also called Parnassian after him. Moreover, divination by observing the flight of birds is said to have been discovered by Parnassus.

10.6.2

Now this city was flooded by the rains that fell in the time of Deucalion; but of those people who were able to escape the deluge, some were guided by the howling of wolves and thus came safely to the heights of Parnassus, the beasts serving as guides for their journey. For this reason, they named the city they founded Lycoreia.

10.6.3

There is also another story, differing from the previous one, saying that Lykoros was born to Apollo from the nymph Korykia; from this Lykoros the city of Lykoreia took its name, and the cave, called Korykion, gained its name from the nymph. It is also said further that Kelaino was the daughter of Hyamos, son of Lykoros, and that Delphos, from whom the present city received its name, was the son of Kelaino, daughter of Hyamos, and Apollo.

10.6.4

They say Castalius was an autochthonous man and had a daughter named Thyia; she was the first to sacrifice to Dionysus and to celebrate orgiastic rites to the god. Because of her, all the women who afterwards became frenzied for Dionysus have been called Thyades by people. Indeed, they hold Delphi to be the son of Apollo and Thyia. Others, however, say he was born from a mother named Melaina, daughter of Cephisus.

10.6.5

At a later time, however, the inhabitants around called the city itself Pytho as well, not only Delphi, as indeed Homer does in the Catalogue of the Phocians. Those who desire to derive everything from genealogies state that Pythes was a son of Delphus, and that from him, who was once king, the city acquired its name. But the common tradition among most men says that the serpent shot by Apollo

rotted here, and therefore the city's name became Pytho; for the men of that age used the verb pythesthai to describe something rotting. For this reason also Homer wrote that the island of the Sirens was filled with bones, because the people who listened to their singing wasted away ("epython").

10.6.6

Regarding the one killed by Apollo, the poets say that he was a serpent appointed by Earth as guardian of the oracle. But another account relates that while Crius ruled as a powerful man around Euboea, he had a son who was arrogant and who plundered both the sanctuary of the god and the homes of prosperous men. When he launched a second raid, at this point the Delphians entreated Apollo to ward off the approaching danger.

10.6.7

And Phemonoe, who was then the prophetess, spoke to them in hexameter verse:

"Now indeed Phoebus shall soon shoot a grievous arrow against a man Who despoils the sanctuary of Parnassus. Cretan men shall cleanse their hands from his blood; Yet his fame shall never perish."

Chapter 7

10.7.1

From the very beginning, it seems, the sanctuary at Delphi has been the target of numerous human attacks. This Euboean pirate was among them; afterward, the tribe of the Phlegyae, and later Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, also attempted it. Similarly, part of Xerxes' army tried to seize it, as did the Phocian leaders, who went the furthest and for the longest period in plundering the god's property. The Galatian army also made such an attempt. Nor, it seems, was even Nero, who was contemptuous of all things, going to remain ignorant of this impulse; indeed, he carried away from Apollo five hundred bronze statues of gods and mortals alike.

10.7.2

They record that the most ancient contest held, and that upon which prizes were first bestowed, was the singing of a hymn to the god. The first victor who sang and prevailed was Chrysothemis from Crete, whose father, Carmanor, is said to have purified Apollo. After Chrysothemis, Philammon is mentioned as victorious in song, and following him Thamyris, son of Philammon. But Orpheus, because of the solemn nature of his rites and his greater loftiness of mind, and Musaeus, owing to his close imitation of all Orpheus' practices, declined, it is said, to subject themselves to musical competition.

10.7.3

They say also that Eleuther won a victory in the Pythian games because his voice was powerful and sweet, although he did not sing a composition of his own. It is also said that Hesiod was excluded from the contest since he had not learned to accompany his singing with the lyre. Homer too came to Delphi to inquire about certain matters he desired to know, and though he had been taught the lyre as well, this training was destined to prove useless to him because of the affliction of his blindness.

10.7.4

In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, in which Glaukias of Kroton won, the Amphictyons established contests, continuing as before for singing to the kithara, but also adding competitions for singing with the aulos and for playing the aulos itself. Melampus from Kephallenia was proclaimed victor in kithara-singing, Echembrotos the Arcadian in singing to the aulos, and Sakadas of Argos in playing the aulos. This Sakadas won also the two following successive Pythian contests.

10.7.5

Then for the first time they also established contests for athletes, including the same events held at Olympia, except for the four-horse chariot race; and they themselves added a long-distance race (dolichos) as well as a double-length stadium race (diaulos) for boys. But at the second Pythiad they no longer called upon competitors to compete for prizes, but instead established the contest thenceforth as one for crowns of victory. They also abolished the flute-song (auloidia), judging that its sound was not well-suited for sacred festivity. For flute-singing involved the most mournful tunes of the flute, as well as elegiac verses sung as laments accompanied by flutes.

10.7.6

The dedication of Echembrotus also bears witness to my statement, a bronze tripod dedicated to Heracles in Thebes. The tripod bore this epigram: "Echembrotus the Arcadian dedicated this offering to Heracles upon his victory in the contests of the Amphictyons, singing melodies and elegies for the Greeks." At this time, the contest in flute-playing was discontinued; and a horse-race was added, in which Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, was proclaimed victor with his chariot.

10.7.7

In the eighth Pythian festival they added a musical contest for lyre-players who performed instrumental music without voice, and Agelaus of Tegea won the crown. At the third Pythiad after the twentieth, they introduced the race in arms; the laurel in this competition was won by Timainetos of Phlius, five Olympiads after Damaretos of Heraea was victorious at Olympia. At the forty-eighth Pythiad, they established a race for two-horse chariots, and the pair belonging to Exaikestides of Phocis were the victors. In the fifth Pythiad following this, they yoked foals to a chariot, and the chariot of Orphondas of Thebes outran the others.

10.7.8

? The Eleans admitted the boys' pancratium and later, by many years, the race for two-horse chariots of colts and the riding-race for colts–the first of these contests at the sixty-first Pythian festival, when Iolaïdas of Thebes won. After an interval of one festival from this, they set up a riding-race for colts, and at the sixty-ninth festival the chariot-race for a pair of colts. In the riding-match for colts, Lyformas of Larissa was proclaimed victor, and Ptolemy the Macedonian in the pair of colt-chariots; for the Macedonian kings in Egypt, as they were then called, had a passion for such victories, since indeed they were actual Macedonians. As for why the crown at the Pythian games is of laurel, in my opinion there is no other reason except the tradition that Apollo fell in love with the daughter of Ladon.

Chapter 327

Chapter 8

10.8.1

Concerning the establishment of the assembly of Greeks here, some believe that Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, instituted it, and from him those who assembled took the name Amphictyons. Androtion, however, in his work on Athenian history, stated that from the very beginning delegates came together at Delphi from the neighboring peoples, and though those who gathered were first called Amphictions, in the course of time their present name came to prevail.

10.8.2

They say indeed that Amphictyon himself gathered the following tribes of the Greeks into a common council: the Ionians, Dolopians, Thessalians, Aenianes, Magnetes, Malians, Phthiotians, Dorians, Phocians, and the Locrians bordering on Phocis beneath Mount Cnemis. Later, however, when the Phocians seized the sanctuary and the war ended in the tenth year, a change occurred also among the Amphictyons. For the Macedonians were permitted to participate in the Amphictyonic council, whereas the nation of the Phocians and likewise the Lacedaemonians, who had been members as part of the Dorian tribe, ceased to belong to it; the Phocians because of their sacrilege, and the Lacedaemonians because they had allied themselves with the Phocians and shared in their punishment.

10.8.3

When Brennus led the army of the Gauls against Delphi, the Phocians displayed the greatest eagerness among the Greeks for the war, and because of this achievement, they regained their ancient position, re-entering the Amphictyonic League and recovering their previous dignity in other matters as well. Later, Emperor Augustus wished to grant membership in the Amphictyonic council also to the people of Nicopolis near Actium; he accordingly ordered that the Magnesians, Malians, Aenianians, and Phthiotans should join together in representation with the Thessalians, and that the votes formerly belonging to these peoples and to the Dolopians–for the Dolopian nation no longer existed–should pass to the citizens of Nicopolis.

10.8.4

In my day the Amphictyons numbered thirty: from Nicopolis and from Macedonia and from Thessaly, six representatives each; from the Boeotians–since these people too, in very ancient times, once inhabited Thessaly and were then known as Aeolians–and also from the Phocians and from the Delphians, two representatives each; and one from ancient Doris.

10.8.5

The Lokrians also send deputies, one from the so-called Ozolian Lokrians and one from those beyond Euboea, and there is one from Euboea itself. Of the Peloponnesians, Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, together with Megara, send one representative among them, and Athens sends one separately. As for the cities of Athens, Delphi, and Nicopolis, these send deputies to participate in every meeting of the Amphictyonic Council. From each of the aforementioned groups of peoples, the various cities take turns in appointing representatives to the Amphictyonic Council and share responsibility periodically.

10.8.6

Upon entering the city, temples stand in succession. The first of these was in ruins, and the one following it was empty, devoid both of images and statues. The third temple had some few statues representing certain Roman emperors, while the fourth temple was called Athena Pronoia ("Forethought"). Of its statues, the one standing in the fore-temple is an offering made by the Massaliotes, larger in size than the statue inside. The Massaliotes are colonists from Phocaea in Ionia, being themselves part of those who once fled Phocaea before Harpagus the Mede. Having afterwards proved superior to the Carthaginians in naval affairs, they acquired the land they now possess and became greatly prosperous.

10.8.7

★ The dedication of the Massaliotes is made of bronze, but the Delphians said that Philomelus plundered a golden shield, which had been dedicated by Croesus the Lydian to Athena Pronoia. Near the sanctuary of Pronoia there is an enclosure sacred to the hero Phylacus. According to the Delphians, this Phylacus gained fame because during the Persian invasion he provided them with aid.

10.8.8

★ In the open area of the gymnasium, they say there once grew wild woodland, and that here Odysseus, when he came to Autolycus and was hunting with the sons of Autolycus, received the wound above his knee inflicted by the boar. Turning left from the gymnasium and descending slightly for no more, as it seems to me, than three stades, there is a river called Pleistos. This Pleistos flows down towards Cirrha, the harbor of Delphi, and reaches the sea in that direction.

10.8.9

★ Going up from the gymnasium towards the sanctuary, on the right side of the road is the water of Castalia, pleasant to drink and beautiful for bathing. They say the spring was named from a local woman, though others say it was named after a man, Castalius. Panyassis son of Polyarchus, however, who composed verses about Heracles, claims that Castalia was a daughter of Acheloüs. For he says thus concerning Heracles:

"Having swiftly crossed snowy Parnassus with swift feet, He reached the immortal water of Castalia, daughter of Acheloüs."

10.8.10

★ I have also heard another account of the following kind, that the waters of Castalia are a gift from the river Cephisus. Alcaeus also said this in his hymn addressed to Apollo; and the people of Lilaea are particularly firm in affirming it. On certain days prescribed by custom, they cast local cakes and other offerings deemed appropriate into the spring of Cephisus, and claim that these same things reappear later in the spring of Castalia.

Chapter 9

10.9.1

At Delphi the city rises upward, extending its shape throughout the entire area; the sacred enclosure of Apollo, likewise, conforms to the rest of the city. This enclosure is large in extent and occupies the highest part of the town. Continuous paths have also been made through it. Now, concerning the votive offerings, I will mention those that seemed to me particularly worthy of record.

10.9.2

I consider that athletes in general, as well as competitors in musical contests who gained victories among the majority of men, are for the most part not worthy of mention, nor deserving of serious attention. But as for athletes who attained extraordinary fame, I have already spoken of them in my account of the Eleans. Now, concerning Phayllos of Croton: he won no victory at Olympia, but at Pytho he twice achieved victory in the pentathlon and a third victory in the stadion race. Moreover, he participated in the sea fight against the Mede, equipping a ship at his own expense and manning it with Crotoniates who happened to be visiting Greece. This man has a statue set up in his honor at Delphi. This, then, is the information about the Crotoniate. And upon entering the sanctuary...

10.9.3

There is a bronze bull, a work by Theopropos of Aegina, dedicated by the people of Corcyra. It is said that once, on Corcyra, a certain bull left the rest of the herd and, descending from its pasture, began to bellow toward the sea. As the same event recurred day after day, the herdsman went down to the shore and saw there an immeasurable multitude of tuna fish.

10.9.4

And he thus made his power clear to the inhabitants of the city of Corcyra. They, preferring above all else to catch the tunny fish but facing difficulties beforehand, sent envoys to consult the oracle at Delphi. Afterward, they sacrificed that specific bull to Poseidon, and immediately following the sacrifice they successfully caught the fish. In both Olympia and Delphi they dedicated a tithe of their catch as an offering.

10.9.5

Next in order are dedications of the Tegeans from their victories over the Lacedaemonians: statues of Apollo, Nike, and local heroes–Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, Arcas, from whom the land took its

name, and the sons of Arcas, Elatus, Apheidas, and Azan; above these is Triphylus. The mother of this Triphylus was not Erato but Laodameia, daughter of Amyclas who once ruled in Lacedaemon. Also represented there is Erasus, son of Triphylus.

10.9.6

The sculptors who made the statues were Pausanias of Apollonia, who created Apollo and Callisto, and Daidalos of Sikyon, who fashioned the Victory and the likeness of Arkas. Antiphanes of Argos and Samolas the Arkadian also worked on statues, Samolas creating Triphylos and Azan, Antiphanes the Argive fashioning Elatos, Apheidas, and Erasos. These statues were sent by the Tegeans to Delphi, after they captured Lacedaemonian prisoners when the latter had marched against them.

10.9.7

Directly opposite these dedications of the Lacedaemonians are offerings from the Athenians: statues of the Dioscuri, Zeus, Apollo and Artemis; and above them, Poseidon, and Lysander, son of Aristocritus, crowned by Poseidon, and Agias, who served Lysander at that time as his soothsayer, and Hermon, who was pilot of Lysander's flagship.

10.9.8

This Hermon was destined to be made by Theokosmos of Megara, since Hermon had been enrolled as a citizen by the Megarians. The Dioskouroi statues are the work of Antiphanes of Argos, and the statue of the seer is by Pison from Kalaureia, an island belonging to the Troizenians. As for Athenodoros and Dameas, Dameas crafted Artemis, Poseidon, and also Lysander, while Athenodoros made the statues of Apollo and Zeus.

10.9.9

These Arcadians are from Cleitor. Behind those just mentioned are dedicated statues of those who collaborated with Lysander in the events at Aegospotami, either Spartans themselves or from their allies. These are the following: Aracus and Erianthes, one from Lacedaemon itself, the other, Erianthes, a Boeotian from beyond Mount Mimas. Next is Astycrates, and from Chios are Cephisocles, Hermophantus, and Hicesius. From Rhodes are Timarchus and Diagoras, from Cnidus Theodamus, from Ephesus Cimmerius, and Aeantides from Miletus.

10.9.10

Tisander made these statues; those next in order were made by Alypus of Sicyon. They represent Theopompus of Myndus, Cleomedes of Samos, Aristocles of Carystus in Euboea, Autonomus from Eretria, Aristophantus of Corinth, Apollodorus of Troezen, and Dion of Epidaurus in Argolis. Following these are Axionicus, an Achaean from Pellene, Theares from Hermione, Pyrrhias from Phocis, Comon of Megara, and Agasimenes of Sicyon. From Ambracia, Corinth, and Leucas there are the statues of Telycrates, Pythodotus, a Corinthian, and Euantidas, an Ambracian. Last are Epicydidas and Eteonicus, two Lacedaemonians, said to be works by Patrocles and Canachus.

10.9.11

? The Athenians admit that the disaster at Aegospotami did not befall them justly; rather, it was brought about through bribery by their generals, and they say that Tydeus and Adeimantus were the ones who accepted gifts from Lysander. As proof of this account, they cite an oracle of the Sibyl:

"And then shall loud-thundering Zeus, whose power is supreme, lay grievous sorrows upon the Athenians, bringing battle and devastation against their warships doomed to destruction, through treacherous schemes and the wickedness of their leaders."

They also recall another oracle from Musaeus:

"For upon the Athenians will fall a fierce storm through the wickedness of their commanders, and their defeat will seem inexplicable. Yet they shall not escape the city's notice, and shall pay a penalty."

10.9.12

So much, then, has been said concerning these matters. As for the contest between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives over the place called Thyrea, the Sibyl had also prophesied beforehand that it would come about as an equal contest between the two cities; but the Argives, believing they had achieved more in the battle, sent to Delphi a bronze horse–allegedly the Wooden Horse. The sculptor of this work was Antiphanes of Argos.

Chapter 10

10.10.1

On the pedestal below the wooden horse there is an inscription stating that the statues were dedicated from a tenth of the spoils of Marathon. These statues represent Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades, one of the generals in command. Among those called heroes depicted there are Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochus the son of Heracles by Meda daughter of Phylas, Aegeus, and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These are the heroes who, according to an oracle from Delphi, gave their names to the tribes of Athens. The others depicted–Codrus, son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Neleus–are not among those who gave their names to the tribes.

10.10.2

The statues just mentioned were made by Pheidias, and these too truly represent one-tenth of the spoils from the battle. As for Antigonus and his son Demetrius, and Ptolemy the Egyptian, they were sent to Delphi at a later time–Ptolemy because of a certain goodwill towards him, but the Macedonians from fear of them.

10.10.3

Near the horse there are also other dedications set up by the Argives, namely the leaders of those who joined Polynices in marching against Thebes: Adrastus son of Talaus, Tydeus son of Oeneus, the descendants of Proetus, Capaneus son of Hipponous, Eteoclus son of Iphis, Polynices himself, and Hippomedon, the son of Adrastus's sister. Nearby there is also represented the chariot of Amphiaraus, and standing upon the chariot is Baton, the charioteer who managed Amphiaraus's horses and who was otherwise closely related to him. Alitherses is depicted as the last of them.

10.10.4

These are the works of Hypatodorus and Aristogeiton, and, according to what the Argives themselves say, they made them because of the victory gained at Oenoe in Argive territory, where they themselves along with their Athenian allies defeated the Lacedaemonians. It seems to me that the Argives dedicated also on account of the same victory the statues of those whom the Greeks call the Epigoni. For indeed there are also figures of these men–of Sthenelus, and Alcmaeon, who, judging from his age, appears to have received honors earlier than Amphilochus; and beside these are Promachus and Thersander and Aegialeus and Diomedes; and between Diomedes and Aegialeus stands Euryalus.

10.10.5

★ Directly opposite these there stand other statues. The Argives dedicated these, having participated with the Thebans and Epaminondas in the foundation of the Messenians. The images are of heroes–Danaus, who was mightiest of the kings of Argos, and Hypermestra, who alone of her sisters remained pure in her hands. Beside her stands Lynceus, and after him the entire line of their descendants, extending down to Heracles, and even earlier back to Perseus.

10.10.6

★ The bronze horses of the Tarentines and the captive women are from the Messapians, barbarians neighboring upon the territory of Tarentum, and these are works of the Argive Ageladas. Tarentum was settled by colonists from Lacedaemon, and their founder was the Spartan Phalanthus. Now, as Phalanthus was preparing to set forth for this colony, there came an oracle from Delphi, declaring that when he felt rain beneath a clear sky, then would he possess both country and city.

10.10.7

He neither privately examined the oracle at the time nor shared it with any of the interpreters, but continued with his fleet on to Italy. Later, however, when though victorious against the barbarians he was unable either to capture any of their towns or to subdue their territory, he recalled the oracle and began to think that the god had given him impossible advice, believing himself unlikely ever to be rained upon in clear and fair weather. While he was thus discouraged, his wife–who had accompanied him from home–comforted him in various ways, and placing her husband's head in her lap, she began picking lice from his hair. Then, moved by love and pity, as she looked upon her husband's fortune achieving nothing, she began to weep.

10.10.8

★ She shed tears more freely–indeed, her weeping wetted Phalanthus' head; and thus he understood the oracle–for his wife's name was Aethra ("Clear Sky"). And thus, on the following night, he captured Taras from the barbarians, the greatest and most prosperous of the seaside cities. They say Taras, the hero, was the son of Poseidon and a local nymph, and that both the city and the river were named after the hero; for the river, too, is called Taras, sharing the city's name.

Chapter 11

10.11.1

Near the offering of the Tarentines is the treasury of the Sicyonians; yet here, as indeed in all of the treasuries, you will not find money. The Cnidians brought statues to Delphi depicting Triopas, the founder of Cnidus, standing beside a horse, and Leto, Apollo, and Artemis shooting arrows at Tityus; the latter already appears wounded in his body. ★

10.11.2

These stand next to the treasury of the Sicyonians. The treasury of the Siphnians also was built for the following reason. The island itself had yielded gold mines to the Siphnians, and the god commanded them to pay a tenth of their revenues to Delphi. So, they built a treasury and delivered the tenth part. However, when out of greed they ceased paying, the sea rose and submerged their mines, making them utterly inaccessible. ★

10.11.3

The Lipareans also dedicated statues after winning a naval battle against the Tyrrhenians. These Lipareans were colonists from Cnidus, and they say that a Cnidian man became the leader of the colony. According to Antiochus, son of Xenophanes, a Syracusan, in his History of Sicily, this mans name was Pentathlos. Antiochus also says that after founding a city upon Cape Pachynus in Sicily, the colonists were driven out by the Elymians and Phoenicians following their defeat in war. Thus, they occupied the islands that were still uninhabited or expelled their previous inhabitants; these islands are called, even up to our own time, the islands of Aeolus according to the Homeric poems. ?

10.11.4

After founding a city on Lipara, they now dwell there, while they cultivate Hiera, Strongyle, and Didyma by sailing over to them in ships. On Strongyle there is clearly visible a fire which rises up from the earth; and on Hiera an automatic fire blazes forth on the summit of the island, where by the sea there are baths suitable for bathing, provided the water accepts you gently, as otherwise it is difficult to enter because of its heat.

10.11.5

The treasuries of the Thebans were constructed from the spoils of war, and the Athenians' likewise. As for the Cnidians, I do not know whether they built theirs on account of some victory or merely as a ?

demonstration of their prosperity. The Thebans certainly made theirs from the spoils of the battle at Leuctra, and the Athenians founded theirs from the victory at Marathon over the forces of Datis. The Cleonaeans were afflicted at the same time as the Athenians by an epidemic plague; by an oracle from Delphi they sacrificed a goat while the sun was still rising and, having thus discovered a cure for their misfortune, they sent as a dedication to Apollo a bronze goat.

Of the Potidaeans in Thrace and the Syracusans, the Syracusans' treasury comes from the great Athenian disaster, while the Potidaeans established theirs out of piety to the god.

10.11.6

? The Athenians also built a stoa with the funds they acquired in the war from the Peloponnesians and from those allies of the Peloponnesians among the Hellenic states. There are set up there the figureheads of ships and bronze shields. The inscription upon these enumerates the cities from which the Athenians sent the spoils of their victory: the city of Elis and of the Lacedaemonians, Sicyon, Megara, Pellene of the Achaeans, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. Furthermore, because of these naval victories, a sacrifice was instituted to Theseus and to Poseidon at the place called Rhion. And it seems to me that the inscription also refers to Phormio, son of Asopichus, and to the deeds accomplished by this Phormio.

Chapter 12

10.12.1

There is a rock projecting above the ground; the Delphians say that on this rock a woman named Herophile, surnamed the Sibyl, stood to chant her oracles. Examining earlier traditions, I found that this woman was particularly similar to an earlier one whom the Greeks declare to have been the daughter of Zeus and Lamia, herself child of Poseidon, and they say that she was the first woman to chant prophecies and was named Sibyl by the Libyans.

10.12.2

Herophile was younger than that Sibyl, yet she also appears to have lived before the Trojan War. In her prophecies she foretold of Helen, declaring that she would be raised in Sparta for the ruin of Asia and Europe, and that through her Ilium would fall to the Greeks. The Delians preserve memory of a hymn composed by this woman addressed to Apollo. In its verses she names herself not only Herophile but also Artemis, and states that sometimes she is Apollo's wife, sometimes his sister, and at other times his daughter.

10.12.3

She composed these verses while inspired and possessed by the god. Elsewhere in her oracles she says her mother was one of the immortal nymphs of Ida, and her father a mortal man. The verses run as follows:

"I am born midway between mortal and goddess, Of an immortal nymph and a father who feeds upon fish, From my mothers side I am Ida-born, And my fatherland is red Marpessos, sacred to the Mother, And the river Aidoneus."

10.12.4

Even now on Trojan Ida remain the ruins of the city Marpessos, with inhabitants numbering around sixty people dwelling among them. All the land around Marpessos is of a deep red color and desperately dry, so that even the river Aidoneus sinks underground into this area; and when it eventually re-emerges, it suffers the same fate once more, finally disappearing completely below the earth. The cause, in my opinion, is that at this point Ida is thin and cavernous. Marpessos lies two hundred and forty stadia from Alexandria in the Troad.

10.12.5

The people of Alexandria say that this Herophile became attendant of Apollo Smintheus, and that she prophesied regarding the dream of Hecuba; we know these things were fulfilled. This Sibyl spent most of her life on Samos, but came also to Clarus in the land of the Colophonians, as well as to Delos and Delphi. Whenever she arrived at Delphi, she would stand upon this very rock and sing her prophecies.

10.12.6

But destiny overtook her in the Troad, and her tomb is located within the grove of the Smintheus, bearing upon the column the following elegiac inscription:

"I, who lie hidden beneath this stone tomb, Am the Sibyl, the clear-speaking prophetess Of Phoebus Apollo. Formerly a vocal maiden, Now forever silent, having received by stern fate This binding shackle. Near Nymphs and Hermes I rest here below, possessing beneath the earth The lot of one who once was royal."

Near this tomb stands Hermes, a square statue of stone. On the left flows water descending into a fountain, and there are images of the Nymphs.

10.12.7

The Erythraeans–who among the Greeks dispute most zealously about Herophile–point out a mountain called Corycus, and in this mountain a cave, claiming that Herophile was born therein and that she was daughter to a local shepherd named Theodorus and a nymph. They say the name of this nymph was Idaea, named thus for no other reason than that the thickly wooded places were then called idae by the inhabitants. However, the verse concerning Marpessus and the river Aidoneus, this verse the Erythraeans remove entirely from her oracles.

10.12.8

Concerning another Sibyl, named Demo, Hyperochus, a man of Cumae, wrote that she came from Cumae in the Opican land, and likewise uttered oracles. The people of Cumae, however, had no oracle uttered by this woman to show; but they show in the sanctuary of Apollo a small stone water-jar, saying that the bones of this Sibyl rest there.

10.12.9

Afterwards, among the Hebrews dwelling in Palestine, a woman named Sabbe was also revered as a prophetess. They say that Sabbe was the daughter of Berosus by her mother Erymanthe; but some assert that she was Babylonian, while others call her the Egyptian Sibyl.

10.12.10

Phaennis, daughter of a king who ruled among the Chaonians, and also the doves at Dodona, made prophecy inspired by the god; yet none of these was ever called Sibyl by men. As for Phaennis, we may determine her lifetime by examining her oracles, for she lived when Antiochus succeeded immediately to the throne after Demetrius had been captured. They say the Peleiades lived even earlier than Phemonoe, and that these women were the first to sing these verses:

"Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be; O mighty Zeus. Earth produces fruits, so proclaim Earth as mother."

10.12.11

It is said that certain men were prophets, including Euclus from Cyprus and from Athens Musaeus the son of Antiophemus and Lycus the son of Pandion, and also Bacis from Boeotia, a man possessed by the nymphs. Among these prophets that I have mentioned, I have quoted oracles from all except Lycus. Thus far have women and men inspired by the god prophesied down to my own time; but in the more remote future there may again be others who will perform similar deeds.

Chapter 13

10.13.1

A head made from bronze, depicting a Paeonian bull known as the bison, was sent to Delphi by Dropion son of Leon, king of the Paeonians. These bisons are the hardest of all beasts to capture alive, and there is no net strong enough to withstand their charge. They are hunted in the following way. The hunters first look for a place sloping downward into a hollow; having found this, they build a strong fence around it. Then they lay freshly-flayed hides over the downward slope and the level ground at its foot. If they are unable to obtain fresh hides, they soak dry skins in olive oil and thus make them slippery.

10.13.2

From there those most skilled at riding drive the bisons into the aforementioned place; immediately slipping on the first hides, the animals roll down the slope until they are carried down onto level ground. Initially they lie there neglected; but around the fourth or fifth day at most, hunger and exhaustion have already largely subdued their spirit. Then those among them who...

10.13.3

They have a skill for taming them: they offer, while the animals still lie on the ground, selected kernels of the fruit of the cultivated pine, carefully picked from their smallest husks. Indeed, at that particular moment, the beasts would touch no other sort of food. Finally, after tying them up securely, they lead them away.

10.13.4

These adopt the mode described above; opposite the bronze head of the bison is a bronze statue of a man armed with both a breastplate and a cloak over the breastplate. The Delphians say the statue is a dedication from the Andrians representing Andreus, their founder. The statues of Apollo, Athena, and Artemis are offerings from the Phocians, who continually suffered hostilities from their neighbors the Thessalians, except in so far as the Epicnemidian Locrians separated them.

10.13.5

The Thessalians of Pharsalus and the Macedonians dwelling in the city of Dion beneath Pieria and the ★
Cyrenaeans from the Greek colony in Libya also made dedications. The Cyrenaeans dedicated a chariot with an image of Ammon riding upon it; the Macedonians of Dion offered an Apollo who is depicted

as grasping a deer; and the people of Pharsalus set up Achilles mounted upon a horse, with Patroclus standing beside Achilles and alongside the horse. The Dorian Corinthians, too, built a treasury.

10.13.6

Here also was dedicated the gold sent by the Lydians. The statue of Heracles is an offering of the Thebans, dedicated when they fought against the Phocians in the war called the Sacred War. There are also bronze figures dedicated by the Phocians themselves, at the time when, in a second engagement, they routed the cavalry that came from Thessaly. The Phliasians brought to Delphi a bronze Zeus, along with a statue of Aegina set up beside Zeus. From Mantineia in Arcadia there is a bronze Apollo, another offering situated not far from the treasury of the Corinthians.

10.13.7

★ Herakles and Apollo are gripping the tripod and preparing to fight over it. Leto and Artemis hold Apollo back, while Athena restrains Herakles' anger. This offering, too, is from the Phokians, dedicated when Tellias the Elean led them against the Thessalians. The rest of the statues were, on the whole, made by Diyllos and Amyklaios, but Athena and Artemis are the work of Chionis; these sculptors are said to have been Corinthians.

10.13.8

★ It is said by the Delphians that when Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, came to consult the oracle, Xenocleia, the priestess, refused to give him an oracle on account of the murder of Iphitus. Heracles then seized the tripod from the sanctuary and began carrying it outside, upon which the priestess declared: "Then indeed there is another Heracles, the Tirynthian, not the Canopian," for the Egyptian Heracles had come to Delphi earlier. Thereupon, Amphitryon's son returned the tripod to Apollo, and Xenocleia gave him the responses he wished for. Poets, adopting this tale, sing about the combat between Heracles and Apollo for the tripod.

10.13.9

Together as a common dedication from the spoils of the battle at Plataea, the Greeks set up a golden tripod mounted upon a bronze serpent. As for the bronze portion of this offering, it remained intact even down to my own times; however, the Phocian leaders did not leave the gold similarly untouched.

10.13.10

★ The Tarentines also dedicated another tithe to Delphi from their spoils taken from the barbarian Peucetians. These offerings were the work of Onatas of Aegina and Ageladas of Argos, representing figures of infantry and cavalry. Among them is depicted Opis, the king of the Iapygians, who had come as an ally to the Peucetians. He is portrayed as having fallen in battle. Standing over his body are the hero Taras and Phalanthus the Lacedaemonian, and near Phalanthus is a dolphin; for it is said that before arriving in Italy, Phalanthus suffered a shipwreck in the Crisaean Sea and was saved by a dolphin, which carried him safely ashore.

Chapter 14

10.14.1

The axes are a dedication of Periklytos, son of Euthymachos, a man of Tenedos, which has an ancient account behind it. They say that Kyknos was a son of Poseidon and ruled over Kolonai. These Kolonai were inhabited in the region of Troy, situated opposite the island Leukophrys.

10.14.2

Cycnus had a daughter named Hemithea and a son called Tenes born of Procleia–who herself was the daughter of Clytius and the sister of Caletor, whom Homer says in the Iliad was slain by Ajax when Caletor tried to set fire to Protesilaus' ship. When this woman had died earlier, Philonome, daughter of Cragasus, became Cycnus's second wife. Having failed to win Tenes' affection, Philonome falsely accused him to her husband, claiming that Tenes had sought sexual relations with her against her will. Cycnus believed this deception, placed Tenes along with his sister in a chest, and set them adrift on the sea.

10.14.3

Indeed the children were saved by sailing to the island Leucophrys, and the island received the name it now bears from Tenes. Cycnus–for he was not destined to remain forever unaware of being deceived–sailed to his son, intending to confess his own ignorance and beg forgiveness for his transgression. But when Cycnus anchored at the island and tied the ship's cables to either a rock or a tree, Tenes, driven by anger, severed them with an axe.

10.14.4

Because of this, it became customary to make a strong reference against anyone who denied wrongdoing by saying that he would «cut it off with a Tenedian axe.» Now the Greeks relate that Tenes was killed by Achilles as he attempted to protect his homeland; but the people of Tenedos themselves, weakened over time, eventually merged with those who inhabited Alexandria on the mainland of the Troad.

10.14.5

The Greeks who fought against the king dedicated a bronze Zeus at Olympia, and also an Apollo at Delphi from the spoils of the naval battles at Artemisium and at Salamis. It is also said that Themistocles came to Delphi bringing some of the Median spoils for Apollo; but upon his inquiry whether he should

dedicate these offerings within the temple, the Pythia commanded him to carry them out entirely from the sanctuary. The oracle's words were thus:

"Do not place the beautiful adornments of Persian spoils within my temple; send them away homeward as quickly as possible!"

10.14.6

? Accordingly, we wondered greatly if he had indeed thought fit to refuse only these offerings from the Medes. Some people considered that the god would have rejected equally all things coming from the Persian, had Themistocles and others first inquired of Apollo before dedicating them. Others claimed that, since the god foresaw that Themistocles would become a suppliant of the Persian, he refused on these grounds to accept the gifts, lest their dedication should create eternal hostility against him from the Medes. The barbarian expedition against Greece is known to have been foretold both in the oracles of Bakis and, even earlier, was mentioned in the prophecies made by Euclus.

10.14.7

★ Near the great altar is a bronze wolf, dedicated by the Delphians. They say that a man plundered the treasures of the god, and having concealed himself together with the gold in a place on Parnassus particularly dense with wild trees, a wolf attacked him while he was sleeping; the man was killed by the wolf. Every day thereafter, the wolf would enter the city and howl. Since the people came to suspect that this was not happening without divine intervention, they decided to follow the animal as it departed. In this way they found the stolen sacred gold, and accordingly they dedicated a bronze wolf to the god.

Chapter 15

10.15.1

The gilded statue of Phryne is a work by Praxiteles, who was also her lover; the figure itself is Phryne's own dedication. Next to this are two statues of Apollo: one was dedicated by the Epidaurians in Argolis after a victory over the Medes; the other by the Megarians after defeating the Athenians in a battle near Nisaea. There is also an offering by the Plataeans, an ox, dedicated when they, together with the rest of the Greeks, defended their land against Mardonius son of Gobryas. Next come two more statues of Apollo: one given by the people of Heraclea on the Black Sea, and another by the Amphictyons, after they had imposed a monetary fine upon the Phocians for encroaching upon the god's territory.

10.15.2

This Apollo is called by the Delphians "Sitalkas," and is thirty-five cubits in height. Most of the statues dedicated by commanders depict Artemis; there is also one of Athena, and two statues of Apollo were set up by the Aetolians after their victory over the Gauls. In fact, Phaennis had foretold in her oracles, a whole generation before the event actually occurred, that the Celtic army would cross from Europe into Asia to bring destruction upon the cities.

10.15.3

Then, having crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont, the destructive army of the Gauls shall utter ★
its voice; they will impiously ravage Asia. Yet the god will bring upon them sufferings even harsher still, indeed upon all who dwell briefly by the shores of the sea. Soon afterward, Cronion will send against them a helper, the beloved son of a bull fostered by Zeus, who shall bring a day of destruction upon all the Gauls alike. By "son of a bull" the oracle meant Attalus, who reigned as king in Pergamon; it is this very man whom the oracle elsewhere named "bull-horned."

10.15.4

The commanders of the cavalry, mounted upon their horses, were set up by the Pheraeans next to the temple of Apollo after their victory over the Athenian cavalry. And the Athenians dedicated the bronze palm-tree, along with a gilded statue of Athena standing upon it, as a memorial of the achievements they accomplished at the Eurymedon, when they succeeded on the same day both by land and with their fleet on the river. I myself observed that in various places the gold on that statue had been damaged.

10.15.5

? I myself considered the blame to rest upon wicked men and thieves; but Cleitodemus, by far the earliest of those who wrote the local histories of the Athenians, relates in his account of Attica that, when the Athenians were preparing the expedition against Sicily, an incredibly large flock of crows descended at that time upon Delphi. These crows tore at this statue and pecked off the gold with their beaks; and he says also that they broke off the spear and the owls, and whatever fruit had been fashioned upon the palm-tree as a replica of produce, even these the crows shattered.

10.15.6

Cleitodemus has indeed related also other signs that warned the Athenians not to sail to Sicily. The Cyrenaeans, for their part, dedicated at Delphi a statue of Battus in a chariot, who led them by ships from Thera to Libya. The charioteer of this chariot is Cyrene; standing upon the chariot are Battus himself and Libya crowning him. Amphion son of Acestor from Cnossus made this dedication.

10.15.7

★ When Battus founded Cyrene, a cure for his voice is said to have occurred in the following way. As he entered the territory of the Cyrenaeans, in its remotest parts, still then deserted, he encountered a lion, and the fear inspired by that sight compelled him to cry out, clearly and loudly. Not far from this statue of Battus, the Amphictyons set up another statue of Apollo as a penalty for the Phocians' offense against the god.

Chapter 16

10.16.1

Of the offerings which the Lydian kings had sent, none remained except only the iron stand of the bowl dedicated by Alyattes. This is the work of Glaucus of Chios, who invented the welding of iron. Each separate plate of the stand is attached to another not by rivets or nails, but solely by welding, and it is this welding alone which holds the iron together as a bond.

10.16.2

The form of the stand resembles especially a tower rising upward to a pointed shape from a broader base below. Each side of the stand is not enclosed throughout, but the side strips of iron lie horizontally like rungs on a ladder. The vertical iron plates are turned outward at their upper edges, thereby providing a seat for the bowl.

10.16.3

The object called the Omphalos ("Navel") by the Delphians, made of white stone, the Delphians themselves claim to be the center of the entire earth; and Pindar in one of his songs has composed words in agreement with their claim. ★

10.16.4

Here is an offering of the Lacedaemonians, a work by Kalamis, depicting Hermione, daughter of Menelaus. Hermione was married to Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, having previously been married to Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. The Aetolians dedicated a statue of Eurydamus, who had served as commander of the Aetolians and led them against the army of the Gauls. ★

10.16.5

There still exists, even in my time, among the mountains of Crete, the city of Elyrus. The people there sent to Delphi a bronze goat, which is shown feeding milk to the infants Phylakides and Philandros. The Elyrians say that these children are the offspring of Apollo and the nymph Akakallis, and that Apollo lay with Akakallis in the city of Tarra, in the house of Karmanor. ★

10.16.6

?

The Carystians of Euboea likewise set up beside Apollo a bronze ox, dedicated from the spoils of the Persian war. The Carystians and the Plataeans erected oxen as votive offerings, it seems to me, because, having driven off the barbarian, they firmly acquired general prosperity and the right to plough their land in freedom. The Aetolian people sent statues of their generals and figures of Apollo and Artemis, after subjugating their neighbors, the Acarnanians.

10.16.7

? I have learned of a most extraordinary event that occurred between the people of Lipara and the Tyrrhenians. The Pythian oracle had commanded the Liparians to engage the Tyrrhenian fleet with the fewest possible ships. Accordingly, they set sail against the Tyrrhenians with only five triremes. The Tyrrhenians, unwilling to appear inferior to the Liparians in naval capacity, in turn sent out an equal number of ships. The Liparians succeeded in capturing these ships, and then five additional vessels sent afterward against them, and then yet another squadron of five ships, and likewise a fourth squadron of five. Thus victorious, the Liparians dedicated at Delphi statues of Apollo equal in number to the captured ships.

10.16.8

? Echecratides, a man from Larissa, dedicated the small image of Apollo; the Delphians say this was the very first votive offering set up there.

Chapter 17

10.17.1

Of the barbarian peoples dwelling toward the west, those who possess Sardinia sent a bronze image of their eponymous ancestor to Olympia. Sardinia in size and prosperity resembles the most celebrated islands. Its original local name I do not know, but among the Greeks it was called by the traders who sailed there "Ichnoussa," because the shape of the island closely resembles the footprint of a human being. The length of the island extends to one thousand one hundred and twenty stadia, and its breadth reaches as far as four hundred and twenty stadia.

10.17.2

The Libyans are said to have been the first people to cross over by ships to the island, and their leader was Sardus son of Makeris, who was surnamed Heracles by the Egyptians and Libyans. Makeris himself acquired his greatest fame from his journey to Delphi; Sardus, on the other hand, commanded the Libyans who sailed to Ichnoussa, and the island changed its name on account of this Sardus. Nevertheless, the Libyan expedition did not expel the native inhabitants, but these newcomers were received by them as co-settlers by compulsion rather than through goodwill. Neither the Libyans nor the indigenous people knew at that time how to establish cities; instead, they lived scattered about in huts and caves wherever they happened to find shelter.

10.17.3

Years later, after the Libyans, the followers of Aristaeus arrived in the island from Greece. They say Aristaeus was the son of Apollo and Cyrene, and that after the disaster that befell Actaeon, being exceedingly distressed by this calamity and equally troubled by Boeotia and indeed the entire land of Greece, he migrated thus to Sardinia.

10.17.4

Some also believe that Daedalus escaped from home at this time, because of the expedition of the Cretans, and joined Aristaeus' colony to Sardinia. However, it does not seem reasonable at all that Daedalus, who was contemporary with Oedipus when he was king at Thebes, took part either in the colony or anything else alongside Aristaeus, who married Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus. In any case, these people too did not found any city, since it seems to me they were too few in number and insufficiently strong for settling a city.

10.17.5

★ After Aristaeus, the Iberians crossed over into Sardinia under Norax, their expedition leader, and founded the city of Nora. They relate that this city was the first to arise on the island, and Norax himself is said to have been a son of Hermes and Erytheia, the daughter of Geryon. As a fourth contingent, an army of Thespians with Iolaus, joined by settlers from Attica, landed in Sardinia. They founded the city of Olbia, while the Athenians among them separately preserved Ogryle, naming it after one of their homeland demes, unless Ogrylus himself actually participated in their expedition. Even in my time there remain places named after Iolaus in Sardinia, and he is still honored by its inhabitants.

10.17.6

★ When Ilium was captured, among other Trojans who managed to escape were those who fled with Aeneas. Some of these, having been carried by winds to Sardinia, mixed with the Greeks who previously inhabited the island. A confrontation between the Greeks and these Trojans was prevented by the barbarians: for each side was equal in their full military preparedness, and the river Thorsus, flowing through the country between them, made both equally fearful of crossing.

10.17.7

★ However, many years later, the Libyans once again crossed into the island with a larger fleet and began war against the Greeks. The Greek element was entirely destroyed at that time, or at best only a small remnant survived. The Trojans, however, fled to the heights of the island, and having occupied mountains difficult of access due to cliffs and crags, they still retained the name of Ilians up until my own time. Yet, in appearance, equipment of arms, and indeed in their entire mode of life, they resemble Libyans.

10.17.8

There is an island not far from Sardinia, called Cyrnus by the Greeks and Corsica by the Libyan inhabitants. A considerable portion of its people, oppressed by civil strife, migrated to Sardinia and settled there, claiming for themselves a region of the mountainous country. Yet the natives of Sardinia still call these settlers by their original home name–Corsi.

10.17.9

When the Carthaginians were strongest at sea, they subdued all the inhabitants of Sardinia except the Ilians and the Corsicans; and these resisted slavery by the strength of their mountain strongholds. Moreover, the Carthaginians themselves established in the island the cities of Caralis and Sulci. Certain Libyans and Iberians, who were serving as mercenaries for the Carthaginians, engaged in disputes over the distribution of booty and, seizing the opportunity afforded by their anger, revolted and established themselves in the mountainous parts of the island. These men are called Balari in the language of the Cyrnians; for the Cyrnians name exiles “Balari.”

10.17.10

These, then, are the tribes inhabiting Sardinia and the manner in which they have settled there. As for the island itself, the northern parts facing the mainland toward Italy consist of rugged mountains whose extremities join together, making them difficult to pass. If one sails along this coast, the island offers no harbors, and the mountain peaks send down to the sea winds that are fierce and unpredictable.

10.17.11

There are other mountains as well running through the middle of the island, which are rather lower. The air there is generally cloudy and unhealthy; this is due to the crystallizing salt deposits and to the oppressive and violent south wind that prevails there. Furthermore, the winds coming from the north are prevented, in the summer season, by the height of the mountains toward Italy from blowing and refreshing the air and land in those parts. It is said by some that the island of Cyrnus is separated from Sardinia by no more than eight stades of sea, being mountainous and rising throughout to considerable elevation; thus they suppose that the western and northern winds, hindered by Cyrnus, do not reach as far as Sardinia.

10.17.12

Neither snakes nor wolves here are naturally inclined to harm or prey upon men, nor even to the extent of causing them injury. The wild goats do not surpass those found elsewhere in size; in appearance, they resemble the figures of wild rams one might see in Aeginetan sculpture. Yet the hair around their chests is thicker and denser than can be represented by the skill of Aeginetan art. Their horns do not project outward from the head but coil directly beside the ears; and in speed, they surpass all other animals.

10.17.13

Except for a single herb, the island is free of plants and poisons that cause death. The deadly herb ? resembles celery, and they say that those who eat it die while overcome by laughter. For this reason, Homer and later people have named any unnatural laughter "Sardonic." The herb grows especially around springs, but it does not pass its poison into the water. I have included this account concerning Sardinia in my description of Phocis because among the Greeks, not least among the Phocians, ignorance of this island was widespread.

Chapter 18

10.18.1

The horse standing next to the statue of Sardus is said by the Athenian Callias, son of Lysimachides, to have been dedicated privately, purchased from money obtained through the war against the Persians. The Achaeans, for their part, dedicated a statue of Athena after successfully taking a city in Aetolia by siege; the name of the city they captured was Phana. They report that the siege lasted for a rather long time, and since they were unable to capture the city, they sent envoys to consult the oracle at Delphi. The following response was delivered to them:

10.18.2

Dwellers in the land of Pelops and in Achaea, you who have journeyed to Pytho seeking to learn how ★
you might take the city, now heed carefully: consider what measure of water preserves the city each day when its people drink it; it has already drunk. For only thus shall you take Phana, the town of lofty towers.

10.18.3

Since they did not understand the oracle's intended meaning, some of them resolved to sail back home and abandon the siege. Meanwhile, those within the walls paid no heed to them at all; thus it happened that a woman went out beyond the wall to fetch water from the spring situated below. Soldiers from the attacking army ran forward and captured her, and from this woman the Achaeans learned that every night the defenders carefully measured out the small quantity of water from the spring, their sole protection against thirst. Consequently, the Achaeans destroyed the spring, and so took the town.

10.18.4

The Rhodians in Lindos set up near this statue of Athena an image of Apollo. The people of Ambrakia also dedicated a bronze ass, commemorating their victory over the Molossians in a night battle. The Molossians had prepared an ambush against them during the night, but at that very moment an ass, driven in from the countryside, happened to pursue a she-ass and, through his insolence and the harshness of his braying, along with the unclear and disorderly shouting of the driver who was pushing the animal along, caused the Molossians in ambush to leap up in confusion. Thus, discovered during their plotting, they were suddenly exposed, and the Ambrakiots, becoming aware of the enemy's plan, attacked them during the night and prevailed over the Molossians in battle.

10.18.5

? The people of Orneae in Argolis, when oppressed by war with the Sicyonians, made a vow to Apollo that, should they drive the enemy army from their country, they would send him daily processions to Delphi and sacrifice victims of certain types and in certain numbers. Indeed, they defeated the Sicyonians in battle; but as they performed their vow every day, the expenditure was great and the burden of fulfilling their promise was even heavier. Thus they devised a cunning plan: they dedicated bronze images to the god representing both the sacrifice and the procession.

10.18.6

★ Here too is represented the labor of Heracles concerning the Hydra, an offering and work wrought by Tisagoras, both the Hydra and Heracles himself being of iron. Among statues, iron workmanship is found to be the most difficult and involves the greatest labor. Indeed, the work of this Tisagoras is marvelous; and not least marvelous are two iron heads, one of a lion and one of a wild boar, at Pergamus. These heads were dedicated as votive offerings to Dionysus.

10.18.7

The Phocians who hold Elateia–since they successfully resisted the siege by Cassander, aided by Olympiodorus who came from Athens to their defense–sent a bronze lion to Apollo at Delphi. Near this lion, a dedication by the Massaliots stands closest, offered to Apollo as first fruits after their naval victory against the Carthaginians. The Aetolians set up a trophy and a statue representing an armed woman, considered to depict Aetolia herself, and they dedicated these offerings after exacting vengeance upon the Gauls for their cruelty towards Callium. A gilded statue, the offering of Gorgias of Leontini, presents Gorgias himself in effigy.

Chapter 19

10.19.1

Next to the statue of Gorgias is a dedication by the Amphictyons depicting Scyllis of Scione, who has ★ the reputation of being able to dive into even the greatest depths of any sea. He also taught his daughter Hydna to dive.

10.19.2

These, during a severe storm that fell upon Xerxes' fleet at Mount Pelion, actively contributed to its destruction, bringing ruin upon them by diving down and cutting loose the anchors and whatever other mooring devices held secure the triremes. In return for these deeds, the Amphictyons dedicated statues of Skyllis himself and his daughter. Among those statues taken from Delphi by Nero was included the image of Hydna as part of that group. It is said that even now pure maidens of the female sex dive into the sea.

10.19.3

After this, I proceed to recount a narrative from Lesbos. In Methymna fishermen drew up in their ★ nets from the sea a face made from olive wood, having an appearance indeed of divine character, yet unfamiliar and not established among the Greek gods. The Methymnaeans accordingly asked the Pythian oracle whose image it was, whether of gods or heroes. She instructed them to honor Dionysus Phallen. Thus, the Methymnaeans retain the wooden image from the sea among themselves, revering it with sacrifices and prayers, but sent a bronze copy to Delphi.

10.19.4

In the pediments are Artemis, Leto, Apollo and the Muses, as well as the setting of the Sun; there is also Dionysus and the women called Thyiads. The first of these sculptures were created by Praxias, an Athenian and follower of Kalamis, but as he was carried off by fate while the temple was still under construction, the remaining decoration of the pediments was completed by Androsthenes, also Athenian by birth and a pupil of Eukadmos. On the architraves are golden shields: the Athenians dedicated theirs from the battle at Marathon; those on the rear and left side are Gallic arms, dedicated by the Aetolians, whose shape closely resembles the Persian wicker shields.

10.19.5

Regarding the expedition of the Gauls against Greece, there is some mention even in the Attic record which is kept in our Council-house at Athens, but I have chosen to explain their history more clearly in my narrative concerning Delphi, because at that place occurred the greatest of the deeds done by the Greeks against these barbarians. The Celts undertook their first foreign campaign under the leader named Kambaules; however, after advancing as far as Thrace, they did not dare to proceed further, realizing they were few in number and insufficient as a force capable of matching the Greeks.

10.19.6

But when he seemed to intend for a second time to launch arms against the country of others–chiefly urged on by those who had campaigned together with Cambaules, men who had already tasted of piracy and plunder and had come to cherish the love of gain–a great number of infantry was assembled, along with no small contingent of cavalry. Accordingly, the leaders divided the army into three divisions, each commander appointed to march against a different territory.

10.19.7

Now Cerethrius intended to lead an invasion against the Thracians and the tribe of the Triballi; the forces marching towards Paeonia were led by commanders Brennus and Acichorius; and Bolgius attacked the Macedonians and the Illyrians, engaging in battle with Ptolemy, who at that time held the kingship of Macedon. This was the same Ptolemy who had assassinated Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, despite Seleucus having fled to him as a suppliant; this Ptolemy bore the surname Ceraunus ("Thunderbolt") because of his excessive boldness. Now Ptolemy himself died in the combat, and the Macedonians suffered no small disaster. Nevertheless, the Celts did not yet dare to advance upon Greece even at that time, and thus this second expedition returned home.

10.19.8

Then indeed Brennus, both in the general assemblies and in private conversations with each of the Galatian chiefs, strongly urged a military expedition against Greece. He depicted the present weakness of the Greeks, and described the immense wealth belonging both to the community and even more stored up in sanctuaries, consisting of notable dedications as well as silver and gold. Thus he persuaded the Gauls to march upon Greece, and he selected as his co-commanders various other chiefs, among whom was Akichorius.

10.19.9

? The army, when assembled, consisted of fifteen myriads of infantry, with an additional two thousand men, and twenty thousand four hundred cavalry. Such was the number of horsemen always actively engaged; but their true total amounted to sixty-one thousand two hundred. For each cavalryman had two attendants, themselves skilled horsemen and likewise provided with horses.

10.19.10

When the cavalry battle had been engaged by the Galatians, their servants, standing behind their ranks, rendered the following useful services to them: if a horseman or his horse fell, the servant provided his horse for the fallen rider to remount; if the man had been killed, the slave himself mounted the horse in place of his master. If fate overtook both, another horseman was ready to join the conflict. If they received wounds, one of the servants carried the wounded back to the camp, while another immediately took his place in the line of battle.

10.19.11

It seems to me the Gauls established these practices in imitation of the Persian contingent of the Ten Thousand, who were called the Immortals. There was, however, a difference: among the Persians, vacancies caused by casualties in battle were filled afterwards, while among the Gauls the troop of cavalry was restored to its full number immediately, in the very heat of combat. They called this unit "Trimarkisia" in their native tongue; and one should understand that a horse is called "marka" among the Celts. ?

10.19.12

With such preparations and in such a frame of mind, Brennus advanced against Greece. As for the Greeks, their spirits were altogether disheartened, but the extremity of their fear compelled them by necessity to defend Greece. They understood that the impending struggle would no longer be for freedom, as it had been formerly against the Persian, nor could offering earth and water now bring about their safety as before. Instead, memories remained vivid within them of the former Gallic incursions against the Macedonians, Thracians, and Paeonians, and now fresh news reached them about current outrages committed upon the Thessalians. Thus, perceiving clearly that they must either perish or prevail by force, each man individually, and all their cities together, resolved firmly to make a common stand.

Chapter 20

10.20.1

Anyone who wishes may compare the numbers of those assembled against King Xerxes at Thermopylae with those later gathered to oppose the Gauls. The Greeks came against the Persian in these numbers: no more than three hundred Spartans under Leonidas; five hundred men from Tegea, and an equal number from Mantineia; from Orchomenus in Arcadia one hundred and twenty; and from the other cities of Arcadia a thousand. From Mycenae there were eighty; from Phlius two hundred; the Corinthians supplied twice that number. Seven hundred Boeotians were present, and from Thespiae and Thebes four hundred. A thousand Phocians guarded the path through Mt. Oeta, and their number too must be added to the entire Greek force.

10.20.2

As for the Locrians who live beneath Mount Cnemis, Herodotus did not include them in his reckoning of numbers, but rather says merely that they came from all their cities. Yet an estimate of their number can be made that is very near to the truth. For the Athenians who marched to Marathon–including even the old men and slaves–did not exceed nine thousand. One could therefore suppose that the fighting force of Locrians who arrived at Thermopylae was not more than six thousand. Thus, the total army could amount to eleven thousand two hundred altogether. Yet it appears that even they did not remain guarding the pass continuously; rather, apart from the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Thespians and the Mycenaeans, the remainder had departed before the battle reached its conclusion.

10.20.3

The following number of Greeks arrived at Thermopylae to oppose the barbarians from the Ocean: ten thousand heavy infantry and five hundred cavalry from the Boeotians. The Boeotarchs in command were Cephisodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lysander. From the Phocians came five hundred cavalrymen and infantry numbering nearly three thousand. The generals of the Phocians were Critobulus and Antiochus.

10.20.4

The Locrians living by the island of Atalante were led by Meidias; they numbered seven hundred, and had no cavalry. From the Megarians came four hundred hoplites; their cavalry was commanded by Megareus. Of the Aetolians there was a very large force indeed, well-equipped for warfare of every kind; the cavalry, they say, was uncounted, the light-infantry numbered seven hundred and ninety,

while those equipped as hoplites exceeded seven thousand in number. The Aetolians were under the command of Polyarchus, Polyphron, and Lacrates.

10.20.5

The Athenians had as their general Callippos, son of Moirokles, as I have also mentioned previously in this account. Their force consisted of all available warships, five hundred cavalry, and a thousand men arranged in the infantry; the leadership belonged to these by ancient precedent due to their prestige. Among the king's troops five hundred mercenaries came from Macedonia, and an equal number joined them from Asia. Aristodemos, a Macedonian, commanded the contingent sent by Antigonos, while Telesarchos, one of the Syrians who dwell along the Orontes, led those sent by Antiochos from Asia.

10.20.6

When the Greeks who had gathered at Thermopylae learned that the Galatian army was already in Magnesia and Phthiotis, they resolved to select about a thousand light-armed troops and a detachment of cavalry to send them to the River Spercheios, so that the barbarians would not cross the river without fighting and encountering danger. Upon arriving, they destroyed the bridges and made their camp along the riverbank. As for Brennus, he was neither entirely foolish nor inexperienced, for a barbarian, in discovering wiles against his enemies.

10.20.7

On the very next night, therefore, Brennus sent about ten thousand Gauls downstream, not by the bridges formerly used over the river, but further down the stream, so that the Greeks might not perceive them crossing. He chose the place where the Spercheius, spreading out over much of the plain, created marshland and a lake instead of flowing with a strong and narrow current. These Gauls included both those among them who knew how to swim and those who happened to exceed most others in bodily height. Indeed, even otherwise the Celts surpass all other men by far in stature.

10.20.8

Thus, they crossed during the night, swimming through the marshy area of the river in the following manner: each man used his shield, a native shield, as a raft; the tallest among them were able to proceed by wading through the water. When the Greeks stationed at the Spercheios learned that a division of the barbarians had passed through the marsh, they immediately retreated to their main force. Meanwhile Brennus ordered the inhabitants around the Malian Gulf to bridge the Spercheios River. They completed the work swiftly, driven both by their fear of him and by their desire for the barbarians to depart from their land, lest they remain and commit further atrocities.

10.20.9

After he had led the army across by way of the bridges, he advanced toward Heracleia; the Gauls despoiled the countryside and slew the people left behind in the fields, but they did not take the city. A year before these events, the Aetolians had compelled the citizens of Heracleia to join the Aetolian League; thus now they defended Heracleia as though the city belonged not so much to the Heracleians as to themselves. Brennus, however, gave little thought to the affairs of Heracleia, but was eager above all to drive out those who guarded the pass and press forward into Greece beyond Thermopylae.

Chapter 21

10.21.1

After advancing from Heracleia–for he had been informed by deserters about the contingents gathered at Thermopylae from each city–he treated the Greek force with contempt and began preparations for battle at sunrise the next day. He had neither a Greek diviner nor did he conduct rites according to local custom, if indeed a Celtic divination exists at all. Here the Greeks advanced silently and in good order. Once they engaged, their infantry did not rush forward from the line far enough to disrupt their own phalanx, and the light-armed troops kept their positions, sending forth javelins and whatever missiles they had from their bows or slings. ?

10.21.2

The cavalry of both sides proved useless, not merely because the terrain beyond the Gates was narrow, but also because it consisted largely of smooth, exposed rock, naturally polished and slippery from the streams that continually flowed across it. The Galatians, moreover, had inferior protective equipment, carrying only their native shields for defense and having no other armor to shelter their bodies; and even more significantly, they lacked sufficient experience in warfare.

10.21.3

They advanced against their enemies with rage and fury, moving forward without any calculation, just like wild beasts. Neither when they were being hacked by axes nor when cut down by swords did their madness leave those who still breathed; nor did their anger diminish, though pierced by arrows and spears, as long as life remained in them. Some even pulled out from their wounds the spears by which they had been struck, hurling them back at the Greeks or fighting with them still in their hands.

10.21.4

Meanwhile, the Athenians upon their triremes, though with difficulty and not without danger, managed nevertheless to sail along through the mud–that extends very far across the sea–and positioned their ships as close as possible to the barbarians, assailing them from the flanks with missiles of every kind, as well as with arrows. The Celts suffered grievously, far beyond account, and, constrained in a narrow place, could do but little harm, while receiving twofold and fourfold damage in return. Therefore, their leaders signaled them to retreat to the camp; but in their disorderly withdrawal, with total lack of discipline, many were trampled to death by their own comrades, while many others, falling into the swamp, disappeared beneath the mud, so that their losses during the retreat were no fewer than those sustained in the height of the fighting itself.

10.21.5

On this day the Athenians surpassed all the other Greeks in valor. Among the Athenians themselves, Cydias proved especially brave–a young man in age, then entering his first battle. After he was slain by the Gauls, his relatives dedicated his shield to Zeus Eleutherios, bearing the following inscription:

Longing indeed for the youthful bloom of Cydias, the shield of that illustrious man, dedicated to Zeus– on my arm first he strapped me, when fierce Ares flared against the Galatian foe.

10.21.6

This inscription had already been engraved before Sulla's companions removed other shields from Athens–including those in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. At that time, after the battle at Thermopylae, the Greeks were burying their own dead and stripping spoils from the barbarians, but the Gauls neither sent heralds asking for the recovery of their muertos, nor showed any concern about whether their corpses would rest in earth or become food for wild beasts and birds hostile to the fallen.

10.21.7

? Two reasons seem to me to have persuaded them to be negligent in burying their dead: first, to strike terror in their enemies, and second, because compassion for those who have died is not usual among them. In this battle, forty Greeks fell, but it was impossible to ascertain accurately the number of barbarians killed, since many had disappeared into the mud.

Chapter 22

10.22.1

Seven days after the battle, a band of Galatians attempted to ascend Mount Oeta by way of Heraclea. There is a narrow pathway there, running upwards past the ruins of Trachis. At that time, there stood above the city of Trachis a sanctuary of Athena, where offerings had been dedicated. The Galatians hoped both to ascend Mount Oeta using this pathway and, as a secondary goal, to seize the valuables from the sanctuary, believing that its guard under Telesarchus would be easily overcome. The Greeks prevailed over the barbarians in the ensuing combat, but Telesarchus himself fell, a man–if ever there was one–exceptionally devoted to the cause of Greece.

10.22.2

Indeed, the other commanders of the barbarians were amazed at the Greek forces and were at a loss concerning the future, realizing that their own plans were making no further progress. Brennus, however, reasoned that if he could compel the Aetolians to withdraw homeward into Aetolia, the war against the Greeks would become easier for him. Thus, having selected from his army forty thousand foot soldiers and about eight hundred cavalry, he placed Orestorius and Combutis as their commanders, who then moved back towards the bridges across the Spercheius.

10.22.3

Then, marching once again through Thessaly, they invaded Aetolia. Those who committed the atrocities against Callium were Combutes and Orestorius; indeed, these actions were the most impious of all that we have ever heard of, unmatched by any human daring. They exterminated the entire male population, killing alike the old men and the infants at their mothers' breasts; indeed, even the babies still nourished by milk–the Galatians, slaughtering them, drank their blood and feasted upon their flesh.

10.22.4

But the women and maidens of marriageable age–those among them who possessed courage took their own lives as soon as the city was taken. Those who remained were dragged away forcibly into every imaginable sort of outrage by necessity and violence, by men equally devoid of both pity and natural affection. Many of the women, as they encountered the swords of the Gauls, voluntarily surrendered their lives by their own hands. For those who survived a short while longer, hunger and sleeplessness brought about their end, while homeless barbarians insulted and abused them in turn without respite.

Some of these barbarians violated the women even as they were expiring, and some did so even after they were already dead.

10.22.5

The Aetolians had received from messengers word of the disasters that had overtaken them; immediately, with all the speed they could manage, they withdrew their forces from Thermopylae and hastened homeward to Aetolia, both angry over the sufferings of the people of Kallion and even more eager still to save those cities which had not yet been captured. From every city those of military age marched forth to war; compelled both by necessity and by their own valour, even the elderly joined ranks alongside them. Also their women willingly accompanied them into the field, and surpassed even the men in their furious courage against the Gauls.

10.22.6

When the barbarians, after plundering the houses and sanctuaries, set fire to them and were returning by the same route towards Kallion, in that very place the Patraeans, the only Achaeans helping the Aetolians, opposed the foreigners head-on, being trained in hoplite warfare; they suffered greatly due both to the number of the Galatians and especially owing to their reckless ferocity in battle. But the Aetolians, including their women, ambushed the barbarians throughout the entire length of the road, hurling javelins at them; and since these possessed only their native shields, very few casts missed their mark. They easily fled when pursued, and whenever the enemy withdrew from pursuit, quickly resumed their attacks upon them.

10.22.7

? Though the Callians suffered such terrible things that even the scenes Homer composed about the Laestrygonians and the Cyclops seem not beyond belief, nevertheless justice was done upon them according to their deserts. For out of the forty thousand and eight hundred barbarians who attacked them, fewer than half escaped back to the camp near Thermopylae.

10.22.8

At the same time as this, other such events happened among the Greeks at Thermopylae. There is a path through Mount Oeta: one above Trachis, mostly precipitous and exceedingly steep; another through the land of the Aenianians, easier for an army to traverse. It was by this route that once the Mede Hydarnes attacked from behind the Greeks under Leonidas.

10.22.9

Along this route the Heracleots and the Aenianians promised to guide Brennus, not from ill-will toward the Greeks, but because they greatly desired the Celts to depart from their own territory and not to ravage it by remaining encamped there. And it seems to me that in this regard, too, Pindar spoke the truth, when he declared that every person is oppressed by his own misfortunes but remains untouched by the troubles of others.

10.22.10

Then the promise from the Aenianians and the Heracleots encouraged Brennus. He left Acichorius behind in charge of the army, instructing him that when they themselves had surrounded the Greeks, then it would be the proper time for them to make an attack. Selecting forty thousand from his force, he himself set out along the narrow mountain path.

10.22.11

And so it happened on that day that a dense mist settled upon the mountain and caused the sun to be dimmed; as a result, the Phocians guarding the path did not perceive the advancing barbarians until they were already near at hand. At this point, some of the enemy began an attack, whereas the Phocians bravely defended themselves, but in the end they were overwhelmed and withdrew from the path. Nevertheless, running down quickly to their allies, they were able to report the events just before the encirclement of the Greeks became complete and fully secured on all sides.

10.22.12

At that point the Athenians, who were serving on board the triremes, arrived first, having already evacuated the Greek forces from Thermopylae. Each contingent then scattered to their own homelands. Brennus, without delaying any longer until the forces from the camp under Acichorius could arrive, began his march against Delphi. Terrified, the Delphians fled to the oracle for refuge, but the god forbade them to be afraid, reassuring them that he himself would defend what was his own.

10.22.13

The number of the Greeks who came to defend the god was as follows: from Phocis, men from all the cities; from Amphissa, four hundred hoplites. A few of the Aetolians came immediately, as soon as they heard that the barbarians were advancing farther inland, but later Philomelus brought twelve hundred more. The pick of the Aetolians turned especially against the army of Acichorius, and although they did not initiate regular combat, they continually harassed the rear line on its march, seizing goods from those who carried the baggage and killing the men themselves, thus making the march particularly slow for this reason. Acichorius also left behind at Heracleia a contingent whose task was to guard the treasure stored within the camp.

Chapter 23

10.23.1

Against Brennus and his army, the Greeks who had gathered at Delphi arranged themselves in opposition, and the divine signs opposing the foreigners manifested swiftly and most clearly, according to our knowledge. For the whole earth occupied by the army of the Gauls shook violently and continuously for much of the day, while thunderbolts and lightning repeatedly struck.

10.23.2

And they not only struck terror into the Celts and prevented them from hearing orders clearly, but ★
also the lightning from heaven fell not just upon single individuals, but struck equally those nearby, and ignited both the men themselves and their armor. At this very moment, appearances of heroes became visible to them: Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus; some add also a fourth hero, Phylacus, a local figure of Delphi.

10.23.3

Among the Phocians themselves, many others died during this action, as well as Aleximachus, who, more than any of the Greeks in this battle, by virtue of his youthful prime, bodily strength, and great courage, wrought destruction upon the barbarians. The Phocians made a statue of Aleximachus and dedicated it to Apollo at Delphi.

10.23.4

Throughout the entire day, the barbarians were thus overwhelmed by sufferings and terror, yet the sufferings coming upon them during the night were destined to be far more grievous. For there came a severe frost, accompanied by heavy snowfall, and there were great rocks slipping from Parnassus and precipices breaking away, all aimed, as it seemed, at the barbarians; and these, falling not individually or by twos, but upon groups of thirty or even more, as the men were stationed on guard or resting together, destroyed many at once through the impact of the falling cliffs.

10.23.5

As soon as the sun rose, the Greeks advanced against them from Delphi; the rest went straight against the enemy army, but the Phocians, being more familiar with the terrain, descended through the snow down the steep slopes of Parnassus, and unnoticed, came around to the rear of the Celts, casting javelins and arrows upon them, showing not the slightest fear of the Barbarians.

10.23.6

At the beginning of the battle, the Gauls–especially those around Brennus, who were the tallest and bravest among them–still resisted with great zeal, although they were being assailed on every side and were suffering severely from the cold, most of all the wounded. But when Brennus himself was wounded and, faint of heart, was carried off the field, then the barbarians, pressed in everywhere by the Greeks, fled unwillingly and killed those among their number who were too weakened by wounds and sickness to keep pace.

10.23.7

And so they encamped wherever night overtook them during their retreat. But during the night, a panic terror seized upon them–for fears that occur without any rational cause are said to be due to Pan. Disorder struck the army around late evening; at first only a few men lost their senses, imagining that they heard the sounds of galloping horses and perceived the approach of enemies. Soon enough, however, the confusion spread among the entire army.

10.23.8

Then taking up their weapons and standing apart, they began slaying one another and being slain in turn, neither understanding the native tongue nor discerning each other's features nor recognizing the shapes of their shields. In both battle lines, due to their confusion at that moment, the warriors confronting them appeared similarly Greek, their arms appeared Greek, and their speech seemed to be Greek. Thus, the divine madness sent upon them brought about the greatest slaughter of the Gauls by one another.

10.23.9

Those of the Phocians who had remained scattered through the countryside to guard their livestock were the first to perceive and report to the Greeks the events that had happened with the barbarians during the night. Encouraged by this, the Phocians pressed more eagerly against the Celts. They defended their farmsteads with increased vigilance and did not passively watch the enemy seize from their land without a fight goods essential for their livelihood. As a result, the Galatians throughout their whole army soon suffered a severe shortage of grain and other provisions needed for sustenance.

10.23.10

The total number of them destroyed in Phocis was slightly fewer than six thousand in the battles themselves, but those who perished during the wintry night and afterwards in the panic exceeded ten thousand, and as many again died by starvation.

10.23.11

Some men of the Athenians had gone to Delphi to make inquiry, and upon their return they reported both what had happened to the barbarians, and the oracle they had received from the god. The Athenians themselves then marched out, and as they were passing through Boeotia, the Boeotians joined forces with them. Thus united, both groups followed after the barbarians, ambushed them, and repeatedly slew those who were falling behind.

10.23.12

?

Those who fled along with Brennus joined with the men around Akichorius during the previous night. The Aetolians had made their march slow, attacking them unsparingly with javelins and whatever other weapons were available, so that only a small portion of them escaped to the camp near Heracleia. As for Brennus, despite his wounds, there still remained some hope of survival; but they say that, overcome more by fear of his countrymen and shame at being the instigator of the disasters in Greece, he willingly ended his life by drinking unmixed wine.

10.23.13

From this point onward the barbarians made their retreat to the Spercheius only with great difficulty, harassed violently by the Aetolians. And when they arrived at the Spercheius, the Thessalians and Malians, who lay hidden in ambush there, fell upon them and destroyed them so utterly that none returned home alive.

10.23.14

The Celtic invasion of Greece and their defeat occurred during the archonship of Anaxicrates at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, in which Ladas of Aegium won the stadion. In the following year, during the archonship of Democles at Athens, the Celts crossed once more into Asia.

Chapter 24

10.24.1

Let these things stand as described. In the forecourt at Delphi are inscribed sayings beneficial to human life, written by men whom the Greek tradition calls wise. Of these men, Thales of Miletus and Bias from Priene came from Ionia; Pittacus of Mytilene came from the Aeolian Greeks of Lesbos; Cleobulus of Lindus from the Dorian Greeks settled in Asia; Solon from Athens; and Chilon from Sparta. Concerning the seventh wise man, Plato son of Ariston replaced Periander, the son of Cypselus, with Myson of Chenae. The village of Chenae was located on Mount Oeta. These were the men who, having arrived at Delphi, dedicated to Apollo the well-known sayings: "Know thyself" and "Nothing in excess."

10.24.2

Here indeed these words are inscribed; and you might also see a bronze statue of Homer upon a pedestal, ★
with an inscription containing the oracle said to have been given to Homer:

"Fortunate and yet unfortunate–for you were born to both–you seek your native land; but yours is a mother's land, not a father's. The island of Ios is your mother's homeland, and it will receive you after death. But beware the riddle of the young children."

The people of Ios also show a tomb of Homer on the island, and elsewhere that of Clymene; they say that this Clymene was Homer's mother.

10.24.3

The Cypriots–for they also claim Homer as their own–say that his mother was Themisto, a woman of ★
their country, and allege that the following oracle of Euclus foretells the birth of Homer: "And then in sea-girt Cyprus shall arise a great singer, Whom Themisto, noble among women, shall bear in the fields, Far from wealthy and renowned Salamis. Leaving Cyprus, and lifted over the waves by fate, First and alone bringing songs of woes of wide-bound Greece, He shall ever remain immortal and ageless all his days."

These oracles I have myself heard and carefully examined, but personally I give no credence to any of them regarding either the homeland or the age of Homer.

10.24.4

In the temple there is an altar dedicated to Poseidon, because the most ancient oracle had once belonged ★
also to Poseidon; and there stand images of two of the Fates. Instead of the third Fate, Zeus Moiragetes and Apollo Moiragetes are standing beside them. You may also see there the hearth upon which the

priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. But concerning the death of Neoptolemus, I have spoken elsewhere.

10.24.5

Not far from the hearth stands the throne of Pindar. The throne itself is made of iron, and they say that whenever Pindar came to Delphi he would sit upon it and sing whatever hymns he had composed in honor of Apollo. As for the innermost part of the temple, few enter into it, and inside there is set up another statue of Apollo, made of gold.

10.24.6

★ Upon exiting the temple and turning to the left, there is an enclosure, and within it lies the tomb of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles; annually, the Delphians offer sacrifices to him. When one ascends from the tomb, there is a stone, not large; upon this stone they pour olive oil every day, and on each festival they place unworked wool upon it. There is also a tradition that this stone was given to Cronus instead of his child, and that Cronus later vomited it back up.

10.24.7

★ As you go again to the temple with the stone, there is on the way a spring called Cassotis which is worth seeing. A small wall stands upon it, and one ascends through this wall to reach the spring. They say that the water from Cassotis sinks underground and, inside the sanctuary of the god, causes the women to prophesy. They say that Cassotis, who gave the spring its name, is one of the nymphs around Parnassus.

Chapter 25

10.25.1

Above the Cassotis there is a building containing paintings by Polygnotus, dedicated by the people of Cnidus. This structure is called the Lesche by the Delphians, because originally people gathered here and discussed serious matters and also such topics as myths. Homer shows that similar meeting-places existed throughout Greece, when Melanthius reproaches Odysseus, saying:

"You will not go to sleep in the smithy nor in some meeting-hall, but here you remain, endlessly speaking aloud."

(Homer, Odyssey 18.328)

10.25.2

Upon entering this building, the whole scene depicted on the right side shows Ilium after its fall and the departure of the Greeks. They are preparing for the voyage of Menelaus, and there is painted a ship with sailors and, mingled among them, boys as well. In the center of the ship stands the pilot, Phrontis, holding two boat-hooks. Homer has Nestor speaking to Telemachus about several matters, among them the story of Phrontis, the son of Onetor, who was pilot to Menelaus and renowned above all others for his skill; death overtook him as he was sailing past Sounion in Attica. And Menelaus was sailing in company with Nestor until he was forced to remain behind due to this very matter, so that he might honor Phrontis properly with a tomb and all other rituals befitting the dead.

10.25.3

This man, therefore, is depicted in Polygnotus' painting, and below him is a certain Ithaemenes carrying clothing, and Echöiax descending a ladder, holding a bronze pitcher. Nearby, Polites, Strophius, and Alphius dismantle Menelaus' tent, situated not far from the ship. Amphialus, too, is shown taking down another tent, and at Amphialus' feet sits a youth. There is no inscription identifying this youth, and Phrontis alone is represented with a beard. Only his name have I learned from the verses concerning Odysseus; it seems to me that Polygnotus himself invented the names of the others.

10.25.4

Briseïs stands there, and Diomede stands above her, and Iphis before both of them; they are portrayed as examining the beauty of Helen. Helen herself is seated, with Eurybates near her. We conjecture this Eurybates to be the herald of Odysseus, though he does not yet have a beard. The servant women Electra and Panthalis are also present; Panthalis stands beside Helen, and Electra is putting sandals on

her mistress. These names, however, differ from those Homer assigns in the Iliad, where he describes Helen and her handmaidens going up to the wall together.

10.25.5

★ Above Helen sits a man draped with a purple cloak, appearing exceedingly sorrowful; you might guess him to be Helenus, the son of Priam, even before reading the inscribed epitaph. Next to Helenus stands Meges, wounded in his arm, as described by Lescheos, son of Aeschylinus, of Pyrrha, in his "Sack of Troy." Lescheos says that Meges was wounded by Admetus, son of Augeias, during the battle the Trojans waged by night.

10.25.6

★ Lycomedes is also depicted near Meges, son of Creon, with a wound on his wrist. According to Lescheos, he was wounded by Agenor. It is thus evident that Polygnotus would not have represented their wounds in such detail if he had not closely followed the poem of Lescheos. Polygnotus, however, added further injuries to Lycomedes: one wound on the ankle and another–the third–upon his head. Euryalus, son of Mecisteus, is also portrayed wounded in the head and on the wrist of his hand.

10.25.7

★ These figures, then, are painted above Helen. Next beside Helen is the mother of Theseus, depicted with close-cropped hair, and Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus, who appears deep in thought, at least judging by his posture, considering whether or not it might be possible to rescue Aethra. The Argives relate that Theseus had a son named Melanippus by the daughter of Sinis; and they recount that Melanippus was victorious in the footrace at the games established by the Epigoni, the second Nemean Games, first instituted by Adrastus.

10.25.8

★ But Lescheos depicted Aethra, at the moment Troy was being captured, slipping away and reaching the Greek encampment, where she was recognized by the sons of Theseus. He showed how Demophon asked Agamemnon for her, and how Agamemnon indicated he wished to grant Demophon this favor, yet stated he would not do so before securing Helen's consent. Accordingly, he sent a herald to Helen, and she granted the request. Thus, Eurybates, as portrayed in the painting, seems to have come to Helen on account of Aethra, declaring the instructions which Agamemnon had given him.

10.25.9

★ The Trojan women appear here as though already captives and lamenting their fate. Among them is represented Andromache, and by her side stands her child clinging to her breast–Lescheos says this child was cast down from the wall and thus met his death; this act was not performed by decree of the Greeks, but by Neoptolemus, willingly, by his own hand. Also depicted is Medesicaste, who was likewise one of Priam's illegitimate daughters; Homer says that she departed for the city of Pedaeum to dwell there as the wife of Imbrius, son of Mentor.

10.25.10

★ Andromache and Medesicaste are depicted wearing veils on their heads, while Polyxenas hair is arranged in the manner customary for maidens. Poets sing of her death at Achilles' tomb, and I myself have seen paintings depicting the sufferings of Polyxena both at Athens and at Pergamum above the Caicus.

10.25.11

He has depicted also Nestor, wearing a cap upon his head and holding a spear in his hand; a horse ★
nearby is presented in a posture about to roll in the dust. Up to the point of the horse there appear a shore and the pebbles upon it; beyond this, however, it no longer resembles the sea.

Chapter 26

10.26.1

Among the women standing between Aethra and Nestor, above them likewise are captives: Clymene, Creusa, Aristomache, and Xenodice. Stesichorus, in his "Sack of Ilium," numbers Clymene among the captive women. Similarly, in the "Returns," he represents Aristomache as a daughter of Priam and the wife of Critolaus, son of Hicetaon. As for Xenodice, I know of no poet or writer who has made mention of her. Regarding Creusa, it is said that the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite rescued her from slavery at the hands of the Greeks, for she was, indeed, the wife of Aeneas. However, Lesches and the author of the "Cyprian Epic" name Eurydice as Aeneas' wife.

10.26.2

Written upon a couch above these women are Deinome, Metioche, Peisis, and Cleodice. Of these, only Deinome's name occurs in the poem called the Little Iliad; it is my opinion that Polygnotus himself invented the names of the others. There is also painted Epeius, depicted naked, pulling down the Trojan wall to the ground; and above it rises only the head of the Wooden Horse. Polypoetes, the son of Peirithous, has his head bound with a fillet, and beside him stands Acamas, the son of Theseus, wearing a helmet upon his head.

10.26.3

Upon the helmet a crest has been fashioned. Odysseus is depicted there, wearing his breastplate. Ajax, the son of Oileus, stands beside an altar holding a shield, swearing concerning the outrage committed against Cassandra. Cassandra herself is seated upon the ground, grasping the image of Athena, which indeed Ajax has overturned from its pedestal when he dragged her away from its sanctuary. The sons of Atreus are also portrayed; these as well wear helmets, and on the shield of Menelaus a serpent is fashioned, symbolizing the prodigy that manifested over the sacrifices at Aulis. Underneath these figures are those who administer the oath to Ajax, and directly in line with the horse itself–

10.26.4

Near Nestor, Neoptolemus is depicted having slain Elasus, whoever this Elasus might be. He has been represented as still breathing slightly. Astynous, whom Lescheos also mentioned, is shown as fallen on his knees, Neoptolemus striking him with a sword. Polygnotus portrayed Neoptolemus alone among the Greeks still killing Trojans, since the entire painting was meant to be set above Neoptolemus tomb. As for Achilles' son, Homer throughout all his poetry gives him the name Neoptolemus; however,

the Cypria states that he was called Pyrrhus by Lycomedes, and that he was named Neoptolemus by Phoenix, because Achilles had begun war when still young.

10.26.5

There is depicted an altar and also a small boy clutching the altar in fear; set upon the altar is a bronze cuirass. In my opinion, the shape of these cuirasses was uncommon, yet it was the ancient form that they bore. They consisted of two bronze pieces: one fitted for the chest and the parts around the belly, and the other designed as protection for the back–they were called "gyala." They would bring the one piece to the front and the other to the back and then fasten them together with pins.

10.26.6

★ They considered that even without a shield it provided sufficient protection. Concerning this matter, Homer also depicted Phorcys the Phrygian as being without a shield because he wore a breastplate of metal plates. I myself saw this image reproduced in a painting by Polygnotus; and at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, Calliphon of Samos painted women fitting metal plates of armor onto Patroclus' breastplate.

10.26.7

★ Beyond the altar he painted Laodice standing. I found that she is neither mentioned by any poet among the captive Trojan women, nor did it seem to me probable that Laodice could have been otherwise than spared by the Greeks. Indeed Homer declared clearly in the Iliad that Menelaos and Odysseus had enjoyed hospitality at the home of Antenor, and that Laodice had married Helicaon, Antenor's son.

10.26.8

★ But Lesches says that Helicaon, being wounded during the night battle, was recognized by Odysseus and brought alive out of the combat. Thus, it would follow logically from Menelaus and Odysseus's concern over Antenor's household that no hostile action was carried out by Agamemnon and Menelaus against Helicaon's wife. Euphorion of Chalcis, however, composed what concerns Laodice without any apparent plausibility.

10.26.9

★ Next to Laodice is a stone pedestal with a bronze washing-basin placed upon it. Medusa sits on the ground holding the pedestal with both hands. According to the epic poem of Himeraeus, Medusa too might be reckoned among the daughters of Priam. Nearby Medusa is an elderly woman, her hair closely shorn, or possibly a eunuch, who holds a naked child upon her knees; the child is depicted holding its hand before its eyes in fear.

Chapter 27

10.27.1

Of the dead bodies, one named Pelis lies nude thrown upon his back, and under Pelis lie Eioneus and Admetus, still clad in their breastplates. Lescheos says Eioneus died at the hand of Neoptolemus, but states that Admetus was killed by Philoctetes. Above these lie other bodies also: beneath the washing basin lies Leocritus, son of Polydamas, killed by Odysseus, and above Eioneus and Admetus lies Coroebus, son of Mygdon. The tomb of this Coroebus, notable in its position, stands at the boundaries of the land of the Phrygians of Stectorium; on account of him, it has become customary among poets to give the Phrygians the title of Mygdones. Indeed, Coroebus had come to marry Cassandra, but died, according to the more prevalent account, at the hands of Neoptolemus; Lescheos, however, attributes the killing to Diomedes.

10.27.2

Above the figure of Coroebus are Priam, as well as Axion and Agenor. Lescheos stated that Priam did not die upon the hearth of Zeus Herkeios, but rather was dragged away from the altar and killed incidentally by Neoptolemus at the doors of his palace. Regarding Hecuba, Stesichorus, in his poem "The Sack of Ilium," portrayed her as having been conveyed by Apollo to Lycia. Lescheos says that Axion was Priams son and died by the hand of Eurypylus, son of Euaemon; according to the same poet, Neoptolemus himself slew Agenor. Thus it would appear that whereas Echeclus, the son of Agenor, was killed by Achilles, Agenor himself was slain by Neoptolemus.

10.27.3

Sinon, the companion of Odysseus, and Anchialos are depicted carrying out the body of Laomedon. Another dead person is also represented, whose name is Eresos. Yet concerning both Eresos and Laomedon, as far as we know, no one has sung anything. There is also depicted the house of Antenor, with a leopard's skin hanging above the door, a sign to the Greeks to spare the house of Antenor. Portrayed too are Theano and her sons–Glaucus sitting upon armor fitted closely with metal plates, and Eurymachus seated upon a rock.

10.27.4

Next to him stands Antenor, and immediately beside him Antenor's daughter, Crino; and Crino is holding a young infant in her arms. The faces of them all bear expressions appropriate to disaster. Servants are loading a chest and other household goods onto the back of a mule, and a small child

is sitting upon the mule as well. Near this part of the painting is an elegiac couplet composed by Simonides: “Polygnotus of Thasos, son of Aglaophon, painted the fall of the citadel of Ilium.”

Chapter 28

10.28.1

The other part of the painting, on the left side, depicts Odysseus descending to the place known as Hades, to inquire of the soul of Teiresias about his safe return home. The painting appears as follows: there is water resembling a river, clearly the Acheron, in which reeds grow and fish can be seen. But the forms of these fish are very indistinct, so much so that you would think them more like shadows than actual fish. A boat is on the river, and the ferryman is at the oars.

10.28.2

In my opinion, Polygnotus followed the account given in the Minyad; for indeed, there is a scene depicted in the Minyad showing Theseus and Peirithous, where the ship prepared for the transportation of the dead, guided by the aged ferryman Charon, was newly built and not yet received into its anchorage. Therefore, Polygnotus also portrayed Charon as a man already advanced in years.

10.28.3

The figures standing upon the ship are not at all known even to those connected to them. Tellis appears as a youth about the age of adolescence, and Cleoboea is still a maiden, having upon her knees a casket of the sort customarily made for Demeter. Concerning Tellis, this much I have heard: that the poet Archilochus was a third-generation descendant of Tellis. As for Cleoboea, they say that she was the first who brought the rites of Demeter from Paros to Thasos.

10.28.4

On the banks of the Acheron there is a sight particularly worthy of notice, where a man who had been unjust toward his father is depicted being strangled by his father close beside Charon's ferry-boat. For indeed the ancients held parents in highest esteem, as can be proved by numerous examples, and especially by the men of Catana called the Pious. When fire once flowed down upon Catana from Mount Etna, they thought nothing at all of gold or silver, but fled, one carrying his mother, another his father. The flames, pursuing swiftly, overtook these youths while they were fleeing without ease. Yet–for not even then would they abandon their parents–the stream of lava is said to have split apart in two around them, passing by both the youths themselves and their parents alike, leaving them untouched and doing them no harm.

10.28.5

★ These men indeed continue to receive honors even to my own time from the people of Catana. In Polygnotus' painting, next to the man who had maltreated his own father and who, on account of this, endures grievous punishments in Hades, there is portrayed another man who, having plundered sacred places, is undergoing punishment. The woman who punishes him knows various drugs useful for tormenting humans among other things.

10.28.6

People at that time still exhibited remarkable reverence toward the gods, as the Athenians made clear when they captured the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse; they took none of the offerings from the temple and even left in place the Syracusan priest who guarded these sacred items. Further testimony was given by the Mede, Datis, both through the words he addressed to the Delians and through his actions, when, upon finding a statue of Apollo on a Phoenician ship, he restored it to the Tanagraeans in Delium. To such an extent did everyone at that time hold the divine in honor, and indeed, it was due to just this sort of reverence that Polygnotus illustrated scenes showing the fate of those who had plundered sanctuaries.

10.28.7

★ Above the figures already described stands Eurynomos. The guides at Delphi say Eurynomos is one of the daimones in Hades, asserting that he devours the flesh of the dead, leaving only their bones behind. Yet neither Homer's poetry about Odysseus, nor the epic poem called the Minyas, nor the Nostoi–although each of these texts includes mention of Hades and the terrors within–know of any daimon named Eurynomos. I will, however, now indicate what sort of figure Eurynomos is, and in what form he is depicted: his color is a mixture of blue and black, like that of flies that settle upon meat; he bares his teeth, and he sits upon a vulture's skin spread beneath him.

10.28.8

★ Next in order after Eurynomos are Auge of Arcadia and Iphimedeia. Auge came to Mysia, to the court of Teuthras; and of all the women who are said to have been with Heracles, she it was who bore him a son most resembling his father. As for Iphimedeia, she received great honors from the Carians who dwell at Mylasa.

Chapter 29

10.29.1

Higher up than the figures I have already mentioned are sacrifices and the companions of Odysseus, Perimedes and Eurylochus, bringing them forward; these sacrifices are black rams. Near them sits a figure whose inscription identifies him as Ocnus. He is represented occupied in plaiting a rope, and beside him stands a she-ass constantly devouring the rope as quickly as he weaves it. They say this Ocnus was a hardworking man who had an extravagant wife, and whatever he earned by labor was shortly thereafter lavishly spent by her.

10.29.2

Thus regarding the woman of Oknos, they want to suggest that Polygnotos is speaking allegorically. Indeed I know that the Ionians, whenever they see someone laboring at work which brings no profit whatsoever, say of him, this man is weaving the rope of Oknos. Moreover, the bird watchers among the seers also call a certain bird "oknos." This "oknos" is the largest and most beautiful species of heron, and if there is any other exceptionally rare bird, this one too is rare.

10.29.3

Also depicted is Tityus, no longer undergoing punishment, but having been utterly consumed over time by the continuous torment, now reduced to a faint and incomplete shade. Advancing in sequence through the painting, nearest to the figure winding the thread sits Ariadne upon a rock, gazing at her sister Phaedra, whose body is suspended by a rope, her hands gripping it on either side. Although the pose has been arranged with more elegance, it nevertheless clearly suggests the circumstances of Phaedra's death.

10.29.4

Dionysus, either chancing upon Ariadne through some divine fortune, or deliberately laying a trap for her, carried her off from Theseus by attacking with a stronger fleet. This Dionysus was not another, in my opinion, but the very same who first waged war against the Indians and first bridged the river Euphrates. Indeed, the city was named "Zeugma" from this bridging of the Euphrates, and even today the cable that bound together the river banks still remains there, braided from intertwined grapevines and ivy tendrils.

10.29.5

There are many stories concerning Dionysus, told by both Greeks and Egyptians; below Phaedra stands Chloris, leaning upon the knees of Thyia. He who says there was friendship between these two women when they were alive will not be wrong. Chloris was from Orchomenus in Boeotia, while Thyia, daughter of Castalius, came from Parnassus. Others may also recount a tradition concerning them: that Poseidon was intimate with Thyia, and that Chloris was married to Neleus, the son of Poseidon.

10.29.6

Next to Thyia stands Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, and beside her is Clymene, who has her back turned to her. In the poem "Nostoi," it is said that Clymene was the daughter of Minyas, that she married Cephalus, son of Deion, and bore him a son, Iphiclus. But concerning Procris, everyone tells the same story: that she lived with Cephalus before Clymene did, and they relate the manner in which she met her death at the hands of her husband.

10.29.7

Further inward from Clymene you will see Megara from Thebes. This Megara was Heracles' wife, whom he married but eventually dismissed, since he was deprived of the children he had by her and judged that his marriage to her was not favored by fate. Among the women depicted above their heads is the daughter of Salmoneus, seated upon a rock, and beside her stands Eriphyle, who grasps the hem of her garment at the neck with the tips of her fingers, and through the folds of the robe in her other hand you imagine her holding that famous necklace.

10.29.8

Above Eriphyle he has painted Elpenor and Odysseus crouching at his feet, holding his sword over the trench; and the seer Teiresias advances toward the trench. After Teiresias, upon a rock, stands Anticleia, Odysseus' mother; Elpenor wears a mat wrapped around him instead of a garment, a customary covering worn by sailors.

10.29.9

Lower than Odysseus, seated upon thrones, are Theseus and Peirithous: Theseus holds in both hands the swords, both that of Peirithous and his own, while Peirithous gazes down upon the swords. One might infer that he is vexed by the weapons, regarding them as useless and of no avail to their daring exploits. Panyassis wrote that Theseus and Peirithous were not seated upon the thrones as prisoners normally would be; rather, he claimed, the rock itself adhered to their flesh instead of bonds.

10.29.10

Homer has made clear the famous friendship between Theseus and Peirithous in both his poems. Odysseus, speaking among the Phaeacians, says:

"And now I would have seen still earlier men, whom I wished indeed to behold–Theseus and Peirithous, illustrious sons of gods." (Homer, Odyssey 11.631ff.)

Moreover, Nestor in the Iliad is portrayed as giving counsel to Agamemnon and Achilles, and there he speaks these words as well:

"For never yet have I seen, nor shall I see, men such as Peirithous, Dryas, shepherd of the people, Kaineus, Exadios, godlike Polyphemus, and Theseus, son of Aegeus, resembling the immortals." (Homer, Iliad 1.262ff.)

Chapter 30

10.30.1

Next, Polygnotos depicted the daughters of Pandareos. Homer, in the speech of Penelope, relates how the parents of the maidens died through the anger of the gods, and that the orphaned girls themselves were raised by Aphrodite, who also received gifts for them from other deities: Hera granted them intelligence and beauty, Artemis bestowed height upon their bodies, and Athena taught them the crafts suitable to women.

10.30.2

Aphrodite, then, ascended to heaven, wishing to arrange for her daughters a fortunate marriage through Zeus; but during her absence, the maidens were seized by the Harpies and handed over by them to the Erinyes. These details concerning them are described by Homer, whereas Polygnotus painted the girls crowned with flowers and playing with knucklebones, and gave their names as Cameiro and Clytie. As for Pandareos, let one know that he was a Milesian from Miletus in Crete and was guilty of wrongdoing involving theft together with Tantalus, and took part in the deception regarding an oath.

10.30.3

After the daughters of Pandareos stands Antilochus, keeping one foot upon a rock, and supporting his face and head on both his hands. After Antilochus is Agamemnon, leaning with a scepter under his left armpit and holding up a staff in his hands. Protesilaus sits gazing toward Achilles; Protesilaus is posed in this manner, and behind Achilles stands Patroclus. Of these figures, all except Agamemnon are portrayed without beards.

10.30.4

Depicted above these figures are Phocus, portrayed as still youthful in age, and Iaseus, who has a fine beard and is shown removing a ring from the left hand of Phocus. The story behind this scene is as follows: when Phocus, son of Aeacus, moved from Aegina to the region now called Phocis, acquired power over the inhabitants of that part of the mainland, and resolved to settle there, he grew particularly close in friendship to Iaseus. Among other gifts which Iaseus naturally bestowed upon him was a seal-stone bound in gold. Not much later, however, when Phocus returned to Aegina, Peleus immediately plotted his death. It is for this reason, in memory of their friendship, that the painting depicts Iaseus eagerly examining the seal-stone, and Phocus tolerantly permitting him to take it.

10.30.5

★ Above these is Maira, seated upon a rock. Concerning her, it is told in the “Returns” (“Nostoi”) that she departed from among mortals while still a maiden, and that she was the daughter of Proitos, son of Thersandros, who himself was a son of Sisyphos. Next to Maira is Actaion, son of Aristaios, along with Actaions mother; they hold in their hands a fawn of a deer and sit upon a deers hide. Beside them lies a hunting dog, in reference to Actaions life and the manner of his death.

10.30.6

★ Looking again toward the lower part of the painting, next after Patroclus is depicted Orpheus sitting as if upon some hillock; he touches a lyre with his left hand, while with his other hand he grazes a willow. It is the branches of the tree he touches, and he leans against it. The grove appears to be the grove of Persephone, where poplars and willows have grown, following the Homeric tradition. Orpheus himself is portrayed in Greek manner: neither his clothing nor the covering upon his head is Thracian.

10.30.7

★ Leaning against one side of the willow tree itself is Promedon. There are indeed some who believe that the name Promedon was introduced by Polygnotus as a poetic fiction; but others claim that it refers to a Greek man who was exceedingly fond of music in general, and particularly devoted to the songs of Orpheus.

10.30.8

★ In this portion of the painting is depicted Schedios, who led the Phocians against Troy, and next to him is Pelias, seated upon a throne, gray-haired in beard as well as head, gazing toward Orpheus. Schedios holds a dagger and has a wreath of grass upon his head. Beside Pelias sits Thamyris, whose eyes appear blinded and whose whole bearing is humbled. His hair is abundant upon his head, and plentiful also is his beard. A lyre lies thrown at his feet, its arms shattered and its strings broken.

10.30.9

★ Above this stands Marsyas seated upon a rock, and near him Olympus is depicted in the form of a handsome youth learning to play the flute. The Phrygians at Celaenae claim that the river which flows through their city was formerly that very flute-player; they also assert that the flute-melody sacred to the Mother was Marsyas’ invention. Furthermore, they say that Marsyas repelled the invasion of the Galatians by coming to their aid against the barbarians, using both the water from the river and the music of his flutes.

Chapter 31

10.31.1

If you look again toward the upper part of the painting, next to Actaeon stands Ajax of Salamis, and Palamedes together with Thersites play a game with dice–an invention of Palamedes. The other Ajax looks at them as they play. The complexion of this Ajax is such as a shipwrecked man might have, his flesh still bloomed with the brine.

10.31.2

Polygnotus intentionally brought together, in the same place, those who were enemies of Odysseus. Ajax, son of Oileus, incurred Odysseus' hostility because Odysseus had advised the Greeks to stone Ajax for his offense against Cassandra. As for Palamedes, I know from verses in the Cypria that he was drowned while fishing, and that Diomedes was named as his killer along with Odysseus.

10.31.3

Meleager, the son of Oeneus, is depicted higher up in the painting than Ajax, son of Oileus, but resembles Ajax to one observing him. With the exception of Palamedes, all these figures are portrayed with beards. Regarding the fate of Meleager, Homer says that a Fury heard Althaea's curses, and thus Meleager died according to this reason. On the other hand, the poems called the "Ehoiai" and the "Minyas" agree with one another, asserting that Apollo fought for the Curetes against the Aetolians, and Meleager was slain by Apollo.

10.31.4

As for the story concerning the torch, namely that it was given by the Fates to Althaea and that Meleager was fated not to meet his end until the torch had been consumed by fire, and that Althaea, driven by her anger, burned it up–Phrynichus, son of Polyphradmon, was the first to depict this story in his drama, the "Pleuronian Women":

"For he did not escape his chilling fate, But swift flame consumed him, When the torch was destroyed by his wickedly scheming mother."

Phrynichus, however, does not appear to have developed the narrative further as if originating as a personal invention; rather, he merely touched upon it, as it was already widely known throughout Greece at that time.

10.31.5

★ In the lower part of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, sits Hector. He is seated with both hands clasped about his left knee, clearly exhibiting an attitude of grief. Next to him is Memnon seated upon a rock, and Sarpedon sits beside Memnon. Sarpedon is leaning forward, with his face resting upon both his hands, while one of Memnon's hands rests upon Sarpedon's shoulder.

10.31.6

★ All of these figures have beards, but on the cloak of Memnon there are also birds worked in relief; these birds are called Memnonides. The people around the Hellespont say that every year, on certain appointed days, these birds come to Memnon's tomb, and whatever portion of his tomb is bare of trees or grass, the birds sweep clean, and then sprinkle it with water from the river Aesepus, carrying it in their wet wings.

10.31.7

★ Next to Memnon, too, a figure of a naked Ethiopian boy has been sculpted, since Memnon was king of the Ethiopian race. He came to Troy, however, not from Ethiopia but from Susa in Persia and from the river Choaspes, having subdued all the peoples inhabiting the lands in between. Indeed, the Phrygians even still point out the road along which he led his army, selecting the shortest routes through the countryside; the road itself is cut through the isolated regions.

10.31.8

★ Above Sarpedon and Memnon stands Paris, depicted still beardless. He is clapping his hands, producing a sound like that which might be made by a rustic fellow; from the clapping noise of his hands, you might suppose that Paris is summoning Penthesileia, who is portrayed beside him. Penthesileia herself is also present, gazing toward Paris, but from her facial expression she appears contemptuous in manner, disregarding him and paying him no heed. Penthesileia is represented as a maiden; she holds a bow like those of Scythian type and wears the skin of a leopard across her shoulders.

10.31.9

★ The women depicted above Penthesileia are carrying water in broken pots; one is represented as still youthful in appearance, while the other is already advanced in age. There is no specific inscription individually identifying either woman, but there is one common to both, which states that they belong to the women who have not been initiated.

10.31.10

★ Higher up from these stands Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, along with Nomia and Pero, the daughter of Neleus–whose cattle, belonging to Iphiclus, Neleus had demanded as a bridal gift when he married her. Callisto herself lies upon a bearskin in place of a couch, and her feet rest upon Nomia's knees. Regarding Nomia, my previous account made it clear that the Arcadians affirm she is a local nymph; as for the nymphs generally, the poets speak of them as beings who, while living an exceedingly long time, are nevertheless not wholly exempt from death. Beyond Callisto and the women depicted with her there appears a cliff, and there also is Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, forcing a stone uphill against this cliff.

10.31.11

★

There is also a jar visible in the painting, along with an old man, a boy still quite young, and two women–one young, standing under the rock, and another beside the elderly man, appearing close to his age. The others are carrying water, but it looks as if the old womans pitcher has broken, and you might suppose that she is pouring back into the jar whatever water remains in the broken vessel. We conjectured that these figures also represent people who paid no heed at all to the rituals performed at Eleusis. For the most ancient of the Greeks esteemed the Eleusinian Mysteries above all other forms of religious devotion, just as they esteemed gods more highly than heroes.

10.31.12

Beneath this jar stands Tantalus, enduring all the grievous punishments that Homer attributed to him; and in addition to these sufferings, there is upon him also the terror of the suspended stone. Polygnotus evidently followed here the tradition of Archilochus; but whether Archilochus learned from others the story of the stone, or introduced it himself into his poetry, I cannot say. Such is the scale and beauty to which the painting of the Thasian has attained.

Chapter 32

10.32.1

Next to the enclosure of the sanctuary is a theater well worth seeing. Ascending from the enclosure, one finds here a statue of Dionysus, which is a dedication by the Cnidians. Their stadium is at the highest point of the city; it had been constructed out of the kind of rock that is abundant around Parnassus, until Herodes the Athenian adorned it anew with Pentelic marble. These, then, were the matters relevant to my account that I considered worthy of mention; those that remain at Delphi are as follows.

10.32.2

On the way going from Delphi to the heights of Parnassus, about sixty stadia distant from Delphi, there ★ stands a bronze statue; and from there the ascent to the Corycian cave is easier for a lightly-equipped man on foot than for mules or horses. As I indicated a little earlier, this cave takes its name from the nymph Corycia. Of all the caves that I have seen, this one appeared to me particularly worthy of viewing.

10.32.3

For those shrines that are situated along shores and near the shallow sea, their number could scarcely be reckoned even by someone willing to do so; yet the most celebrated among both Greeks and barbarian lands is the following: the Phrygians, who dwell by the river Pengela and originally came from Arcadia and the Azanians above into this region, show a cave called Steunos, circular in form and possessing an impressive height. It is sacred to the Mother Goddess, and an image of the Mother has been made there.

10.32.4

The place called Themisonion, which lies above Laodiceia, is also inhabited by Phrygians. When the ★ Galatian army was ravaging and overrunning Ionia and the territories adjoining Ionia, the people of Themisonion claim that Heracles, Apollo, and Hermes came to their aid. These gods revealed a cave through dreams to the local magistrates, and thus the people of Themisonion, together with their wives and children, were commanded to take refuge in this cave.

10.32.5

★

In front of this cave there are small statues of Heracles, Hermes, and Apollo, who are called the gods of the cave. The distance from the city to this cave is about thirty stades, and within it are springs of water. There is no easy entrance into the interior, nor does sunlight penetrate far inside, and the greater part of the ceiling is very close to the ground.

10.32.6

There is also among the Magnesians who dwell by the river Lethaeus a place called Aulai. Here there is dedicated to Apollo a cave, which, in terms of its size, is not greatly remarkable; however, the statue of Apollo is very ancient indeed and confers strength for every undertaking. Consecrated men dedicated to the god leap from sheer precipices and high rocks, and, grasping tall trees and tearing them up by their roots, carry them along with their burdens, making their way even through the narrowest of paths.

10.32.7

★ The Corycian cave surpasses in size those previously mentioned, and it is possible to proceed far into it even without torches. Its roof stands at a sufficient height above the floor, and water flows within it, some rising from springs, but even more dripping from the ceiling, so that the traces of drops are plainly visible everywhere throughout the cavern floor. The dwellers near Parnassus hold it to be sacred especially to the Corycian Nymphs and to Pan. From the Corycian cave onward, it becomes difficult even for a lightly equipped man to reach the very peaks of Parnassus. These peaks rise above the clouds, and it is there that the Thyiades revel in their madness, honoring Dionysus and Apollo.

10.32.8

? Tithorea lies farther from Delphi, about one hundred and eighty stades by estimation if one takes the route through Mount Parnassus. This road is not wholly mountainous, but suitable also for carriage travel; however, it was said to be even longer in stades. I know the city has been mentioned by different names both by Herodotus, in his account of the expedition of the Mede, and by Bacis, in his oracles.

10.32.9

★ Bacis indeed called the inhabitants of this place "Tithoreans"; but the account of Herodotus concerning them says that, when the barbarian invaded Greece, the inhabitants here fled to the mountain-top; he names their city Neon, and asserts that Tithorea was the summit of Parnassus. Thus, it seems that subsequently the name "Tithorea" prevailed throughout the whole region; and later, when they were gathered into one city from their separate villages, the name Tithorea completely displaced Neon. The local inhabitants claim that Tithorea was named from a nymph called Tithorea, who, according to the ancient poetic tradition, grew out of trees–especially oaks, among other kinds of trees.

10.32.10

★ Yet fate turned to worse the circumstances of Tithorea just one generation before my time. The theater is indeed preserved, as well as the enclosure of an older market-place. Among those things within the city most worthy of remembrance are the grove, temple, and statue of Athena; there are also the tombs of Antiope and Phocus. An informant explained to me a tradition relating to the Thebans, how Antiope had been driven mad through the anger of Dionysus, including the cause by which she drew upon herself the wrath of the god. He related also how Phocus fell in love with her.

10.32.11

He shared the settlement founded by Ornytios and is buried together with Phocus, and there is a similar ★ circumstance mentioned by Bakis the prophet concerning this tomb and the tomb of Zethus and Amphion at Thebes. As regards the town itself, aside from what has been already mentioned, there was nothing else worth recording. However, a river running from the territories of the Tithoreans provides drinking water for the inhabitants, who descend to its banks to draw water. This river is called Cachales.

10.32.12

Seventy stades distant from Tithorea there is a temple of Asclepius, called Archagetas ("The Founder"); the people of Tithorea pay honors to him, as do the rest of the Phocians equally. Inside the enclosure, there are residences both for suppliants and for those who serve the god. In the center stands the temple and a statue made of stone, with a beard measuring more than two feet in length. On the right of the statue is placed a couch. They customarily sacrifice all animals equally to him, except goats.

10.32.13

About forty stadia from the sanctuary of Asclepius is an enclosure and sacred shrine of Isis, the most holy of all temples the Greeks have erected to the Egyptian goddess. For the people of Tithorea consider it improper to live close to it, and entry to the inner sanctuary is permitted only to those whom Isis herself, honoring them especially, summons through dreams. The same phenomenon is seen among the cities beyond the Maeander River in the rituals of their chthonic deities: those whom the gods wish to enter their holy places, they signal by sending visionary dreams.

10.32.14

In Tithorea they hold a festival for Isis twice each year, one in the spring and the other in autumn. On the third day before each of these festivals, those who have permission to enter purify the sanctuary in a manner that must remain secret, and whatever remains they find of the sacrificial offerings presented at the previous festival, they carry to the same place every time and bury it there. I estimate this place to be about two stades distant from the sanctuary.

10.32.15

On this day, indeed, such are the ceremonies they conduct at the sanctuary, while on the following day merchants erect booths of reed and other improvised materials. On the last of the three days, the festival culminates, during which they openly trade everything–slaves and livestock, as well as garments, silver, and gold.

10.32.16

After midday, they turn towards sacrifice. The wealthier among them sacrifice cattle and deer, but those whose wealth falls short offer geese and guinea-fowl. They do not customarily employ sheep, pigs, or goats for the sacrifice. Those who have thus made an initial consecration of their offerings and have sent them into the inner sanctuary must wrap their sacrificial animals with bands of linen or fine linen cloth, their manner of preparation being Egyptian.

10.32.17

★

Then they proceed solemnly with all the sacrificial rites, and while some send the victims into the inner sanctuary, others set fire to the tents in front of the sanctuary and hastily withdraw. And they say that once, when the pyre had just begun burning, a man–not one of those who descend into the holy place, but a profane person–entered the sanctuary, driven by excessive curiosity and boldness. And the sanctuary appeared to him filled completely with phantoms, and when he returned to Tithorea and recounted what he had seen, he immediately gave up his life.

10.32.18

I have heard a plausible account from a Phoenician concerning the festival that the Egyptians celebrate in honor of Isis, when they say she mourns for Osiris. It is at this very time that the Nile begins to rise for them, and many local inhabitants claim that the waters which cause the river to swell and irrigate their fields are the tears of Isis. He further recounted how the Roman governor then in charge of Egypt was persuaded by money to send a man into the sanctuary of Isis at Coptos. The man sent inside returned from the sanctuary and described all he had seen, but soon afterward, as I learned, met his death. It seems, therefore, that Homer's statement holds true–there is never any fortune for humanity in seeing the gods face to face.

10.32.19

The olive-oil produced at Tithorea is inferior in quantity to that of Attica and Sicyon, but surpasses the Iberian and that from the island of Istria in appearance and flavor. Moreover, they prepare all manner of perfumes from it, and esteem this oil as they would a king.

Chapter 33

10.33.1

Another road leads from Tithorea to Ledon. Ledon also was once considered a city, but in my time the Ledontians had deserted it due to its weakness. About seventy people were then living by the Cephisus river. Their settlement is still called Ledon, and these people, like those of Panopeus, are admitted into the common assembly of the Phocians and participate in their sacrifices. Approximately forty stades upstream from the inhabitants by the Cephisus lie the ruins of ancient Ledon. They say that the city took its name from a native-born man.

10.33.2

Other cities too have suffered incurable evils because of wrongdoing by their local men. Entire destruction befell Ilium through Alexander's insolence toward Menelaus, and the Milesians as a result of Histiaeus's readiness to indulge his desires–his eagerness at times for the city in Edonian territory, at others to serve as an adviser to Darius, and at another moment to return to Ionia. Likewise, Philomelus brought down impiety publicly upon the Ledontians, causing their utter ruin. ★

10.33.3

Lilaea is about one day's journey from Delphi in wintertime, descending through Parnassus; measured in stades, we assessed the distance to be one hundred and eighty. After the inhabitants rebuilt their city, they were destined to suffer a second calamity caused by Macedonia. Having been besieged by Philip, son of Demetrius, they surrendered on agreed terms, and a Macedonian garrison was introduced into their city. This lasted until a certain local man, named Patron, rallied citizens of military age against the garrison, defeated the Macedonians in battle, and compelled them to depart under a truce. In gratitude for this service, the people of Lilaea dedicated a statue of Patron at Delphi.

10.33.4

In Lilaea there are a theater, a marketplace, and baths; there are also sanctuaries of the gods, one of Apollo and one of Artemis. Upright statues are set up there, made in Attic style from Pentelic marble. They say that Lilaea was one of those called Naiads, a daughter of Cephisus, and that the city received its name from this nymph. ★

10.33.5

Here the river has its sources. It rises from the earth, not always quietly, but mostly–especially when midday draws near–it produces a sound as it wells upward, which resembles the bellowing of a bull. Lilaia possesses a climate suitably temperate during the various seasons–in autumn, summer, and spring–but the mountain Parnassos prevents its winter from being equally mild.

10.33.6

Charadra is situated twenty stadia farther on, standing above a high cliff. The inhabitants here suffer a shortage of water, and their drinking water comes from the Charadrus, a river three stadia away, down toward which they must descend. This river flows into the Cephisus, and it seems to me that the city derived its name from this river, Charadrus. The Charadrians have altars in their marketplace dedicated to those called the Heroes; some say that they are altars of the Dioscuri, others claim they belong to local heroes.

10.33.7

The land by the Cephisus is distinctly the best portion of Phocis, suited equally for planting, sowing, and for pasture. It is therefore the most cultivated part of the region, so that there even exists a tradition claiming the city called Parapotamii did not originally bear this name, but rather the Homeric line–

> "They who dwelt beside the divine river Cephisus" (Il. 2.522)

–was originally composed concerning those who farmed the land along the river Cephisus.

10.33.8

In this account there are differences compared with the history of Herodotus, as well as discrepancies regarding the records commemorated for victories in the Pythian Games. For it was the Amphictyons who first established the Pythian contests, and Aechmeas of Parapotamii was victorious in boys' boxing. Moreover, Herodotus, enumerating the cities in Phocis burned by King Xerxes, includes Parapotamii among them. However, the Parapotamians were not afterward restored by the Athenians and Boeotians; instead, their people were dispersed into other cities due to weakness and poverty. Indeed, no ruins of Parapotamii remain, nor is it remembered at what place in the land their city originally stood.

10.33.9

The road from Lilaea to Amphicleia is sixty stades in length. This Amphicleia has had its name corrupted by the local inhabitants. Herodotus, following the most ancient tradition, called the city "Amphicaea," but when the Amphictyonic council passed their decree upon the destruction of the Phocian towns, they gave it the name Amphicleia. The local people relate the following story about it: A certain powerful ruler, suspecting enemy plots against his infant child, placed the child in a jar and concealed him in that part of the country where he believed him safest. A wolf attempted to attack the child, but a serpent wrapped itself tightly around the jar, giving strong protection.

10.33.10

When the child's father arrived, thinking that the serpent was intending harm to his son, he hurled his spear, and slew both the serpent and his child along with it. Afterwards, having been informed by the herdsmen that he had killed the creature which had acted as guardian and benefactor to his child, he constructed a common funeral pyre for both the serpent and the boy. Even to this day, they say, the spot resembles a burning pyre, and they wish to believe that it was from this very serpent that the city received its name, Ophiteia.

10.33.11

They perform rites held to be particularly fitting for Dionysus, but there is no entrance into the inner sanctuary for them, nor is there a publicly visible cult image. According to the people of Amphicleia, this god has become for them both a prophet and a helper against sicknesses; he heals the diseases of both the Amphicleians themselves and their neighbors through dreams. The priest acts as interpreter of the prophecies; he is inspired by the god and utters oracles while possessed.

10.33.12

Fifteen stades farther from Amphicleia lies Tithronion, situated on a plain, but it offers nothing worthy ★ of mention. From Tithronion it is twenty stades to Drymaia. At the point where this road and the straight road from Amphicleia to Drymaia join near the river Cephisus, there is a grove and altars of Apollo, who is known here as Tithronean. A temple has also been built, but it contains no image.

Drymaia lies about eighty stades distant from Amphicleia, if one follows a leftward route. According to Herodotus, the ancient inhabitants of Drymaia were called Nauboleis, and they themselves say that their founder was a son of Aeacus named Phocus. The Drymaians have an ancient sanctuary dedicated to Demeter Thesmophoros, containing an upright statue made of stone. Each year the festival known as Thesmophoria is celebrated there in honor of the goddess.

Chapter 34

10.34.1

Elateia is the largest of the Phocian cities after Delphi itself. It lies near Amphikleia, and the road between them is one hundred and eighty stadia. Most of the way is flat terrain, and then again only slightly uphill as one approaches the city of Elateia. The Kephisos River flows through this plain, and the birds known as otides particularly frequent its banks.

10.34.2

The people of Elateia managed both to drive out Cassander and his Macedonian army, and later, when ★
Taxilus commanded Mithridates' war against them, they succeeded in escaping disaster. On account of these deeds, the Romans granted them autonomy and exemption from taxation, allowing them to inhabit their territory freely. The origins of the Elateans, however, are disputed, for they claim to be descended from foreign stock. The Arcadians assert that the Elateans originally came from Arcadia, stating that Elatos, the son of Arkas, when the Phlegyans marched upon the sanctuary at Delphi, remained behind in Phocis together with his army to defend the god, and thus became the founder of Elateia.

10.34.3

Among the cities of the Phocians burned by the Persian, Elateia is also to be reckoned. Some calamities befell the Elateans in common with the other Phocians, but the deity also brought upon them their own private misfortunes through the Macedonians. In the war under Cassander, Olympiodorus especially was responsible for rendering the Macedonians' siege unsuccessful. Later, Philip, the son of Demetrius, reduced the population of Elateia to the utmost terror, while at the same time he won over the more powerful citizens by means of bribery.

10.34.4

Now Titus, the general of the Romans–sent out from Rome for the very purpose of freeing the whole of Greece–promised to restore to the Elateans their ancient constitution, and by envoys proclaimed to them that they should withdraw from their allegiance to the Macedonians. But due either to the stubbornness of the common people or of their magistrates, the Elateans remained loyal to Philip and consequently endured siege by the Roman. Yet later, when Taxilus commanded for Mithridates, they courageously resisted the siege by the barbarians from Pontus; because of this deed, the Romans at length granted them actual freedom.

10.34.5

In my own time, the marauding tribe of the Costoboci made a raid into Greece, reaching as far as Elateia. Here, a man named Mnesiboulos gathered about himself a company of men, slew many of the barbarians, and fell himself during the battle. This Mnesiboulos had previously won victories in running and other contests, winning in the two-hundred-and-thirty-fifth Olympiad both the stadium and the race in armour. At Elateia, there stands by the road a bronze statue of the runner Mnesiboulos.

10.34.6

The marketplace itself is worth seeing, as is the carving of Elatus on a stela. However, I do not know clearly whether they set up this stela to honor him as their founder or as a gravestone. There is also a temple built to Asclepius and a statue of him bearded. The artists who crafted this statue are named Timocles and Timarchides, both of Attic descent. At the right-hand boundary of the city is a theater and an ancient bronze statue of Athena. They say that this goddess defended them against the barbarians who accompanied Taxilus.

10.34.7

About twenty stades distant from Elateia stands a sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Kranaia. The road leading there has such a gentle slope upward that one hardly notices, the incline being practically imperceptible. At the end of the road lies a hill, steep for the most part, yet neither very imposing in size nor particularly high. The sanctuary has been built on this hill; it includes porches and rooms behind these colonnades, in which dwell those appointed to serve the goddess, especially the priest and the other attendants.

10.34.8

They choose the priest from among the boys who have not yet reached puberty, taking care beforehand that the period of priesthood shall expire before he attains maturity. He serves continuously as priest for five years, during which time he lives by the goddess according to a certain established way of life, and the bathing basins are provided for him in the ancient customary manner. This statue too was made by the sons of Polycleitus, and it is armored as though ready for battle. Furthermore, upon the shield has been crafted a relief imitating the design upon the shield of the image which the Athenians call the Parthenos.

Chapter 35

10.35.1

There is a mountainous road leading to Abai and to Hyampolis from Elateia, departing from the town ★ of Elateia on the right. The highway going to Opous from Orchomenos also provides access to these cities. Thus, on the way from Orchomenos to Opous, one need only turn off a short distance to the left to reach Abai. The inhabitants of Abai say they came into the land of Phocis from Argos and that the city's name was taken from its founder, Abas, son of Lynkeus and Hypermnestra, daughter of Danaos. From ancient times Abai has been considered sacred to Apollo, and there was once an oracle of Apollo in that place.

10.35.2

The Romans and the Persian did not pay honour to the god at Abae in the same way: the Romans, from reverence toward Apollo, granted the people of Abae autonomy; but the army of Xerxes burned down even the sanctuary at Abae. Now, when the Greeks resisted the barbarian, it was resolved not to restore the burned sanctuaries, but to leave them forever as memorials of hostility. It is for this reason that the temples in the region of Haliartus, as well as the shrines of Hera at Athens along the road to Phalerum, and of Demeter at Phalerum itself, still remained partly burnt even to my day.

10.35.3

I think that such was indeed the appearance of the sanctuary at Abae in earlier times, until the Phocian war, when the Boeotians, after defeating certain Phocians in battle and driving them into Abae, set on fire both the suppliants themselves and the sanctuary–the second incident of this kind after the Medes' burning. Down to my own time, therefore, the temple remained standing, though weakest of all the buildings damaged by fire, as it had suffered first at the hands of Persian flames and again from the Boeotian conflagration.

10.35.4

Beside the large temple there is another sanctuary, inferior in size; it was built by the Emperor Hadrian for Apollo. The statues inside are older still, dedicated by the people of Abai, made of bronze and likewise upright; they represent Apollo, Leto, and Artemis. The Abaians also possess a theater and a marketplace, both of ancient construction.

10.35.5

★ Returning again to the direct road leading to Opous, you next reach Hyampolis. The name itself indicates clearly who its first inhabitants were and from where they migrated to this land; for Hyantes from Thebes, those who fled with Kadmos and his army, came hither. In more ancient times the neighboring peoples called it the city of the Hyantes, but later, with the passing of time, the name Hyampolis prevailed.

10.35.6

Although King Xerxes had burned the city and Philip later destroyed it again, there still remained parts of the ancient marketplace, a council chamber–a small building–and a theatre not far from the gates. The emperor Hadrian constructed a stoa, and this stoa bears the name of the emperor who dedicated it. They have only one well, and from this alone they both drink and bathe, having no other water source, except during winter when the god provides it.

10.35.7

They especially revere Artemis, and they have a temple dedicated to Artemis among them. I cannot explain of what sort the image is, because they have the custom of opening the sanctuary only twice each year, and no more. They say that whenever they declare any cattle as sacred to Artemis, these animals are raised healthier and plumper than the rest, free from disease.

10.35.8

★ From Chaeronea into the Phocian territory, there is not only the direct route to Delphi, passing through Panopeus, Daulis, and the Schiste road, but there is also another road from Chaeronea, rough and mountainous for most of its length, leading to the Phocian city of Stiris. This road is one hundred and twenty stades long. The inhabitants of Stiris say that they are not originally Phocians but Athenians by descent, and that they arrived from Attica together with Peteos, the son of Orneus, who was driven out of Athens by Aegeus. Because the majority of those who followed Peteos belonged to the deme of Stiria, the city was thus named Stiris.

10.35.9

The inhabitants of Stiris dwell on high, rocky ground; consequently, they suffer a shortage of water during summertime, for wells here are neither numerous nor do they provide suitable water. Such wells as they have serve only for bathing purposes and as drinking-water for their beasts of burden. The people themselves must descend approximately four stadia to fetch water for drinking from a spring, which is hewn out among the rocks; thus they go down to it and draw directly from the spring.

10.35.10

In Stiris there is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Stiritis. The sanctuary itself is made of unbaked bricks, but the statue, depicting the goddess holding torches, is carved from Pentelic marble. Near her stands another ancient statue, bound with ribbons, also dedicated in honor of Demeter.

Chapter 36

10.36.1

From Stiris to Ambrossos is about sixty stades; the road crosses a plain situated between the mountains. Most of this plain is planted with vines; and in the land of the Ambrossians, though not as continuous as the vineyards, grows also a shrub. This shrub is called “kokkos” by the Ionians and the rest of the Greeks, but the Galatians, who live beyond Phrygia, call it “hys” in their native tongue. The “kokkos” shrub is similar in size to the plant called “rhamnos”; its leaves are darker and softer than those of the mastic tree (schinos), but otherwise resemble them.

10.36.2

Its fruit is similar to the fruit of the nightshade and is about the size of a vetch-seed. Within the berry there develops a small creature; once the fruit ripens, if this creature should reach open air, immediately it flies away and would appear very much like a gnat. For this reason, before the creature stirs, they pick the fruit of the berry, and the dye used for wool is made from the blood of this creature.

10.36.3

Ambrossos lies at the foot of Mount Parnassus, beyond Delphi. They say the city received its name from the hero Ambrossos. When the Thebans were preparing for their war against Philip and the Macedonians, they surrounded Ambrossos with a double wall. This wall is made of a native stone, black in color and exceedingly strong; each circuit of the wall is just under a fathom wide, with a height of two and a half fathoms, except in places where the wall has suffered damage.

10.36.4

The interval from the outer of these circuits to the inner one equals one fathom; as for the building of towers or battlements or any other decorative feature of the wall, they omitted all of these, since their fortification had only immediate defense as its purpose. The Ambrossians have an agora, which is not large, and in it stand statues fashioned from stone, most of which are now broken.

10.36.5

Turning towards Anticyra, the road at first leads uphill. After ascending about two stades, you find level ground, and on the right side of the road is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Dictynna. The Ambrossians hold this goddess in the highest honor. The statue is of Aeginetan workmanship and is made of black stone. From the sanctuary of Artemis Dictynna, the road leads entirely downhill into

Anticyra. They say that the city's more ancient name was Cyparissus; Homer himself, they say, wished to use this name in the Catalogue of the Phocians, although by his time it was already called Anticyra, for Anticyreus lived in the age of Heracles.

10.36.6

The city indeed lies in ruins near Medeon; and I have already indicated at the beginning of my account of Phocis that the Anticyreans had committed sacrilege against the sanctuary at Delphi. Philip son of Amyntas had previously ruined the Anticyreans, and afterward the Roman Otilius destroyed them again, because they had also become subject to Philip, the son of Demetrius, king of the Macedonians. Otilius had been dispatched from Rome to assist the Athenians against this Philip.

10.36.7

The mountains above Anticyra are extremely rocky, and it is there especially that hellebore grows. Its black variety is suitable for human use and serves as a purgative for the stomach, whereas the other, white hellebore, causes purification through vomiting. The medicinal purging agent lies in the root of the hellebore plant.

10.36.8

In Antikyra there are bronze statues in the agora, and by their harbor there is a small temple dedicated to Poseidon, built from selected stones, with its interior covered in stucco. The statue is of bronze, standing upright; it rests one foot upon a dolphin, and the hand on this side is placed upon the thigh. In the other hand he holds a trident.

10.36.9

? Beyond the gymnasium in which they have built their baths is another ancient gymnasium. In it stands a bronze statue, bearing an inscription saying that Xenodamos of Antikyra, a pankration-wrestler, won the Olympic victory among men. If this inscription is truthful, then Xenodamos would seem to have won the wreath at the two hundred and eleventh Olympiad. This Olympiad alone of all is omitted from the records of the Eleans.

10.36.10

★ Above the marketplace there is a spring of water in a well, and the well has a roof and columns supporting the roof to provide shade from the sun. Not far above the well is a tomb constructed of stones gathered at random. They say that here the sons of Iphitus were buried: one, having returned safely from Ilium, died at home, while Schedius, they say, met his end in Trojan territory, but his bones also were brought back home.

Chapter 37

10.37.1

About two stadia on the right-hand side as one proceeds from the city stands a lofty rock–part of a mountain–and a temple of Artemis built upon it. The Artemis is a work of Praxiteles. She holds a torch in her right hand, has a quiver hanging over her shoulders, and by her left side stands a dog. The statue is larger in size than the tallest woman.

10.37.2

Bordering the land of Phocis is a territory named after Boulon, the man who led the colony. It was ? settled from cities in ancient Doris. These Boulians are said to have joined Philomelus and the common assembly of the Phocians. From Thisbe in Boeotia, the way to Boule is eighty stadia. But from Anticyra in Phocis by land I cannot state the distance precisely from the start, so difficult and rugged are the mountains lying between Anticyra and Boule. From Anticyra to the harbor itself is a distance of one hundred stadia, and from the harbor to Boule the journey by land we estimate as approximately seven stadia.

10.37.3

A river also flows down into the sea here–a winter torrent, called by the locals the Heracleios. Boulis ? is situated upon high ground, facing those who sail across from Antikyra to Lechaion, the harbor of Corinth. Most of the inhabitants there make their living as fishermen of shellfish used in purple dyeing. As for the construction of Boulis, neither this nor anything else about it is particularly remarkable. There are sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis and to Dionysus; their statues are fashioned out of wood, though I was not able to discover who made them. The god whom the people of Boulis especially honor is called Megistos ("Greatest"); to my judgment, this name is an epithet of Zeus. The Boulians also have a spring named Saunion.

10.37.4

The road from Delphi to its harbor-town Kirra is sixty stades in length. Once one has descended into ? the plain there is a racecourse where they hold the equestrian contests of the Pythian games. My account concerning the Taraxippos at Olympia revealed the traditions of the Eleans relating to this matter; as for this racecourse, indeed it seems likely that Apollo himself at times causes difficulties for some of the riders, since the divine power grants fortune both good and ill alike to men in all undertakings. Nevertheless, this course does not inherently inspire any panic in the horses, whether from the influence of a hero or from any other cause.

10.37.5

? The plain extending from Kirra is entirely bare, as they do not wish to plant trees there, either due to some curse or because they know the land is useless for nurturing trees. It is said that the contemporary name given to this place derives both from Kirra itself and from naming it after Kirra. Yet Homer, in the Iliad as well as in the hymn to Apollo, refers to the city by its original name, Krisa. Later, however, the inhabitants of Kirra committed acts of impiety against Apollo and appropriated land belonging to the god.

10.37.6

Therefore, the Amphictyons resolved to wage war against the Cirrhaeans, appointing Cleisthenes, tyrant of the Sicyonians, as their commander, and inviting Solon from Athens as their adviser. Consulting the oracle about their victory, the Pythia declared to them:

"Not until the wave of dark-eyed Amphitrite sweeps over my precinct, resounding upon the wine-dark sea, shall you take and cast down the tower of this city."

Therefore, Solon persuaded them to consecrate Cirrha's plain to the god, so that the sea might become neighbor to the sacred precinct of Apollo.

10.37.7

Another cunning stratagem by Solon against the people of Kirrha was also discovered; for he diverted the water of the Pleistos, which flowed into their city through an aqueduct, elsewhere. Although the inhabitants continued resisting the besiegers, relying upon water drawn still from wells and the spring given by the god, Solon cast roots of hellebore into the Pleistos; and when he perceived that the water was sufficiently saturated with the drug, he returned it into the aqueduct again. The Kirrhaians drank abundantly of the water without suspicion; hence, overcome by incessant diarrhea, those manning the walls abandoned their posts.

10.37.8

When the Amphictyons captured the city, they exacted punishment upon the Cirrhaeans in the name of the god; Cirrha is now the harbor town of Delphi. It also provides for viewing a temple and statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, statues notable for their great size and Attic craftsmanship. Adrasteia is also set up there among them, but her statue is smaller in scale compared to the others.

Chapter 38

10.38.1

The land of the Locrians, called Ozolian, lies adjacent to Phocis near Cirrha. Concerning the epithet given to these Locrians, I have heard various explanations, all of which I shall equally relate. They say that in the reign of Orestheus, son of Deucalion, a dog gave birth not to a puppy but to a log of wood. Orestheus buried this log, and in the spring a vine grew forth from it. From this wood () and its branches (), it is said, the people derived their name, Ozolian.

10.38.2

Others consider that Nessus, after being wounded by Heracles while ferrying across the river Evenus, did not die immediately, but escaped instead to this land, and that when he died here his body rotted unburied and imparted a foul stench to the air there. The third and fourth accounts–one states that the unpleasant vapor and water itself come from a nearby river, whereas the other attributes the smell to a great quantity of blooming asphodel growing there.

10.38.3

It is also said that the first inhabitants of this place were autochthonous, who, not yet knowing how to weave garments, fashioned for protection against the cold coverings made from the skins of animals, unprepared by tanning, turning the hairy side outward for appearance's sake. Consequently, their bodies must have become as malodorous as the skins themselves.

10.38.4

Twenty stades and one hundred beyond Delphi lies Amphissa, the greatest and most famous city of the Locrians. Due to their shame at the name of the Ozolian Locrians, the inhabitants associate themselves rather with the Aetolian nation. Indeed, the story has a degree of plausibility, because when the emperor of the Romans removed the Aetolians and resettled them in his new foundation of Nicopolis, a large portion of the population withdrew to Amphissa. Yet originally they descend from the Locrian people. They say the city derived its name from Amphissa, daughter of Macareus, son of Aeolus, and Apollo was said to have been Amphissa's lover.

10.38.5

The city is adorned both in its general construction and especially with things most memorable; there is a tomb of Amphissa and one of Andraimon. With him, they say, was buried Gorge, daughter of

Oineus, who had become the wife of Andraimon. On the acropolis is a temple of Athena, with a bronze statue set upright; they claim that Thoas brought the image from Ilium, and that it formed part of the spoils from Troy.

10.38.6

? However, at any rate, they did not persuade me. I mentioned earlier in my account that the Samians Rhoecus, son of Philaeus, and Theodorus, son of Telecles, were the first to discover how to melt bronze with the utmost precision; and these men were the first who cast statues. Of Theodorus, indeed, I know of no other invented works that survive today, at least ones made of bronze. But at Ephesus, as one approaches the temple-building of Artemis, there is a stone cornice above the altar of Artemis, called Protothronia, on the structure where inscriptions are displayed. On this cornice stand several statues, and at the far end is the likeness of a woman, a work executed by Rhoecus. The Ephesians call this figure Night.

10.38.7

★? This statue of Athena in Amphissa can be seen to be ancient in appearance and crude in its workmanship. The people of Amphissa also hold a rite dedicated to those called the Anaktes ("the Lords") children. But as to whose children among the gods these Anaktes might be, accounts differ: some say they are the Dioskouroi, others the Kouretes, and others, believing they have superior knowledge, call them the Kabeiroi.

10.38.8

Of these Locrians, there are also the following other cities: above Amphissa, toward the interior, is Myonia, thirty stades distant from Amphissa. It is these Myonians who dedicated the shield at Olympia to Zeus. Their town is situated upon high ground, and they have a grove and an altar of the Meilichian gods. To these Meilichian gods they offer sacrifice by night, and their custom requires them to consume the sacrificial meat on the spot before sunrise. Above the city there is also a sacred precinct of Poseidon, called the Poseidonion, in which stands a temple of Poseidon; but at the time of my visit there was no image within it.

10.38.9

? These then are the peoples living beyond Amphissa. On the coast lies Oiantheia, and bordering upon it is Naupaktos. Except for Amphissa, the remaining cities were placed under the authority of the people of Patrae by Augustus, who gave them a governor. In Oiantheia there is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and a little way above the city is a grove of cypress trees intermingled with pines, as well as a temple and statue of Artemis within the grove. The paintings on the walls had been effaced by time, and nothing of them remained now to be seen.

10.38.10

? I infer that the city took its name from a woman or nymph, since concerning Naupaktos, at least, I know it is said that the Dorians who were with the sons of Aristomachos built ships there, by means of which they crossed over into the Peloponnese; and for this reason, they say, the place received its name. As to the history of the inhabitants of Naupaktos–that the Athenians settled here those who had revolted to Ithome at the time of the earthquake in Lakedaimon, having taken Naupaktos away from the Lokrians; and that afterward, when the Athenians suffered their defeat at Aigospotamoi, the Spartans drove the Messenians out of Naupaktos as well–all these matters I have fully related in my

account of Messene. When the Messenians were thus forced to abandon the city, the Lokrians once more regained possession of Naupaktos.

10.38.11

Now the verses called by the Greeks the "Naupactian poem" most people ascribe to a Milesian poet. ? But Charon, son of Pytheas, says that they were composed by the Naupactian Carcinus. We also follow the opinion of the Lampsacene, for what sense would there be in naming poems composed by a Milesian poet after women from Naupactus?

10.38.12

Here by the sea is a temple of Poseidon and an upright bronze statue. There is also a sanctuary of Artemis and a statue made of white stone; it is represented in the attitude of throwing a javelin, and it bears the surname Aetolian. Aphrodite is honored within a cave; people pray to this goddess concerning various matters, but especially women–particularly widows–who beg her for marriage.

10.38.13

The sanctuary of Asclepius lay in ruins. Originally, a private citizen named Phalysios had built it; for ★ when he had become afflicted in his eyes and was almost blind, the god at Epidaurus sent to him Anyte, the poetess, carrying a sealed tablet. This appeared to the woman as a dream vision; nevertheless, it proved instantly real. She found in her hands a sealed tablet, and sailing to Naupactus, she instructed Phalysios to break the seal and read what had been written. Now, because of the condition of his eyes, it seemed impossible that he could clearly see the writing. But hoping for some benefit from Asclepius, he removed the seal, and immediately, as soon as he looked upon the wax, he became healthy. He then gave to Anyte what had been written upon the tablet, two thousand gold staters.

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