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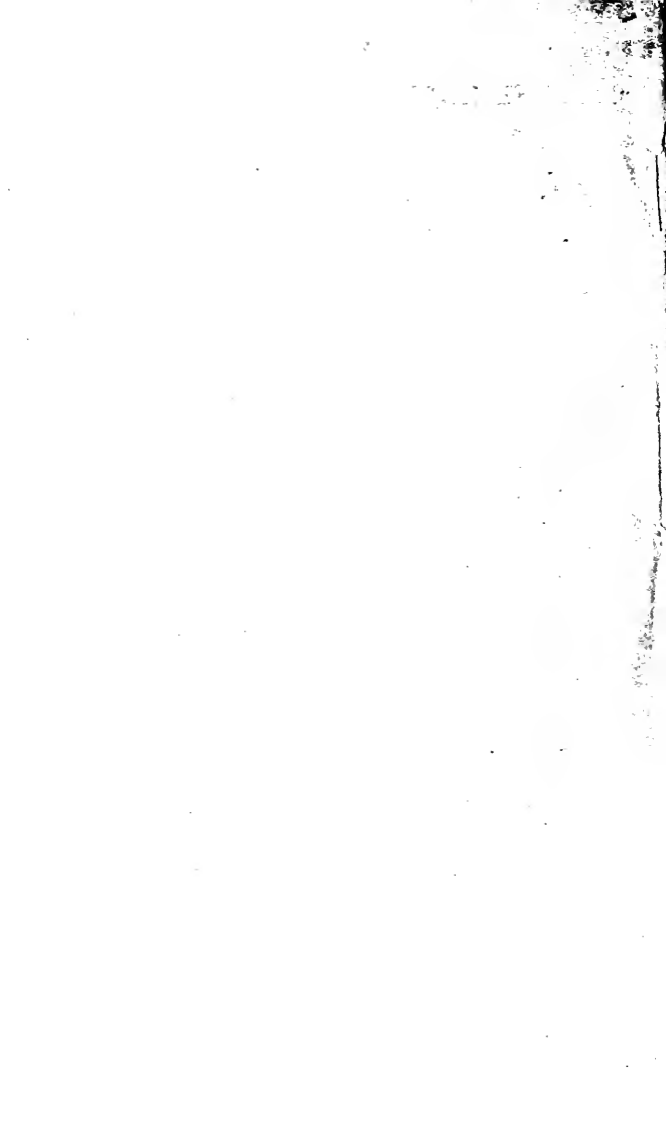
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## PAUSANIAS



PAUSANIAS  
DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

W. H. S. JONES, Litt.D.

ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

AND

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## PREFACE

THE translation of this volume, from Book III ch. xxiii to the end of Book IV, is the work of Professor H. A. Ormerod, of Leeds. It was hoped that he would continue to help the editors, but he was compelled to give up collaboration owing to the pressure of University teaching.

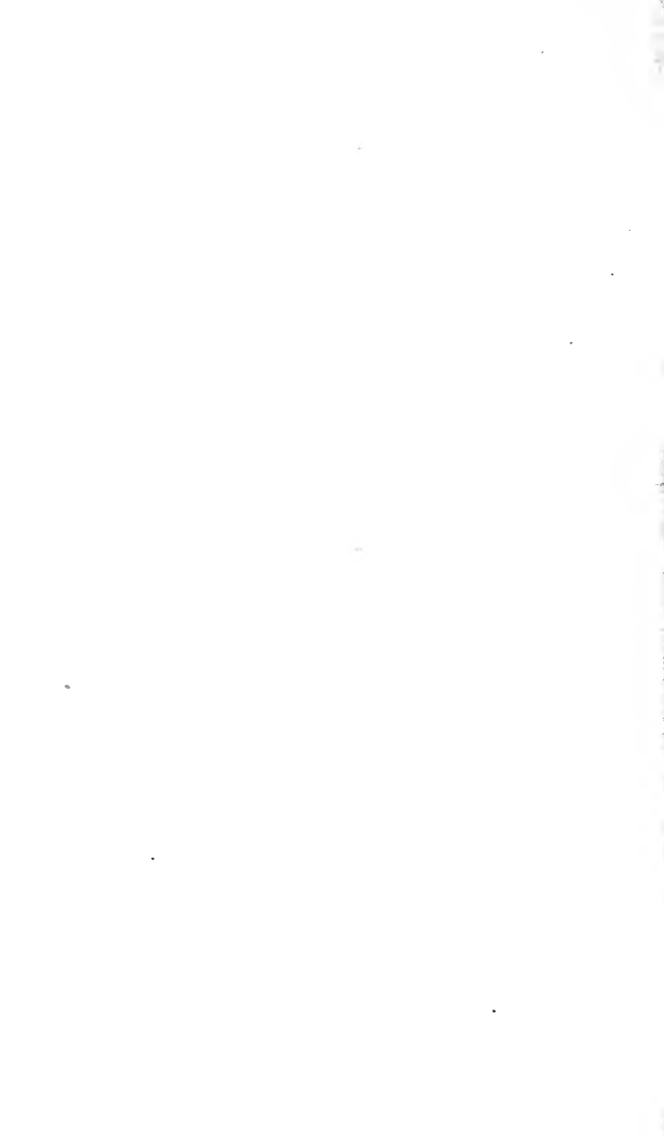
Various causes have postponed the appearance of this book, but it is hoped that the remaining two volumes will be completed without undue delay.

W. H. S. J.



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PAUSANIAS  
DESCRIPTION OF GREECE  
BOOK III—LACONIA

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ  
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΕΩΣ

Γ'

ΛΑΚΩΝΙΚΑ

Ι. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Λακωνικὴ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρας. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὧν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Λέλεγες ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. Λέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλης καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκίων. Πολυκίων μὲν δὴ ὅποι καὶ δι' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω. Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διώρυγι κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπορρυσθέντος δὲ—ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ποταμοῦ  
2 ρεῦμα—ὠνόμασεν Εὐρώταν. ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῷ παιδῶν ἀρρένων βασιλεύειν καταλείπει Λακεδαίμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταῦγέτης ὄντα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὠνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φήμην· συνώκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων Σπάρτη θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. τότε δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτα μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς

# PAUSANIAS

## DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

### BOOK III

#### LACONIA

I. AFTER the figures of Hermes we reach Laconia on the west. According to the tradition of the Laedaemonians themselves, Lelex, an aboriginal, was the first king in this land, after whom his subjects were named Leleges. Lelex had a son Myles, and a younger one Polycaon. Polycaon retired into exile, the place of this retirement and its reason I will set forth elsewhere. On the death of Myles his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne. He led down to the sea by means of a trench the stagnant water on the plain, and when it had flowed away, as what was left formed a river-stream, he named it Eurotas.<sup>1</sup> Having no male issue, he left the kingdom to Lacedaemon, whose mother was Taygete, after whom the mountain was named, while according to report his father was none other than Zeus. Lacedaemon was wedded to Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne, he first changed the names of the land and its inhabitants, calling them

<sup>1</sup> Eurotas = the fair-flowing.

ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα, μετὰ  
 δὲ τοῦτο ᾤκισέ τε καὶ ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς  
 3 πόλιν, ἣ Σπάρτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς. Ἀμύκλας  
 δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμονος, βουλόμενος ὑπολιπέσθαι τι  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μνήμην, πόλισμα ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ  
 Λακωνικῇ. γενομένων δέ οἱ παίδων Ἰάκινθον  
 μὲν νεώτατον ὄντα καὶ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστον κατέ-  
 λαβεν ἢ πεπρωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρός, καὶ  
 Ἰακίνθου μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ὑπὸ τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀμύ-  
 κλα ἐς Ἀργαλον τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀμύκλα  
 παίδων καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Κυνόρταν Ἀργάλου τέλευ-  
 τήσαντος ἀφίκετο ἡ ἀρχή. Κυνόρτα δὲ ἐγένετο  
 4 Οἶβαλος. οὗτος Γοργοφόνην τε τὴν Περσέως  
 γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ἀργούς καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδά-  
 ρεων, ᾧ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰπποκόων ἡμφισ-  
 βήτει καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔχειν ἡξίου τὴν ἀρχήν.  
 προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας  
 παρὰ πολὺ τε ὑπερεβύλετο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων  
 καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἀποχωρῆσαι δείσαντα, ὡς μὲν  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐς Πελλῆναν, Μεσσηνίων  
 δὲ ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων φεύγοντα  
 εἰσελθεῖν ὡς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἶναί τε  
 Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρους ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεω πρὸς  
 μητρός· καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηνίας  
 φασὶν ἐν Θαλίμαις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα  
 5 οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον  
 κατήλθέ τε ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους Τυνδάρεως καὶ ἀν-  
 ενεώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐβασίλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Τυν-  
 δάρεω παῖδες καὶ Μενέλαος ὁ Ἀτρέως Τυνδάρεω  
 γαμβρὸς ὢν Ὀρέστης τε Ἑρμιόνη τῇ Μενελάου  
 συριοικῶν. κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐπὶ

## LACONIA, 1. 2-5

after himself, and next he founded and named after his wife a city, which even down to our own day has been called Sparta. Amyclas, too, son of Lacedaemon, wished to leave some memorial behind him, and built a town in Laconia. Hyacinthus, the youngest and most beautiful of his sons, died before his father, and his tomb is in Amyclae below the image of Apollo. On the death of Amyclas the empire came to Argalus, the eldest of his sons, and afterwards, when Argalus died, to Cynortas. Cynortas had a son Oebalus. He took a wife from Argos, Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, and begat a son Tyndareus, with whom Hippocoon disputed about the kingship, claiming the throne on the ground of being the elder. With the aid of Icarus and his partisans he far surpassed Tyndareus in power, and forced him to retire in fear; the Lacedaemonians say that he went to Pellana, but a Messenian legend about him is that he fled to Aphareus in Messenia, Aphareus being the son of Perieres and the brother of Tyndareus on his mother's side. The story goes on to say that he settled at Thalamae in Messenia, and that his children were born to him when he was living there. Subsequently Tyndareus was brought back by Heracles and recovered his throne. His sons too became kings, as did Menelaus the son of Atreus and son-in-law of Tyndareus, and Orestes the husband of Hermione the daughter of Menelaus. On the return of the

Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος, Μεσσήνη  
 μὲν καὶ Ἄργος ἑκατέρα μοῖρα Τήμενον, ἡ δὲ  
 Κρεσφόντην ἔσχεν ἄρχοντας· ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δὲ  
 οὐτων διδύμων τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων οἰκίαι  
 δύο βασιλείαι γίνονται· συναρέσαι γὰρ τῇ Πυθία  
 6 φασίν. Ἀριστοδήμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὴν  
 τελευταίην συμβῆναι λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὶν  
 ἢ Δωριέας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ μὲν  
 δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν τοξευθῆναι λέ-  
 γουσιν Ἀριστόδημον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἀφίκοιτο ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλέους  
 ἐντυχόντος οἱ πρότερον πύθοιτο ὡς ἐς Πελοπόν-  
 νησον Δωριεῦσι γενήσεται ἡδε ἡ κάθοδος· ὁ δὲ  
 ἀληθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας  
 καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ἀνεψιούς οὖτας Τισαμενῷ τῷ  
 7 Ὀρέστου, φονεῦσαι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον. ὀνόματα  
 μὲν δὲ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυ-  
 σθένης ἐτέθη, δίδυμοι δὲ οὖντες διάφοροι τὰ  
 μάλιστα ἦσαν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα  
 ἀπεχθείας ὅμως ἐν κοινῷ Θήρα τῷ Λυτεσίωνος,  
 ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν οὖντι Ἀργείας, ἐπιτρο-  
 πεύσαντι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν.  
 τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν ὁ Θήρας ἔστειλεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον  
 τὴν τότε ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην, τοὺς ἀπο-  
 γόνους οἱ τοῦ Μεμβλιάρου παραχωρήσεσθαι τῆς  
 8 βασιλείας ἐλπίζων ἐκόντας, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐποί-  
 ησαν λαβόντες λογισμὸν ὅτι Θήρα μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν  
 ἀνήει Κάδμον τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι  
 Μεμβλιάρου· Μεμβλιάρου δὲ ἄνδρα οὖντα τοῦ  
 δήμου Κάδμος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατέλιπεν ἡγεμόνα  
 εἶναι τῶν ἐποίκων. καὶ Θήρας μὲν τῇ τε νήσῳ  
 μετέβαλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν  
 6

## LACONIA, i. 5-8

Heracleidae in the reign of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, both districts, Messene and Argos, had kings put over them; Argos had Temenus and Messene Cresphontes. In Lacedaemon, as the sons of Aristodemus were twins, there arose two royal houses; for they say that the Pythian priestess approved. Tradition has it that Aristodemus himself died at Delphi before the Dorians returned to the Peloponnesus, but those who glorify his fate assert that he was shot by Apollo for not going to the oracle, having learned from Heracles, who met him before he arrived there, that the Dorians would make this return to the Peloponnesus. But the more correct account is that Aristodemus was murdered by the sons of Pylades and Electra, who were cousins of Tisamenus son of Orestes. The names given to the sons of Aristodemus were Procles and Eurysthenes, and although they were twins they were bitter enemies. Their enmity reached a high pitch, but nevertheless they combined to help Theras, the son of Autesion and the brother of their mother Argeia and their guardian as well, to found a colony. This colony Theras was dispatching to the island that was then called Calliste,<sup>1</sup> and he hoped that the descendants of Membliarus would of their own accord give up the kingship to him. This as a matter of fact they did, taking into account that the family of Theras went back to Cadmus himself, while they were only descendants of Membliarus, who was a man of the people whom Cadmus left in the island to be the leader of the settlers. And Theras changed the name of the island, renaming it after himself, and even at the present day the people of Thera

<sup>1</sup> That is, "Fairest."

ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῆ·  
 Προκλεῖ δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθένει μέχρι μὲν τῆς προ-  
 θυμίας τῆς ἐς τὸν Θῆραν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνῆλθον  
 αἱ γινῶμαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διειστήκει σφίσιν ἐπὶ  
 9 παντὶ τὰ βουλευματα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁμονο-  
 ησάντων τοὺς ἀπογόνους αὐτῶν ἐς κοινὸν κατά-  
 λογον ὑπάξειν ἂν ἔμελλον· οὐ γάρ τι τὰ πάντα  
 ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνεληλύθασιν ἡλικίας, ὡς ἀνεψιῶν  
 τε ἀνεψιῶ καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ  
 τοὺς κατωτέρω κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις  
 γεγονότας τὸν ἴσον. ἑκατέραν οὖν τὴν οἰκίαν  
 ἐπέξειμι αὐτῶν ἰδίως καὶ οὐκ ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα ἐς  
 τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναμίξας.

II. Εὐρυσθένει πρεσβυτέρω τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου  
 παίδων ὄντι ἡλικίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν υἱὸν  
 Ἄγιν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὸ γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένους  
 καλοῦσιν Ἀγιάδας. ἐπὶ τούτου Πατρεῖ τῷ  
 Πρευγένους κτίζοντι ἐν Ἀχαΐα πόλιν, ἣντινα  
 Πάτρας καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρέως  
 τούτου, συνεπελάβοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ οἰκι-  
 σμοῦ. συνήραντο δὲ καὶ Γρᾶ τῷ Ἐχέλα τοῦ  
 Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου στελλομένῳ ναυσὶν ἐς  
 ἀποικίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ  
 Μυσῶν, καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθ-  
 ἔξειν ἔμελλον· ὁ δὲ οἱ πρόγονος Πενθίλος Λέσβου  
 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης νῆσον εἶλεν ἔτι  
 2 πρότερον. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐχέστρατου τοῦ Ἀγιδος βασι-  
 λεύοντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνουρέας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους, αἰτίαν ἐπ-  
 ενεγκόντες ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφίσι  
 ὄντων Ἀργείων λησταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνουριακῆς  
 κακουργοῖεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καταδρομὰς ἐκ τοῦ φανε-  
 8



every year offer to him as their founder the sacrifices that are given to a hero. Procles and Eurysthenes were of one mind in their eagerness to serve Theras, but in all else their purposes were always widely different. Even if they had agreed together, I should never have ventured to include their descendants in a common list; for they did not altogether coincide in respect of age, so that cousins, cousins' children, and later generations were not born so as to make the steps in one pedigree coincide with those of the other. So I shall give the history of each house by itself separately, instead of combining them both in one narrative.

II. Eurysthenes, the elder of the sons of Aristodemus, had, they say, a son Agis, after whom the family of Eurysthenes is called the Agiadae. In his time, when Patreus the son of Preuges was founding in Achaea a city which even at the present day is called Patrae from this Patreus, the Lacedaemonians took part in the settlement. They also joined in an expedition oversea to found a colony. Gras the son of Echelas the son of Penthilus the son of Orestes was the leader, who was destined to occupy the land between Ionia and Mysia, called at the present day Aeolis; his ancestor Penthilus had even before this seized the island of Lesbos that lies over against this part of the mainland. When Echestratus, son of Agis, was king at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians removed all the Cynurians of military age, alleging as a reason that freebooters from the Cynurian territory were harrying Argolis, the Argives being their kinsmen, and that the Cynurians themselves openly made forays into the land. The

ροῦ ποιοῖντο ἐς τὴν γῆν. λέγονται δὲ οἱ Κυνου-  
 ρεῖς Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἶναι, καὶ οἰκιστὴν  
 φασιν αὐτῶν Κύνουρον γενέσθαι τὸν Περσέως.  
 3 ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς Λαβώτας ὁ Ἐχε-  
 στράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῦτον  
 τὸν Λαβώταν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖ-  
 στον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους  
 φησὶν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι παῖδα ὄντα. Λεωβώτην  
 δὲ οἱ τίθεται τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οὐ Λαβώταν. Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις δὲ πρῶτον τότε ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς  
 Ἀργεῖους πόλεμον· ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλή-  
 ματα τὴν τε Κυνουριακὴν ἐλόντων αὐτῶν ἀποτέ-  
 μνεσθαι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους σφῶν  
 ὑπηκόους ὄντας ἀφιστάται. τότε μὲν δὴ παρὰ  
 οὐδετέρων πολεμησάντων ὅμως μνήμης ἄξιον  
 4πραχθῆναί φασιν οὐδέν· τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς βασι-  
 λεύσαντας τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Δόρυσσον τὸν  
 Λαβώτα καὶ Ἀγησίλαον Δορύσσου δι' ὀλίγου  
 σφᾶς τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. ἔθηκε δὲ  
 καὶ Λυκούργος Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ  
 τῆς Ἀγησιλίου βασιλείας· θεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν  
 λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας διδαχθέντα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς Κρητικὰ ὄντα νόμιμα  
 ἐπαγάγοιτο. τούτους δὲ οἱ Κρήτες τοὺς νόμους  
 τεθῆναί σφισιν ὑπὸ Μίνω λέγουσι, βουλευσασθαι  
 δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τὸν Μίνω.  
 ἠνίξατο δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν περὶ τοῦ  
 Μίνω τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι·

τῆσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε  
 Μίνως

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς.

## LACONIA, II. 2-4

Cynurians are said to be Argives by descent, and tradition has it that their founder was Cynurus, son of Perseus. Not many years afterwards Labotas, son of Echestratus, became king in Sparta. This Labotas Herodotus, in his history of Croesus, says was in his childhood the ward of Lycurgus the law-giver, but he calls him Leobotes and not Labotas. It was then that the Lacedaemonians first resolved to make war upon the Argives, bringing as charges against them that they were annexing the Cynurian territory which they themselves had captured, and were causing revolts among their subjects the Perioeci (*Dwellers around*). On this occasion neither of the belligerents, according to the account, achieved anything worthy of mention, and the next kings of this house, Doryssus, son of Labotas, and Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, were soon both killed. Lycurgus too laid down their laws for the Lacedaemonians in the reign of Agesilaus; some say that he was taught how to do this by the Pythian priestess, others that he introduced Cretan institutions. The Cretans say that these laws of theirs were laid down by Minos, and that Minos was not without divine aid in his deliberations concerning them. Homer<sup>1</sup> too, I think, refers in riddling words to the legislation of Minos in the following verses:—

“Cnossus too, great city, among them, where Minos  
for nine years  
Ruled as king, and enjoyed familiar converse with  
great Zeus.”

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xix. 178.

5 Λυκούργου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι μνήμην· Ἀγησιλάου δὲ παῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος. ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες πόλιν τῶν περιοικίδων ἠνδραποδίσαντο Αἴγυν, ὑποπτεύσαντες ὡς οἱ Αἰγῦται φρονοῦσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων. Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεξεῖλε μὲν καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν Αἴγυν, ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἰδία Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸς ἔδρασεν ἠγούμενος, μνήμην καὶ τῶνδε ποιησόμεθα ὁμοῦ τῷ λόγῳ μεταβάντι ἐς

6 τοὺς Εὐρυπωντίδας καλουμένους. Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἦν Τήλεκλος· ἐπὶ τούτου πόλεις Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν περιοικίδων πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἐξεῖλον Ἀμύκλας καὶ Φᾶριν καὶ Γεράνθρας, ἐχόντων ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν. τούτων Φαρίται καὶ Γερανθῤαται τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Δωριέων καταπλαγέντες ἀπέλθειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου συγχωροῦνται ὑπόσπονδοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀντισχόντας τε ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἔργα οὐκ ἄδοξα ἐπιδειξαμένους. δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Δωριεῖς τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμυκλαιεῦσιν ἀναστήσαντες, ὡς ἐν τῷ τότε λόγῳ μάλιστα ἄξιον τοῦτο ὑπάρξαν σφίσιν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλεκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας

7 ἐπεποιήτο ἐν χωρίῳ καλουμένῳ Λίμναις· Τηλέκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἔσχεν ὁ Τηλέκλου τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Κρήτην Χαρμίδαυ τὸν Εὐθύνοσ, ἄνδρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ τῶν δοκίμων, στίσεις τε καταπαύσοντα τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ τὰ πολίσματα, ὅποσα ἦν ἀπωτέρω

Of Lycurgus I shall make further mention later. Agesilaus had a son Archelaus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians took by force of arms Aegys, a city of the Perioeci, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, suspecting them of Arcadian sympathies. Charilaus, the king of the other house, helped Archelaus to destroy Aegys, but the exploits he achieved when leading the Lacedaemonians by himself, these too I shall relate when my narrative comes to treat of those called the Eurypontidae. Archelaus had a son Teleclus. In his reign the Lacedaemonians conquered in war and reduced Amyclae, Pharis, and Geranthrae, cities of the Perioeci, which were still in the possession of the Achaeans. The inhabitants of Pharis and Geranthrae, panic-stricken at the onslaught of the Dorians, made an agreement to retire from the Peloponnesus under a truce, but those of Amyclae were not driven out at the first assault, but only after a long and stubborn resistance, in which they distinguished themselves by glorious achievements. To this heroism the Dorians bore witness by raising a trophy against the Amyclaeans, implying that their success was the most memorable exploit of that time. Not long after this Teleclus was murdered by Messenians in a sanctuary of Artemis. This sanctuary was built on the frontier of Laconia and Messenia, in a place called Limnae (*Lakes*). After the death of Teleclus, Alcamenes his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent to Crete Charmidas the son of Euthys, who was a distinguished Spartan, to put down the civil strife among the Cretans, to persuade them to abandon

θαλάσσης καὶ ἄλλως ἀσθενῆ, ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς Κρήτας πείσοντα ἐκλιπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τοῦ παράπλου συνοικιοῦντα ἀντ' αὐτῶν. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Ἔλος ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλισμα Ἀχαιῶν ἐχόντων καὶ Ἀργείους τοῖς εἴλωσιν ἀμύναντας μάχῃ νικῶσιν.

III. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλκαμένους Πολύδωρος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀλκαμένους, καὶ ἀποικίαν τε εἰς Ἰταλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰς Κρότωνα ἔστειλαν καὶ εἰς Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς ἄκρα Σεφυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ καλούμενος Μεσσηνιακὸς Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος μάλιστα εἰς ἀκμὴν προῆλθε. λέγουσι δὲ οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε αἰτίας καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

2 τὰ οὖν λεγόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁποῖον ὁ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος πέρας, τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἐφεξῆς δηλώσει· τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθησόμεθα αὐτῶν, τὰ πολλὰ ἠγήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμῳ Θεόπομπον τὸν Νικάνδρου, βασιλέα ὄντα τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας. διαπεπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίην πολέμου καὶ ἤδη Λακεδαιμονίοις δορικτήτου τῆς Μεσσηνίας οὔσης, Πολύδωρον εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ— οὔτε γὰρ ἔργον βίαιον οὔτε ὑβριστὴν λόγον παρείχετο εἰς οὐδένα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεσι τὰ δίκαια

3 ἐφύλασσε οὐκ ἄνευ φιλανθρωπίας, ἔχοντας δὲ ἤδη Πολυδώρου λαμπρὸν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολέμαρχος οἰκίας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀδόξου, θρασύτερος δὲ ὡς ἐδήλωσε γνώμην, φονεύει τὸν Πολύδωρον· ἀποθανόντι δὲ αὐτῷ

the weak, inland towns, and to help them to people instead those that were conveniently situated for the coasting voyage. They also laid waste Helos, an Achaean town on the coast, and won a battle against the Argives who came to give aid to the Helots.

III. On the death of Alcamenes, Polydorus his son succeeded to the throne, and the Lacedaemonians sent colonies to Croton in Italy and to the Locri by the Western Headland. The war called the Messenian reached its height in the reign of this king. As to the causes of the war, the Lacedaemonian version differs from the Messenian. The accounts given by the belligerents, and the manner in which this war ended, will be set forth later in my narrative. For the present I must state thus much; the chief leader of the Lacedaemonians in the first war against the Messenians was Theopompus the son of Nicander, a king of the other house. When the war against Messene had been fought to a finish, and Messenia was enslaved to the Lacedaemonians, Polydorus, who had a great reputation at Sparta and was very popular with the masses—for he never did a violent act or said an insulting word to anyone, while as a judge he was both upright and humane—his fame having by this time spread throughout Greece, was murdered by Polemarchus, a member of a distinguished family in Lacedaemon, but, as he showed, a man of an unscrupulous temper. After his death Polydorus received many signal

πολλά τε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δέδοται καὶ ἀξιόλογα ἐς τιμὴν. ἔστι μέντοι καὶ Πολεμάρχου μνήμα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, εἴτε ἀγαθοῦ τὰ πρότερα ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομισθέντος εἴτε καὶ κρύφα οἱ προσήκοντες θάπτουσιν αὐτόν.

- 4 Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος Μεσσηνιοὶ τε ἠνεύχοντο ὑπήκοοι Λακεδαιμονίων ὄντες καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀργείων οὐδέν σφισιν ἀπήντησε νεώτερον· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτους—τὸ γὰρ χρεῶν ἤδη Μεσσηνίους ἤλαυνεν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου πάσης—ἀφίστανται Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντέσχον πολεμοῦντες· ὑπόσπονδοι δὲ ὡς ἐκρατήθησαν ἀπήεσαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλειφθὲν τῇ γῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένοντο οἰκέται πλὴν οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ
- 5 θαλάσῃ πολίσματα ἔχοντες. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμβάντα, ὃν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες ἐπολέμησαν, οὐ μοι κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ παρούσῃ δηλῶσαι. Ἀναξάνδρου δὲ υἱὸς Εὐρυκράτης γίνεται, Εὐρυκράτους δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Λέων. ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλευόντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγεάτας πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξανδρίδου τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπικρατέστεροι Τεγεατῶν γίνονται τῷ πολέμῳ· γίνονται δὲ οὕτως. ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος Λίχας ὄνομα ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεγεάν· τηρικαῦτα δὲ αἱ πόλεις ἄγουσαι σπονδὰς
- 6 ἔτυχον. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Λίχα Ὀρέστου τὰ ὅσα ἀνεζήτουν· ἀνεζήτουν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ θεοπροπίου Σπαρτιᾶται. συνῆκεν οὖν ὁ Λίχας ὡς ἔστι κατακέιμενα ἐν οἰκίᾳ χαλκέως, συνῆκε δὲ οὕτως·



marks of respect from the Lacedaemonians. However, Polemarchus too has a tomb in Sparta; either he had been considered a good man before this murder, or perhaps his relatives buried him secretly.

During the reign of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, the Messenians submitted to be subjects of the Lacedaemonians, neither did any trouble befall from the Argive people. But in the reign of Anaxander, son of Eurycrates—for destiny was by this time driving the Messenians out of all the Peloponnesus—the Messenians revolted from the Lacedaemonians. For a time they held out by force of arms, but at last they were overcome and retired from the Peloponnesus under a truce. The remnant of them left behind in the land became the slaves of the Lacedaemonians, with the exception of those in the towns on the coast. The incidents of the war which the Messenians waged after the revolt from the Lacedaemonians it is not pertinent that I should set forth in the present part of my narrative. Anaxander had a son Eurycrates, and this second Eurycrates a son Leon. While these two kings were on the throne the Lacedaemonians were generally unsuccessful in the war with Tegea. But in the reign of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, the Lacedaemonians won the war with Tegea in the following manner. A Lacedaemonian, by name Lichas, came to Tegea when there chanced to be a truce between the cities. When Lichas arrived the Spartans were seeking the bones of Orestes in accordance with an oracle. Now Lichas inferred that they were buried in a smithy, the reason for this inference being this. Everything that he saw

560-550  
B.C.

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ὅποσα ἐν τῇ τοῦ χαλκέως ἑώρα, παρέβαλεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα, ἀνέμοις μὲν τοῦ χαλκέως εἰκάζων τὰς φύσας, ὅτι καὶ αὐταὶ βίαιον πνεῦμα ἠφίεσαν, τύπον δὲ τὴν σφύραν καὶ τὸν ἄκμονα ἀντίτυπον ταύτῃ, πῆμα δὲ εἰκότως ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν σίδηρον, ὅτι ἐχρῶντο ἐς τὰς μάχας ἤδη τῷ σιδήρῳ· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων ἀν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ πῆμα εἶναι τὸν χαλκόν.

- 7 τῷ χρησμῷ δὲ τῷ γενομένῳ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὰ ὄστᾶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον εἰκότα ἐχρήσθη κατάγουσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Σκύρου Θησέα, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ εἶναί σφισιν ἐλεῖν Σκύρον· ἀνεύρε δὲ τὰ ὄστᾶ τοῦ Θησέως Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου, σοφία χρησάμενος καὶ οὗτος, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἶλε τὴν
- 8 Σκύρον. ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰ ὄπλα ὁμοίως χαλκᾶ ἦν πάντα, μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρου τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ ἐς τε Ἀξίνην ἔχοντα τὴν Πεισάνδρου καὶ ἐς τοῦ Μηριόνου τὸν ὀιστόν. βεβαιοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μοι τὸν λόγον ἐν Φασήλιδι ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἱερῷ τὸ δόρυ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Νικομηδεύσιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναῷ μάχαιρα ὁ Μέμνονος· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἢ τε αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ σαυρωτήρ, ἢ μάχαιρα δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης χαλκοῦ πεποίηται.

- 9 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσμεν ἔχοντα οὕτως· Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Λέοντος Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος γυναϊκᾶς τε δύο ἅμα ἔσχε καὶ οἰκίας δύο ἅμα ᾤκησε. τὴν γάρ οἱ πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν ἀρίστην τὰ ἄλλα οὐσαν συνέβαινε οὐ τίκτειν· ἀποπέμψασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κελευόντων τῶν ἐφόρων τοῦτο μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται, τοσοῦτον δὲ σφισιν εἶκει γυναῖκα ἑτέραν λαβεῖν πρὸς ταύτῃ. καὶ ἢ τε ἐπεισελθοῦσα Κλεομένην παῖδα ἔσχε

in the smithy he compared with the oracle from Delphi, likening to the "winds" the bellows, for that they too sent forth a violent blast, the hammer to the "stroke," the anvil to the "counterstroke" to it, while the iron is naturally a "woe to man," because already men were using iron in warfare. In the time of those called heroes the god would have called bronze a woe to man. Similar to the oracle about the bones of Orestes was the one afterwards given to the Athenians, that they were to bring back Theseus from Scyros to Athens; otherwise they could not take Scyros. Now the bones of Theseus were discovered by Cimon the son of Miltiades, who displayed similar sharpness of wit, and shortly afterwards took Scyros. I have evidence that in the heroic age weapons were universally of bronze in the verses of Homer<sup>1</sup> about the axe of Peisander and the arrow of Meriones. My statement is likewise confirmed by the spear of Achilles dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the Nicomedian temple of Asclepius. The point and butt-spike of the spear and the whole of the sword are made of bronze. The truth of these statements I can vouch for.

Anaxandrides the son of Leon was the only Lacedaemonian to possess at one and the same time two wives and two households. For his first consort, though an excellent wife, had the misfortune to be barren. When the ephors bade him put her away he firmly refused to do so, but made this concession to them, that he would take another wife in addition to her. The fruit of this union was a son, Cleomenes;

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xiii. 611 foll. and 650.

καὶ ἡ προτέρα τέως οὐ σχοῦσα ἐν γαστρὶ ἐπὶ  
 γεγονότι ἤδη Κλεομένει τίκτει Δωριέα καὶ αὖθις  
 10 Λεωνίδα, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Κλεόμβροτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἀπέθανεν Ἀναξανδρίδης, Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέα  
 καὶ γνώμην Κλεομένους καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀμεί-  
 νονα εἶναι νομίζοντες τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο ἄκοντες,  
 Κλεομένει δὲ διδόασιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβεῖα  
 τὴν ἀρχήν.

IV. Δωριεὺς μὲν δὴ—οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχετο ὑπα-  
 κούειν Κλεομένει μένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι—ἐς ἀποι-  
 κίαν στέλλεται. Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν,  
 αὐτίκα ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα, Λακεδαιμονίων  
 τε αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιάν.  
 ὡς δὲ ἐπέξῃλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σὺν ὄπλοις, ὁ Κλεο-  
 μένης ἐνίκα τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ—ἦν γὰρ πλησίον ἄλσος  
 ἱερὸν Ἀργου τοῦ Νιόβης—καταφεύγουσιν ὡς  
 ἐτράποντο ὅσον τε πεντακισχίλιοι τῶν Ἀργείων  
 ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. Κλεομένης δέ—ἐξώρμει γὰρ τὰ  
 πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ—κελεύει καὶ τότε ἐνεῖναι πῦρ  
 τοῖς εἴλωσιν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ τό τε ἄλσος ἢ  
 φλόξ ἐπέλαβεν ἅπαν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄλσει καιο-  
 2 μένῳ συγκατεκαύθησαν οἱ ἰκέται. ἐστράτευσε  
 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρότερον Ἀθηναίοις  
 τε ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων  
 καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δόξαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλ-  
 λησιν ἀγαθὴν κτώμενος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἀθηναίου  
 χάριτι ἀνδρὸς Ἰσαγόρου τυραννίδα οἱ συγ-  
 κατεργασόμενος Ἀθηνῶν. ὡς δὲ ἡμάρτανε τῆς  
 ἐλπίδος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
 ἐμαχέσαντο ἐρρωμένως, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλεομένης  
 ἄλλα τε ἐδήλωσε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς καλουμένης  
 Ὀργάδος θεῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱεράς, καὶ

and the former wife, who up to this time had not conceived, after the birth of Cleomenes bore Dorieus, then Leonidas, and finally Cleombrotus. And when Anaxandrides died, the Lacedaemonians, believing Dorieus to be both of a sounder judgment than Cleomenes and a better soldier, much against their will rejected him as their king, and obeyed the laws by giving the throne to the elder claimant Cleomenes.

IV. Now Dorieus could not bear to stay at Lacedaemon and be subject to his brother, and so he went on a colonising expedition. As soon as he became king, Cleomenes gathered together an army, both of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies, and invaded Argolis. The Argives came out under arms to meet them, but Cleomenes won the day. Near the battlefield was a grove sacred to Argus, son of Niobe, and on being routed some five thousand of the Argives took refuge therein. Cleomenes was subject to fits of mad excitement, and on this occasion he ordered the Helots to set the grove on fire, and the flames spread all over the grove, which, as it burned, burned up the suppliants with it. He also conducted campaigns against Athens, by the first of which he delivered the Athenians from the sons of Peisistratus and won a good report among the Greeks both for himself personally and for the Lacedaemonians; while the second campaign was to please an Athenian, Isagoras, by helping him to establish a tyranny over Athens. When he was disappointed, and the Athenians fought strenuously for their freedom, Cleomenes devastated the country, including, they say, the district called Orgas, which was sacred to the deities in Eleusis. He advanced

510 B.C.

508 B.C.

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ταύτης τεμείν φασιν αὐτόν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγιναν, καὶ Αἰγινητῶν τοὺς δυνατοὺς συνελάμβανεν ὅσοι μηδισμοῦ τε αὐτῶν μετέσχον καὶ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ τῷ Ὑστάσπου γῆν δοῦναι καὶ  
 3 ὕδωρ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισαν. διατρίβοντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Κλεομένους Δημάρατος ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πλῆθος. Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐξ Αἰγίνης, ἔπρασσε ὅπως Δημάρατον παύσειε βασιλεύοντα, καὶ τὴν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς πρόμαντιν ὠνήσατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτὴν ὅποσα αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐς Δημάρατον χρῆσαι, καὶ Λεωτυχίδην ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους καὶ οἰκίας Δημαράτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπήρην  
 4 ἀμφισβητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἶχετο δὲ Λεωτυχίδης λόγων οὓς Ἄριστων ποτὲ ἐς Δημάρατον τεχθέντα ἐξέβαλεν ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐχ αὐτοῦ παῖδα εἶναι φήσας. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰώθεσαν, ἀνάγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα τὸ ὑπὲρ Δημαράτου· ἡ δὲ σφισιν ἔχρησεν ἡ πρόμαντις ὅποσα ἦν Κλεομένει κατὰ γνώμην.  
 5 Δημάρατος μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους καὶ οὐ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βασιλείας ἐπαύθη, Κλεομένην δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐπέλαβεν ἡ τελευτὴ μανέντα· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάβετο ξίφους, ἐτίτρωσκεν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν καὶ διεξῆει τὸ σῶμα ἅπαν κόπτων τε καὶ λυμαινόμενος. Ἄργεῖοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἰκέταις τοῦ Ἄργου δίδόντα αὐτὸν δίκην τέλος τοῦ βίου φασὶν εὐρέσθαι τοιοῦτον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὅτι ἐδήλωσε τὴν Ὀργάδα, Δελφοὶ δὲ τῶν δώρων ἕνεκα ὧν τῇ προμάντιδι ἔδωκεν, ἀναπέισας ἐψευσ-

## LACONIA, iv. 2-5

as far as Aegina, and proceeded to arrest such influential Aeginetans as had shown Persian sympathies, and had persuaded the citizens to give earth and water to king Darius, son of Hystaspes. While Cleomenes was occupied in Aegina, Demaratus, the king of the other house, was slandering him to the Lacedaemonian populace. On his return from Aegina, Cleomenes began to intrigue for the deposition of king Demaratus. He bribed the Pythian prophetess to frame responses about Demaratus according to his instructions, and instigated Leotychides, a man of royal birth and of the same family as Demaratus, to put in a claim to the throne. Leotychides seized upon the remark that Ariston in his ignorance blurted out when Demaratus was born, denying that he was his child. On the present occasion the Lacedaemonians, according to their wont, referred to the oracle at Delphi the claim against Demaratus, and the prophetess gave them a response which favoured the designs of Cleomenes. So Demaratus was deposed, not rightfully, but because Cleomenes hated him. Subsequently Cleomenes met his end in a fit of madness; for seizing a sword he began to wound himself, and hacked and maimed his body all over. The Argives assert that the manner of his end was a punishment for his treatment of the suppliants of Argus; the Athenians say that it was because he had devastated Orgas; the Delphians put it down to the bribes he gave the Pythian prophetess, persuading her to give lying

6 μένα εἶπεῖν ἐς Δημάρατον. εἶη δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ μηνίματα ἔκ τε ἡρώων ὁμοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Κλεομένει συνεληλυθότα, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ Πρωτεσίλαος ἐν Ἐλαιούντι οὐδὲν ἥρως Ἄργου φανερώτερος ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν ἐτιμωρήσατο Ἄρταῦκτῃν καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν οὐ ποτε θεῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίῃνι ὄντων ἐξεγένετο ἰλάσασθαι τὸ μήνιμα γῆν ἐπεργασαμένοις τὴν ἱεράν. τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ μαντείου τὴν διάπειραν οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἄλλον γε οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ μόνον Κλεομένην τολμήσαντα ἴσμεν.

7 Κλεομένει δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ἀρρένων παίδων ἐς Λεωνίδα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου, Δωριέως δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφόν, κατέβαινεν ἢ ἀρχή. καὶ Ξέρξης τε τῆνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν καὶ Λεωνίδας τριακοσίοις ὁμοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπήντησεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους βαρβάρων, εὐαρίθμητοι δὲ ὁπόσους ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς μάλιστα ἀρετὴ προήγαγεν ἐς πλεον δόξης, ὡς Ἀχιλλεύς τε τὸν πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πόλεμον καὶ Μιλτιάδης τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεωνίδου κατόρθωμα ὑπερεβάλετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὰ τε ἀνὰ χρόνον συμβάντα καὶ τὰ ἔτι πρότερον.

8 Ξέρξη γὰρ βασιλέων, ὁπόσοι Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐγένοντο ὕστερον, παρασχομένῳ μέγιστον φρόνημα καὶ ἀποδειξαμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Λεωνίδας σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὓς ἠγάγετο ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐγένετο ἂν ἐμποδῶν μηδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς Οἴτης τείνουσαν περιαγαγῶν τὴν μετὰ



responses about Demaratus. It may well be too that the wrath of heroes and the wrath of gods united together to punish Cleomenes; since it is a fact that for a personal wrong Protesilaus, a hero not a whit more illustrious than Argus, punished at Elaeus Artayctes, a Persian; while the Megarians never succeeded in propitiating the deities at Eleusis for having encroached upon the sacred land. As to the tampering with the oracle, we know of nobody, with the exception of Cleomenes, who has had the audacity even to attempt it.

Cleomenes had no male issue, and the kingdom devolved on Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides and full brother of Dorieus. At this time Xerxes led his host against Greece, and Leonidas with three hundred Lacedaemonians met him at Thermopylae. Now although the Greeks have waged many wars, and so have foreigners among themselves, yet there are but few that have been made more illustrious by the exceptional valour of one man, in the way that Achilles shed lustre on the Trojan war and Miltiades on the engagement at Marathon. But in truth the success of Leonidas surpassed, in my opinion, all later as well as all previous achievements. For Xerxes, the proudest of all who have reigned over the Medes, or over the Persians who succeeded them, the achiever of such brilliant exploits, was met on his march by Leonidas and the handful of men he led to Thermopylae, and they would have prevented him from even seeing Greece at all, and from ever burning Athens, if the

480 B.C.

Ἐδάρνου στρατιὰν ὁ Τραχίνιος κυκλώσασθαί σφισι τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρέσχε καὶ οὕτω κατεργασθέντος Λεωνίδου παρήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ βάρβαροι.

- 9 Πausανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου βασιλεὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο· ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ Πλείσταρχον τὸν Λεωνίδου καταλειφθέντα ἔτι παῖδα εἰς Πλάταιάν τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἤγαγε καὶ ὕστερον ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. Πausανίου δὲ τὸ ἔργον τὸ εἰς τὴν Κῶν γυναῖκα ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τίθεμαι μάλιστα, ἦντινα ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου παρὰ Κῶις θυγατέρα οὖσαν Ἠγητορίδου τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου Φαραυδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιδος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, παλλακὴν εἶχεν
- 10 ἄκουσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Πλαταιᾶσι Μαρδόνιός τε ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἱ βάρβαροι, τὴν γυναῖκα ὁ Πausανίας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Κῶν κόσμον τε ὃν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Πέρσης αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγομένην κατασκευήν. Μαρδονίου τε οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Πausανίας αἰσχῦναι τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Λάμπωνος.

V. Πλείσταρχος μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφὼς ἐτελεύτησε, Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἠγησαμένου· Πλειστοάνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Πausανίας. οὗτος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Πausανίας Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπέισιν ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καταστησόμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν βεβαίῳ. καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ἀπάγειν οἴκαδε ἤρесе μηδὲ ἀνοσίῳν ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδα αὖξοντα ἐπισπύσασθαι

man of Trachis had not guided the army with Hydarnes by the path that stretches across Oeta, and enabled the enemy to surround the Greeks; so Leonidas was overwhelmed and the foreigners passed along into Greece.

Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus never became king. For while guardian of Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was a child when his father died, he led the Lacedaemonians to Plataea, and afterwards with their fleet to the Hellespont. I cannot praise too highly the way in which Pausanias treated the Coan lady, who was the daughter of a man of distinction among the Coans, Hegetorides the son of Antagoras, and the unwilling concubine of a Persian, Pharandates the son of Teaspis. When Mardonius fell in the battle of Plataea, and the foreigners were destroyed, Pausanias sent the lady back to Cos, and she took with her the apparel that the Persian had procured for her as well as the rest of her belongings. Pausanias also refused to dishonour the body of Mardonius, as Lampon the Aeginetan advised him to do.

479 B.C.

V. Shortly after Pleistarchus the son of Leonidas came to the throne he died, and the kingdom devolved on Pleistoanax, son of the Pausanias who commanded at Plataea. Pleistoanax had a son Pausanias; he was the Pausanias who invaded Attica, ostensibly to oppose Thrasybulus and the Athenians, but really to establish firmly the despotism of those to whom the government had been entrusted by Lysander. Although he won a battle against the Athenians holding the Peiraeus, yet immediately after the battle he resolved to lead his army back home, and not to bring upon Sparta the most dis-

403 B.C.

- 2 τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸ αἰσχιστον τῶν ὄνειδῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μαχεσάμενος ἄπρακτον μάχην, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν οἱ ἐχθροί. βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθιζον οἳ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες, ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας. τέσσαρες μὲν δὴ καὶ δέκα τῶν γερόντων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἄγισ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς, ἀδικεῖν τὸν Πausανίαν κατέγνωσαν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
- 3 ἀπέγνω δικαστήριον. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίων συλλεγόντων ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατιάν—αἰτία δὲ ἦτις ἐγένετο προσέσται τῷ ἐς Ἀγησίλαον λόγῳ—τότε δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν πανδημεὶ τοὺς Φωκέας οὐδένα ἔτι ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ἐς τε Βοιωτίαν ἐληλύθει καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο ἐς τὸ Ἀλιαρτίων τεῖχος οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐσεληλύθεσαν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς κρύφα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὧν ἐπεξελθόντων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τεύχους ταξαμένων ἄλλοι τε ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λύσανδρος
- 4 ἔπεσε. Πausανίας δὲ ὑστέρησε μὲν τοῦ ἀγῶνος παρὰ Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τῆς ἄλλης ἀθροίζων δύναμιν· ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπυρθάνετό τὴν τε ἠτταν τῶν ὁμοῦ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσάνδρου τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπῆγε δὲ ὅμως ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ διενοεῖτο ὡς μάχης ἄρξων. ἐνταῦθα οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι ἐναντία ἐτίσσαντο καὶ Θρασύβουλος ἀπέχειν οὐ πολὺ ἀπηγγέλλετο ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἀνέμενε δὲ ἄρξαι Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἄρξασι δὲ αὐτὸς

graceful of reproaches by increasing the despotic power of wicked men. When he returned from Athens with only a fruitless battle to his credit, he was brought to trial by his enemies. The court that sat to try a Lacedaemonian king consisted of the senate, "old men" as they were called, twenty-eight in number, the members of the ephorate, and in addition the king of the other house. Fourteen senators, along with Agis, the king of the other house, declared that Pausanias was guilty; the rest of the court voted for his acquittal. Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians gathered an army against Thebes; the reason for so doing will be given in my account of Agesilaus. On this occasion Lysander came to Phocis, took along with him the entire Phocian army, and without any further delay entered Boeotia and began assaults upon the wall of Haliartus, the citizens of which refused to revolt from Thebes. Already a band of Thebans and Athenians had secretly entered the city; these came out and offered battle before the wall, and there fell here several Lacedaemonians, including Lysander himself. Pausanias was too late for the fight, having been collecting forces from Tegea and Arcadia generally; when he finally reached Boeotia, although he heard of the defeat of the forces with Lysander and of the death of Lysander himself, he nevertheless led his army against Thebes and purposed to take the offensive. Thereupon the Thebans offered battle, and Thrasybulus was reported to be not far away with the Athenians. He was waiting for the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive, on which his

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἤδη κατὰ νότου σφίσιν ἔμελλεν ἐπικείσασθαι.  
 5 ἔδεισεν οὖν ὁ Πausανίας διπλοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ  
 πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεταξὺ ἀποληφθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω  
 σπονδὰς τε πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐποιήσατο καὶ  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀλιαρτίων τείχει πεσόντας ἀνείλετο.  
 τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐγένετο οὐ κατὰ γνώ-  
 μην, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ τῶνδε ἕνεκα τὸ βούλευμα·  
 ἅτε γὰρ εὖ εἰδὼς ὁ Πausανίας ὡς τὰ σφάλματα  
 αἰεὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις γίνονται ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων  
 ἀποληφθεῖσι, τό τε ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ δεῖμα ἐποιήσατο μὴ σφισι καὶ  
 6 αὐτὸς τρίτου γένηται κακοῦ πρόφασις. τότε δὲ  
 ἐν αἰτία ποιουμένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν βραδυτῆτα  
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς Βοιωτίαν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἐσελθεῖν  
 ἐς δικαστήριον, Τεγεᾶται δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς  
 ἰκέτην ἐδέξαντο τῆς Ἀλέας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ ἱερὸν  
 τοῦτο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πελοποννησίοις πᾶσιν αἰδέ-  
 σιμον καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι ἰκετεύουσιν ἀσφάλειαν  
 μάλιστα παρέιχετο· ἐδήλωσαν δὲ οἱ τε Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι τὸν Πausανίαν καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τούτου  
 Λεωτυχίδην καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Χρυσίδα, καθεζομένους  
 ἐνταῦθα ἰκέτας, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐξαιτήσαι θελήσαντες.  
 7 Πausανίου δὲ φυγόντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες Ἀγησί-  
 πολις καὶ Κλεόμβροτος νέοι παντάπασιν ἔτι  
 ἦσαν, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ἐπετρόπευεν αὐτοὺς γένους  
 ἐγγύτατα ὢν· καὶ τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 κατόρθωμα Ἀριστοδήμου σφίσι ἐγένετο ἡγου-  
 8 μένου. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν  
 αὐξηθεῖς, Πελοποννησίων πρῶτοις ἐπολέμησεν  
 Ἀργείοις. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τεγεατῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρ-  
 γολίδα ἦγαγε τὸν στρατόν, πέμπουσι κήρυκα οἱ  
 Ἀργεῖοι σπεισόμενον πρὸς Ἀγησίπολιν σφισι

intention was to launch an attack himself against their rear. So Pausanias, fearing lest he should be caught between two enemy forces, made a truce with the Thebans and took up for burial those who had fallen under the wall of Haliartus. The Lacedaemonians disapproved of this decision, but the following reason leads me to approve it. Pausanias was well aware that the disasters of the Lacedaemonians always took place when they had been caught between two enemy forces, and the defeats at Thermopylae and on the island of Sphacteria made him afraid lest he himself should prove the occasion of a third misfortune for them. But when his fellow citizens charged him with his slowness in this Boeotian campaign, he did not wait to stand his trial, but was received by the people of Tegea as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Now this sanctuary had been respected from early days by all the Peloponnesians, and afforded peculiar safety to its suppliants, as the Lacedaemonians showed in the case of Pausanias and of Leotychides before him, and the Argives in the case of Chrysis; they never wanted even to ask for these refugees, who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuary, to be given up.

When Pausanias fled, his sons Agesipolis and Cleombrotus were still quite boys, and Aristodemus, their nearest relative, was their guardian. This Aristodemus was in command of the Lacedaemonians when they won their success at Corinth. When Agesipolis grew up and came to the throne, the first Peloponnesians against whom he waged war were the Argives. When he led his army from the territory of Tegea into that of Argos, the Argives sent a herald to make for them with Agesipolis

PAUSANIAS : DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

πατρώους δὴ τινὰς σπονδὰς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθε-  
 στώσας τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὁ δὲ οὔτε  
 τῷ κήρυκι ἐσπείσατο καὶ προῖων ὁμοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ  
 τὴν γῆν ἔφθειρεν· ἔσεισέ τε δὴ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ Ἀγ-  
 ησίπολις οὐδ' οὔτω τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλε,  
 καίτοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων—ὡς-  
 αὐτως δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις—δειμα αἱ διοσημεῖαι  
 9 παρείχοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρα-  
 τοπεδεύετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀργείων καὶ οὐ παρίει σείων  
 ὁ θεὸς καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἰ-  
 βρονταί. οὔτω μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος ἀνέ-  
 ζευξεν ἄκων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυνθίου ἐποιεῖτο αὐθις  
 στρατείαν. κρατοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ  
 ἡρηκότα τῶν τε ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν ἐν Χαλκιδεδεῦσι  
 τὰς πολλὰς καὶ αὐτὴν ἐλπίζοντα αἰρήσειν τὴν  
 Ὀλυνθον νόσος τε ἐξαίφνης καὶ θάνατος ἐπέ-  
 λαβεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

VI. Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος ἐς  
 Κλεόμβροτον περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι  
 τούτῳ Βοιωτοῖς ἐναντία ἡγωνίσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις·  
 Κλεόμβροτος δὲ αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς  
 ἀρχομένης ἔτι ἔπεσε τῆς μάχης. μάλιστα δὲ πῶς  
 ἐπὶ πταίσμασιν ἐθέλει μεγάλοις προαφαιρεῖσθαι  
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὁ δαίμων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἀπῆγεν Ἴπποκράτην τε τὸν Ἀρίφρονος στρατη-  
 γοῦντα ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ  
 Λεωσθένην.

2 Κλεομβρότου δὲ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων  
 Ἀγησίπολις παρέσχετο μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην,  
 Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 τελευτήσαντα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. γενομένων δὲ



a certain ancestral truce, which from ancient times had been an established custom between Dorians and Dorians. But Agesipolis did not make the truce with the herald, but advancing with his army proceeded to devastate the land. Then there was an earthquake, but not even so would Agesipolis consent to take away his forces. And yet more than any other Greeks were the Lacedaemonians (in this respect like the Athenians) frightened by signs from heaven. By the time that he was encamping under the wall of Argos, the earthquakes were still occurring, some of the troops had actually been killed by lightning, and some moreover had been driven out of their senses by the thunder. In this circumstance he reluctantly withdrew from Argive territory, and began another campaign, attacking Olynthus. Victorious in the war, having captured most of the cities in Chalcidice, and hoping to capture Olynthus itself, he was suddenly attacked by a disease which ended in his death. 380 B.C.

VI. As Agesipolis died childless, the kingdom devolved upon Cleombrotus, who was general in the battle at Leuctra against the Boeotians. Cleombrotus showed personal bravery, but fell when the battle was only just beginning. In great disasters Providence is peculiarly apt to cut off early the general, just as the Athenians lost Hippocrates the son of Aripbron, who commanded at Delium, and later on Leosthenes in Thessaly. 371 B.C.

Agesipolis, the elder of the sons of Cleombrotus, is not a striking figure in history, and was succeeded by his younger brother Cleomenes. His first son 424 B.C.

αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀκροτάτου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κλεωνύμου κατήγαγε τὸ χρεὼν Ἀκρότατον ἔτι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ ὡς Κλεομένης ἀπέθανεν ὕστερον, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας Κλεώνυμος τε ὁ Κλεομένους καὶ Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου. δικάζουσιν οὖν οἱ γέροντες Ἀρεῖ τῷ Ἀκροτάτου καὶ οὐχὶ Κλεωνύμῳ πατρώαν εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν. Κλεωνύμῳ δὲ ἀπελαθέντι τῆς βασιλείας περισσῶς δὴ τι ὁ θυμὸς ᾧδει, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ ἄλλοις γέρασι ψυχαγωγούντες καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφιστάντες ἄρχοντα παρήγον μὴ ποτε πολέμιον γενέσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τέλος δὲ ὁ μὲν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐχθρὰ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐτόλμησε καὶ Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου σφίσις ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὴν χώραν. Ἀρέως δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦ Ἀκροτάτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου πεζῷ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατεύει. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀμνυοῦντες ἀφίκοντο μὲν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοῦ Πατρόκλῳ στόλος, ἐξίασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεῖ, τὸν βασιλεῖα ἠγεῖσθαι σφισιν Ἀρέα ἐπιτάξαντες. περικαθημένου δὲ Ἀντιγόνοῦ τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχικὰ ἐργουτος, Πάτροκλος ἀποστέλλων ἀγγέλους πρόετρεπε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρέα ἄρχειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχης, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀρξάντων οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔφασκεν ἐπικείσεσθαι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι σφᾶς Αἰγυπτίους τε ὄντας καὶ ναύτας Μακεδόσιν ἐπιέναι πεζῇ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ παρακινδυνεύειν ᾧρημητο Ἀθηναίων τε εὐνοία καὶ τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐργάσασθαι

## LACONIA, VI. 2-5

was Acrotatus, his second Cleonymus. Acrotatus did not outlive his father, and when Cleomenes afterwards died, there arose a dispute about the throne between Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes and Areus the son of Acrotatus. So the senators acted as arbitrators, and decided that the dignity was the inheritance of Areus the son of Acrotatus, and not of Cleonymus. Deprived of his kingship Cleonymus became violently angry, and the ephors tried to soothe his feelings by bestowing upon him various honours, especially the leadership of the armies, so as to prevent his becoming one day an enemy of Sparta. But at last he committed many hostile acts against his fatherland, and induced Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides to invade Laconia. While Areus the son of Acrotatus was king in Sparta, Antigonus the son of Demetrius attacked Athens with an army and a fleet. To the help of the Athenians there came the Egyptian expedition with Patroclus, and every available man of the Lacedaemonians with Areus their king at their head. Antigonus invested Athens and prevented the Athenian reinforcements from entering the city; so Patroclus dispatched messengers urging Areus and the Lacedaemonians to take the offensive against Antigonus. On their doing so, he would himself, he said, attack the Macedonians in rear; but before such a move it was not fair for Egyptian sailors to attack Macedonians on land. The Lacedaemonians were eager to make the venture, both because of their friendship for Athens and also because they were ambitious to hand down to posterity a famous

c. 262  
B.C.

PAUSANIAS : DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- 6 προθυμούμενοι. Ἄρεὺς δέ, ὡς σφισι τὰ ἐπι-  
 τήδεια ἐξανήλωτο, ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν.  
 ταμειέεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἠξίου  
 καὶ μὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις ἀναρρίψαι. τοῖς  
 δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀντισχοῦσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐποιή-  
 σατο Ἀντίγονος εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τέ σφισιν ἐπαγάγη  
 φρουρὰν ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνὰ χρό-  
 νον αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἑκουσίως τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ  
 Ἀντίγονος, Ἀρέως δὲ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀκρότατος,  
 τοῦ δὲ Ἀρεύς, ὃς ὀκτῶ μάλιστα ἔτη γεγωνῶς
- 7 τελευτᾷ νόσῳ. καὶ ἐλείπετο γὰρ τῆς Εὐρυ-  
 σθένους οἰκίας γένος τὸ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Λεωνίδας  
 ὁ Κλεωνύμου, παντάπασιν ἤδη γέρον· τούτῳ δὲ  
 διδόασιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχήν. τῷ δὲ  
 Λεωνίδα διάφορος ἐτύγχανεν ὦν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
 Λύσανδρος, ἀπόγονος Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρισ-  
 τοκρίτου. οὗτος προσποιεῖται Κλεόμβροτον  
 θυγατέρα ἔχοντα Λεωνίδου· τούτον δὲ οἰκειωσά-  
 μενος ἐπῆγε Λεωνίδα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ  
 ὄρκους αὐτὸν Κλεωνύμῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὁμόσαι παῖδα
- 8 ὄντα ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Σπάρτης. ἐπαύσθη τε δὲ  
 Λεωνίδας βασιλείας καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κλεόμβροτος  
 ἔσχε τὴν τιμὴν. εἰ μὲν δὲ ὁ Λεωνίδας ἐπέτρεψε  
 τῷ θυμῷ καὶ Δημαράτῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνος κατὰ  
 ταῦτ' ἀπεχώρησεν ἤτοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ  
 βασιλεύοντα ἢ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ μετα-  
 γρόντων ἂν Σπαρτιατῶν ὄνατο οὐδέν· νῦν δὲ  
 ἐπιβαλόντων οἱ φυγὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφίκετο ἐς  
 Ἀρκαδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς  
 κατὰ γούσι τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὐθις
- 9 βασιλέα ἐποιήσαντο. Κλεομένει δὲ τῷ Λεωνίδου  
 τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅποια ἐς τόλμαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείαν

achievement, but as their supplies were exhausted Areus led his army back home, thinking that desperate measures should be reserved for one's own advantage and not risked recklessly for the benefit of others. After they had held out as long as they could, Antigonus made peace with the Athenians, on condition that he brought a garrison into the Museum to be a guard over them. After a time Antigonus himself removed the garrison from Athens of his own accord; while Areus begat Acrotatus, and Acrotatus Areus, who died of disease when he was just about eight years old. And as the only male representative of the house of Eurysthenes was Leonidas the son of Cleonymus, by this time a very old man, the Lacedaemonians gave him the throne. Leonidas, it so happened, had a bitter opponent in Lysander, a descendant of Lysander the son of Aristocritus. This Lysander won over to his side Leonidas' son-in-law Cleombrotus. After gaining his support he brought various charges against Leonidas, in particular that when a boy he had sworn to his father Cleonymus to ruin Sparta. So Leonidas ceased to be king and Cleombrotus came to the throne in his stead. Now if Leonidas had given way to impulse and retired, like Demaratus the son of Ariston, either to the king of Macedonia or to the Egyptian king, he would have profited nothing even by the Spartans changing their minds. But as it was, when the citizens sentenced him to exile, he went to Arcadia, whence not many years later he was recalled by the Lacedaemonians, who made him king again. Now how Cleomenes the son of Leonidas performed daring feats of valour,

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Σπαρτιᾶται βασιλευόμενοι, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσέ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Σικυώνιον Ἄρατον· προσεπελάβετο δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι καὶ τρόπον ὄντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Κλεομένης ἐτελεύτησεν.

VII. Γένους μὲν δὴ τοῦ Εὐρυσθέου, καλουμένων δὲ Ἀγιαδῶν, Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑτέραν τοιάδε ἤκουσα εἶναι. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα τίθεται Σόου. Εὐρυπῶντα δὲ τὸν Σόου φασὶν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀφικέσθαι δόξης ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην Εὐρυπωντίδας ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλείδας  
 2 ἐς ἐκείνον καλουμένους. Εὐρυπῶντος δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται Πρύτανις. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτανίδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἤρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργεῖους καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον Κυνουρεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν· τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτη γενεάς, Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτανίδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλευόντων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
 3 διετέλεσεν οὔσα ἡ Σπάρτη. Χάριλλος δὲ ὁ Πολυδέκτου τὴν τε γῆν ἐδήλωσεν Ἀργεῖοις—οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλὼν—καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Χαρίλλῳ γίνεται καὶ ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπὶ Τεγεάτας ἔξοδος, ὅτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάτας αἰρήσειν ἤλπισαν καὶ ἀποτεμεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸ Τεγεατῶν πεδῖον, ὑπούλῳ μαντεύματι ἐπελθόντες.

4 Μετὰ δὲ Χάριλλον τελευτήσαντα Νίκανδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίων ἐς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἑτέρας βασιλεία οἰκίας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λιμνάδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ

and how after him the Spartans ceased to be ruled by kings, I have already shown in my account of Aratus of Sicyon. My narrative also included the manner of his death in Egypt.

VII. So of the family of Eurysthenes, called the Agiadae, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas was the last king in Sparta. I will now relate what I have heard about the other house. Procles the son of Aristodemus called his son Sous, whose son Eurypon they say reached such a pitch of renown that this house, hitherto called the Procleidae, came to be named after him the Eurypontidae. The son of Eurypon was Prytanis, in whose reign began the enmity of the Lacedaemonians against the Argives, although even before this quarrel they made war against the Cynurians. During the generations immediately succeeding this, while Eunomus the son of Prytanis and Polydectes the son of Eunomus were on the throne, Sparta continued at peace, but Charillus the son of Polydectes devastated the land of the Argives—for he it was who invaded Argolis—and not many years afterwards, under the leadership of Charillus, took place the campaign of the Spartans against Tegea, when lured on by a deceptive oracle the Lacedaemonians hoped to capture the city and to annex the Tegean plain from Arcadia.

After the death of Charillus, Nicander his son succeeded to the throne, in whose reign the Messenians murdered, in the sanctuary of the Lady of the Lake, Teleclus the king of the other house.

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύοντος. ἐσέβαλε δὲ  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νικάνδρος στρατιᾶ καὶ  
 τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας· μετασχόντες δὲ  
 Ἀσιναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῦ ἔργου δίκην μετ' οὐ  
 πολὺ Ἀργείοις ἀπέδοσαν σὺν μεγάλῳ πατρίδος  
 5 τε ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φυγῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ. Θεόπομπου  
 δὲ τὸν Νικάνδρου βασιλεύσαντα μετὰ Νικάνδρου  
 μέλλει καὶ αὖθις ὁ λόγος μοι προσθήσειν προ-  
 ελθόντι ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν συγγραφῆν. Θεοπόμ-  
 που δὲ ἔτι ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται  
 καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυραΐτιδος καλουμένης χώρας  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγὼν πρὸς Ἀργείους, Θεόπομπος  
 δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἔργου γῆρα καὶ ὑπὸ  
 λύπης τὸ πλεόν· Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεοπόμπου  
 6 ζῶντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεών. οὐ μὴν ἄπαις  
 ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπο-  
 λιπὼν υἱόν. Ζευξιδάμου δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς  
 ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐπὶ τούτου Μεσσηνιοὶ  
 φεύγουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολέμῳ τὸ δεύτερον  
 κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. Ἀναξιδάμου δὲ  
 υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ Ἀγη-  
 σικλῆς· καὶ σφισιν ὑπήρξεν ἀμφοτέροις τὸν βίον  
 διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ πολέμων οὐσιν  
 ἐκτός.

7 Ἀρίστωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀγησικλέους ἀγαγομένῳ  
 γυναῖκα ἦντινα παρθένον μὲν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι  
 εἶναί φασιν αἰσχίστην, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ εἶδος  
 καλλίστην ὑπὸ Ἑλένης γενέσθαι, ταύτην ἀγα-  
 γομένῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι ἐγένετο υἱὸς Δημάρατος ἐν  
 μόνοις μῆσιν ἐπτά· καὶ αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων  
 καθημένῳ τηρικαῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἦλθεν οἰκέτης  
 ἀπαγγέλλων τετέχθαι οἱ παῖδα. Ἀρίστων δὲ



Nicander also invaded Argolis with an army, and laid waste the greater part of the land. The Asinaeans took part in this action with the Lacedaemonians, and shortly after were punished by the Argives, who inflicted great destruction on their fatherland and drove out the inhabitants. About Theopompus, the son of Nicander, who ascended the throne after him, I shall have more to say later on, when I come to the history of Messenia. While Theopompus was still king in Sparta there also took place the struggle of the Lacedaemonians with the Argives for what is called the Thyreatid district. Theopompus personally took no part in the affair, chiefly because of old age and sorrow, for while he was yet alive Archidamus died. Nevertheless Archidamus did not die childless, but left a son Zeuxidamus, whose son Anaxidamus succeeded to the throne. In his reign the Messenians were expelled from the Peloponnesus, being vanquished for the second time by the Spartans. Anaxidamus begat Archidamus, and Archidamus begat Agesicles. It was the lot of both of these to pass all their lives in peace, undisturbed by any wars.

Ariston, son of Agesicles, married a wife who, they say, was the ugliest maiden in Sparta, but became the most beautiful of her women, because Helen changed her; seven months only after his marriage with her Ariston had born to him a son, Demaratus. As he was sitting in council with the ephors there came to him a servant with the news that a child was born to him. Ariston, forgetting

- ἐπὼν τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως γένεσιν  
 πεποιημένους λήθην ἢ μηδὲ ἀρχὴν συνεῖς αὐτῶν  
 οὐκ ἔφη τῶν μνηῶν ἕνεκα αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα εἶναι.
- 8 τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων μετάνοια ἔλαβεν  
 ὕστερον· Δημάρατον δὲ βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὰ τε  
 ἄλλα εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Πεισιστρατιδῶν Κλεομένει συνελευθέρωσαντα  
 Ἀθηναίους ἢ τε Ἀρίστωνος ἀγνωμοσύνη καὶ  
 τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Κλεομένους ἐποίησεν ἰδιώτην. καὶ  
 τοῦ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐλθόντος ἐς Πέρ-  
 σας ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρόνον διαμῆναι τοὺς
- 9 ἀπογόνους φασί. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ ἀντὶ Δημαράτου  
 γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετέσχε μὲν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ  
 Ἀθηναίων τῷ στρατηγῷ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρί-  
 φρονος τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Μυκάλη, ἐστράτευσε  
 δὲ ὕστερον τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλευάδας ἐς  
 Θεσσαλίαν· καὶ οἱ καταστρέψασθαι Θεσσαλίαν  
 πᾶσαν ἐξὸν ἄτε αἰεὶ νικῶντι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, δῶρα
- 10 ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν. ὑπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν  
 Λακεδαιμόνι ἐς δίκην ἔφυγεν ἐθελουτῆς ἐς Τεγέαν.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι τὴν Ἀθηναίων τὴν Ἀλέαν ἰκέτευε,  
 Λεωτυχίδου δὲ ὁ μὲν παῖς Ζευξίδαμος ζῶντος ἔτι  
 Λεωτυχίδου καὶ οὐ πεφευγότες πω τελευτᾶ νόσῳ,  
 Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ Ζευξιδάμου μετὰ Λεωτυχίδην  
 ἀπελθόντα ἐς Τεγέαν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος  
 Ἀρχίδαμος Ἀθηναίοις μάλιστα ἐκάκωσε τὴν  
 χώραν στρατῷ τε ἐσβάλλων ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ὁπότε ἐσβάλοι διὰ πάσης  
 ἐπέξῃ φθειρῶν καὶ Πλαταιέων Ἀθηναίοις ὄντων
- 11 εὖνων πολιορκίᾳ τὸ ἄστυ εἶλεν. οὐ μὴν τὸν  
 πόλεμόν γε τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων  
 γενέσθαι συνέσπευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσον δυνά-

## LACONIA, VII. 7-11

the lines in the *Iliad* about the birth of Eurystheus, or else never having understood them at all, declared that because of the number of months the child was not his. Afterwards he repented of his words. Demaratus, a king of good repute at Sparta, particularly for his helping Cleomenes to free Athens from the Peisistratidae, became a private citizen through the thoughtlessness of Ariston and the hatred of Cleomenes. He retired to king Darius in Persia, and they say that his descendants remained in Asia for a long time. Leotychides, on coming to the throne in place of Demaratus, took part with the Athenians and the Athenian general Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, in the engagement of Mycale, and afterwards undertook a campaign against the Aleuadae in Thessaly. Although his uninterrupted victories in the fighting might have enabled him to reduce all Thessaly, he accepted bribes from the Aleuadae. On being brought to trial in Lacedaemon he voluntarily went into exile to Tegea, where he sought sanctuary as a suppliant of Athena Alea. Zeuxidamus, the son of Leotychides, died of disease while Leotychides was still alive and before he retired into exile; so his son Archidamus succeeded to the throne after the departure of Leotychides for Tegea. This Archidamus did terrible damage to the land of the Athenians, invading Attica with an army every year, on each occasion carrying destruction from end to end; he also besieged and took Plataea, which was friendly to Athens. Nevertheless he was not eager that war should be declared between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, but to the

510 B.C.

479 B.C.

476 B.C.

427 B.C.

432 B.C.

μεως ἦκε, διαμείναι σφισιν ἔπρασσε τὰς σπονδάς. Σθενελαΐδας δὲ ἔς τε ἄλλα ὧν οὐκ ἀδύνατος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐφορεύων ἐν τῷ τότε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα ἐγένετο αἴτιος· καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος εὖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔτι βεβηκυῖαν διέσεισεν ἐκ βάρθρων, καὶ ὕστερον Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου σαθρὰν ἤδη καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ὑγιή προσκατήρειψεν αὐτήν.

VIII. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα καταλιπόντος παῖδας Ἀγίς τε πρεσβύτερος ἦν ἡλικία καὶ παρέλαβεν ἀντὶ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμῳ καὶ θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμώτατα δὲ ἔς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν καὶ πρώτη τε ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη. Κυνίσκας δὲ ὕστερον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γεγονάσιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νίκαι, ὧν ἐπιφανεστέρα ἔς τὰς νίκας οὐδεμία<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶν αὐτῆς. δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶταί μοι ποιήσιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἠκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δὴ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πausανία τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀνατεθέντι ἐς Δελφούς, ἄλλο γε παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ποιητοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς βασιλεύσιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

3 Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄλλα τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἡλείους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰργόμενοι μάλιστα ἤχθοντο. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν κήρυκα

<sup>1</sup> Added by Spengel.

utmost of his power tried to keep the truce between them unbroken. It was Sthenelaídas, an influential Spartan who was an ephor at the time, who was chiefly responsible for the war. Greece, that still stood firm, was shaken to its foundations by this war, and afterwards, when the structure had given way and was far from sound, was finally overthrown by Philip the son of Amyntas.

VIII. Archidamus left sons when he died, of whom Agis was the elder and inherited the throne instead of Agesilaus. Archidamus had also a daughter, whose name was Cynisca; she was exceedingly ambitious to succeed at the Olympic games, and was the first woman to breed horses and the first to win an Olympic victory. After Cynisca other women, especially women of Lacedaemon, have won Olympic victories, but none of them was more distinguished for their victories than she. The Spartans seem to me to be of all men the least moved by poetry and the praise of poets. For with the exception of the epigram upon Cynisca, of uncertain authorship, and the still earlier one upon Pausanias that Simonides wrote on the tripod dedicated at Delphi, there is no poetic composition to commemorate the doings of the royal houses of the Lacedaemonians.

In the reign of Agis the son of Archidamus the Lacedaemonians had several grievances against the people of Elis, being especially exasperated because they were debarred from the Olympic games and the sanctuary at Olympia. So they dispatched a

ἐπίταγμα φέροντα Ἡλείοις Λεπρεΐτας τε αὐτονό-  
 μους ἀφιέναι καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλοι σφί-  
 σιν ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ Ἡλείων  
 ὡς ἐπειδὴν τὰς περιοικίδας τῆς Σπάρτης πόλεις  
 ἴδωσιν ἐλευθέρας, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μελλήσουσιν ἔτι  
 ἀφιέναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς Ἄγισ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν.  
 4 τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος ὀπίσω τὸ στρα-  
 τευμα ἀπεχώρησεν ἄχρι Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τοῦ  
 Ἄλφειοῦ προελθόντες· τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει τὴν  
 τε χώραν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Ἄγισ καὶ ἤλασε τῆς λείας  
 τὴν πολλήν. Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος Ἀγιδί τε  
 ἰδία ξένος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος  
 ἐπανέστη τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσι·  
 πρὶν δὲ Ἄγιν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφίχθαι σφισιν  
 ἀμύνοντας, Θρασυδαῖος προεστηκῶς τότε τοῦ  
 Ἡλείων δήμου μάχη Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ  
 5 κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἄγισ δὲ  
 ὡς ἀπήγαγεν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν, Λυσίστρατον  
 Σπαρτιύτην καὶ μοῖράν τε τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ  
 Ἡλείων καταλείπει τοὺς φυγάδας, κακουργεῖν  
 σφῶς ὁμοῦ Λεπρεΐταις τὴν χώραν. τρίτῳ δὲ  
 ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Ἄγισ  
 παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τότε  
 ἐσβαλοῦντες· οἱ δὲ Ἡλείοι καὶ Θρασυδαῖος—  
 κεκακωμένοι γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἦσαν—συγ-  
 χωροῦσι μῆτε τῶν περιοίκων ἔτι ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ  
 ἄστεως κατερεῖψαι τὸ τεῖχος, Λακεδαιμονίους  
 τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα

herald commanding the people of Elis to grant home-rule to Lepreum and to any other of their neighbours<sup>1</sup> that were subject to them. The people of Elis replied that, when they saw the cities free that were neighbours<sup>1</sup> of Sparta, they would without delay set free their own subjects; whereupon the Lacedaemonians under king Agis invaded the territory of Elis. On this occasion there occurred an earthquake, and the army retired home after advancing as far as Olympia and the Alpheüs; but in the next year Agis devastated the country and carried off most of the booty. Xenias, a man of Elis who was a personal friend of Agis and the state-friend<sup>2</sup> of the Lacedaemonians, rose up with the rich citizens against the people; but before Agis and his army could come to their aid, Thrasydaeus, who at this time championed the interests of the popular party at Elis, overthrew in battle Xenias and his followers and cast them out of the city. When Agis led back his army, he left behind Lysistratus, a Spartan, with a portion of his forces, along with the Elean refugees, that they might help the Lepreans to ravage the land. In the third year of the war the Lacedaemonians under Agis again prepared to invade the territory of Elis. So Thrasydaeus and the Eleans, reduced to dire extremities, agreed to forgo their supremacy over their neighbours, to dismantle the fortifications of their city, and to allow the Lacedaemonians to sacrifice to the god

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<sup>1</sup> The cities of the Perioeci (a word which means "neighbours"), who were personally free men but had no political rights.

<sup>2</sup> *Proxenos*; that is, he represented Spartan interests in Elis.

- 6 ἐξεῖναί σφισιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ἐνέβαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν συνεχῶς ὁ Ἅγις στρατιᾶ καὶ ἐπετείχισε φρούριον Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἐν Δεκελείᾳ· καταλυθέντος δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικοῦ Λύσανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Ἅγις ὄρκους μὲν θεῶν ὑπερέβησαν, οὓς ὤμοσαν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν κοινῷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ βούλευμα ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξήνεγκαν ἐκκόψαι
- 7 προρρίζους τὰς Ἀθήνας· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς πόλεμον μάλιστα ἐπίσημα τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Ἄγιδι· προπέτειαν δὲ τὴν Ἀρίστωνος ἐς Δημάρατον καὶ Ἅγις ἐς τὸν παῖδα ἔσχε Λεωτυχίδην, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τινα οὐκ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα ἐσηλθεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν ἐφόρων εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐχ αὐτοῦ νομίζοι Λεωτυχίδην. ἐπέλαβε μέντοι καὶ Ἄγιν μετάνοια ὕστερον, καὶ —ἔφερον γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἴκαδε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα— ὡς ἐγίγνετο ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος μάρτυρας ἐποιεῖτο ἢ μὴν Λεωτυχίδην ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σφισι σὺν ἰκεσίᾳ τε καὶ δακρύοις ἐπέσκηπτε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν.
- 8 Μετὰ δὲ Ἄγιν ἀποθανόντα ἀπήλαυεν Ἀγησίλαος τῆς βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδην, ἐς μνήμην ἄγων Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ὑπὸ Ἄγιδος ποτε λεχθέντα ἐς τὸν Λεωτυχίδην. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἡραίας Ἀρκάδες καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Λεωτυχίδῃ μάρτυρες ὅποσα Ἄγιδος τελευτῶντος ἤκουσαν.
- 9 τῷ δὲ Ἀγησιλάῳ καὶ Λεωτυχίδῃ παρέσχεν ἐς πλεόν τὸ μάντευμα ἀντιλογίαν τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, γεγονὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ, ἔχον δὲ οὕτω·



and to compete in the games at Olympia. Agis used also to make continual incursions into Attica, and established the fortified post at Decelea to annoy the Athenians. When the Athenian navy was destroyed at Aegospotami, Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and Agis violated the oaths which the Lacedaemonians as a state had sworn by the gods to the Athenians, and it was on their own initiative, and without the approval of the Spartan state, that they put before their allies the proposal to destroy Athens root and branch. Such were the most remarkable military achievements of Agis. The rash remark that Ariston made about Demaratus was also made by Agis about his son Leotychides; at the suggestion of some evil spirit he said in the hearing of the ephors that he did not believe Leotychides to be his son. Yet Agis, too, repented afterwards; he was at the time being carried home sick from Arcadia, and when he reached Heraea, he not only called the people to witness that he sincerely believed Leotychides to be his very own son, but also with prayers and tears charged them to take the tidings to the Lacedaemonians.

After the death of Agis, Agesilaus tried to keep Leotychides from the throne, recalling to the minds of the Lacedaemonians what Agis once said about Leotychides. But the Arcadians from Heraea arrived and bore witness for Leotychides, stating what they had heard the dying Agis say. Yet further fuel for the controversy between Agesilaus and Leotychides was supplied by the oracle that was delivered at Delphi to this effect:—

φράζεο δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μέγαν λαὸν εὐοῦσα,  
 μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη χωλὴ βασιλεία.  
 δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχῆσουσιν ἄελπτοι  
 φθερσιβρότου τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυκλώμενον πολέμοιο.

- 10 τότε οὖν Λεωτυχίδης μὲν εἰς Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα  
 ἔφασκεν εἰρῆσθαι, τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν  
 ἐπεπήρωτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἰς  
 Λεωτυχίδην αὐτὰ ἔτρεπεν οὐ γνήσιον ὄντα Ἄγι-  
 δος. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, καίπερ ἐπὶ σφίσι μὲν οὖν,  
 οὐκ ἐπανήγαγον τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα εἰς Δελφούς·  
 αἴτιος δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Λύσανδρος ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀρισ-  
 τοκρίτου Ἀγησιλάῳ συσπεύδων ἐξ ἅπαντος τὴν  
 βασιλείαν γενέσθαι.

IX. Βασιλεύει τε δὴ Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοις ἤρесе διαβῆναι ναυσὶν εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου αἰρή-  
 στοντας· ἐδιδάσκοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν  
 τέλει καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου μὴ τὸν  
 Ἀρταξέρξην σφίσι μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους  
 πολέμῳ, Κῦρον δὲ εἶναι τὸν τὰ χρήματα δίδοντα  
 εἰς τὰς ναῦς. Ἀγησίλαος δέ—ἀπεδείχθη γὰρ  
 διαβιβάσαι τε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ  
 δυνάμει ἡγεμῶν τῆς πεζῆς—περιέπεμπεν εἰς  
 τε Πελοπόννησον πλὴν Ἄργους καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, συμμαχεῖν σφίσι  
 2 ἐπαγγέλλων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ εἰς τὰ  
 μάλιστα ἔχοντες προθύμως μετασχεῖν τοῦ εἰς τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν στόλου, κατακαυθέντος σφίσι ἐξαίφνης  
 ναοῦ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ὀλυμπίου, ποιησάμενοι  
 πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν καταμένουσιν ἄκουτες. Ἀθη-

“Sparta beware! though haughty, pay heed to the warning I give thee.

Never let thy sound limbs give birth to a kingdom that lame is.

Too long then shalt thou lie in the clutches of desperate hardships;

Turmoil of war shall arise, o’erwhelming men in its billows.”

Leotychides on this occasion said that these words pointed to Agesilaus, who was lame in one of his feet, while Agesilaus interpreted them as alluding to the illegitimacy of Leotychides. Although they might have done so, the Lacedaemonians did not refer the disputed point to Delphi; the reason was in my opinion that Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, an active supporter of Agesilaus, would have him king at all costs.

IX. So Agesilaus, son of Archidamus, became king, and the Lacedaemonians resolved to cross with a fleet to Asia in order to put down Artaxerxes, son of Darius. For they were informed by several of their magistrates, especially by Lysander, that it was not Artaxerxes but Cyrus who had been supplying the pay for the fleet during the war with Athens. Agesilaus, who was appointed to lead the expedition across to Asia and to be in command of the land forces, sent round to all parts of the Peloponnesus, except Argos, and to the Greeks north of the isthmus, asking for allies. Now the Corinthians were most eager to take part in the expedition to Asia, but considering it a bad omen that their temple of Zeus surnamed Olympian had been suddenly burnt down, they reluctantly remained behind.

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ραίοις δὲ ἦν μὲν ἡ πρόφασις ἐκ τοῦ Πελοπον-  
 νησίων πολέμου καὶ ἐκ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους  
 ἐπανήκειν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὴν πρότερόν ποτε  
 οὔσαν εὐδαιμονίαν· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ δι' ἀγγέλων  
 ὡς Κόνων ὁ Τιμοθέου παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβεβηκῶς  
 3 εἶη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἡσύχαζον μάλιστα. ἀπεστάλη  
 δὲ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρεσβεύειν Ἀριστομηλίδας,  
 μητρὸς μὲν τῆς Ἀγησιλάου πατῆρ, Θηβαίοις  
 δὲ εἶχεν ἐπιτηδείως καὶ ἐγεγόνει τῶν δικαστῶν,  
 οἱ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἀλόντος τοῦ τεύχους ἀποθανεῖν  
 τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἔγνωσαν. Θηβαῖοι μὲν  
 οὖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπέειπαντο, οἱ  
 φάμενοι βοηθήσειν· Ἀγησίλαος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ  
 τά τε οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ στρα-  
 τευμα ἤθροιστο καὶ ἅμα αἱ νῆες εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν,  
 ἀφίκετο ἐς Αὐλίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσων, ὅτι καὶ  
 Ἀγαμέμνων ἐνταῦθα ἰλασάμενος τὴν θεὸν τὸν  
 4 ἐς Τροίαν στόλον ἤγαγεν. ἡξίου δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἀγη-  
 σίλαος πόλεός τε εὐδαιμονεστέρας ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων  
 βασιλεὺς εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης  
 ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, τό τε κατόρθωμα ἐπιφανέστερον  
 ἔσεσθαι βασιλέα κρατήσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην εὐδαι-  
 μονίαν κτήσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἢ ἀρχὴν καθελεῖν  
 τὴν Πριάμου. θύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Θηβαῖοι σὺν  
 ὄπλοις ἐπελθόντες τῶν τε ἱερείων καιόμενα ἤδη  
 τὰ μηρία ἀπορρίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ  
 5 αὐτὸν ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Ἀγησίλαον  
 δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν ἡ θυσία μὴ τελεσθεῖσα, διέβαινε  
 δὲ ὅμως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς  
 Σάρδει· ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς κάτω μέγιστον  
 μέρος τηρικαῦτα ἡ Λυδία, καὶ αἱ Σάρδει πλούτῳ  
 καὶ παρασκευῇ προεῖχον, τῷ τε σατραπεύοντι

The Athenians excused themselves on the ground that their city was returning to its former state of prosperity after the Peloponnesian war and the epidemic of plague, and the news brought by messengers, that Conon, son of Timotheus, had gone up to the Persian king, strongly confirmed them in their policy of inactivity. The envoy dispatched to Thebes was Aristomelidas, the father of the mother of Agesilaus, a close friend of the Thebans who, when the wall of Plataea had been taken, had been one of the judges voting that the remnant of the garrison should be put to death. Now the Thebans like the Athenians refused, saying that they would give no help. When Agesilaus had assembled his Lacedaemonian forces and those of the allies, and at the same time the fleet was ready, he went to Aulis to sacrifice to Artemis, because Agamemnon too had propitiated the goddess here before leading the expedition to Troy. Agesilaus, then, claimed to be king of a more prosperous city than was Agamemnon, and to be like him overlord of all Greece, and that it would be a more glorious success to conquer Artaxerxes and acquire the riches of Persia than to destroy the empire of Priam. But even as he was sacrificing armed Thebans came upon him, threw down from the altar the still burning thigh-bones of the victims, and drove him from the sanctuary. Though vexed that the sacrifice was not completed, Agesilaus nevertheless crossed into Asia and launched an attack against Sardes; for Lydia at this period was the most important district of lower Asia, and Sardes, pre-eminent for its wealth and resources, had been assigned as a residence to

ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοῦτο οἰκητήριον ἀπεδέδεικτο κα-  
 6 θάπερ γε αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Σοῦσα. γενομένης  
 δὲ πρὸς Τισσαφέρην σατράπην τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίαν  
 μάχης ἐν Ἐρμου πεδίῳ τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν Περσῶν  
 ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τότε πλεῖ-  
 στον ἀθροισθὲν μετὰ γε τὸν Ξέρξου καὶ πρότερον  
 ἔτι ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατόν,  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀγασθέντες τὸ ἐς τὰ πράγματα  
 τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου πρόθυμον διδόασιν ἄρχοντα εἶναι  
 καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς μὲν τριήρεσιν  
 ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα Πείσανδρον—τοῦ Πεισάν-  
 7 δρου δὲ ἐτύγχανε συνοικῶν ἀδελφῇ—τῷ πολέμῳ  
 δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ γῆν προσεῖχεν ἐρρωμένως. καὶ  
 οἱ θεῶν τις ἐβάσκηγε μὴ ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλευματα  
 ἐς τέλος. ὡς γὰρ διη ἐπύθετο Ἀρταξέρξης μάχας  
 τε ἃς ἐνίκησεν Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὸ πρόσω  
 χειρούμενος τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πρόεισιν αἰεὶ σὺν τῷ  
 στρατῷ, Τισσαφέρην μὲν καίπερ τὰ πρότερα  
 εὐεργέτην ὄντα ζημοῖ θανάτῳ, Τιθραύστην δὲ  
 κατέπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, φρονῆσαι τε δεινὸν  
 καὶ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχοντα δυσ-  
 8 νοίας. οὗτος ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, αὐτίκα  
 ἐπενόει τρόπον ᾧ τιμι ἀναγκάσει Λακεδαιμονίους  
 τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνακαλέσασθαι στρατιάν.  
 ἄνδρα οὖν Ῥόδιον Τιμοκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 πέμπει χρήματα ἄγοντα, ἐντειλάμενος πόλεμον  
 ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐργάσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ  
 δὲ τῶν χρημάτων μεταλαβόντες Ἀργείων μὲν  
 Κύλων τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ Σωδάμας, ἐν Θήβαις  
 δὲ Ἀνδροκλείδης καὶ Ἰσμηνίας καὶ Ἀμφίθεμις·  
 μετέσχε δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος Κέφαλος καὶ Ἐπι-  
 κράτης καὶ ὅσοι Κορινθίων ἐφρόνουν τὰ Ἀργείων

the satrap of the coast region, just as Susa had been to the king himself. A battle was fought on the plain of the Hermus with Tissaphernes, satrap of the parts around Ionia, in which Agesilaus conquered the cavalry of the Persians and the infantry, of which the muster on this occasion had been surpassed only in the expedition of Xerxes and in the earlier ones of Dareius against the Scythians and against Athens. The Lacedaemonians, admiring the energy of Agesilaus, added to his command the control of the fleet. But Agesilaus made his brother-in-law, Peisander, admiral, and devoted himself to carrying on the war vigorously by land. The jealousy of some deity prevented him from bringing his plans to their conclusion. For when Artaxerxes heard of the victories won by Agesilaus, and how, by attending to the task that lay before him, he advanced with his army even further and further, he put Tissaphernes to death in spite of his previous services, and sent down to the sea Tithraustes, a clever schemer who had some grudge against the Lacedaemonians. On his arrival at Sardes he at once thought out a plan by which to force the Lacedaemonians to recall their army from Asia. He sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, to Greece with money, instructing him to stir up in Greece a war against the Lacedaemonians. Those who shared in this money are said to have been the Argives Cylon and Sodamas, the Thebans Androcleides, Ismenias and Amphithemis, the Athenians Cephalus and Epicrates, with the Corinthians who had Argive

- 9 Πολυάνθης τε καὶ Τιμόλαος. οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερόν τοῦ πολέμου παρασχόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένοντο οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροί. τοῖς γὰρ δὴ Λοκροῖς γῆ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα ἀμφισβητήσιμος· ἐκ ταύτης ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπαρθέντες τῶν περὶ Ἰσμηνίαν τὸν τε σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἔτεμον καὶ ἤλασαν λείαν ἄγοντες· ἐνέβαλον δὲ πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ
- 10 ἐδήλωσαν τὴν χώραν. ἐπηγάγοντο οὖν οἱ Λοκροὶ συμμάχους Θηβαίους καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐπόρθησαν· ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντες οἱ Φωκεῖς τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπέκειντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον οἷα ἐπεπόνθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι· ἐποιούντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι αὐτῶν ὕβριν ἐς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου
- 11 θυσίαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προπεπυσμένοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, ὄπλα μὲν ἐπὶ Θήβας δεόμενοι μὴ κινήσαι, δίκη δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι διακρίνεσθαι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν πρεσβείαν. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔξοδον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Λυσανδρου τελευτὴν
- 12 ἐδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Πausανίαν· καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἐς πλεόν ἂν προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρξάμενος ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἐξόδου. κατὰ ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπήγευ Ἀγησίλαος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου περαιώθεις ναυσὶν ἐς Σηστόν καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν Θράκην ἀφίκετο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ χάριτι τῇ ἐς Θηβαίους τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Ἀγησίλαου



sympathies, Polyanthes and Timolaus. But those who first openly started the war were the Locrians from Amphissa. For there happened to be a piece of land the ownership of which was a matter of dispute between the Locrians and the Phocians. Egged on by Ismenias and his party at Thebes, the Locrians cut the ripe corn in this land and drove off the booty. The Phocians on their side invaded Locris with all their forces, and laid waste the land. So the Locrians brought in the Thebans as allies, and devastated Phocis. Going to Lacedaemon the Phocians inveighed against the Thebans, and set forth what they had suffered at their hands. The Lacedaemonians determined to make war against Thebes, chief among their grievances being the outrageous way the Thebans behaved towards Agesilaus when he was sacrificing at Aulis. The Athenians receiving early intimation of the Lacedaemonians' intentions, sent to Sparta begging them to submit their grievances to a court of arbitration instead of appealing to arms, but the Lacedaemonians dismissed the envoys in anger. The sequel, how the Lacedaemonians set forth and how Lysander died, I have already described in my account of Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> And what was called the Corinthian war, which continually became more serious, had its origin in the expedition of the Lacedaemonians into Boeotia. So these circumstances compelled Agesilaus to lead his army back from Asia. Crossing with his fleet from Abydos to Sestos he passed through Thrace as far as Thessaly, where the Thessalians, to please the Thebans, tried to prevent his further progress;

394-387  
B.C.<sup>1</sup> See chap. v. §§ 3 foll.

13 ἐπειρῶντο εἶργειν· ἦν δέ τι εὐνοίας ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Θεσσαλίαν τε διεξῆλθε τρεψάμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἰππικὸν καὶ αὐθις διὰ Βοιωτῶν διώδενσε Θηβαίους ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νικήσας συμμαχικόν. ὥς δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ Βοιωτοί, καταφεύγουσιν ἄνδρες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰτωνίας. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἶχε μὲν τραῦμα ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἰκέτας παρενόμησεν οὐδ' οὕτως.

X. Οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκαν τῶν Ἰσθμίων οἱ ἐπὶ λακωνισμῶ φεύγοντες Κορίνθιοι. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάου δείματι ἠσύχαζον· ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Ἀργείων τὰ Ἰσθμια ἄγουσιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ Κόρινθον στρατιᾶ· καί—ἐπήγει γὰρ Ἰακίνθια—ἀφίησι τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς οἵκαδε ἀπελθόντας τὰ καθεστηκότα τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἰακίνθῳ δρᾶσαι. ταύτην τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιθέμενοι καθ' ὁδὸν

2 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰφικράτης διέφθειραν· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπικουρήσων ἀφίκετο Αἰτωλοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις, καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἠνάγκασε καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας Καλυδῶνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Αἰτωλῶν πολίσματα ἠρηκέναι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀφεστηκότων ἀπὸ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθήσων· καὶ ἔστιν Ἀγησιλάῳ πολλὰ τε εἰργασμένα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καί—ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἤδη γέρων—τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐπέλαβεν ἡ μοῖρα· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς ἐκομίσθη σφίσιν ὁ νεκρός, θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέων τιμήσαντες μάλιστα.

there was also an old friendship between them and Athens. But Agesilaus put the Thessalian cavalry to flight and passed through Thessaly, and again made his way through Boeotia, winning a victory over Thebes and the allies at Coronea. When the Boeotians were put to flight, certain of them took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena surnamed Itonia. Agesilaus, although suffering from a wound received in the battle, did not sin against the suppliants.

X. Not long afterwards the Corinthians in exile for pro-Spartan sympathies held the Isthmian games. The Corinthians in the city made no move at the time, through their fear of Agesilaus; but when he marched to Sparta, they too celebrated the Isthmian games along with the Argives. Agesilaus again marched with an army against Corinth, and, as the festival Hyacinthia was at hand, he gave the Amycleans leave to go back home and perform the traditional rites in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus. This battalion was attacked on the way and annihilated by the Athenians under Iphicrates. Agesilaus went also to Aetolia to give assistance to the Aetolians, who were hard pressed in a war with the Acarnanians; these he compelled to put an end to the war, although they had come very near capturing Calydon and the other towns of the Aetolians. Afterwards he sailed to Egypt, to succour the Egyptians who had revolted from the king of Persia. Agesilaus performed many noteworthy achievements in Egypt, but, being by this time an old man, he died on the march. When his dead body was brought home, the Lacedaemonians buried it with greater honours than they had given to any other king.

390 B.C.

- 3 Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βασιλεύοντος κατέλαβον τὸ ἱερὸν Φωκεῖς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Θηβαίοις μὲν δὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἀφίκετο μὲν καὶ ἰδία συμμαχικὰ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ κοινοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοί σφισιν ἤμνον, οἳ μὲν ἀρχαίαν δὴ τινα ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων μνημονεύοντες εὐεργεσίαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προφάσει μὲν καὶ οὔτοι φιλίας, κατὰ ἔχθος δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ Θηβαίων. Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Δαμασιστράτου τὸν τε Ἀρχίδαμον μετασχεῖν τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτι Δεινίχαν τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου γυναῖκα παρὰ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἔφη λαμβίνουσαν δωρεὰν ἐτοιμότερον ποιεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν Ἀρχίδαμον.
- 4 τὸ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ἱερὰ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀμῦναι μαντείων πορθήσασι τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον οὐκ ἐς ἔπαινον τίθεμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ οἳ πρόσσεστιν ἐς ἔπαινον. Δελφῶν γὰρ τοὺς τε ἠβῶντας ἀποκτείνει καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἔξανδραποδίσασθαι, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμων οἳ Φωκεῖς· ταῦτα οὖν μὴ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων αὐτοὺς παρητήσατο Ἀρχίδαμος.
- 5 διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὕστερον Ταραντίνοις βαρβάρων πόλεμον συνδιοίσων σφίσιν ὁμόρων· καὶ ἀπέθανε τε αὐτόθι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀμαρτεῖν τάφου τὸ μῆνιμα ἐγένετο ἐμποδῶν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον παῖδα Ἄγιν κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Μακεδόσιν ἐναντία καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μαχεσάμενον, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐβασίλευσεν ἄγουσιν εἰρήνην. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἄγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου καὶ ἐς

In the reign of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, the Phocians seized the sanctuary at Delphi. To help in a war with Thebes the Phocians hired with its wealth independent mercenaries, but they were also aided publicly by the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, the latter calling to mind some old service rendered by the Phocians, the former, too, pretending to be friends when their real reason was, I think, hatred of the Thebans. Theopompus, son of Damasistratus, said that Archidamus himself had a share of the Delphic money, and further that Deinicha the wife of Archidamus, receiving a bribe from the chief men of the Phocians, made Archidamus more ready to bring them reinforcements. To accept sacred money and to help men who had pillaged the most famous of oracles I do not hold praiseworthy, but the following incident does redound to his praise. The Phocians were contemplating the cruel course of killing the Delphians of vigorous age, enslaving the women and children, and levelling the city itself to the ground; it was due to the intercession of Archidamus that they escaped this fate at the hands of the Phocians. Archidamus afterwards also crossed over into Italy to help the Tarentines to wage war against their foreign neighbours. Here he was killed by the foreigners, and his corpse missed burial owing to the anger of Apollo. Agis, the elder son of this Archidamus, met his death fighting against Antipater and the Macedonians, but while the younger son, Eudamidas, was king, the Lacedaemonians enjoyed peace. The history of Agis, son of Eudamidas, and

356 B.C.

Εὐρυδαμίδαυ τὸν Ἄγιδος ὡς ἔσχευ, ἤδη μοι καὶ τάδε ἢ Σικυωνία συγγραφὴ διεξήει.

- 6 Ἴουσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπασ δρυῶν πλήρης· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστα πού στάδια ἐκτραπομένοις ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διός. ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον καὶ τραπέουσιν αὐθὶς ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἄγαλμά ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τρόπαιον· ἀναστῆσαι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνας Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ
- 7 τοὺς παῖδας. τρίτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολὴ κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἄγει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἐστὶν αἱ Κάρναι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένου κατὰ ἔτος ἰστᾶσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις. ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἰόντι ἐρείπια Σελλασίας ἐστὶ· ταύτην, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔγραψα, ἠνδραποδίσαντο Ἀχαιοὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Κλεομένην τὸν
- 8 Λεωνίδου μίχην νικήσαντες. ἐν δὲ Θόρνακι—ἐς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀφίξῃ προῖών—ἄγαλμά ἐστὶ Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γράψω. Λακεδαιμονίοις γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερά ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀμυκλαῖον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν χρυσόν, ὃν Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεῖ, τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.

of Eurydamidas, son of Agis, my account of Sicyon has already set forth.

On the way from the Hermae the whole of the region is full of oak-trees. The name of the district, Scotitas (*Dark*), is not due to the unbroken woods but to Zeus surnamed Scotitas, and there is a sanctuary of Zeus Scotitas on the left of the road and about ten stades from it. If you go back from the sanctuary to the road, advance a little and then turn again to the left, you come to an image of Heracles and a trophy, which I was told Heracles raised after killing Hippocoön and his sons. The third branch from the straight road is on the right, and leads to Caryae (*Walnut-trees*) and to the sanctuary of Artemis. For Caryae is a region sacred to Artemis and the nymphs, and here stands in the open an image of Artemis Caryatis. Here every year the Lacedaemonian maidens hold chorus-dances, and they have a traditional native dance. On returning, as you go along the highway, you come to the ruins of Sellasia. The people of this city, as I have stated already, were sold into slavery by the Achaeans after they had conquered in battle the Lacedaemonians under their king Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas. In Thornax, which you will reach as you go along, is an image of Apollo Pythaeus, made after the style of the one at Amyclae; the fashion of it I will describe when I come to speak of the latter. For in the eyes of the Lacedaemonians the cult of the Amyclaean is the more distinguished, so that they spent on adorning the image in Amyclae even the gold which Croesus the Lydian sent for Apollo Pythaeus.

222 B.C.

560-546  
B.C.

XI. Ἀπὸ δὲ Θόρνακος προελθόντι ἔστιν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη μὲν ὀνομασθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσλαβοῦσα δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ Λακεδαιμῶν ἡ αὐτὴ καλεῖσθαι· τέως δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔκειτο τῇ γῆ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξιων ἀφηγήσεως, ὧν ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρίναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα. ὡς οὖν εὖ βεβουλευμένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι.

- 2 Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς Σπάρτην ἔχουσιν ἔστιν ἀγορὰ θέας ἄξια, καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ νομοφυλάκων καὶ καλουμένων Βιδιαίων ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίοις κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες· τοῖς δὲ ἐφόροις καὶ Βιδιαίοις πέντε ἀριθμὸν ἑκατέροις οὔσι, τοῖς μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καθέστηκεν, ἔφοροι δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα διοικοῦσι τὰ σπουδῆς μάλιστα ἄξια καὶ παρέχονται τὸν ἐπώνυμον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῶν καλουμένων ἐννέα ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν εἰς ἄρχων.
- 3 ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔστιν ἣν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κίωνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου.



XI. Farther on from Thornax is the city, which was originally named Sparta, but in course of time came to be called Lacedaemon as well, a name which till then belonged to the land. To prevent misconception, I added in my account of Attica that I had not mentioned everything in order, but had made a selection of what was most noteworthy. This I will repeat before beginning my account of Sparta; for from the beginning the plan of my work has been to discard the many trivial stories current among the several communities, and to pick out the things most worthy of mention—an excellent rule which I will never violate.

The Lacedaemonians who live in Sparta have a market-place worth seeing; the council-chamber of the senate, and the offices of the ephors, of the guardians of the laws, and of those called the Bidiaeans, are all in the market-place. The senate is the council which has the supreme control of the Lacedaemonian constitution, the other officials form the executive. Both the ephors and the Bidiaeans are five in number; it is customary for the latter to hold competitions for the lads, particularly the one at the place called Platanistas (*Plane-tree Grove*), while the ephors transact the most serious business, one of them giving his name to the year, just as at Athens this privilege belongs to one of those called the Nine Archons. The most striking feature in the market-place is the portico which they call Persian because it was made from spoils taken in the Persian wars. In course of time they have altered it until it is as large and as splendid as it is now. On the pillars are white-marble figures of Persians, including Mardonius, son of Gobryas.

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμισία, θυγάτηρ μὲν  
 Λυγδάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ·  
 ταύτην φασὶν ἔκουσίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συσ-  
 στρατεῦσαι Ξέρξῃ καὶ ἔργα ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ  
 4 Σαλαμίνα ἀποδείξασθαι. γαοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἀγορᾶς Καίσαρος, ὃς μοναρχίας πρῶτος ἐν  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν  
 πρῶτος ἐκτίησεν, ὃ δὲ Αὐγούστῳ πεποιήται  
 παιδὶ ἐκείνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν βεβαιωσαμένῳ  
 μᾶλλον καὶ ἀξιώματος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐς πλεον ἢ  
 ὁ πατήρ οἱ προελθόντι· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἦν τούτῳ  
 Αὐγουστος, ὃ κατὰ γλῶσσαν δύναται τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων σεβαστός.
- 5 Τοῦ δὲ Αὐγούστου δεικνύουσι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ  
 χαλκὴν εἰκόνα Ἁγίου. τοῦτον τὸν Ἁγίαν μαντευ-  
 σάμενόν φασὶ Λυσάνδρῳ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν  
 ναυτικὸν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς πλὴν τριήρων  
 δέκα· αὐταὶ δὲ ἀποφεύγουσιν ἐς Κύπρον, τὰς  
 δὲ ἄλλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας αἰροῦσιν. ὃ δὲ Ἁγίας Ἀγγελόχου παῖς  
 6 ἦν τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ· Τισαμενῷ δὲ ὄντι Ἡλείῳ τῶν  
 Ἰαμιδῶν λόγιον ἐγένετο ἀγῶνας ἀναιρήσεσθαι  
 πέντε ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτόν. οὕτω πένταθλον  
 Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀσκήσας ἀπῆλθεν ἠττηθείς, καίτοι  
 τὰ δύο γε ἦν πρῶτος· καὶ γὰρ δρόμῳ τε ἐκράτει  
 καὶ πηδήματι Ἰερώνυμον τὸν Ἄνδριον. κατα-  
 παλαισθεὶς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀμαρτῶν τῆς νίκης  
 συνίησι τοῦ χρησμοῦ, διδόναι οἱ τὸν θεὸν μαντευ-  
 7 ομένῳ πέντε ἀγῶνας πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι. Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι δέ—οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἀνηκόως ὢν Τισαμενῷ  
 προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία—πείθουσι μετοικήσαντα ἐξ  
 Ἡλίδος μαντεύεσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τῷ κοινῷ· καὶ

There is also a figure of Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis and queen of Halicarnassus. It is said that this lady voluntarily joined the expedition of Xerxes against Greece and distinguished herself at the naval engagement off Salamis. On the market-place are temples; there is one of Caesar, the first Roman to covet monarchy and the first emperor under the present constitution, and also one to his son Augustus, who put the empire on a firmer footing, and became a more famous and a more powerful man than his father. His name "Augustus" means in Greek *sebastos* (*reverend*).

At the altar of Augustus they show a bronze statue of Agias. This Agias, they say, by divining for Lysander captured the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami with the exception of ten ships of war. 405 B.C. These made their escape to Cyprus; all the rest the Lacedaemonians captured along with their crews. Agias was a son of Agelochus, a son of Tisamenus. Tisamenus belonged to the family of the Iamidæ at Elis, and an oracle was given to him that he should win five most famous contests. So he trained for the *pentathlon* at Olympia, but came away defeated. And yet he was first in two events, beating Hieronymus of Andros in running and in jumping. But when he lost the wrestling bout to this competitor, and so missed the prize, he understood what the oracle meant, that the god granted him to win five contests in war by his divinations. The Lacedaemonians, hearing of the oracle the Pythian priestess had given to Tisamenus, persuaded him to migrate from Elis and to be state-diviner at Sparta.

- σφισιν ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγῶνας πολέμου πέντε ἐνίκησε, πρῶτον μὲν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐναντία Περσῶν, δεύτερον δὲ ἐν Τεγέα πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Ἀργεῖους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίοις συνεστῶσης, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν Ἀρκάδων πάντων πλὴν Μαντινέων ἀντιτεταγμένων· οἱ δὲ Διπαιεῖς ἐν τῇ
- 8 Μαιναλία πόλισμα Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν. τέταρτον δὲ ἠγωνίσαστο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἰσθμοῦ ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν εἰλώτων· ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ εἰλωτες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰλώτων ἀποσχισθέντες· καὶ μοι καὶ τάδε ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐπέξεισι. τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἶασαν Τισαμενῶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι· τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἐμαντεύσατο ἐν Τανάγρα σφίσι πρὸς Ἀργεῖους καὶ Ἀθηναίους γινομένης συμβολῆς.
- 9 Τὰ μὲν Τισαμενοῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὄντα· Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδαῖς—ἐορτῇ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδαῖαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσὶν—ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἰστᾶσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀγοραίου, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηναῖς Ἀγοραίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὃν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἀσφάλιον,
- 10 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐθις καὶ Ἥρας· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Δήμου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδρίας μεγέθει μέγας. καὶ Μοιρῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, Ὀρέστου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρὸς αὐτῷ τάφος· κομισθέντα γὰρ ἐκ Τεγέας τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὰ ὀστᾶ

And Tisamenus won them five contests in war. The first was at Plataea against the Persians; the second was at Tegea, when the Lacedaemonians had engaged the Tegeans and Argives; the third was at Dipaea, an Arcadian town in Maenalia, when all the Arcadians except the Mantineans were arrayed against them. His fourth contest was against the Helots who had rebelled and left the Isthmus for Ithome. Not all the Helots revolted, only the Messenian element, which separated itself off from the old Helots. These events I shall relate presently. On the occasion I mention the Lacedaemonians allowed the rebels to depart under a truce, in accordance with the advice of Tisamenus and of the oracle at Delphi. The last time Tisamenus divined for them was at Tanagra, an engagement taking place with the Argives and Athenians.

479 B.C.

464 B.C.

457 B.C.

Such I learned was the history of Tisamenus. On their market-place the Spartans have images of Apollo Pythaeus, of Artemis and of Leto. The whole of this region is called *Choros* (*Dancing*), because at the *Gymnopaediae*, a festival which the Lacedaemonians take more seriously than any other, the lads perform dances in honour of Apollo. Not far from them is a sanctuary of Earth and of Zeus of the Market-place, another of Athena of the Market-place and of Poseidon surnamed *Securer*, and likewise one of Apollo and of Hera. There is also dedicated a colossal statue of the Spartan People. The Lacedaemonians have also a sanctuary of the Fates, by which is the grave of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. For when the bones of Orestes were brought from Tegea in accordance with an

κατὰ μαντείαν θάπτουσιν ἐνταῦθα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὀρέστου τὸν τάφον ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένους, ὃν βασιλέων ἐς τοσοῦτο τιμῆς προήχασιν ὥστε οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, ὅποσα δεῖ σημαίνεσθαι, τοῦ Πολυδώρου σημαίνονται τῇ  
 11 εἰκόνι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος Διόνυσον φέρων παῖδα, καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καλούμενα Ἐφορεῖα, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς μνήμα καὶ Ἀφαρέως τοῦ Περιήρου· καὶ τά γε ἐς Ἐπιμενίδην Λακεδαιμονίους δοξάζω μᾶλλον Ἀργείων λέγειν εἰκότα. ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα αἱ Μοῖραι, καὶ Ἔστια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶ καὶ Ζεὺς Ξένιος καὶ Ἀθηναῖα Ξενία.

XII. Ἴόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἀφεταιῖδα ὀνομάζουσι, τὰ καλούμενα Βοώνητά ἐστι· καί με ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ πρότερα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῆς ὁδοῦ. τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν Ἰκάριον τῆς Πηνελόπης φασὶν ἀγῶνα προθεῖναι δρόμου· καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκράτει, δῆλόν ἐστιν, ἀφεθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον  
 2 διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀφεταιίδος. δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοὶ δρόμου Ἰκάριος τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐποίησε μιμούμενος Δαναόν. Δαναῶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ὡς γυναῖκα οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μίασμα ἀγαγέσθαι, διέπεμπε δὴ ὁ Δαναὸς ἔδνων ἄνευ δώσειν ἢ ἂν ἕκαστος κατὰ κάλλος ἀρέσκηται· ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἀγῶνα δρόμον κατέστησε, καὶ πρῶτῳ τε ἐλθόντι ἐγένετο ἐλέσθαι πρῶτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἤδη κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄχρι τοῦ τελευταίου· τὰς δὲ ὑπολειφθείσας μένειν

oracle they were buried here. Beside the grave of Orestes is a statue of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, a king who rose to such honour that the magistrates seal with his likeness everything that requires sealing. There is also Hermes of the Market-place carrying Dionysus as a child, besides the old Courts of the Ephors, as they are called, in which are the tombs of Epimenides the Cretan and of Aphareus the son of Perieres. As to Epimenides, I think the Lacedaemonian story is more probable than the Argive. Here, where the Fates are, the Lacedaemonians also have a sanctuary of Hestia. There is also Zeus Hospitable and Athene Hospitable.

XII. As you go from the market-place by the road they name the Aphetaïd Road, you come to the so-called Boöneta.<sup>1</sup> But my narrative must first explain why the road has this name. It is said that Icarus proposed a foot-race for the wooers of Penelope; that Odysseus won is plain, but they say that the competitors were let go (*aphethenai*) for the race along the Aphetaïd Road. In my opinion, Icarus was imitating Danaus when he held the running-race. For Danaus contrived the following plan to solve the difficulty about his daughters. Nobody would take a wife from among them because of their pollution: so Danaus sent round a notice that he would give away his daughters without bride-gifts, and that each suitor could choose the one whose beauty pleased him most. A few men came, among whom he held a foot-race; the first comer was allowed to choose before all the others, after him the second, and so on to the last. The daughters that were left had to wait until other

<sup>1</sup> That is, *Office of the Ox-buyers*.

ἔφοδον ἄλλην μνηστήρων ἔδει καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄλλον  
 3 δρόμου. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην  
 ἐστίν, ὡς ἤδη λέλεκταί μοι, τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα  
 Βοῶνητα, Πολυδώρου ποτὲ οἰκία τοῦ βασιλέως·  
 ἀποθανόντος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυδώρου τῆς γυναικὸς  
 ἐπρίατο ἀντιδόντες βούς. ἀργύρου γὰρ οὐκ ἦν  
 πω τότε οὐδὲ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα, κατὰ τρόπον δὲ  
 ἔτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀντείδοσαν βούς καὶ ἀνδράποδα  
 4 καὶ ἀργὸν τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν  
 Ἰνδικὴν ἐσπλέοντες φορτίων φασὶν Ἑλληνικῶν  
 τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγώγιμα ἄλλα ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι,  
 νόμισμα δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χρυσοῦ τε  
 ἀφθόνου καὶ χαλκοῦ παρόντος σφίσι.

Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Βιδιαίων ἀρχείου πέραν ἐστὶν  
 Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν· Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα λέγεται καὶ ὀνομάσαι Κελεύθειαν, τοὺς  
 Πηνελόπης μνηστήρας τῷ δρόμῳ νικήσας. ἰδρύ-  
 σατο δὲ τῆς Κελευθείας ἱερά ἀριθμῶ τρία διεστη-  
 5 κότα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. προϊόντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἀφεταιίδα ἡρώα ἐστὶν Ἰοπὸς τε κατὰ Λέλεγα ἢ  
 Μύλητα γενέσθαι δοκοῦντος καὶ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ  
 Οἰκλέους· τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας νομί-  
 ζουσιν ἄτε ἀνεψιῶ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ ποιῆσαι· καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ Λέλεγός ἐστιν ἡρώων, τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω  
 τέμενος Ποσειδῶνος—Ταινάριον δὲ ἐπονομάζου-  
 σιν—οὐ μακρὰν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ὃ τοὺς ἐς  
 6 Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Τάραντα ἀποικισθέντας ἀνα-  
 θεῖναι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἑλλή-  
 νιον, ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὡς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ξέρξην  
 διαβαίνοντα ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην παρεσκευάζοντο  
 ἀμννούμενοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον βουλευσά-  
 μειοι τρόπον ὄντινα ἀνθέξουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν



suitors arrived and competed in another foot-race. On this road the Lacedaemonians have, as I have already said, what is called the Boöneta, which once was the house of their king Polydorus. When he died, they bought it from his widow, paying the price in oxen. For at that time there was as yet neither silver nor gold coinage, but they still bartered in the old way with oxen, slaves, and uncoined silver and gold. Those who sail to India say that the natives give other merchandise in exchange for Greek cargoes, knowing nothing about coinage, and that though they have plenty of gold and of bronze.

On the opposite side of the office of the Bidiaeans is a sanctuary of Athena. Odysseus is said to have set up the image and to have named it Keleuthea (*Lady of the Road*), when he had beaten the suitors of Penelope in the foot-race. Of Keleuthea he set up sanctuaries, three in number, at some distance from each other. Farther along the Aphetaïd Road are hero-shrines, of Iops, who is supposed to have been born in the time of Lelex or Myles, and of Amphiaraus the son of Oïcles. The last they think was made by the sons of Tyndareus, for that Amphiaraus was their cousin. There is a hero-shrine of Lelex himself. Not far from these is a precinct of Poseidon of Taenarum, which is the surname given him, and near by an image of Athena, which is said to have been dedicated by the colonists who left for Tarentum in Italy. As to the place they call the Hellenium, it has been stated that those of the Greeks who were preparing to repel Xerxes when he was crossing into Europe deliberated at this place how they should resist. The other story is that those

λόγων τοὺς Μενελάου χάριτι στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ Ἴλιον βουλευσασθαί φησιν ἐνταῦθα ὅπως ἀναπλεύσαι τε ἐς Τροίαν καὶ δίκας δυνήσονται παρὰ

7 Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβεῖν τῆς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγῆς. τοῦ δὲ Ἑλληνίου πλησίον Ταλθυβίου μνῆμα ἀποφαίνουσι· δεικνύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Αἰγίεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Ταλθυβίου καὶ οὗτοι φάμενοι μνῆμα εἶναι. Ταλθυβίου δὲ τούτου μῆνιμα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν κηρύκων, οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως Δαρείου γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ αἰτήσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμφθησαν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐπεσήμαινεν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἴδια τε καὶ ἐς ἐνὸς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς κατέσκηψε Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος· ἐγγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῶν κηρύκων τοῖς ἐλθούσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιος ὑπὸ

8 Ἀθηναίων. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκρίτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον ἱερὸν Γῆς· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἴδρυται Μαλεάτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πέρατι τῆς Ἀφεταιῖδος, ἐγγύτατα ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, Δικτύνης ἔστιν ἱερὸν καὶ βασίλειοι τάφοι τῶν καλουμένων Εὐρυπωντιδῶν· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἑλλήμιον Ἀρσινόης ἱερόν, Λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν Πολυδεύκουσ καὶ Κίστορος ἀδελφῆς. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Φρουρίοις καλουμένοις ναός ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ προελθούσιν ὀλίγον πεποίηται μνῆμα τοῖς ἐξ Ἡλιδος μάντεσι, καλουμένοις δὲ Ἰαμίδαις.

9 καὶ Μάρωνός ἔστιν ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐς Θερμοπύλας στρατευσαμένων λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως μαχέσασθαι μετὰ γε αὐτὸν δοκοῦσι Λεωνίδα. τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τούς

who made the expedition against Troy to please Menelaus deliberated here how they could sail out to Troy and exact satisfaction from Alexander for carrying off Helen. Near the Hellenium they point out the tomb of Talthybius. The Achaeans of Aegium too say that a tomb which they show on their market-place belongs to Talthybius. It was this Talthybius whose wrath at the murder of the heralds, who were sent to Greece by king Dareius to demand earth and water, left its mark upon the whole state of the Lacedaemonians, but in Athens fell upon individuals, the members of the house of one man, Miltiades the son of Cimon. Miltiades was responsible for the death at the hands of the Athenians of those of the heralds who came to Attica. The Lacedaemonians have an altar of Apollo Acritas, and a sanctuary, surnamed *Gasepton*, of Earth. Above it is set up Maleatian Apollo. At the end of the Aphetaïd Road, quite close to the wall, are a sanctuary of Dictynna and the royal graves of those called the Eurypontidae. Beside the Hellenium is a sanctuary of Arsinoë, daughter of Leucippus and sister of the wives of Polydeuces and Castor. At the place called the Forts is a temple of Artemis, and a little farther on has been built a tomb for the diviners from Elis, called the Iamidae. There is also a sanctuary of Maron and of Alpheius. Of the Lacedaemonians who served at Thermopylae they consider that these men distinguished themselves in the fighting more than any save Leonidas himself. The sanctuary of Zeus Tropaeon (*He who turns to flight*) was made by the Dorians, when they had conquered in war the Amy-

τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιοὺς, οἳ γῆν τὴν Λακωνικὴν  
τηνικαῦτα εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς κρατή-  
σαντες. τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τῆς Μεγάλης μητρὸς τιμᾶται  
περισσῶς δὴ τι. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἠρῶα Ἴππολύτου  
τέ ἐστι τοῦ Θησέως καὶ Ἀυλῶνος Ἀρκάδος, υἱοῦ  
δὲ Τλησιμένους· Τλησιμένην δὲ Παρθενοπαίου  
τοῦ Μελανίωνος ἀδελφόν, οἳ δὲ παῖδα εἶναι  
λέγουσιν.

- 10 Ἐτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἔξοδος, καθ' ἣν  
πεποιήται σφισιν ἢ καλουμένη Σκιᾶς, ἔνθα καὶ  
νῦν ἔτι ἐκκλησιάζουσι. ταύτην τὴν Σκιᾶδα  
Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου φασὶν εἶναι ποίημα, ὃς  
πρῶτος διαχέαι σίδηρον εὔρε καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ πλάσαι. ἐνταῦθα ἐκρέμασαν οἱ Λακε-  
δαιμόνιοι τὴν Τιμοθέου τοῦ Μιλησίου κιθάραν,  
καταγνόντες ὅτι χορδαῖς ἐπτά ταῖς ἀρχαίαις  
11 ἐφεῦρεν ἐν τῇ κιθαρῳδίᾳ τέσσαρας χορδάς. πρὸς  
δὲ τῇ Σκιᾶδι οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι περιφερές, ἐν δὲ  
αὐτῷ Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀγάλματα ἐπέκλησιν  
Ἵουλυμπίων· τοῦτο Ἐπιμενίδην κατασκευάσαι  
λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀργεῖ-  
οις, ὅπου μηδὲ πολεμήσαι φασὶ πρὸς Κνωσσίους.  
XIII. Πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν Κυνόρτου τοῦ  
Ἀμύκλα τάφος, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Κάστορος μνήμα,  
ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερόν πεποιήται· τεσσαρακοστῷ  
γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴδαν καὶ  
Λυγκέα θεοὺς τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας καὶ οὐ  
πρότερον νομισθῆναί φασι· δείκνυται δὲ πρὸς  
τῇ Σκιᾶδι καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως τάφος. κατὰ  
μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἶκός ἐτάφησαν ἐν τῇ Μεσ-  
2 σσηνίᾳ καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ· Μεσσηνίων δὲ αἱ συμφοραὶ  
καὶ ὁ χρόνος, ὅσον ἔφυγον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου,

claeans, as well as the other Achaeans, who at that time occupied Laconia. The sanctuary of the Great Mother has paid to it the most extraordinary honours. After it come the hero-shrines of Hippolytus, son of Theseus, and of the Arcadian Aulon, son of Tlesimenes. Some say that Tlesimenes was a brother, others a son of Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion.

Leading from the market-place is another road, on which they have built what is called Scias (*Canopy*), where even at the present day they hold their meetings of the Assembly. This Canopy was made, they say, by Theodorus of Samos, who discovered the melting of iron and the moulding of images from it. Here the Lacedaemonians hung the harp of Timotheus of Miletus, to express their disapproval of his innovation in harping, the addition of four strings to the seven old ones. By the Canopy is a circular building, and in it images of Zeus and Aphrodite surnamed Olympian. This, they say, was set up by Epimenides, but their account of him does not agree with that of the Argives, for the Lacedaemonians deny that they ever fought with the Cnossians. XIII. Hard by is the grave of Cynortas son of Amyclas, together with the tomb of Castor, and over the tomb there has also been made a sanctuary, for they say that it was not before the fortieth year after the fight with Idas and Lynceus that divine honours were paid to the sons of Tyndareus. By the Canopy is also shown the grave of Idas and Lynceus. Now it fits in best with their history to hold that they were buried not here but in Messenia. But the disasters of the Messenians, and the length of their exile from the Peloponnesus, even after their return

*f. c.* 540  
B.C.

πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐποίησεν ἄγνωστα, ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων οὐκ εἰδότες ἔστιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ νυὸς Κόρης Σωτείρας· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν Θράκα Ὀρφέα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἄβαριν ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων. ὁ δὲ Καρνεῖος, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἴδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κριοῦ τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ γεμιζούσῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ὕδωρ συντυχόντες κατάσκοποι τῶν Δωριέων αὐτῇ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κριὸν ἐλθόντες διδάσκονται τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Σπάρτης. Κάρνειον δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριεῦσι μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, μαντευομένου δὲ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος· τούτον γὰρ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἐνέπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριεῦσι μῆνιμα Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἰππότης τε ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ καὶ Δωριεῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν Ἀκαρνανᾶ μάντιν καθέστηκεν ἰλάσκεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Οἰκέτας ἐστὶ Καρνεῖος, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῦ μάντεως Κριοῦ τιμώμενος Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν Σπάρτην. Πραξιίλλη μὲν δὴ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὡς Εὐρώπης εἶη καὶ Διὸς ὁ Κάρνειος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῇ Τρωικῇ κρανείας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσει πεφυκυίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποίησιν· μαθόντες δὲ ὄργῃν σφισιν ἔχειν τὸν θεὸν θυσίαις ἰλάσκονται καὶ Ἀπόλ-

wrapped in darkness much of their ancient history, and their ignorance makes it easy for any who wish to dispute a claim with them.

Opposite the Olympian Aphrodite the Lacedaemonians have a temple of the Saviour Maid. Some say that it was made by Orpheus the Thracian, others by Abaris when he had come from the Hyperboreans. Carneüs, whom they surname "of the House," had honours in Sparta even before the return of the Heracleidae, his seat being in the house of a seer, Crius (*Ram*) the son of Theocles. The daughter of this Crius was met as she was filling her pitcher by spies of the Dorians, who entered into conversation with her, visited Crius and learned from him how to capture Sparta. The cult of Apollo Carneüs has been established among all the Dorians ever since Carnus, an Acarnanian by birth, who was a seer of Apollo. When he was killed by Hippotes the son of Phylas, the wrath of Apollo fell upon the camp of the Dorians; Hippotes went into banishment because of the bloodguilt, and from this time the custom was established among the Dorians of propitiating the Acarnanian seer. But this Carnus is not the Lacedaemonian Carneüs of the House, who was worshipped in the house of Crius the seer while the Achaeans were still in possession of Sparta. The poetess Praxilla represents Carneüs as the son of Europa, Apollo and Leto being his nurses. There is also another account of the name; in Trojan Ida there grew in a grove of Apollo cornel-trees, which the Greeks cut down to make the Wooden Horse. Learning that the god was wroth with them they propitiated him with sacrifices and named Apollo Carneüs from the cornel-

- λωνα ὀνομάζουσι Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανειῶν, ὑπερθέντες τὸ ῥῶ κατὰ δὴ τι ἀρχαῖον.
- 6 Τοῦ Καρνείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενον ἔστιν ἄγαλμα Ἀφεταιίου· τοῖς δὲ Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσί φασι ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔστι δὲ τι χωρίον ἔχον στοὰς ἐν τετραγώνῳ τῷ σχήματι, ἐνθα σφίσις ἐπιπράσκετο ὁ ῥῶπος τὸ ἀρχαῖον· πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστιν Ἀμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων
- 7 καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων. ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἢ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολῶνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναός, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα· τῷ δὲ ἥρωι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιππίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἔνδεκα ἄς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· δρᾶν
- 8 δὲ οὕτω σφίσις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν Εὐανέμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἥρῳον. γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος· Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἀσιός φησι ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσις Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος. τοῦ δὲ ἥρῳου λόφος ἔστιν οὐ πόρρω καὶ Ἦρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας· ἰδρῦσασθαι δὲ Εὐρυδίκην φασι Λακεδαίμονος θυγατέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀκρισίου τοῦ Ἀβαντος. Ἦρας δὲ ἱερόν Ὑπερχειρίας κατὰ μαντείαν ἐποιήθη, τοῦ Εὐρώτα πολὺ τῆς γῆς σφίσις ἐπικλύζοντος.
- 9 ξόανον δὲ ἀρχαῖον καλοῦσιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἦρας· ἐπὶ δὲ θυγατρὶ γαμουμένη νενομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. τοῦ λόφου δὲ κατὰ τὴν



tree (*craneia*), a custom prevalent in the olden time making them transpose the *r* and the *a*.

Not far from Carneüs is what is called the image of Aphetaeus. Here they say was the starting-place of the race run by the suitors of Penelope. There is a place having its porticoes in the form of a square, where of old stuff used to be sold to the people. By this is an altar of Zeus Counsellor and of Athena Counsellor, also of the Dioscuri, likewise surnamed Counsellors. Opposite is what is called the Knoll, with a temple of Dionysus of the Knoll, by which is a precinct of the hero who they say guided Dionysus on the way to Sparta. To this hero sacrifices are offered before they are offered to the god by the daughters of Dionysus and the daughters of Leucippus. For the other eleven ladies who are named daughters of Dionysus there is held a foot-race; this custom came to Sparta from Delphi. Not far from the Dionysus is a sanctuary of Zeus of Fair Wind, on the right of which is a hero-shrine of Pleuron. The sons of Tyndareus were descended on their mother's side from Pleuron, for Asius in his poem says that Thestius the father of Leda was the son of Agenor the son of Pleuron. Not far from the hero-shrine is a hill, and on the hill a temple of Argive Hera, set up, they say, by Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedaemon and the wife of Acrisius the son of Abas. An oracular utterance caused to be built a sanctuary of Hera Hypercheiria (*she whose hand is above*) at a time when the Eurotas was flooding a great part of the land. An old wooden image they call that of Aphrodite Hera. A mother is wont to sacrifice to the goddess when a daughter is married. On the road to the right of the hill is a

ἐς δεξιὰν ὁδὸν Ἐτοιμοκλέους ἐστὶν εἰκὼν· τῷ δὲ Ἐτοιμοκλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἴπποσθένει τῷ πατρὶ πάλης εἰσὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, συναμφοτέροις μὲν μία τε καὶ δέκα, τῷ δὲ Ἴπποσθένει μιᾷ νίκη τὸν υἱὸν παρελθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν.

XIV. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι δυνόμενον τάφος κενὸς Βρασίδα τῷ Τέλλιδος πεποιήται· ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τάφου τὸ θέατρον, λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας ἄξιον. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἠγησαμένου μνημῆμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου—καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλῳ γε οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι—τὰ ὅσα τῷ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πausανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οὐ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέ-  
 2 μειναν. καλεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Θεομηλίδα χωρίον· κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως τάφοι τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν βασιλέων εἰσὶ καὶ πλησίον ὀνομαζομένη λέσχη Κροτανῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Κροτανοὶ Πιτανατῶν μοῖρα. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς λέσχης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ἀγιαδῶν καλούμενον. προελθοῦσι δὲ Ταινάρου μνημῆμά ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐσέχουσαν ἀπὸ τούτου φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι· θεῶν δὲ ἱερά Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἴπποκουρίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγιναιᾶς. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω πρὸς τὴν λέσχην ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰσσωρίας ἱερόν· ἐπονομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Λιμναίαν, οὐσαν οὐκ Ἄρτεμιν, Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν Κρητῶν· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Αἰγιναιῖος ἔχει μοι

statue of Hetoemocles. Both Hetoemocles himself and his father Hipposthenes won Olympic victories for wrestling; the two together won eleven, but Hipposthenes succeeded in beating his son by one victory.

XIV. On going westwards from the market-place is a cenotaph of Brasidas the son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theatre, made of white marble and worth seeing. Opposite the theatre are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians. There is a place in Sparta called Theomelida. In this part of the city are the graves of the Agiad kings, and near is what is called the lounge of the Crotani, who form a part of the Pitanatans. Not far from the lounge is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called "in the place of the Agiadae." Farther on is the tomb of Taenarus, after whom they say the headland was named that juts out into the sea. Here are sanctuaries of Poseidon Hippocurius (*Horse-tending*) and of Artemis Aiginaea (*Goat-goddess?*). On returning to the lounge you see a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They surname her also Lady of the Lake, though she is not really Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. I deal with her in my account of Aegina. Very near to the tombs

died  
422 B.C.

PAUSANIAS : DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

3 λόγος. ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τῶν μνημάτων ἅ τοῖς Ἀγιά-  
 δαις πεποιήται στήλην ὄψει, γεγραμμένοι δέ  
 εἰσιν ἄς Χίονις ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἰδρόμου νίκας  
 ἀνείλετο ἄλλας τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν· ἐνταῦθα  
 δὲ ἑπτὰ ἐγένοντό οἱ νῖκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου,  
 διαύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαί· τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄσπίδι  
 δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινε εἶναι  
 πω. Χίονιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ  
 Θηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ  
 καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους  
 4 λέγουσιν· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος κατασκευα-  
 σθῆναί φασιν ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη· πολεμεῖν μὲν  
 πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀφεστηκότας, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα  
 σφῶν Ἀνάξανδρον ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Μεσση-  
 νίαν λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους γυναῖκας, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς  
 εἶναι Κλεώ, Θέτιδος δὲ αὐτὴν ἰέρειαν εἶναι.  
 ταύτην ἢ τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου γυνὴ τὴν Κλεώ παρὰ  
 τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου αἰτεῖ, καὶ τό τε ξόανον τῆς  
 Θέτιδος ἀνεῦρεν ἔχουσαν καὶ ναὸν μετ' αὐτῆς  
 ἰδρύσατο τῇ θεῷ· ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα ἢ Λεανδρὶς  
 5 κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνειράτος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξόανον τῆς  
 Θέτιδος ἐν ὑπορρήτῳ φυλάσσουσι· Δήμητρα δὲ  
 Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ παρα-  
 δόντος σφίσιν Ὀρφέως, δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν  
 τὸ ἐν Ἐρμιόνη κατέστη καὶ τούτοις Χθονίαν  
 νομίζειν Δήμητρα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σαράπιδος νεώ-  
 τατον τοῦτο Σπαρτιάταις ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν  
 Ὀλυμπίου.

6 Καλοῦσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δρόμον, ἔνθα τοῖς

which have been built for the Agiadae you will see a slab, on which are written the victories in the foot-race won, at Olympia and elsewhere, by Chionis, a Lacedaemonian. The Olympian victories were seven, four in the single-stade<sup>1</sup> race and three in the double-stade<sup>1</sup> race. The race with the shield, that takes place at the end of the contest, was not at that time one of the events. It is said that Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battus of Thera, helped him to found Cyrene and to reduce the neighbouring Libyans. The sanctuary of Thetis was set up, they say, for the following reason. The Lacedaemonians were making war against the Messenians, who had revolted, and their king Anaxander, having invaded Messenia, took prisoners certain women, and among them Cleo, priestess of Thetis. This Cleo the wife of Anaxander asked for from her husband, and discovering that she had the wooden image of Thetis, she set up with her a temple for the goddess. This Leandris did because of a vision in a dream, but the wooden image of Thetis is guarded in secret. The cult of Demeter Chthonia (*of the Lower World*) the Lacedaemonians say was handed on to them by Orpheus, but in my opinion it was because of the sanctuary in Hermione<sup>2</sup> that the Lacedaemonians also began to worship Demeter Chthonia. The Spartans have also a sanctuary of Serapis, the newest sanctuary in the city, and one of Zeus surnamed Olympian.

*f. c. 664*  
B.C.

The Lacedaemonians give the name Running

<sup>1</sup> About 200 and 400 English yards. The first was the length of the race-course, one *stadion*; the second was the length of the course and back again.

<sup>2</sup> See Pausanias II. xxxv. §§ 4-8.

ρέοις καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι δρόμου μελέτη καθέστηκεν.  
 ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Δρόμον ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τῶν  
 Ἀγιάδων ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μνήμα Εὐμήδους,  
 Ἴπποκόωντος δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὁ Εὐμήδης. ἔστι  
 δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον Ἡρακλέους, ᾧ θύουσιν οἱ  
 Σφαιρεῖς· οἱ δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας  
 ἀρχόμενοι συντέλειν. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια  
 ἐν τῷ Δρόμῳ, τὸ ἕτερον Εὐρυκλέους ἀνάθημα  
 ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου· τοῦ Δρόμου δὲ ἐκτὸς κατὰ  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστιν οἰκία τὰ ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶν ἰδιώτου, Μενελάου τὸ ἀρχαῖον. προελ-  
 θόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν καὶ  
 Χαρίτων, τὸ δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε  
 7 Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἡγεμόνης· τὸ δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀγνίτα πεποιήται μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Δρόμου,  
 Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἔστιν ἐπίκλησις ὁ Ἀγνίτας, ὅτι  
 ἦν ἄγνου τῷ θεῷ ξόανον· ἡ δὲ ἄγνος λύγος καὶ  
 αὐτὴ κατὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τῆ ράμνω. τοῦ Ἀσκλη-  
 πιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τρόπαιον ἔστηκε, Πολυδεύκη  
 δὲ ἀναστήσαι φασιν ἐπὶ Λυγκεῖ· καὶ μοι καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἀποφαίνει τὸν λόγον εἰκότα, οὐ ταφῆναι  
 τοὺς Ἀφαρέως παῖδας ἐν Σπάρτῃ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ  
 Δρόμου τῆ ἀρχῆ Διόσκουροί τε εἰσιν Ἀφετήριοι  
 καὶ ὀλίγον προελθόντι ἠρώων Ἄλκωνος· τὸν δὲ  
 Ἄλκωνα λέγουσιν Ἴπποκόωντας παῖδα εἶναι.

Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἄλκωνος τὸ ἠρώων Ποσειδῶνός  
 8 ἔστιν ἱερὸν, Δωματίτην δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν. καὶ  
 χωρίον Πλατανιστᾶς ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, αἱ  
 δὲ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς περὶ αὐτὸ αἱ πλάτανοι  
 πεφύκασιν. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα τοῖς ἐφήβοις  
 μάχεσθαι καθέστηκεν, κύκλω μὲν εὐριπος περιέχει  
 κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ εἰ νῆσον θάλασσα, ἔφοδοι δὲ ἐπὶ

Course to the place where it is the custom for the young men even down to the present day to practise running. As you go to this Course from the grave of the Agiadae, you see on the left the tomb of Eumedes—this Eumedes was one of the children of Hippocoön—and also an old image of Heracles, to whom sacrifice is paid by the *Sphaeréis*. These are those who are just passing from youth to manhood. In the Course are two gymnastic schools, one being a votive gift of Eurycles, a Spartan. Outside the Course, over against the image of Heracles, there is a house belonging now to a private individual, but in olden times to Menelaus. Farther away from the Course are sanctuaries of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, of Eileithyia, of Apollo Carneüs, and of Artemis Leader. The sanctuary of Agnitas has been made on the right of the Course; Agnitas is a surname of Asclepius, because the god had a wooden image of *agnus castus*. The *agnus* is a willow like the thorn. Not far from Asclepius stands a trophy, raised, they say, by Polydeuces to celebrate his victory over Lynceus. This is one of the pieces of evidence that confirm my statement that the sons of Aphareus were not buried in Sparta. At the beginning of the Course are the Dioscuri Starters, and a little farther on a hero-shrine of Alcon, who they say was a son of Hippocoön.

Beside the shrine of Alcon is a sanctuary of Poseidon, whom they surname "of the House." And there is a place called Platanistas (*Plane-tree Grove*) from the unbroken ring of tall plane trees growing round it. The place itself, where it is customary for the youths to fight, is surrounded by a moat just like an island in the sea; you enter it by bridges.

γεφυρῶν εἰσι. γεφυρῶν δὲ ἐφ'<sup>1</sup> ἑκατέρα τῇ μὲν  
 ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, τῇ δὲ εἰκὼν Λυκούργου.  
 νόμους δὲ ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ ἔς τὴν  
 9 μάχην τῶν ἐφήβων ἔθηκεν ὁ Λυκούργος. καὶ  
 τὰδε ἄλλα τοῖς ἐφήβοις δρώμενά ἐστι· θύουσι  
 πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ· τὸ δὲ Φοιβαῖον  
 ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολὺ  
 ἀφεστηκός. ἐνταῦθα ἑκατέρα μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων  
 σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ θύουσι, θεῶν τῷ  
 ἀλκιμωτάτῳ κρίνοντες ἱερεῖον κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι  
 τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον ζῶον τῶν ἡμέρων. κυνὸς δὲ  
 σκύλακας οὐδένας ἄλλους οἶδα Ἑλλήνων νομί-  
 ζοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίους· θύουσι γὰρ  
 καὶ Κολοφώνιοι μέλαιναν τῇ Ἐνοδίῳ σκύλακα.  
 νυκτεριναὶ δὲ ἢ τε Κολοφωνίων θυσία καὶ τῶν  
 10 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐφήβων καθεστήκασιν. ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῇ θυσίᾳ κάπρους ἠθάδας οἱ ἔφηβοι συμβάλλουσι  
 μαχουμένους· ὁποτέρων δ' αὖν ὁ κάπρος τύχη  
 μικῶν, ἐν τῷ Πλαταιιστᾷ κρατῆσαι τούτους ὡς  
 τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει. τοσάδε μὲν δρῶσιν ἐν τῷ  
 Φοιβαίῳ· ἔς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὀλίγον πρὸ μεσοῦσης  
 ἡμέρας ἐσίασι κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον  
 χωρίον. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἔσοδον, καθ' ἣν ἐσελθεῖν  
 δεῦρο ἐστὶν ἑκατέραν τάξιν, προεδήλωσε κληρός  
 σφισιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί· μάχονται δὲ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ  
 ἐμπηδῶντες λάξ, δάκνουσί τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 ἀντορύσσουσιν. ἀνὴρ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα τὸν  
 εἰρημένον τρόπον μάχεται· ἀθρόοι δὲ ἐμπίπτουσι  
 βιαίως καὶ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ὠθοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.

XV. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Πλαταιιστᾷ καὶ Κυνίσκας  
 ἐστὶν ἡρῶν, θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος

<sup>1</sup> ἑκάτερα, emended by Buttman.



## LACONIA, xiv. 8-xv. 1

On each of the two bridges stand images; on one side an image of Heracles, on the other a likeness of Lycurgus. Among the laws Lycurgus laid down for the constitution are those regulating the fighting of the youths. There are other acts performed by the youths, which I will now describe. Before the fighting they sacrifice in the Phoebaeum, which is outside the city, not far distant from Therapne. Here each company of youths sacrifices a puppy to Enyalius, holding that the most valiant of tame animals is an acceptable victim to the most valiant of the gods. I know of no other Greeks who are accustomed to sacrifice puppies except the people of Colophon; these too sacrifice a puppy, a black bitch, to the Wayside Goddess. Both the sacrifice of the Colophonians and that of the youths at Sparta are appointed to take place at night. At the sacrifice the youths set trained boars to fight; the company whose boar happens to win generally gains the victory in Plane-tree Grove. Such are the performances in the Phoebaeum. A little before the middle of the next day they enter by the bridges into the place I have mentioned. They cast lots during the night to decide by which entrance each band is to go in. In fighting they use their hands, kick with their feet, bite, and gouge out the eyes of their opponents. Man to man they fight in the way I have described, but in the mellay they charge violently and push one another into the water.

XV. At Plane-tree Grove there is also a heroshrine of Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus king of

- Σπαρτιατῶν· πρώτη δὲ ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι πρώτη νίκην ἀνείλετο ἄρματι. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς, ἣ παρὰ τὸν Πλατανιστᾶν πεποιήται, ταύτης ὀπισθεν ἡρῶα, τὸ μὲν Ἀλκίμου, τὸ δὲ Ἐναραιφόρου καὶ ἀφεστηκὸς οὐ πολὺ Δορκέως, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Σεβροῦ· παῖδας δὲ
- 2 Ἴπποκόωντος εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δορκέως κρήνην τὴν πλησίον τοῦ ἡρώου Δορκείαν, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ Σέβριον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβροῦ. τοῦ Σεβρίου δὲ ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μνήμα Ἀλκμᾶνος, ᾧ ποιήσαντι ἄσματα οὐδὲν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τῶν Λακῶνων ἢ γλώσσα, ἥκιστα παρε-
- 3 χομένη τὸ εὐφωνον. Ἐλένης δὲ ἱερά καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἔστιν ὀπλισμένον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλεῖ φασιν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρξαι τὸν Ἴπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτου θάνατον καθαρσίῳν ἕνεκα ἐλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν
- 4 Σπάρτῃ ἀπηξίωσαν καθῆραι· προσεγένετο δὲ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε. Οἰωνὸς ἡλικίαν μὲν μεϊράκιον, ἀνεψιὸς δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ— Δικυμνίου γὰρ παῖς ἦν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης— ἀφίκετο ἐς Σπάρτην ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ· περιόντι δὲ καὶ θεωμένῳ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐγίνετο κατὰ τοῦ Ἴπποκόωντος τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐνταῦθ' αἱ οἱ κύων ἐπεφέρετο οἰκουρός. ὁ δὲ τυγχάνει τε ἀφείς λίθον ὁ Οἰωνὸς καὶ καταβάλλει τὴν κύνα. ἐπεκθέουσιν οὖν τοῦ Ἴπποκόωντος οἱ παῖδες καὶ ῥοπάλοις
- 5 τύπτοντες κατεργάζονται τὸν Οἰωνόν. τοῦτο

the Spartans. She was the first woman to breed horses, and the first to win a chariot race at Olympia. Behind the portico built by the side of Plane-tree Grove are other hero-shrines, of Alcimus, of Enaraephorus, at a little distance away one of Dorceus, and close to it one of Sebrus. These are said to be sons of Hippocoön. The fountain near the hero-shrine of Dorceus they call Dorcean after him; the place Sebrium is named after Sebrus. On the right of Sebrium is the tomb of Alcman, the lyric poet, the charm of whose works was not in the least spoiled by the Laconian dialect, which is the least musical of them all. There are sanctuaries of Helen and of Heracles; the former is near the grave of Alcman, the latter is quite close to the wall and contains an armed image of Heracles. The attitude of the image is due, they say, to the fight with Hippocoön and his sons. The enmity of Heracles towards the family of Hippocoön is said to have sprung out of their refusing to cleanse him when he came to Sparta for cleansing after the death of Iphitus. The following incident, too, helped to begin the feud. Oeonus, a stripling cousin of Heracles—he was the son of Licymnius the brother of Alcmene—came to Sparta along with Heracles, and went round to view the city. When he came to the house of Hippocoön, a house-dog attacked him. Oeonus happened to throw a stone which knocked over the dog. So the sons of Hippocoön ran out, and dispatched Oeonus with their clubs. This made Heracles most

Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα ἐξηγρίωσεν ἐς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς ὀργῆς εἶχε χωρεῖ σφισιν ἐς μάχην. τότε μὲν δὴ τιτρώσκεται καὶ λαθὼν ἀπεχώρησεν· ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεγένετό οἱ στρατεύσαντι ἐς Σπάρτην τιμωρῆσασθαι μὲν Ἴπποκόωντα, τιμωρῆσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Οἰωνοῦ φόνου. τὸ δὲ μῆμα τῷ Οἰωνῷ πεποιήται παρὰ τὸ Ἡρακλείον.

- 6 Ἴόντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δρόμου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀξιοποίνου καλουμένης ἱερόν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀμυνόμενος Ἡρακλῆς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετήλθε κατ' ἀξίαν ὧν προυπήρξεν, ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύεται, Ἀξιοποίνου δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὅτι τὰς τιμωρίας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠνόμαζον ποινάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἴόντι ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου· Θήραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι τὸν Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου φασίν, ἥνικα ἀποικίαν ἔστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἢ νῦν ἀπὸ Θήρα τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον
- 7 ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλίστη. πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἴπποσθένους ναός, ᾧ γεγονάσιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῆκαι πάλης· σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἴπποσθένην ἄτε Ποσειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ πέδας ἐστὶν ἔχων Ἐννάλιος, ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐς τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ἀπτερον καλουμένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὐποτε τὸν Ἐννάλιον φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαις, Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι ἀεὶ μενεῖν οὐκ ὄντων πτερῶν.

bitterly wroth with Hippocoön and his sons, and straightway, angry as he was, he set out to give them battle. On this occasion he was wounded, and made good his retreat by stealth; but afterwards he made an expedition against Sparta and succeeded in avenging himself on Hippocoön, and also on the sons of Hippocoön for their murder of Oeonus. The tomb of Oeonus is built by the side of the sanctuary of Heracles.

As you go from the Course towards the east, there is a path on the right, with a sanctuary of Athena called Axiopoinos (*Just Requit* or *Tit for Tat*). For when Heracles, in avenging himself on Hippocoön and his sons, had inflicted upon them a just requital for their treatment of his relative, he founded a sanctuary of Athena, and surnamed her Axiopoinos because the ancients used to call vengeance *poinai*. There is another sanctuary of Athena on another road from the Course. It was dedicated, they say, by Theras son of Autesion son of Tisamenus son of Thersander, when he was leading a colony to the island now called Thera after him, the name of which in ancient times was Calliste (*Fairest*). Near is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honours as to Poseidon. Opposite this temple is an old image of Enyalios in fetters. The idea the Lacedaemonians express by this image is the same as the Athenians express by their Wingless Victory; the former think that Enyalios will never run away from them, being bound in the fetters, while the Athenians think that Victory, having no wings, will always remain where she is.

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- 8 Ἰὼνδε μὲν εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις αὐταὶ τὰ ξόανα τὸν τρόπον ἰδρυμέναι καὶ ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοιαύτῃ· ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ λέσχη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Ποικίλη καὶ ἡρῶα πρὸς αὐτῇ Κάδμου τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τῶν τε ἀπογόνων, Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα καὶ Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου. ποιῆσαι δὲ τὰ ἡρῶα λέγουσι Μαῖσιν καὶ Λαίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰφραίου παῖδας τοῦ Αἰγέως. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τὸ ἡρῶον, ὅτι σφίσις ὁ πρόγονος Τισαμενὸς μητρὸς ἦν Δημωνύσσης, ἀδελφῆς Ἀμφιλόχου.
- 9 Μόνοις δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἡραν ἐπονομάζειν Αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ λέγουσιν ἰδρῦσασθαι τὸ ἱερόν καὶ αἶγας θῦσαι πρῶτον, ὅτι μαχομένῳ οἱ πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἡρας ἀπήντησεν ἐμπόδιον, ὥσπερ γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόξαζεν ἐναντιοῦσθαί οἱ τὴν θεόν· αἶγας δὲ αὐτὸν θῦσαί φασιν ἱερείων ἀπορήσαντα ἄλλοιων. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδῶνός τε ἱερόν ἐστι Γενεθλίου καὶ ἡρῶα Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἰλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. τῶν δὲ Ἀσκληπιείων τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον πεποιήται σφισι πρὸς τοῖς Βωωνήτοις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡρῶον Τηλέκλου· τούτου δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. προελθοῦσι δὲ οὐ πολὺ λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ναὸς ἀρχαῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον ὠπλισμένης. ναῶν δὲ ὧν οἶδα μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερῶον ἄλλο ἐπωκοδόμηται Μορφοῦς
- 10 ἱερόν. ἐπὶ κλησις μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἢ Μορφῶ, κάθηται δὲ καλύπτραν τε ἔχουσα καὶ πέδας περὶ τοῖς ποσί· περιθεῖναι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεων

In this fashion, and with such a belief, have these cities set up the wooden images. In Sparta is a lounge called Painted, and by it hero-shrines of Cadmus the son of Agenor, and of his descendants Oeolycus, son of Theras, and Aegeus, son of Oeolycus. They are said to have been made by Maesis, Laeas and Europas, sons of Hyraeus, son of Aegeus. They made for Amphiloachus too his hero-shrine, because their ancestor Tisamenus had for his mother Demonassa, the sister of Amphiloachus.

The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks who surname Hera Goat-eater, and sacrifice goats to the goddess. They say that Heracles founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in his fight against Hippocoön and his children he met with no hindrance from Hera, although in his other adventures he thought that the goddess opposed him. He sacrificed goats, they say, because he lacked other kinds of victims. Not far from the theatre is a sanctuary of Poseidon God of Kin, and there are hero-shrines of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, and of Oebalus. The most famous of their sanctuaries of Asclepius has been built near Boöneta, and on the left is the hero-shrine of Teleclus. I shall mention him again later in my history of Messenia.<sup>1</sup> A little farther on is a small hill, on which is an ancient temple with a wooden image of Aphrodite armed. This is the only temple I know that has an upper storey built upon it. It is a sanctuary of Morpho, a surname of Aphrodite, who sits wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet. The story is that the fetters were put on her by Tyndareus, who

<sup>1</sup> See iv. iv. § 2, and xxxi. § 3.

τὰς πέδας φασὶν ἀφομοιοῦντα τοῖς δεσμοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας τῶν γυναικῶν βέβαιον. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον λόγον, ὡς τὴν θεὸν πέδαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὁ Ἵννδάρεω, γενέσθαι ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἠγούμενος τὰ ὀνειδή, τοῦτον οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίεμαι· ἦν γὰρ δὴ παντάπασιν εὖηθες κέδρου ποιησάμενον ζῴδιον καὶ ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην θέμενον ἐλπίζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν θεόν.

- XVI. Πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἱερῶνταί σφισι παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὐταὶ Λευκιππίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Λευκιππίς ἐπεκόσμησε, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τέχνης· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπέειπεν ὄνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρτηται ὠὸν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατειλημένον ταινίαις· εἶναι δὲ φασιν ὠὸν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν
- 2 Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται πλησίον· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασιν αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Ἵννδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερόν ἐκτίησατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐοικότες· ἦκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταχθηναί τε ἠξίουσαν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκημα ἠτοῦντο ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἠνίκα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν.
- 3 ὁ δὲ οἰκίας μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθέλωσιν οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἔτυχεν οἱ παρθένος ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ



symbolized by the bonds the faithfulness of wives to their husbands. The other account, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with fetters because he thought that from Aphrodite had come the shame of his daughters, I will not admit for a moment. For it were surely altogether silly to expect to punish the goddess by making a cedar figure and naming it Aphrodite.

XVI. Near is a sanctuary of Hilaeira and of Phoebe. The author of the poem *Cypria* calls them daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are young maidens, called, as are also the goddesses, Leucippides (*Daughters of Leucippus*).<sup>1</sup> One of the images was adorned by a Leucippis who had served the goddesses as a priestess. She gave it a face of modern workmanship instead of the old one; she was forbidden by a dream to adorn the other one as well. Here there has been hung from the roof an egg tied to ribands, and they say that it is the famous egg that legend says Leda brought forth. Each year the women weave a tunic for the Apollo at Amyclae, and they call Tunic the chamber in which they do their weaving. Near it is built a house, said to have been occupied originally by the sons of Tyndareus, but afterwards it was acquired by Phormion, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said that they had come from Cyrene, and asked to lodge with him, requesting to have the chamber which had pleased them most when they dwelt among men. He replied that they might lodge in any other part of the house they wished, but that they could not have the chamber. For it so happened that his maiden daughter was

<sup>1</sup> I. xviii. § 1; III. xiii. § 7 and xvii. § 3.

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δίαιταν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρθένος μὲν ἐκείνη καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἢ περὶ τὴν παῖδα ἠφάνιστο, Διοσκούρων δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ οἰκῆματι εὐρέθη καὶ τράπεζά τε καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.

- 4 Τάδε μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτῶνος Χίλωνός ἐστιν ἠρῶον τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τῶν ὁμοῦ Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν· ἐστάλησαν δὲ τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν νομίζοντες τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. Ἡρακλέα γὰρ ἔχει λόγος παλαῖσαι πρὸς Ἐρυκα ἐπὶ τοῖσδε εἰρημένοις, ἣν μὲν Ἡρακλῆς νικήσῃ, γῆν τὴν Ἐρυκος Ἡρακλέους εἶναι, κρατηθέντος δὲ τῇ
- 5 πάλῃ βοῦς τὰς Γηρυόνου—ταύτας γὰρ τότε ἤλαυνεν Ἡρακλῆς, διανηξαμένας δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν κατὰ τὸν ἔλαιον<sup>1</sup> τὸν κυφὸν ἀνευρήσων ἐπιδιέβη—τὰς οὖν βοῦς ἔδει κρατηθέντος Ἡρακλέους τὸν Ἐρυκα ἄγοντα οἴχεσθαι. τὸ δὲ εὐμενὲς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ὑστερον Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἀποκτίννουσιν Ἐρυκα, Δωριέα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειραν τὸ πολὺ Ἐγεσταῖοι.
- 6 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Λυκούργῳ τῷ θεμένῳ τοὺς νόμους οἷα δὴ θεῷ πεποιήκασιν καὶ τούτῳ ἱερόν. τάφος δὲ ἐστιν ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ Λυκούργου παιδὶ Εὐκόσμῳ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ βωμῷ Λαθρίας καὶ Ἀναξάνδρας· αἱ δὲ αὐταί τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἱ Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες ἅτε ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι λαμβάνουσι, θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδίδα, βασι-

living in it. By the next day this maiden and all her girlish apparel had disappeared, and in the room were found images of the Dioscuri, a table, and silphium upon it.

Such is the story. As you go from the Tunic in the direction of the gate there is a hero-shrine of Cheilon, who is considered one of the Seven Sages, and also of Athenodorus, one of those who with Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides set out for Sicily. The reason of their setting out was that they held that the Erycine district belonged to the descendants of Heracles and not to the foreigners who held it. The story is that Heracles wrestled with Eryx on these terms: if Heracles won, the land of Eryx was to belong to him; but if he were beaten, Eryx was to depart with the cows of Geryon; for Heracles at the time was driving these away, and when they swam across to Sicily he too crossed over in search of them near the bent olive-tree. The favour of heaven was more partial to Heracles than it was afterwards to Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides; Heracles killed Eryx, but Dorieus himself and the greater part of his army were destroyed by the Egestaeans.

The Lacedaemonians have also made a sanctuary for Lycurgus, who drew up the laws, looking upon him as a god. Behind the temple is the grave of Eucosmus, the son of Lycurgus, and by the altar the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra. Now these were themselves twins, and therefore the sons of Aristodemus, who also were twins likewise, took them to wife; they were daughters of Thersander son of Agamedidas, king of the Cleonaeans and great-

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<sup>1</sup> ἔλεον, emended by Meineke.

λευοντος μὲν Κλεωναίων,<sup>1</sup> τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ μνῆμα Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τὸ δὲ Εὐρυβιάδου Λακεδαιμονίων τριήρεσιν ἐπ' Ἄρτεμισίῳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίσαντος πρὸς Μήδους, πλησίον δὲ Ἄστραβάκου καλούμενόν ἐστιν ἡρῶν.

- 7 Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ ξόανον δὲ ἐκείνο εἶναι λέγουσιν ὃ ποτε Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλέπτουσιν· ἐς δὲ τὴν σφετέραν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κομισθῆναί φασιν Ὀρέστου καὶ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεύοντος. καὶ μοι εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον τι δοκοῦσιν ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι. ποίῳ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ κατέλιπεν ἂν ἐν Βραυρῶνι Ἰφιγένεια τὸ ἄγαλμα; ἢ πῶς, ἡνίκα Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο, οὐκ ἐσέθεντο
- 8 καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς; καίτοι διαμεμένηκεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τηλικούτο ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεῷ, ὥστε ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν Καππάδοκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνου οἰκοῦντες τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἷς ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν Ἀναίτιδος. Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἄρα παρώφθη γενόμενον λάφυρον τῷ Μήδῳ· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ἐκομίσθη τε ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὕστερον Σελεύκου
- 9 δόντος Σύροι Λαοδικεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσι. μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξόανον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἰρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένου τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἄγιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὐρόντες αὐτῶν παρεφρόνησαν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Λιμνᾶται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κνυσοῦρεῖς καὶ

## LACONIA, xvi. 6-9

grandson of Ctesippus, son of Heracles. Opposite the temple is the tomb of Theopompus son of Nicander, and also that of Eurybiades, who commanded the Lacedaemonian warships that fought the Persians at Artemisium and Salamis. Near is what is called the hero-shrine of Astrabacus.

The place named Limnaeum (*Marshy*) is sacred to Artemis Orthia (*Upright*). The wooden image there they say is that which once Orestes and Iphigenia stole out of the Tauric land, and the Lacedaemonians say that it was brought to their land because there also Orestes was king. I think their story more probable than that of the Athenians. For what could have induced Iphigenia to leave the image behind at Brauron? Or why did the Athenians, when they were preparing to abandon their land, fail to include this image in what they put on board their ships? And yet, right down to the present day, the fame of the Tauric goddess has remained so high that the Cappadocians dwelling on the Euxine claim that the image is among them, a like claim being made by those Lydians also who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis. But the Athenians, we are asked to believe, made light of it becoming booty of the Persians. For the image at Brauron was brought to Susa, and afterwards Seleucus gave it to the Syrians of Laodicea, who still possess it. I will give other evidence that the Orthia in Lacedaemon is the wooden image from the foreigners. Firstly, Astrabacus and Alopecus, sons of Irbus, son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphicles, son of Agis, when they found the image straightway became insane. Secondly, the Spartan Limnatiens,

<sup>1</sup> Κλεεστωναίων, emended by Kuhn.

- οί ἐκ Μεσόας τε καὶ Πιτάνης θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς διαφοράν, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς φόρους προήχθησαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ πολλῶν νόσος ἔφθειρε τοὺς λοιπούς. καὶ σφισιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γίνεται λόγιον αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν αἱμάσσειν· θυομένου δὲ ὄντινα ὁ κλῆρος ἐπελάμβανε, Λυκούργος μετέβαλεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις μύστιγας, ἐμπίπλαται τε οὕτως ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ὁ βωμός. ἡ δὲ ἰέρεια τὸ ξόανον ἔχουσά σφισιν ἐφέστηκε· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλως μὲν
- 11 κούφον ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἣν δὲ οἱ μαστιγοῦντές ποτε ὑποφειδόμενοι παίωσι κατὰ ἐφήβου κάλλος ἢ ἀξίωμα, τότε ἤδη τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ ξόανον γίνεται βαρὺ καὶ οὐκέτι εὐφορον, ἡ δὲ ἐν αἰτία τοὺς μαστιγοῦντας ποιεῖται καὶ πιέζεσθαι δι' αὐτοὺς φησιν. οὕτω τῷ ἀγάλματι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ θυσιῶν ἐμμεμένηκεν ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ἡδεσθαι· καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὐρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν. XVII. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν· οἰκοδομησαὶ δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν νομίσαι θεὸν γενομένου σφίσιν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεύματος.

Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἐστὶ, καθὰ δὲ Θηβαίοις τε ἢ Καδμεία καὶ ἢ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις· ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς

2 μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν πεποίηται Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοίκου τῆς αὐτῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς κατασκευῆς Τυνδάρεως καθὰ λέγουσιν ἤρξατο·

the Cynosurians, and the people of Mesoa and Pitane, while sacrificing to Artemis, fell to quarreling, which led also to bloodshed; many were killed at the altar and the rest died of disease. Whereat an oracle was delivered to them, that they should stain the altar with human blood. He used to be sacrificed upon whomsoever the lot fell, but Lycurgus changed the custom to a scourging of the lads, and so in this way the altar is stained with human blood. By them stands the priestess, holding the wooden image. Now it is small and light, but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds the image grow so heavy that she can hardly carry it. She lays the blame on the scourgers, and says that it is their fault that she is being weighed down. So the image ever since the sacrifices in the Tauric land keeps its fondness for human blood. They call it not only Orthia, but also Lygodesma (*Willow-bound*), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the encircling willow made the image stand upright. XVII. Not far from the Orthia is a sanctuary of Eileithyia. They say that they built it, and came to worship Eileithyia as a goddess, because of an oracle from Delphi.

The Lacedaemonians have no citadel rising to a conspicuous height like the Cadmea at Thebes and the Larisa at Argos. There are, however, hills in the city, and the highest of them they call the citadel. Here is built a sanctuary of Athena, who is called both City-protecting and Lady of the Bronze House. The building of the sanctuary was begun, they say, by Tyndareus. On his death his children

ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου δεύτερα οἱ παῖδες ἐξερ-  
 γάσασθαι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἤθελον, ἀφορμὴ δέ  
 σφισιν ἔμελλε τὰ ἐξ Ἀφιδναίων ἔσεσθαι λάφυρα.  
 προαπολιπόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν· Γιτιάδας  
 δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ  
 ἄσματα Δῶρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον  
 3 ἐς τὴν θεόν. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ  
 μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὧν  
 ἐθελουτῆς κατώρθωσε, Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων  
 ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἀρπαγῆ·  
 καὶ Ἡφαιστος τὴν μητέρα ἐστὶν ἀπολύων τῶν  
 δεσμῶν. ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅποια λέγεται,  
 πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Περσεῖ  
 δ' ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὠρμημένῳ διδοῦσαι  
 νύμφαι δῶρά εἰσι κυνῆν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, ὑφ'  
 ὧν οἰσθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔμελλεν. ἐπείργασ-  
 σται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν καὶ  
 Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ  
 4 μάλιστα ἦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θεᾶς ἄξια. ἐστὶ δὲ  
 καὶ ἕτερον αὐτόθι Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐργάνης ἱερόν. ἐς  
 δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἰόντι στοᾶν Κοσμητᾶ  
 τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Διὸς ναὸς καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
 μνήμᾳ ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἔχει τῶν στοῶν  
 αἰετούς τε δύο τοὺς ὄρνιθας καὶ ἴσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 Νίκας, Λυσάνδρου μὲν ἀνάθημα, τῶν δὲ ἔργων  
 ὑπόμνημα ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε περὶ Ἐφεσον, ὅτε  
 Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου κυβερνήτην καὶ  
 Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν Αἰγὸς  
 ποταμοῖς καθείλεν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ναυτικόν.



were desirous of making a second attempt to complete the building, and the resources they intended to use were the spoils of Aphidna. They too left it unfinished, and it was many years afterwards that the Lacedaemonians made of bronze both the temple and the image of Athena. The builder was Gitiadas, a native of Sparta, who also composed Dorian lyrics, including a hymn to the goddess. On the bronze are wrought in relief many of the labours of Heracles and many of the voluntary exploits he successfully carried out, besides the rape of the daughters of Leucippus and other achievements of the sons of Tyndareus. There is also Hephaestus releasing his mother from the fetters. The legend about this I have already related<sup>1</sup> in my history of Attica. There are also represented nymphs bestowing upon Perseus, who is starting on his enterprise against Medusa in Libya, a cap and the shoes by which he was to be carried through the air. There are also wrought the birth of Athena, Amphitrite, and Poseidon, the largest figures, and those which I thought the best worth seeing. There is here another sanctuary of Athena; her surname is the Worker. As you go to the south portico there is a temple of Zeus surnamed Cosmetas (*Orderer*), and before it is the tomb of Tyndareus. The west portico has two eagles, and upon them are two Victories. Lysander dedicated them to commemorate both his exploits; the one was off Ephesus, when he conquered Antiochus, the captain of Alcibiades, and the Athenian warships; and the second occurred later, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami.

c 500  
B C.<sup>1</sup> See I. xx. § 3.

- 5 Ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου Μουσῶν ἰδρύσαντο ἱερόν, ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας οὐ μετὰ σαλπίγγων ἐποιοῦντο ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε αὐλῶν μέλη καὶ ὑπὸ λύρας καὶ κιθάρας κρούσασιν. ὅπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρείας· τὰ δὲ ξόανα
- 6 ἀρχαῖα εἶπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἑλλησιν. τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου πεποιήται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὅποσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ· δι' ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰργασμένον, ἐληλασμένον δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῶν μερῶν καθ' αὐτὸ ἐκάστου συνήρμοσταί τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἦλοι συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι. Κλέαρχον δὲ ἄνδρα Ῥηγῖνον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, ὃν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασὶν εἶναι μαθητὴν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Σκηνώματι ὀνομαζομένῳ γυναικὸς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Εὐρυλεωνίδα λέγουσιν εἶναι· νίκην δὲ ἵππων συνωρίδι ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν.
- 7 Παρὰ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου τὸν βωμὸν ἐστήκασιν δύο εἰκόνες Πausανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν ἠγησαμένου. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἐγένετο εἰδόσιν οὐ διηγῆσομαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πρότερον συγγραφέντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἀποχρῶντα ἦν· ἐπεξελεθῆναι δὲ σφισιν ἀρκέσομαι. ἤκουσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς Βυζαντίου Πausανίαν φωραθῆναί τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ μόνον τῶν ἰκετευσάντων τὴν Χαλκιοῖκου ἀμαρτεῖν ἀδείας κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,
- 8 φόνου δὲ ἄγος ἐκίψασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντα. ὥς γὰρ δὴ διέτριβε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ναυσὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, παρθένου Βυζαντίας ἐπεθύμησε· καὶ αὐτίκα

On the left of the Lady of the Bronze House they have set up a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to go out to fight, not to the sound of the trumpet, but to the music of the flute and the accompaniment of lyre and harp. Behind the Lady of the Bronze House is a temple of Aphrodite Areia (*Warlike*). The wooden images are as old as any in Greece. On the right of the Lady of the Bronze House has been set up an image of Zeus Most High, the oldest image that is made of bronze. It is not wrought in one piece. Each of the limbs has been hammered separately; these are fitted together, being prevented from coming apart by nails. They say that the artist was Clearchus of Rhegium, who is said by some to have been a pupil of Dipoenus<sup>1</sup> and Scyllis, by others of Daedalus himself. By what is called the Scenoma (*Tent*) there is a statue of a woman, whom the Lacedaemonians say is Euryleonis. She won a victory at Olympia with a two-horse chariot.

By the side of the altar of the Lady of the Bronze House stand two statues of Pausanias, the general at Plataea. His history, as it is known, I will not relate. The accurate accounts of my predecessors suffice; I shall content myself with adding to them what I heard from a man of Byzantium. Pausanias was detected in his treachery, and was the only suppliant of the Lady of the Bronze House who failed to win security, solely because he had been unable to wipe away a defilement of bloodshed. When he was cruising about the Hellespont with the Lacedaemonian and allied fleets, he fell in love with a Byzantine maiden. And

<sup>1</sup> See II. xv. § 1 and xxii. § 5.

νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης τὴν Κλεοῦίκην—τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ κόρῃ—κομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπετέτακτο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὑπνωμένον τὸν Πausανίαν ἐπήγειρεν ὁ ψόφος· ἰούσα γὰρ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιόμενον λύχνον κατέβαλεν ἄκουσα. ἄτε δὲ ὁ Πausανίας συνειδὼς αὐτῷ προδιδόντι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐχόμενος παραχῆ τε αἰεὶ καὶ δείματι, ἐξέστη  
 9 καὶ τότε καὶ τὴν παῖδα τῷ ἀκινάκῃ παίει. τοῦτο τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Πausανία, καθάρσια παντοῖα καὶ ἰκεσίας δεξαμένῳ Διὸς Φυξίου καὶ δὴ ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἐλθόντι τὴν Ἀρκάδων παρὰ τοὺς ψυχαγωγούς· δίκην δὲ ἦν εἰκὸς ἦν Κλεοῦίκη τε ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὰς τε εἰκόνας ἐποίησαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην, τὸ ἐπὶ Πausανία τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μῆμιμα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον.

XVIII. Τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων τοῦ Πausανίου πλησίον ἐστὶν Ἀμβολογήρας Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἰδρυμένον κατὰ μαντείαν, ἄλλα δὲ Ὑπνου καὶ Θανάτου· καὶ σφᾶς ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔπη  
 2 τὰ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἤγηται. ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλπῖον καλούμενον ναός ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀφθαλμίτιδος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Λυκούργον λέγουσιν ἐκκοπέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ Ἀλκάνδρου, διότι οὗς ἔθηκε νόμους οὐκ ἀρεστοὺς συνέβαιεν εἶναι τῷ Ἀλκάνδρῳ. διαφυγῶν δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμυνάντων μὴ προσαπολέσθαι οἱ καὶ τὸν λειπόμενον ὀφθαλμόν, οὕτω ναὸν  
 3 Ὀφθαλμίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίησε. προελθόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἱερόν ἐστὶν Ἀμμωνος· φαίνονται δὲ ἀπ'

straightway at the beginning of night Cleonice—that was the girl's name—was brought by those who had been ordered to do so. But Pausanias was asleep at the time and the noise awoke him. For as she came to him she unintentionally dropped her lighted lamp. And Pausanias, conscious of his treason to Greece, and therefore always nervous and fearful, jumped up then and struck the girl with his sword. From this defilement Pausanias could not escape, although he underwent all sorts of purifications and became a suppliant of Zeus Phyxius (*God of Flight*), and finally went to the wizards at Phigalia in Arcadia; but he paid a fitting penalty to Cleonice and to the god. The Lacedaemonians, in fulfilment of a command from Delphi, had the bronze images made and honour the spirit Bountiful, saying that it was this Bountiful that turns aside the wrath that the God of Suppliants shows because of Pausanias.

XVIII. Near the statues of Pausanias is an image of Aphrodite Ambologera (*Postponer of Old Age*), which was set up in accordance with an oracle; there are also images of Sleep and of Death. They think them brothers, in accordance with the verses in the *Iliad*. As you go towards what is called the Alpium is a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis (*Goddess of the Eye*). They say that Lycurgus dedicated it when one of his eyes had been struck out by Alcander, because the laws he had made happened not to find favour with Alcander. Having fled to this place he was saved by the Lacedaemonians from losing his remaining eye, and so he made this temple of Athena Ophthalmitis. Farther on from here is a sanctuary of Ammon. From the first the

ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρῳ πολιορκοῦντι Ἄφυτιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ νύκτωρ ἐπιφανέντα Ἄμμωνα προαγορεύειν ὡς ἄμεινον ἐκείνῳ τε ἔσοιτο καὶ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολέμου πρὸς Ἀφυταίους παυσαμένοις· καὶ οὕτω τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσεν ὁ Λύσανδρος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν θεὸν σέβειν προήγαγεν ἐς πλεόν, Ἀφυταῖοι δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἄμμωνα οὐδὲν ἤσσον ἢ οἱ Ἀμμώνιοι Λιβύων.

- 4 Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν ἐστὶν οὕτω λεγόμενα· Κναγέα ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐς Ἀφιδναν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Διοσκούροις, ληφθέντα δὲ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ παραθέντα ἐς Κρήτην δουλεύειν ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς Κρησὶν ἱερόν, ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτὸν τε ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ παρθένον τὴν ἱερωμένην ἔχοντα οἶχεσθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀγομένην. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν
- 5 ὀνομάζειν Κναγίαν Ἄρτεμιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ Κναγεὺς ἄλλως ἀφικέσθαι πως ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεται καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοί φασιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ γενέσθαι δοκῶ πρὸς Ἀφίδνη μάχην Θεσέως τε ἐν Θεσπρωτοῖς ἐχομένου καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐχ ὁμονοούντων ἀλλὰ ἐς Μενεσθέα ρεπόντων μᾶλλον ταῖς εὐνοίαις. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀγῶνος συμβάντος πείθοιτο ἂν τις αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι παρὰ τῶν κρατησάντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ γενομένης τῆς νίκης, ὥστε ἀλῶναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀφιδναν.
- 6 Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξητάσθω· ἐς Ἀμύκλας δὲ κατιοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ποταμός ἐστι Τίασα· θυγατέρα δὲ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὴν

Lacedaemonians are known to have used the oracle in Libya more than any other Greeks. It is said also that when Lysander was besieging Aphytis in Pallene Ammon appeared by night and declared that it would be better for him and for Lacedaemon if they ceased from warring against Aphytis. And so Lysander raised the siege, and induced the Lacedaemonians to worship the god still more. The people of Aphytis honour Ammon no less than the Ammonian Libyans.

The story of Artemis Cnagia is as follows. Cnageus, they say, was a native who joined the Dioscuri in their expedition against Aphidna. Being taken prisoner in the battle and sold into Crete, he lived as a slave where the Cretans had a sanctuary of Artemis; but in course of time he ran away in the company of the maiden priestess, who took the image with her. It is for this reason that they name Artemis Cnagia. But I am of opinion that Cnageus came to Crete in some other way, and not in the manner the Lacedaemonians state; for I do not think there was a battle at Aphidna at all, Theseus being detained among the Thesprotians and the Athenians not being unanimous, their sympathies inclining towards Menestheus. Moreover, even if a fight occurred, nobody would believe that prisoners were taken from the conquerors, especially as the victory was overwhelming, so that Aphidna itself was captured.

I must now end my criticisms. As you go down to Amyclae from Sparta you come to a river called Tiasa. They hold that Tiasa was a daughter of

- Τίασαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν  
 Φαέννας καὶ Κλητᾶς, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμὰν  
 ἐποίησεν. ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ Λακεδαίμονα Χάρισιν  
 ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα ἤγηνται.
- 7 τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις θέας ἄξια ἀνὴρ πένταθλός  
 ἐστὶν ἐπὶ στήλης ὄνομα Αἰνήτος· τούτῳ νικῆ-  
 σαντι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἔτι στεφανουμένῳ γενέσθαι  
 τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευταίην λέγουσι. τούτου τε οὖν  
 ἐστὶν εἰκὼν καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ· τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιο-  
 τέρους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου
- 8 φασὶν εἶναι. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ τρίποδι  
 Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐστήκει, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ὑπὸ  
 τῷ δευτέρῳ, Γιτιάδα καὶ αὐτοὶ τέχνη καὶ τὰ  
 ἐπειρασμένα, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου  
 Κάλλωνος· ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἄγαλμα Κόρης τῆς  
 Δήμητρος ἔστηκεν. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ Πάριος  
 καὶ Πολύκλειτος Ἀργεῖος ὁ μὲν γυναῖκα  
 ἐποίησεν ἔχουσαν λύραν, Σπάρτην δὴθεν, Πολύ-  
 κλειτος δὲ Ἀφροδίτην παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ καλου-  
 μένην. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τρίποδες μεγέθει τε ὑπὲρ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης τῆς ἐν
- 9 Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ἀνετέθησαν. Βαθυκλέους δὲ  
 Μάγνητος, ὃς τὸν θρόνον ἐποίησε τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου,  
 ἀναθήματα ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ τῷ θρόνῳ Χάριτες  
 καὶ ἄγαλμα δὲ Λευκοφρυῆνης ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος.  
 ὅτου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Βαθυκλῆς μαθητῆς ἐγεγόνει καὶ  
 τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ὅτου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ἐποίησε, τάδε μὲν παρίημι, τὸν θρόνον δὲ εἰδόν
- 10 τε καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἦν γράψω. ἀνέχουσιν  
 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτόν, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω,  
 Χάριτές τε δύο καὶ Ὠραι δύο· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ  
 Ἐχιδνα ἔστηκε καὶ Τυφῶς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Τρίτωνες.



Eurotas, and by it is a sanctuary of Graces, Phaëna and Clea, as Alcman calls them in a poem. They believe that Lacedaemon founded the sanctuary for the Graces here, and gave them their names. The things worth seeing in Amyclae include a victor in the *pentathlon*,<sup>1</sup> named Aenetus, on a slab. The story is that he won a victory at Olympia, but died while the crown was being placed on his head. So there is the statue of this man; there are also bronze tripods. The older ones are said to be a tithe of the Messenian war. Under the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, and under the second an Artemis. The two tripods themselves and the reliefs are the work of Gitiadas. The third was made by Callon of Aegina, and under it stands an image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Aristander of Paros and Polycleitus of Argos have statues here; the former a woman with a lyre, supposed to be Sparta, the latter an Aphrodite called "beside the Amyclaeon." These tripods are larger than the others, and were dedicated from the spoils of the victory at Aegospotami. Bathycles of Magnesia, who made the throne of the Amyclaeon, dedicated, on the completion of the throne, Graces and an image of Artemis Leucophryene. Whose pupil this Bathycles was, and who was king of Lacedaemon when he made the throne, I pass over; but I saw the throne and will describe its details. It is supported in front, and similarly behind, by two Graces and two Seasons. On the left stand Echidna and Typhos, on the right Tritons. To describe the

c. 500  
B.C.c. 440  
B.C.c. 550  
B.C.<sup>1</sup> See I. xxix. § 5.

- τὰ δὲ ἐπειργασμένα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς  
 διελθεῖν ὄχλον τοῖς ἐπιλεξομένοις παρέξειν  
 ἔμελλεν· ὡς δὲ δηλώσαι συλλαβόντι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ  
 ἄγνωστα τὰ πολλὰ ἦν, Ταῦγέτην θυγατέρα  
 Ἄτλαντος καὶ ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀλκυόνην φέρουσι  
 Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ζεὺς. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἄτλας  
 καὶ Ἡρακλέους μονομαχία πρὸς Κύκνον καὶ ἡ  
 11 παρὰ Φόλῳ τῶν Κενταύρων μάχη. τὸν δὲ Μίνω  
 καλούμενον Ταῦρον οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ' ὅτου πεποιήκε  
 Βαθυκλῆς δεδεμένον τε καὶ ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Θησέως  
 ζῶντα· καὶ Φαιάκων χορός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ  
 καὶ ἄδων ὁ Δημόδοκος· Περσέως τε τὸ ἔργον  
 πεποιήται τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν. παρέντι δὲ Ἡρακλέους  
 μάχην πρὸς Θούριον τῶν γιγάντων καὶ Τυνδάρεω  
 πρὸς Εὐρυτον, ἔστιν ἀρπαγὴ τῶν Λευκίππου  
 θυγατέρων· Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεα, τὸν μὲν  
 παῖδα ἔτι ὄντα ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς φέρων,  
 Ἀθηναῖα δὲ ἄγουσα Ἡρακλέα συνοικήσουσα ἀπὸ  
 12 τούτου θεοῖς. παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέα  
 τραφησόμενον παρὰ Χίρωνι, ὃς καὶ διδάξαι  
 λέγεται· Κέφαλος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἔνεκα ὑπὸ  
 Ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἠρπασμένος, καὶ ἐς τὸν γάμον τὸν  
 Ἀρμονίας δῶρα κομίζουσιν οἱ θεοί. καὶ Ἀχιλλέως  
 μονομαχία πρὸς Μέμνονα ἐπείργασται, Διομήδην  
 τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θρᾶκα καὶ ἐπ' Εὐήνῳ τῷ ποταμῷ  
 Νέσσον τιμωρούμενος. Ἑρμῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρον κριθησομένας ἄγει τὰς θεάς, Ἄδραστος  
 δὲ καὶ Τυδεὺς Ἀμφιάραιον καὶ Λυκούργον τὸν  
 13 Πρώνακτος μάχης καταπαύουσιν. Ἦρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ  
 πρὸς Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου βοῦν οὐσαν ἤδη, καὶ Ἀθηναῖα  
 διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἐστιν Ἡφαιστον. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέους πεποιήται τῶν ἔργων τὸ

reliefs one by one in detail would have merely bored my readers; but to be brief and concise (for the greater number of them are not unknown either) Poseidon and Zeus are carrying Taygete, daughter of Atlas, and her sister Aleyone. There are also reliefs of Atlas, the single combat of Heracles and Cycnus, and the battle of the Centaurs at the cave of Pholus. I cannot say why Bathycles has represented the so-called Bull of Minos bound, and being led along alive by Theseus. There is also on the throne a band of Phaeacian dancers, and Demodocus singing. Perseus, too, is represented killing Medusa. Passing over the fight of Heracles with the giant Thurius and that of Tyndareus with Eurytus, we have next the rape of the daughters of Leucippus. Here are Dionysus, too, and Heracles; Hermes is bearing the infant Dionysus to heaven, and Athena is taking Heracles to dwell henceforth with the gods. There is also Peleus handing over Achilles to be reared by Cheiron, who is also said to have been his teacher. There is Cephalus, too, carried off by Day because of his beauty. The gods are bringing gifts to the marriage of Harmonia. There is wrought also the single combat of Achilles and Memnon, and Heracles avenging himself upon Diomedes the Thracian, and upon Nessus at the river Euenus. Hermes is bringing the goddesses to Alexander to be judged. Adrastus and Tydeus are staying the fight between Amphiaraus and Lycurgus the son of Pronax. Hera is gazing at Io, the daughter of Inachus, who is already a cow, and Athena is running away from Hephaestus, who chases her. Next to these have been wrought two of the exploits of Heracles—his

ἐς τὴν ὕδραν καὶ ὡς ἀνήγαγε τοῦ "Αιδου τὸν κύνα.  
 Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνοους, τούτων μὲν ἐφ' ἵππου  
 καθήμενός ἐστιν ἐκάτερος, Μεγαπένθην δὲ τὸν  
 Μενελαίου καὶ Νικόστρατον ἵππος εἰς φέρων  
 ἐστίν. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντης τὸ ἐν  
 Λυκία θηρίον, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς  
 14 ἐλαύνει. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω πέρασιν  
 ἐφ' ἵππων ἐκατέρωθέν εἰσιν οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες·  
 καὶ σφίγγες τέ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ θηρία  
 ἄνω θέοντα, τῇ μὲν πάρδαλις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν  
 Πολυδεύκην λέαινα. ἀνωτάτω δὲ χορὸς ἐπὶ τῷ  
 θρόνῳ πεποίηται, Μάγνητες οἱ συνειργασμένοι  
 15 Βαθυκλεῖ τὸν θρόνον. ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν  
 θρόνον τὰ ἔνδον ὑπὸ τῶν Τριτώνων ὕος ἐστὶ θήρα  
 τοῦ Καλυδωνίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνων τοὺς  
 παῖδας τοὺς "Ακτορος, Κάλαϊς δὲ καὶ Ζήτης τὰς  
 Ἀρπυίας Φινέως ἀπελαύνουσιν. Πειρίθους τε  
 καὶ Θησεὺς ἡρπακότες εἰσὶν Ἐλένην καὶ ἄγχων  
 Ἡρακλῆς τὸν λέοντα, Τιτυὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει  
 16 καὶ Ἄρτεμις. Ἡρακλέους τε πρὸς Ὀρειον  
 Κένταυρον μάχη πεποίηται καὶ Θησεῶς πρὸς  
 Γαῦρον τὸν Μίνω. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς  
 Ἀχελῶν Ἡρακλέους πάλη καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς  
 Ἡραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθείη, καὶ ὃν Ἄκαστος  
 ἔθηκεν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ  
 τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα. τελευταῖα  
 Ἄδμητός τε ζευγνύων ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα κάπρον  
 καὶ λέοντα καὶ οἱ Ἴρῶες ἐπιφέροντες χοὰς  
 Ἐκτορι.

XIX. Τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἡ καθίζοιτο ἂν ὁ θεός,  
 οὐ διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τοῦτο συνεχοῦς ὄντος ἀλλὰ  
 καθέδρας παρεχομένου πλείονας, παρὰ δὲ καθέδραν

slaying the hydra, and his bringing up the Hound of Hell. Anaxias and Mnasinous are each seated on horseback, but there is one horse only carrying Megapenthes, the son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus. Bellerophon is destroying the beast in Lycia, and Heracles is driving off the cows of Geryones. At the upper edge of the throne are wrought, one on each side, the sons of Tyndareus on horses. There are sphinxes under the horses, and beasts running upwards, on the one side a leopard, by Polydeuces a lioness. On the very top of the throne has been wrought a band of dancers, the Magnesians who helped Bathycles to make the throne. Underneath the throne, the inner part away from the Tritons contains the hunting of the Calydonian boar and Heracles killing the children of Actor. Calais and Zetes are driving the Harpies away from Phineus. Peirithous and Theseus have seized Helen, and Heracles is strangling the lion. Apollo and Artemis are shooting Tityus. There is represented the fight between Heracles and Oreus the Centaur, and also that between Theseus and the Bull of Minos. There are also represented the wrestling of Heracles with Achelous, the fabled binding of Hera by Hephaestus, the games Acastus held in honour of his father, and the story of Menelaus and the Egyptian Proteus from the *Odyssey*.<sup>1</sup> Lastly there is Admetus yoking a boar and a lion to his chariot, and the Trojans are bringing libations to Hector.

XIX. The part of the throne where the god would sit is not continuous; there are several seats, and by the side of each seat is left a wide empty space, the

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* iv. 384 foll.

ἐκάστην ὑπολειπομένης καὶ εὐρυχωρίας, τὸ μέσον  
 ἐστὶν εὐρυχωρὲς μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα  
 2 ἐνέστηκε. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα  
 ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι  
 φαίνονται ἂν πήχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους  
 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον·  
 ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι  
 καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκα-  
 σμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην  
 3 δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος  
 τὸ βᾶθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάρθαι  
 δὲ τὸν Ἰακίνθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἰακίνθιοις  
 πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ἰακίνθῳ  
 τὸν βωμὸν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν· ἐν ἀρι-  
 στερᾷ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ θύρα τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐπείργασται  
 δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦτο μὲν ἄγαλμα Βίριδος, τοῦτο  
 δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος· Διὸς δὲ καὶ  
 Ἐρμοῦ διαλεγόμενων ἀλλήλοισι πλησίον Διόνυσος  
 ἐστήκασι καὶ Σεμέλη, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰνώ.  
 4 πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ  
 Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Μοῖραι τε καὶ  
 Ὀραι, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε  
 καὶ Ἄρτεμις· κομίζουσι δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν Ἰακίνθον  
 καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ἰακίνθου καθὰ λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν  
 ἀποθανούσαν ἔτι παρθένον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τοῦ  
 Ἰακίνθου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχον ἐστὶν ἤδη γένεια,  
 Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικομήδους περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔγραψεν  
 αὐτὸν ὠραῖον, τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰακίνθῳ λεγόμενον  
 5 Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ὑποσημαίνων. πεποίηται δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ  
 θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὗτος ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν.  
 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ Θεστίου θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ,

middle, whereon the image stands, being the widest of them. I know of nobody who has measured the height of the image, but at a guess one would estimate it to be as much as thirty cubits. It is not the work of Bathycles, being old and uncouth; for though it has face, feet, and hands, the rest resembles a bronze pillar. On its head it has a helmet, in its hands a spear and a bow. The pedestal of the statue is fashioned into the shape of an altar; and they say that Hyacinthus is buried in it, and at the Hyacinthia, before the sacrifice to Apollo, they devote offerings to Hyacinthus as to a hero into this altar through a bronze door, which is on the left of the altar. On the altar are wrought in relief, here an image of Biris, there Amphitrite and Poseidon. Zeus and Hermes are conversing; near stand Dionysus and Semele, with Ino by her side. On the altar are also Demeter, the Maid, Pluto, next to them Fates and Seasons, and with them Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis. They are carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and Polyboea, the sister, they say, of Hyacinthus, who died a maid. Now this statue of Hyacinthus represents him as bearded, but Nicias, son of Nicomedes, has painted him in the very prime of youthful beauty, hinting at the love of Apollo for Hyacinthus of which legend tells. Wrought on the altar is also Heracles; he too is being led to heaven by Athena and the other gods. On the altar are also the daughters of Thestius, Muses

*f. c.* 320  
B.C.

καὶ Μοῦσαι τε καὶ Ὀραι. περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὑάκινθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἄνθος εἰρημένα τάχα μὲν ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκείτω δὲ ἡ λέγεται.

- 6 Ἀμύκλαι δὲ ἀνύστατος ὑπὸ Δωριέων γενομένη καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κώμη διαμένουσα θεάς παρείχετο ἄξιον ἱερὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ ἄγαλμα· τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδραν οἱ Ἀμυκλαιεῖς Κασσάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν καὶ Ἀγαμέμνωνος νομιζόμενον μνῆμα. θεῶν δὲ σέβουσι οἱ ταύτη τὸν τε Ἀμυκλαῖον καὶ Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Ψίλακα ἐπονομάζοντες· ψίλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ πτερά, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οἶνος ἐπαίρει τε καὶ ἀνακουφίζει γνώμην οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἢ ὄριθας πτερά.

- Καὶ Ἀμύκλαι μὲν παρείχοντο τοσαῦτα ἐς μνήμην, ἐτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐς Θεράπνην  
7 ἄγει· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἀλέας. πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐρώταν, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱερὸν δείκνυται Διὸς Πλουσίου. διαβᾶσι δὲ Κοτυλέως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς· καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν Κοτυλέα ὠνόμασεν ἀκεσθεῖς τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ἐς τὴν κοτύλην οἱ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προτέρα μάχη. ὅποσα δὲ πεποίηται κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, ἐστὶν ἀρχαιότατον αὐτῶν Ἄρεως ἱερὸν. τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶ κομίσαι ἐκ  
8 Κόλχων· Θηρίταν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν ἀπὸ Θηρούς, ταύτην γὰρ τροφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἄρεως λέγουσι.



and Seasons. As for the West Wind, how Apollo unintentionally killed Hyacinthus, and the story of the flower, we must be content with the legends, although perhaps they are not true history.

Amyclae was laid waste by the Dorians, and since that time has remained a village; I found there a sanctuary and image of Alexandra worth seeing. Alexandra is said by the Amyclaeans to be Cassandra, the daughter of Priam. Here is also a statue of Clytaemnestra, together with what is supposed to be the tomb of Agamemnon. The natives worship the Amyclaean god and Dionysus, surnaming the latter, quite correctly I think, Psilax. For *psila* is Doric for wings, and wine uplifts men and lightens their spirit no less than wings do birds.

Such I found were the things worth mentioning about Amyclae. Another road from the city leads to Therapne, and on this road is a wooden image of Athena Alea. Before the Eurotas is crossed, a little above the bank is shown a sanctuary of Zeus Wealthy. Across the river is a temple of Asclepius Cotyleus (*of the Hip-joint*); it was made by Heracles, who named Asclepius Cotyleus, because he was cured of the wound in the hip-joint that he received in the former fight with Hippocoön and his sons. Of all the objects along this road the oldest is a sanctuary of Ares. This is on the left of the road, and the image is said to have been brought from Colchis by the Dioscuri. They surname him Theritas after Thero, who is said to have been the nurse of Ares. Perhaps it was from the Colchians that they heard the name Theritas, since the Greeks know of no Thero, nurse of Ares. My own belief is that the

τάχα δ' ἂν ἀκηκοότες παρὰ Κόλχων Θηρίταν λέγοιεν ἐπεὶ Ἕλληνές γε οὐκ ἴσασιν Ἄρεως τροφὸν Θηρῶ· δοκεῖν δέ μοι Θηρίτας οὐ διὰ τὴν τροφὸν ἢ ἐπωνυμία τῷ Ἄρει γέγονεν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνδρὶ χρὴ πολεμίῳ καταστάντα ἐς μάχην οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχειν ἥπιον, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως πεποιήται

λέων δ' ὡς ἄγρια οἶδεν.

- 9 Θεράπνη δὲ ὄνομα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λέλεγος θυγατρὸς, Μενελάου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναός, καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἑλένην ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν. Ρόδιοι δὲ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίοις φασὶν Ἑλένην Μενελάου τελευτήσαντος, Ὀρέστου δὲ ἔτι πλανωμένου, τηνικαῦτα ὑπὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους διωχθεῖσαν ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι Πολυξοῖ τῇ Τληπολέμου
- 10 γυναικὶ ἔχουσαν ἐπιτηδεῖως· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Πολυξῶ τὸ γένος Ἀργεῖαν, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν φυγῆς μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐς Ῥόδον καὶ τῆς νήσου τηνικαῦτα ἄρχειν ὑπολειπομένην ἐπὶ ὀρφανῷ παιδί. ταύτην τὴν Πολυξῶ φασὶν ἐπιθυμοῦσαν Ἑλένην τιμωρήσασθαι τελευτῆς τῆς Τληπολέμου τότε, ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπιπέμψαι οἱ λουμένην θεραπαίνας Ἐρινύσιν ἴσα ἐσκευασμένας· καὶ αὐταὶ διαλαβοῦσαι δὴ τὴν Ἑλένην αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπάγχουσιν ἐπὶ δένδρῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥοδίοις Ἑλένης ἱερόν
- 11 ἐστὶ Δενδρίτιδος. ὃν δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας Κροτωνιάτας περὶ Ἑλένης λόγον, ὁμολογοῦντας δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἱμεραίους, ἐπιμνησθήσομαι καὶ τοῦδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ νῆσος κατὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου

surname Theritas<sup>1</sup> was not given to Ares because of his nurse, but because when a man meets an enemy in battle he must cast aside all gentleness, as Homer<sup>2</sup> says of Achilles :—

And he is fierce as a lion.

The name of Therapne is derived from the daughter of Lelex, and in it is a temple of Menelaus ; they say that Menelaus and Helen were buried here. The account of the Rhodians is different. They say that when Menelaus was dead, and Orestes still a wanderer, Helen was driven out by Nicostratus and Megapenthes and came to Rhodes, where she had a friend in Polyxo, the wife of Tlepolemus. For Polyxo, they say, was an Argive by descent, and when she was already married to Tlepolemus shared his flight to Rhodes. At the time she was queen of the island, having been left with an orphan boy. They say that this Polyxo desired to avenge the death of Tlepolemus on Helen, now that she had her in her power. So she sent against her when she was bathing handmaidens dressed up as Furies, who seized Helen and hanged her on a tree, and for this reason the Rhodians have a sanctuary of Helen of the Tree. A story too I will tell which I know the people of Crotona tell about Helen. The people of Himera too agree with this account. In the Euxine at the mouths of

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias connects the name with *ther*, a wild beast.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xxiv. 41.

- τὰς ἐκβολὰς Ἀχιλλέως ἱερά· ὄνομα μὲν τῇ νήσῳ  
 Λευκή, περίπλους δὲ αὐτῇ σταδίων εἴκοσι, δασεῖα  
 δὲ ὕλη πᾶσα καὶ πλήρης ζώων ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέ-  
 ρων, καὶ ναὸς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῇ.  
 12 ἐς ταύτην πρῶτος ἐσπλευῖσαι λέγεται Κροτωνιά-  
 τῆς Λεώνυμος. πολέμου γὰρ Κροτωνιάταις συν-  
 εστηκότος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλία Λοκρούς, τῶν  
 Λοκρῶν κατὰ οἰκειότητα πρὸς Ὀπουντίους Αἴαντα  
 τὸν Ὀιλέως ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπικαλουμένων, ὁ  
 Λεώνυμος Κροτωνιάταις στρατηγῶν ἐπήει τοῖς  
 ἐναντίοις κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ προτετάχθαι σφίσι τὸν  
 Αἴαντα ἤκουε. τιτρώσκεται δὴ τὸ στέρνον καί—  
 ἔκαμνε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος—ἀφίκετο ἐς  
 Δελφούς. ἐλθόντα δὲ ἡ Πυθία Λεώνυμον ἀπέ-  
 στελλεν ἐς νῆσον τὴν Λευκὴν, ἐνταῦθα εἰπούσα  
 αὐτῷ φανήσεσθαι τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἀκέσεσθαι τὸ  
 13 τραῦμα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ὑγιάνας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς  
 Λευκῆς, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἔφασκεν Ἀχιλλέα, ἰδεῖν δὲ  
 τὸν Ὀιλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντα, συνεῖναι  
 δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν σφισι καὶ Ἀντίλοχον· Ἐλένην  
 δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξαι δὲ οἱ  
 πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἰμέραν πρὸς Στησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν  
 ὡς ἡ διαφθορὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἐλένης γένοιτο  
 αὐτῷ μηνίματος.

XX. Στησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινωδίαν  
 ἐποίησεν. ἐν Θεράπνῃ δὲ κρήνην τὴν Μεσσηίδα  
 ἰδὼν οἶδα. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐτέροις ἐστὶν εἰρη-  
 μένον τὴν Πολυδεύκειαν ὀνομαζομένην ἐφ' ἡμῶν,  
 οὐ τὴν ἐν Θεράπνῃ Μεσσηίδα καλεῖσθαι τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον· ἡ δὲ Πολυδεύκειά ἐστὶν αὐτὴ τε ἡ  
 κρήνη καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἱερόν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐς  
 Θεράπνῃν ὁδοῦ.

the Ister is an island sacred to Achilles. It is called White Island, and its circumference is twenty stades. It is wooded throughout and abounds in animals, wild and tame, while on it is a temple of Achilles with an image of him. The first to sail thither legend says was Leonymus of Crotona. For when war had arisen between the people of Crotona and the Locri in Italy, the Locri, in virtue of the relationship between them and the Opuntians, called upon Ajax son of Oileus to help them in battle. So Leonymus the general of the people of Crotona attacked his enemy at that point where he heard that Ajax was posted in the front line. Now he was wounded in the breast, and weak with his hurt came to Delphi. When he arrived the Pythian priestess sent Leonymus to White Island, telling him that there Ajax would appear to him and cure his wound. In time he was healed and returned from White Island, where, he used to declare, he saw Achilles, as well as Ajax the son of Oileus and Ajax the son of Telamon. With them, he said, were Patroclus and Antilochus; Helen was wedded to Achilles, and had bidden him sail to Stesichorus at Himera, and announce that the loss of his sight was caused by her wrath.

XX. Therefore Stesichorus composed his recantation. In Therapne I remember seeing the fountain Messeis. Some of the Lacedaemonians, however, have declared that of old the name Messeis was given, not to the fountain at Therapne, but to the one we call Polydeucea. The fountain Polydeucea and a sanctuary of Polydeuces are on the right of the road to Therapne.

- 2 Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενον ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαῖαόχου. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀλεσίας χωρίον, Μύλητα τὸν Λέλεγος πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων μύλην τε εὐρεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλεσίαις ταύταις ἀλέσαι. καὶ σφισι Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ Ταῦγέτης ἐνταῦθά
- 3 ἔστιν ἡρῶν. διαβῶσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμὸν Φελλίαν, παρὰ Ἀμύκλας ἰοῦσιν εὐθείαν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτε ὤκειτο· ἀποτρεπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φελλίας ἐς δεξιὰν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ταῦγετόν ἐστιν ὁδός. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Διὸς Μεσσαπέως τέμενος. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς λέγουσιν ἱερασαμένου τῷ θεῷ. ἐντεῦθεν ἔστιν ἀπιούσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου χωρίον ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ὤκειτο Βρυσεαί· καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναις γυναιξὶν ἔστιν ὄραν· γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.
- 4 ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου Ταλετόν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἥλιου καλοῦσιν ἱεράν καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἥλίῳ θύουσιν καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. Ταλετοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενός ἐστιν Εὐόρας, θηρία καὶ ἄλλα τρέφων καὶ αἶγας μάλιστα ἀγρίας. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ δι' ὅλου τὸ Ταῦγετον τῶν αἰγῶν τούτων ἄγραν καὶ ὕων, πλείστην δὲ
- 5 καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων. Ταλετοῦ δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ Εὐόρα Θήρας ὀνομάζοντες Λητώ φασιν ἀπὸ

Not far from Therapne is what is called Phoebaeum, in which is a temple of the Dioscuri. Here the youths sacrifice to Enyalios. At no great distance from it stands a sanctuary of Poseidon surnamed Earth-embracer. Going on from here in the direction of Taygetus you come to a place called Alesiae (*Place of Grinding*); they say that Myles (*Mill-man*) the son of Lelex was the first human being to invent a mill, and that he ground corn in this Alesiae. Here they have a hero-shrine of Lacedaemon, the son of Taygete. Crossing from here a river Phellia, and going past Amyclae along a road leading straight towards the sea, you come to the site of Pharis, which was once a city of Laconia. Turning away from the Phellia to the right is the road that leads to Mount Taygetus. On the plain is a precinct of Zeus Messapeus, who is surnamed, they say, after a man who served the god as his priest. Leaving Taygetus from here you come to the site of the city Bryseae. There still remains here a temple of Dionysus with an image in the open. But the image in the temple women only may see, for women by themselves perform in secret the sacrificial rites. Above Bryseae rises Taletum, a peak of Taygetus. They call it sacred to Helios (*the Sun*), and among the sacrifices they offer here to Helios are horses. I am aware that the Persians also are wont to offer the same sacrifice. Not far from Taletum is a place called Euoras, the haunt of wild animals, especially wild goats. In fact all Taygetus is a hunting-ground for these goats and for boars, and it is well stocked with both deer and bears. Between Taletum and Euoras is a place they name Therae, where they say Leto from the Peaks of Taygetus

τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταῦγέτου . . . Δῆμητρος ἐπέκλησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμενον· καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ξόανον, Πελασγῶν ὡς φασιν ἔργον.  
 6 καὶ τόδε δὲ ἄλλο δρώμενον ἐνταῦθα οἶδα· ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλισμα Ἔλος ἦν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐμνημόνευκεν ἐν καταλόγῳ Λακεδαιμονίων·

οἳ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἔλος τ' ἔφαλον  
 πτολίεθρον.

τοῦτο ᾧκισε μὲν Ἔλιος νεώτατος τῶν Περσέως παίδων, Δωριεῖς δὲ παρεστήσαντο ὕστερον πολιορκία, καὶ πρῶτοί τε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων δούλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἴλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθὲν ὕστερον, Δωριεῖς Μεσσηνίουσ ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν εἴλωτας, καθότι καὶ Ἕλληνας τὸ σύμπαν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποτὲ κα-  
 7 λουμένης Ἑλλάδος. ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Ἔλους ξόανον Κόρης τῆς Δῆμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον. πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου σταδίουσ ἀφέστηκε Λαπίθαιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου· τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ Λαπίθαιόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Ταῦγέτῳ καὶ οὐ πόρρω Δέρειον, ἐνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος, καὶ πηγὴ παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν Ἄνονον ὀνομάζουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέρειον σταδίουσ προελθόντι ὡς εἴκοσιν ἔστιν Ἄρπλεια καθήκοντα τοῦ πεδίου.

8 Τὴν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης



... is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Eleusinian. Here according to the Lacedaemonian story Heracles was hidden by Asclepius while he was being healed of a wound. In the sanctuary is a wooden image of Orpheus, a work, they say, of Pelasgians. I know also of the following rite which is performed here. By the sea was a city Helos, which Homer too has mentioned in his list of the Lacedaemonians:<sup>1</sup>

“These had their home in Amyclae, and in Helos the town by the seaside.”

It was founded by Helius, the youngest of the sons of Perseus, and the Dorians afterwards reduced it by siege. Its inhabitants became the first slaves of the Lacedaemonian state, and were the first to be called Helots, as in fact Helots they were. The slaves afterwards acquired, although they were Dorians of Messenia, also came to be called Helots, just as the whole Greek race were called Hellenes from the region in Thessaly once called Hellas. From this Helos, on stated days, they bring up to the sanctuary of the Eleusinian a wooden image of the Maid, daughter of Demeter. Fifteen stades distant from the sanctuary is Lapithaeum, named after Lapithus, a native of the district. So this Lapithaeum is on Taygetus, and not far off is Dereium, where is in the open an image of Artemis Dereatis, and beside it is a spring which they name Anonus. About twenty stades past Dereium is Harpleia, which extends as far as the plain.

On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 584.

Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ κλησιν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀχιλλέως· ἀνοίγειν δὲ αὐτὸ οὐ νομίζουσιν· ὅποσοι δ' ἂν τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι μέλλωσιν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πρὸ τῆς μάχης θύειν. ποιῆσαι δὲ σφισι τὸ ἱερόν Σπαρτιᾶται λέγουσι Πράκα ἀπόγονον τρίτον Περγάμου τοῦ

9 Νεοπτολέμου. προιοῦσι δὲ Ἴππου καλούμενον μνήμᾳ ἐστι. Τυνδάρεως γὰρ θύσας ἐνταῦθα Ἴππου τοὺς Ἑλένης ἐξώρκου μνηστῆρας ἰστάς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἴππου τῶν τομίῳν· ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἦν Ἑλένη καὶ τῷ γῆμαι προκριθέντι Ἑλένην ἀμυνεῖν ἀδικουμένοις· ἐξορκώσας δὲ τὸν Ἴππου κατώρυξεν ἐνταῦθα. κίονες δὲ ἑπτὰ οἱ τοῦ μνήματος τούτου διέχουσιν οὐ πολὺ. . . . κατὰ τρόπον οἶμαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον, οὓς ἀστέρων τῶν πλανητῶν φασιν ἀγάλματα. καὶ Κρανίου τέμενος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Στεμματίου καὶ Μυσίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν Ἀρτέμιδος.

10 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Αἰδοῦς τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως Ἰκαρίου μὲν ἀνάθημα εἶναι, ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ φασὶ τοιῷδε. ὅτ' ἔδωκεν Ὀδυσσεῖ Πηνελόπην γυναῖκα Ἰκάριος, ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν κατοικίσει καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, διαμαρτάνων δὲ ἐκείνου δεύτερα τὴν θυγατέρα ἰκέτευε καταμεῖναι καὶ ἐξορμωμένης ἐς

11 Ἰθάκην ἐπακολουθῶν τῷ ἄρματι ἐδεῖτο. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τέως μὲν ἠνεύχετο, τέλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Πηνελόπην συνακολουθεῖν ἐκούσαν ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἐλομένην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. καὶ τὴν ἀποκρίνασθαι φασιν οὐδέν· ἐγκαλυψαμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα, Ἰκάριος τὴν μὲν ἄτε δὴ συνιεὶς ὡς βούλεται ἀπιέναι μετὰ Ὀδυσσεῶς ἀφίησιν,

in the open an image of Athena surnamed Pareia, and after it is a sanctuary of Achilles. This it is not customary to open, but all the youths who are going to take part in the contest in Plane-tree Grove are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight. The Spartans say that the sanctuary was made for them by Prax, a grandson of Pergamus the son of Neoptolemus. Further on is what is called the Tomb of Horse. For Tyndareus, having sacrificed a horse here, administered an oath to the suitors of Helen, making them stand upon the pieces of the horse. The oath was to defend Helen and him who might be chosen to marry her if ever they should be wronged. When he had sworn the suitors he buried the horse here. Seven pillars, which are not far from this tomb . . . in the ancient manner, I believe, which they say are images of the planets. On the road is a precinct of Cranius surnamed Stematias, and a sanctuary of Mysian Artemis. The image of Modesty, some thirty stades distant from the city, they say was dedicated by Icarius, the following being the reason for making it. When Icarius gave Penelope in marriage to Odysseus, he tried to make Odysseus himself settle in Lacedaemon, but failing in the attempt, he next besought his daughter to remain behind, and when she was setting forth to Ithaca he followed the chariot, begging her to stay. Odysseus endured it for a time, but at last he bade Penelope either to accompany him willingly, or else, if she preferred her father, to go back to Lacedaemon. They say that she made no reply, but covered her face with a veil in reply to the question, so that Icarius, realising that she wished to depart with Odysseus, let her go, and dedicated

ἄγαλμα δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Αἰδοῦς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τῆς ὁδοῦ προήκουσαν ἤδη τὴν Πηνελόπην λέγουσιν ἐγκαλύψασθαι.

- XXI. Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτόθεν σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ρεῦμα ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ γίνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχῳ κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δέ μοι κάμνων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐνταῦθ' αἱ τελευτῆς ὁ τάφος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. τὸν, δὲ ἐμώνυμον τούτῳ, νίκην καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπίασι, πλὴν οὐ δολίχου, σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενον, Ἀχαιοὺς ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα. προῖόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελλάναν Χαράκωμ' ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Πελλάνα πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Τυνδάρεων δὲ οἰκῆσαι φασὶν ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔφευγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης. θέας δὲ ἄξια αὐτόθι ἰδῶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε οἶδα ἱερόν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν Πελλανίδα. ἐς ταύτην λέγουσιν ὑδρευομένην ἐσπεσεῖν παρθένον, ἀφανισθείσης δὲ τὸ κάλυμμα ἀναφανῆναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πηγῇ
- 3 Λαγκία. Πελλάνας δὲ ἑκατὸν στάδια ὑπέχει Βελεμίνα καλουμένη· τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἢ Βελεμίνα μάλιστα ἄρδεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἥντινα διοδεύει μὲν τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ, παρέχεται δὲ ἀφθόνοισι καὶ αὐτὴ πηγὰς.
- 4 Ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντί ἐστι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ κώμη καλουμένη Κροκέαι καὶ λιθοτομία· μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχῆς οὐ διήκουσα, λίθοι δὲ ὀρύσσονται σχῆμα τοῖς ποτα-

an image of Modesty; for Penelope, they say, had reached this point of the road when she veiled herself.

XXI. Twenty stades from here the stream of the Eurotas comes very near to the road, and here is the tomb of Ladas, the fastest runner of his day. He was crowned at Olympia for a victory in the long race, and falling ill, I take it, immediately after the victory he was on his way home; his death took place here, and his grave is above the highway. His namesake, who also won at Olympia a victory, not in the long race but in the short race, is stated in the Elean records of Olympic victors to have been a native of Aegium in Achaia. Farther on in the direction of Pellana is what is called Characoma (*Trench*); and after it Pellana, which in the olden time was a city. They say that Tyndareus dwelt here when he fled from Sparta before Hippocoön and his sons. Remarkable sights I remember seeing here were a sanctuary of Asclepius and the spring Pellanis. Into it they say a maiden fell when she was drawing water, and when she had disappeared the veil on her head reappeared in another spring, Lancia. A hundred stades away from Pellana is the place called Belemina. It is naturally the best watered region of Laconia, seeing that the river Eurotas passes through it, while it has abundant springs of its own.

As you go down to the sea towards Gythium you come to a village called Croceae and a quarry. It is not a continuous stretch of rock, but the stones they dig out are shaped like river pebbles; they are

μίοις εὐκότες, ἄλλως μὲν δυσεργεῖς, ἣν δὲ ἐπεργασθῶσιν, ἐπικοσμήσαιεν ἂν καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κολυμβήθραις δὲ καὶ ὕδασι συντελοῦσι μάλιστα ἐς κάλλος. θεῶν δὲ αὐτόθι πρὸ μὲν τῆς κώμης Διὸς Κροκεῖα λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε,

5 Διόσκουροι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λιθοτομία χαλκοῖ. μετὰ δὲ Κροκείας ἀποτραπέεισιν ἐς δεξιάν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς Γύθιον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἤξεισιν Αἰγίας. Ὀμηρον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸ πόλισμα τοῦτο ὀνομάζειν λέγουσιν Ἀνγείας. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν λίμνη καλουμένη Ποσειδῶνος, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἰχθύς δεδοίκασιν ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν θηρεύσαντα ἄλιέα γενέσθαι λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπου.

6 Γύθιον δὲ ἀπέχει μὲν σταδίους τριάκοντα Αἰγιῶν, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ δὲ ὠκισμένον ἔστιν ἥδη τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων, οὓς βασιλεὺς Ἀὔγουστος δουλείας ἀφῆκε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατηκόους ὄντας. θαλάσῃ μὲν δὴ πλὴν τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ περιέχεται πᾶσα ἡ Πελοπόννησος· κόχλους δὲ ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας παρέχεται τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας

7 μετὰ γε τὴν Φοινίκων θάλασσαν. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων ὀκτὼ πόλεις καὶ δέκα εἰσί, πρώτη μὲν καταβάσιν ἐξ Αἰγιῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Γύθιον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Τευθρώνη τε καὶ Λᾶς καὶ Πύρριχος, ἐπὶ Γαινάρῳ δὲ Καινήπολις Οἶτυλός τε καὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Θαλάμαι, πρὸς δὲ Ἀλαγονία τε καὶ Γερηνία· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Γυθίου πρὸς θαλάσῃ Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριαὶ Βοιαὶ Ζάραξ Ἐπίδαυρος ἢ Λιμηρὰ Βρασιαὶ Γερόνθραι Μαρῖός. αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν Ἐλευθερο-

hard to work, but when worked sanctuaries of the gods might be adorned with them, while they are especially adapted for beautifying swimming-baths and fountains. Here before the village stands an image of Zeus of Croceae in marble, and the Dioscuri in bronze are at the quarry. After Croceae, turning away to the right from the straight road to Gythium, you will reach a city Aegiae. They say that this is the city which Homer<sup>1</sup> in his poem calls Augeae. Here is a lake called Poseidon's, and by the lake is a temple with an image of the god. They are afraid to take out the fish, saying that a fisherman in these waters turns into the fish called the fisher.

Gythium is thirty stades distant from Aegiae, built by the sea in the territory of the Free Laconians, whom the emperor Augustus freed from the bondage in which they had been to the Lacedaemonians in Sparta. All the Peloponnesus, except the Isthmus of Corinth, is surrounded by sea, but the best shell-fish for the manufacture of purple dye after those of the Phoenician sea are to be found on the coast of Laconia. The Free Laconians have eighteen cities; the first as you go down from Aegiae to the sea is Gythium; after it come Teuthrone and Las and Pyrrhichus; on Taenarum are Caenepolis, Oetylus, Leuctra and Thalamae, and in addition Alagonia and Gerenia. On the other side of Gythium by the sea are Asopus, Acriae, Boeae, Zarax, Epidaurus Limera, Brasiae, Geronthrae and Marius. These are all that are left to the Free

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 583.

λακώνων ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ποτὲ καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων τὰς δὲ ἄλλας, ἐφ' ἃς ἂν καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ λόγος ἐπέλθῃ δὴ μοι, συντελούσας ἴστω τις ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ οὐχ  
 8 ὁμοίως τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν αὐτονόμους. Γυθεᾶται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας, ὡς διηλλάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφισιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Διόνυσος. ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἀπόλλων Κάρνειος καὶ ἱερὸν Ἄμμωνος καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμᾶ ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐπόντος ὀρόφου τῷ ναῶ, καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Δῆμητρος ἱερὸν ἅγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγαλμα  
 9 Γαἰαόχου. ὃν δὲ ὀνομάζουσι Γυθεᾶται Γέροντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν θαλάσση φάμενοι, Νηρέα ὄντα εὕρισκον. καὶ σφισι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου παρέσχεν ἀρχὴν Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐν Θέτιδος λόγοις·

ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,  
 ὀψόμεναί τε γέρονθ' ἄλιον καὶ δῶματα πατρός.

καλοῦνται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πύλαι Καστορίδες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιήται.

XXII. Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἀργὸς λίθος· Ὁρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα. ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἡ Κρανίη πρόκειται Γυθίου, καὶ Ὅμηρος Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπιάσαντα Ἑλένην

<sup>1</sup> xviii. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, iii. 445.



Laconians out of twenty-four cities which once were theirs. All the other cities with which my narrative will deal belong, it must be remembered, to Sparta, and are not independent like those I have already mentioned. The people of Gythium say that their city had no human founder, but that Heracles and Apollo, when they were reconciled after their strife for the possession of the tripod, united to found the city. In the market-place they have images of Apollo and of Heracles, and a Dionysus stands near them. In another part of the city are Carnean Apollo, a sanctuary of Ammon and a bronze image of Asclepius, whose temple is roofless, a spring belonging to the god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter and an image of Poseidon Earth-embracer. Him whom the people of Gythium name Old Man, saying that he lives in the sea, I found to be Nereus. They got this name originally from Homer, who says in a part of the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> where Thetis is speaking:—

“Into the broad expanse, and into the bosom of  
ocean

Plunge, to behold the old man of the sea and  
the home of your father.”

Here is also a gate called the Gate of Castor, and on the citadel have been built a temple and image of Athena.

XXII. Just about three stades from Gythium is an unwrought stone. Legend has it that when Orestes sat down upon it his madness left him. For this reason the stone was named in the Dorian tongue Zeus Cappotas. Before Gythium lies the island Cranaë, and Homer<sup>2</sup> says that when Alexander had carried off Helen he had intercourse with her

- ἐνταῦθα ἔφη συγγενέσθαι οἱ πρῶτον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἱερὸν ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Μιγωνίτιδος, καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας καλεῖται
- 2 Μιγώνιον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον· Μενέλαος δὲ Ἴλιον ἔλῶν καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὀκτῶ μετὰ Τροίας πόρθησιν οἴκαδε ἀνασωθεὶς ἄγαλμα Θέτιδος καὶ θεᾶς<sup>1</sup> Πραξιδίκας ἰδρύσατο ἐγγὺς τῆς Μιγωνίτιδος. Διούσου δὲ ὄρος ἱερὸν Λαρύσιον καλούμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μιγωνίου· καὶ ἦρος ἀρχομένου Διούσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἄλλα τε ἐς τὰ δρώμενα λέγοντες καὶ ὡς βότρυν ἐνταῦθα ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὠραῖον.
- 3 Ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Γυθίου στάδια προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Τρινασοῦ καλουμένης τείχη, φρουρίου ποτὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καὶ οὐ πόλεως. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ δοκῶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν νησίδων, αἱ ταύτῃ πρόκεινται τῆς ἠπείρου τρεῖς ἀριθμόν. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρινασοῦ στάδια ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα τοῦ Ἑλους τὰ ἐρείπια
- 4 ὑπόλοιπα ἦν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα προελθόντι που σταδίου ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἔστιν Ἀκρίαι· θεᾶς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναί φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἔχοντες, ὅποσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίοις ἱερά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ Μαγνησί γε, οἱ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρα Μητρὸς ἐστὶ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα· ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τὸν Ταυτάλου.
- 5 Ἀκριαῖται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ποτὲ Ὀλυμπιονίκην παρέσχοντο Νικοκλέα, Ὀλυμπιάσι δύο ἀνελό-

there for the first time. On the mainland opposite the island is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Migonitis (*Union*), and the whole place is called Migonium. This sanctuary, they say, was made by Alexander. But when Menelaus had taken Ilium and had returned safe home eight years after the sack of Troy, he set up near the sanctuary of Migonitis an image of Thetis and the goddesses Praxidicae (*Exacters of Justice*). Above Migonium is a mountain called Larysium sacred to Dionysus, and at the beginning of spring they hold a festival in honour of Dionysus, and among the things they say about the ritual is that they find here a ripe bunch of grapes.

Some thirty stades beyond Gythium on the left there are on the mainland walls of a place called Trinasus (*Three Islands*), which was in my opinion a fort and not a city. Its name I think is derived from the islets which lie off the coast here, three in number. About eighty stades beyond Trinasus I came to the ruins of Helos, and some thirty stades farther is Acrae, a city on the coast. Well worth seeing here are a temple and marble image of the Mother of the Gods. The people of Acrae say that this is the oldest sanctuary of this goddess in the Peloponnesus, although the Magnesians, who live to the north of Mount Sipylus, have on the rock Coddinus the most ancient of all the images of the Mother of the gods. The Magnesians say that it was made by Broteas the son of Tantalus. The people of Acrae once produced an Olympian victor, Nicocles, who at two Olympian festivals carried

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<sup>1</sup> θεᾶς, emended by Hermann.

- μενον δρόμου νίκας πέντε· πεποιήται δὲ καὶ  
 μνήμα τῷ Νικοκλεῖ τοῦ τε γυμνασίου μεταξὺ  
 6 καὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. ἀπὸ  
 θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω Γερόνθραι σταδίου ἀπέχουσιν  
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ἀκριῶν. ταύτας οἰκουμένας  
 πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας ἔλθειν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἐποίη-  
 σαν ἀναστάτους Δωριεῖς οἱ Λακεδαίμονα ἔχοντες,  
 ἀναστήσαντες δὲ Γερονθρῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς<sup>1</sup> παρὰ  
 σφῶν ἐποίκουσ ἀπέστειλαν· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Ἐλευ-  
 θερολακῶνων καὶ οὗτοι μοῖρα ἦσαν. κατὰ μὲν  
 δὴ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκριῶν ἐς Γερόνθρας ὁδὸν ἔστι Παλαιὰ  
 καλουμένη κώμη, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως  
 7 ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος· ἑορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ  
 ἔτος, ἐν ἣ γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθεῖν  
 ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισιν αἰ-  
 πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν ὑδάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 ἀκροπόλει ναὸς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγάλματος  
 ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένου κεφαλῇ· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
 τοῦ ἀγάλματος πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ τῷ προτέρῳ  
 ναῷ.
- 8 Μαρῖος δὲ ἄλλο Ἐλευθερολακῶνων πόλισμα,  
 ὃ ἀπὸ Γερονθρῶν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκεν. ἱερόν  
 ἐστιν αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον κοινὸν θεῶν ἀπάντων καὶ  
 περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος παρεχόμενον πηγὰς, εἰσὶ δὲ  
 καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ πηγαί· ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον  
 εἴπερ ἄλλο τι χωρίον παρέχεται καὶ Μαρῖος.  
 κώμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμά ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ  
 αὐτή, Γλυππία· καὶ ἐς κώμην ἑτέραν Σελινοῦντα  
 ἐκ Γερονθρῶν ἐστιν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἴκοσι.
- 9 Τάδε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀκριῶν ἄνω πρὸς ἠπειρον· τὰ  
 δὲ πρὸς θαλάσσην, πόλις Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριῶν ἀπέχει

<sup>1</sup> γερόνθρας τοὺς ἀρχαίους, emended by Clavier.

off five prizes for running. There has been raised to him a monument between the gymnasium and the wall by the harbour. A hundred and twenty stades inland from Acrae is Geronthrae. It was inhabited before the Heracleidae came to Peloponnesus, but the Dorians of Lacedaemon expelled the Achaean inhabitants and afterwards sent to it settlers of their own; but in my time it belonged to the Free Laconians. On the road from Acrae to Geronthrae is a village called Palaea (*Old*), and in Geronthrae itself are a temple and grove of Ares. Every year they hold a festival in honour of the God, at which women are forbidden to enter the grove. Around the market-place are their springs of drinking-water. On the citadel is a temple of Apollo with the head of an ivory image. The rest of the image was destroyed by fire along with the former temple.

Marius is another town of the Free Laconians, distant from Geronthrae one hundred stades. Here is an ancient sanctuary common to all the gods, and around it is a grove containing springs. In a sanctuary of Artemis also there are springs. In fact Marius has an unsurpassed supply of water. Above the town, and like it in the interior, is a village, Glyppia. From Geronthrae to another village, Selinus, is a journey of twenty stades.

These places are inland from Acrae. By the sea is a city Asopus, sixty stades distant from Acrae.

- σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ναός τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τε σταδίους δώδεκα ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ· Φιλόλαον τὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ ὅσα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὰ τιμώμενα μεγέθει μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὅμως ἐστί. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κυπαρισσίας ἐπίκλησιν.
- 10 τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια καλουμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ στάδια ἀπέχον ὡς πεντήκοντα Ἀσωποῦ· τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἔνθα τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, Ὑπερτελέατον ὀνομάζουσιν. ἄκρα δὲ ἀνέχουσα ἐς θάλασσαν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀσωποῦ διακόσια στάδια· καλοῦσι δὲ Ὀνου γνάθου τὴν ἄκραν. ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον, οὐδὲ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐποιήθη. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ μνῆμα Κινάδου· νεὼς τῆς Μενελάου καὶ
- 11 οὗτος κυβερνήτης ἦν. ἐσέχει δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν Βοιατικὸς καλούμενος κόλπος, καὶ Βοιαὶ πόλις πρὸς τῷ πέρατί ἐστι τοῦ κόλπου. ταύτην ᾤκισε μὲν Βοιοὺς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, συναγαγεῖν δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐς αὐτὴν λέγεται πόλεων, Ἡτιδος καὶ Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Σίδης. τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς μὲν δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν φεύγοντα Αἰνείαν καὶ ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀπενεχθέντα ἐς τοῦτον τὸν κόλπον οἰκίσαι φασί, τὴν Ἡτιάδα Αἰνείου θυγατέρα λέγοντες εἶναι· τὴν τρίτην δὲ κληθῆναι τῶν πόλεων λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ
- 12 Σίδης. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάντες ἐζήτουν ἔνθα οἰκῆσαι σφᾶς χρεῶν εἴη· καὶ τι καὶ μάντευμα ἦν αὐτοῖς Ἀρτεμιν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν

In it is a temple of the Roman emperors, and about twelve stades inland from the city is a sanctuary of Asclepius. They call the god Philolaus, and the bones in the gymnasium, which they worship, are human, although of superhuman size. On the citadel is also a sanctuary of Athena, surnamed Cyparissia (*Cypress Goddess*). At the foot of the citadel are the ruins of a city called the City of the Paracyparissian<sup>1</sup> Achaeans. There is also in this district a sanctuary of Asclepius, about fifty stades from Asopus; the place where the sanctuary is they name Hyperteleatum. Two hundred stades from Asopus there juts out into the sea a headland, which they call Onugnathus (*Jaw of an Ass*). Here is a sanctuary of Athena, having neither image nor roof. Agamemnon is said to have made it. There is also the tomb of Cinadus, one of the pilots of the ship of Menelaus. After the peak there runs into the land the Gulf of Boeae, and the city of Boeae is at the head of the gulf. This was founded by Boeüs, one of the Heracleidae, and he is said to have collected inhabitants for it from three cities, Etis, Aphrodisias and Side. Of the ancient cities two are said to have been founded by Aeneas when he was fleeing to Italy and had been driven into this gulf by storms. Etias, they allege, was a daughter of Aeneas. The third city they say was named after Side, daughter of Danaus. When the inhabitants of these cities were expelled, they were anxious to know where they ought to settle, and an oracle was given them that Artemis would show

<sup>1</sup> That is, "who live beside the Cypress Goddess."

ἐπιδείξειν. ὡς οὖν ἐκβᾶσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν λαγῶς ἐπιφαίνεται, τὸν λαγῶν ἐποιήσαντο ἠγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ· καταδύντος δὲ ἐς μυρσίνην πόλιν τε οἰκίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐπὲρ ἢ μυρσίνη ἦν, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἔτι ἐκείνην σέβουσι τὴν μυρσίνην καὶ Ἄρτεμιν  
 13 ὀνομάζουσι Σώτειραν. καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῇ Βοιατῶν ἀγορᾷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἑτέρωθι Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδός τε καὶ Ἴσιδος. Ἡτιδος δ' <sup>1</sup> ἐρείπια ἀπέχει μὲν Βοιωτῶν οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους ἑπτὰ· ἴοντι δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ λίθινον ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγείας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀφανές.

XXIII. Κύθηρα δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἀπαντικρῶ Βοιωτῶν, ἐς δὲ Πλατανιστοῦντα—ἐλάχιστον γὰρ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτῃ διέστηκεν ἢ νῆσος—ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄκραν τὸν Πλατανιστοῦντα ἀπὸ ἄκρας τῆς ἠπείρου, καλουμένης δὲ Ὀνου γνάθου, σταδίων πλοῦς τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν. ἐν Κυθήροις δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Σκάνδειά ἐστὶν ἐπίνειον, Κύθηρα δὲ ἢ πόλις ἀναβάντι ἀπὸ Σκανδείας στάδια ὡς δέκα. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἀγιώτατον καὶ ἱερῶν ὅποσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ' Ἑλλησίν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον· αὐτὴ δὲ ἢ θεὸς ξόανον ὠπλισμένον.  
 2 Πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας λιμὴν ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν καὶ σπήλαιον θαλάσσης ἐγγύτατα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γλυκέος ὕδατος πηγὴ καὶ ἄνθρωποι περιουχοῦσι πολλοί. περιπλεύσαντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλέας καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀποσχόντι, ἐπὶ θαλάσση χωρίον ἐν ὅροις Βοιατῶν Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν, Ἐπιδήλιον δὲ ὀνο-

<sup>1</sup> Ἡτιδος δ' supplied by Curtius.



them where they were to dwell. When therefore they had gone on shore, and a hare appeared to them, they looked upon the hare as their guide on the way. When it dived into a myrtle tree, they built a city on the site of the myrtle, and down to this day they worship that myrtle tree, and name Artemis Saviour. In the market-place of Boeae is a temple of Apollo, and in another part of the town are temples of Asclepius, of Serapis, and of Isis. The ruins of Etis are not more than seven stades distant from Boeae. On the way to them there stands on the left a stone image of Hermes. Among the ruins is a not insignificant sanctuary of Asclepius and Health.

XXIII. Cythera lies opposite Boeae; to the promontory of Platanistus, the point where the island lies nearest to the mainland, it is a voyage of forty stades from a promontory on the mainland called Onugnathus. In Cythera is a port Scandeia on the coast, but the town Cythera is about ten stades inland from Scandeia. The sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (*the Heavenly*) is most holy, and it is the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite among the Greeks. The goddess herself is represented by an armed image of wood.

On the voyage from Boeae towards the point of Malea is a harbour called Nymphaeum, with a statue of Poseidon standing, and a cave close to the sea; in it is a spring of sweet water. There is a large population in the district. After doubling the point of Malea and proceeding a hundred stades, you reach a place on the coast within the frontier of the Boeatae, which is sacred to Apollo and called Epi-

3 μαζόμενον· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ξόανον, ὃ  
 νῦν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν Δήλῳ ποτὲ ἴδρυτο. τῆς  
 γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὔσης  
 καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις διὰ τὸν θεὸν δοκούσης  
 παρέχειν, Μηνοφάνης Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς εἶτε  
 αὐτὸς ὑπερφρονήσας εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου  
 προστεταγμένον—ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἀφορῶντι ἐς  
 4 κέρδος τὰ θεῖα ὕστερα λημμάτων—οὗτος οὖν  
 ὁ Μηνοφάνης, ἅτε οὔσης ἀτειχίστου τῆς Δήλου  
 καὶ ὄπλα οὐ κεκτημένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τριήρεσιν  
 ἐσπλεύσας ἐφόνευσε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν  
 ξένων, ἐφόνευσε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δηλίους. κατα-  
 σύρας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα, πάντα δὲ  
 τὰ ἀναθήματα, προσεξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ καὶ  
 γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε  
 τὴν Δήλον. ἅτε δὲ πορθουμένης τε καὶ ἀρπαζο-  
 μένης, τῶν τις βαρβάρων ὑπὸ ὕβρεως τὸ ξόανον  
 τοῦτο ἀπέρριψεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· ὑπολαβὼν δὲ  
 ὁ κλύδων ἐνταῦθα τῆς Βοιατῶν ἀπήνεγκε, καὶ τὸ  
 5 χωρίον διὰ τοῦτο Ἐπιδήλιον ὀνομάζουσι. τὸ  
 μέντοι μῆνιμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διέφυγεν οὔτε  
 Μηνοφάνης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιθριδάτης· ἀλλὰ Μηνο-  
 φάνην μὲν παραυτίκα, ὡς ἀνήγετο ἐρημώσας τὴν  
 Δήλον, λοχήσαντες ναυσὶν οἱ διαπεφευγότες τῶν  
 ἐμπόρων καταδύουσι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ ὕστερον  
 τούτων ἠνάγκασεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτόχειρα αὐτοῦ κατα-  
 στήναι, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς οἱ καθηρημένης καὶ ἐλαννό-  
 μενον πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασιν  
 αὐτὸν παρά του τῶν μισθοφόρων θάνατον βίαιον  
 ἐν μέρει χάριτος εὔρασθαι.

6 Τούτοις μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπήνητησεν ἀσεβήσασιν·  
 τῇ δὲ Βοιατῶν ὁμορος Ἐπίδραυρός ἐστιν ἡ Λιμηρά,

delium. For the wooden image which is now here, once stood in Delos. Delos was then a Greek market, and seemed to offer security to traders on account of the god; but as the place was unfortified and the inhabitants unarmed, Menophanes, an officer of Mithridates, attacked it with a fleet, to show his contempt for the god, or acting on the orders of Mithridates; for to a man whose object is gain what is sacred is of less account than what is profitable. This Menophanes put to death the foreigners residing there and the Delians themselves, and after plundering much property belonging to the traders and all the offerings, and also carrying women and children away as slaves, he razed Delos itself to the ground. As it was being sacked and pillaged, one of the barbarians wantonly flung this image into the sea; but the wave took it and brought it to land here in the country of the Boeatae. For this reason they call the place Epidelium. But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates himself escaped the wrath of the god. Menophanes, as he was putting to sea after the sack of Delos was sunk at once by those of the merchants who had escaped; for they lay in wait for him in ships. The god caused Mithridates at a later date to lay hands upon himself, when his empire had been destroyed and he himself was being hunted on all sides by the Romans. There are some who say that he obtained a violent death as a favour at the hands of one of his mercenaries. This was the reward of their impiety.

The country of the Boeatae is adjoined by Epidaurus

σταδίους ὡς διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα Ἐπιδηλίου. φασὶ δὲ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἐπιδαυρίων εἶναι, πλείοντες δὲ ἐς Κῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσσχεῖν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων γενομένων σφίσι  
 7 καταμείναντες οἰκῆσαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς οἰκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου δράκοντα ἐπαγομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐξέφυγεν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ὁ δράκων, ἐκφυγὼν δὲ οὐ πόρρω κατέδυ θαλάσσης, καὶ σφισιν ὁμοῦ τῶν ὄνειράτων τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν δράκοντα ἔδοξεν αὐτόθι καταμείναντας οἰκῆσαι. καὶ ἔνθα ὁ δράκων κατέδυ, βωμοὶ τέ  
 8 εἰσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἐλαῖαι περὶ αὐτοὺς πεφύ-

8 κασιν.  
 Προελθόντι δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ δύο πού σταδίους, ἔστιν Ἴνους καλούμενον ὕδωρ, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ λίμνην μικράν, τῆς γῆς δὲ ἐν βάθει μᾶλλον· ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἴνους ἐμβάλλουσιν ἀλφίτων μύζας. ταύτας ἐπὶ μὲν αἰσίῳ τοῦ ἐμβαλόντος καταδεξάμενον ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ· εἰ δὲ ἀναπέμψαιτο σφᾶς, πονηρὸν κέκριται σημεῖον.  
 9 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν Αἴτνῃ δηλοῦσιν οἱ κρατῆρες· καὶ γὰρ χρυσοῦ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀργύρου ποιήματα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖα τὰ πάντα ἀφιᾶσι· ταῦτα δὲ ἦν μὲν ὑπολαβὸν ἀπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ χαίρουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πεφηνότι ἀγαθῶ, ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τὰ ἐμβληθέντα συμφορὰν ἔσεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ  
 10 νομίζουσι.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμηρὰν ἄγουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίων Λιμνάτιδος. ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀπέχουσα οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ

Limera, distant some two hundred stades from Epidelium. The people say that they are not descended from the Lacedaemonians but from the Epidaurians of the Argolid, and that they touched at this point in Laconia when sailing on public business to Asclepius in Cos. Warned by dreams that appeared to them, they remained and settled here. They also say that a snake, which they were bringing from their home in Epidaurus, escaped from the ship, and disappeared into the ground not far from the sea. As a result of the portent of the snake together with the vision in their dreams they resolved to remain and settle here. There are altars to Asclepius where the snake disappeared, with olive trees growing round them.

About two stades to the right is the water of Ino, as it is called, in extent like a small lake, but going deeper into the earth. Into this water they throw cakes of barley meal at the festival of Ino. If good luck is portended to the thrower, the water keeps them under. But if it brings them to the surface, it is judged a bad sign. The craters in Aetna have the same feature; for they lower into them objects of gold and silver and also all kinds of victims. If the fire receives and consumes them, they rejoice at the appearance of a good sign, but if it casts up what has been thrown in, they think misfortune will befall the man to whom this happens.

By the road leading from Boeae to Epidaurus Limera is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (*Of the Lake*) in the country of the Epidaurians. The city lies on high ground, not far from the sea. Here the

- μὲν ᾠκίσται, θεάς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια τὸ μὲν Ἄφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, τὸ δὲ Ἄσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου, καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ λιμένος Διὸς ἐπέκλη-  
 11 σιν Σωτήρος. ἄκρα δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέχει καλουμένη Μινώα· καὶ ὁ μὲν κόλπος οὐδέν τι ἔχει διάφορον ἢ ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἄλλαι θαλάσσης εἰσὶν ἐσβολαί, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ὁ ταύτη παρέχεται ψηφίδας σχῆμα εὐπρεπεστέρας καὶ χροῆας παντοδαπῆς.

XXIV. Ἐπιδαύρου δὲ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἀπέχει Ζάραξ, ἄλλως μὲν εὐλίμενον χωρίον, τῶν δὲ Ἐλευθερολακῶνων μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐκτετράχεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος μόνον τοῦτο τῶν Λακωνικῶν πολισμάτων ἐποίησεν ἀνάστατον· καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Κλεώνυμον ἐτέρωθί ἐστιν εἰρημένα. ἐν Ζάρακι δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ λιμένος τῷ πέρατι Ἀπόλλωνος ναός ἐστι καὶ ἄγαλμα κιθάραν ἔχον.

- 2 Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Ζάρακος παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἑκατὸν πού στάδια καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντι αὐτόθεν ἐς μεσόγαιαν καὶ ἐπαναβάντι σταδίους ὡς δέκα, Κυφάντων καλουμένων ἐρείπιά ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς σπήλαιον ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, λίθου δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ψυχροῦ κρουνὸς ἐκβάλλων ἐκ πέτρας· Ἀταλάντην θηρεύουσαν ἐνταῦθά φασιν, ὡς ἠνιᾶτο ὑπὸ δίψης, παίσαι τῇ λόγχῃ τὴν πέτραν καὶ οὕτω ῥυῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ.

<sup>1</sup> Or *opposite* (with Frazer), if Minoa is to be identified with the modern Monemvasia.

sanctuary of Artemis is worth seeing, also that of Asclepius with a standing statue of stone, a temple of Athena on the acropolis, and of Zeus with the title *Saviour* in front of the harbour. A promontory called Minoa projects into the sea near<sup>1</sup> the town. The bay has nothing to distinguish it from all the other inlets of the sea in Laconia, but the beach here contains pebbles of prettier form and of all colours.

XXIV. A hundred stades from Epidaurus is Zarax; though possessing a good harbour, it is the most ruinous of the towns of the Free Laconians, since it was the only town of theirs to be depopulated by Cleonymus the son of Cleomenes, son of Agesipolis. I have told the story of Cleomenes elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing in Zarax except a temple of Apollo, with a statue holding a lyre, at the head of the harbour.<sup>3</sup>

The road from Zarax follows the coast for about a hundred stades, and there strikes inland. After an ascent of ten stades inland are the ruins of the so-called Cyphanta, among which is a cave sacred to Asclepius; the image is of stone. There is a fountain of cold water springing from the rock, where they say that Atalanta, distressed by thirst when hunting, struck the rock with her spear, so that the water gushed forth.

<sup>2</sup> In III. 6, where he is rightly called the nephew of Agesipolis.

<sup>3</sup> Or at the entrance to the harbour. See *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XV. p. 169.

- 3 Βρασιαὶ δὲ ἐσχάτη μὲν ταύτῃ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστὶ, Κυφάντων δὲ ἀπέχουσι πλοῦν σταδίων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, οὐδέσιν ὁμολογούντες Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Σεμέλη τέκοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Διὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθεῖσα ἐς λάρνακα αὐτὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθεῖη· καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν σφετέραν, καὶ Σεμέλην μὲν—οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν περιούσαν ἔτι εὐρεῖν—ἐπιφανῶς θάψαι, Διόνυσον
- 4 δὲ ἀναθρέψαι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, Ὀρειάτας ἐς ἐκεῖνο ὀνομαζομένην, μετονομασθῆναι Βρασιάς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν γῆν τῆς λάρνακος· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπωθούμενα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβεβράσθαι καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί. Βρασιᾶται δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἰνώ σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀφικέσθαι πλανωμένην, ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ ἐθελῆσαι τοῦ Διονύσου γενέσθαι τροφόν· καὶ ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἔνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ, καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον Διονύσου
- 5 κῆπον. ἱερὰ δὲ αὐτόθι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν Ἀχιλλεῖ. ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς Βρασιαῖς μικρά, προέχουσα ἡρέμα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῖ ποδιαίων ἐστήκασιν οὐ μείζονες, πῖλους ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ Διοσκούρους σφᾶς ἢ Κορύβαντας νομίζουσι· τρεῖς δ' οὖν εἰσὶ, τέταρτον δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα.
- 6 Τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Γυθίου Λᾶς ἐστι, θαλάσσης μὲν δέκα στάδια, Γυθίου δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχουσα. ᾠκισται δὲ νῦν μὲν Ἰλίου καλουμένου καὶ Ἀσίας



Brasiae is the last town on the coast belonging to the Free Laconians in this direction. It is distant two hundred stades by sea from Cyphanta. The inhabitants have a story, found nowhere else in Greece, that Semele, after giving birth to her son by Zeus, was discovered by Cadmus and put with Dionysus into a chest, which was washed up by the waves in their country. Semele, who was no longer alive when found, received a splendid funeral, but they brought up Dionysus. For this reason the name of their city, hitherto called Oreiatae, was changed to Brasiae after the washing up of the chest to land; so too in our time the common word used of the waves casting things ashore is *ekbrazein*. The people of Brasiae add that Ino in the course of her wanderings came to the country, and agreed to become the nurse of Dionysus. They show the cave where Ino nursed him, and call the plain the garden of Dionysus. The temples here are those of Asclepius and of Achilles, in whose honour they hold an annual festival. There is a small promontory at Brasiae, which projects gently into the sea; on it stand bronze figures, not more than a foot high, with caps on their heads. I am not sure whether they consider them to be Dioscuri or Corybants. They are three in number; a statue of Athena makes a fourth.

To the right of Gythium is Las, ten stades from the sea and forty from Gythium. The site of the present town extends over the ground between the

καὶ Κνακαδίου, τῶν ὀρώων τούτων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐπέχουσα, πρότερον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ ὄρους ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ· καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἔστι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐρείπια καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τρόπαιον, οἱ μοῖρα τῆς Φιλίππου στρατιᾶς ἦσαν, ἠνίκα ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀποτραπόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐλεηλάτουν

7 τῆς χώρας. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκη καὶ Κάστορά φασιν ἀνασωθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Κόλχοις Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀσίας ἱερόν. μετασχόντας μὲν οὖν οἶδα Ἰάσους τοῦ στόλου τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας· ὅτι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀσίαν τιμῶσιν οἱ Κόλχοι, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκούσας γράφω. τῆς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένης πόλεως κρήνη τέ ἐστι πλησίον διὰ τὴν χροᾶν τοῦ ὕδατος καλουμένη Γαλακῶ καὶ πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυμνάσιον· Ἐρμού

8 δὲ ἔστηκεν ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. τῶν δὲ ὀρώων ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰλίου Διονύσου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Κνακαδίῳ Κάρνειος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρνείου σταδίου προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντα, ἔστιν ἐν χωρίῳ Ὑψοῖς ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος

9 ἐπὶ κλησιν Δαφναίας. πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ναὸς ἔστι Δικτύνης Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι. ταύτης δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἄκρας ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν Σμῆνος, ὕδωρ πιεῖν ἠδὲ εἶπερ ἄλλος τις παρασχόμενος ποταμός· ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ταυγέτῳ τὰς πηγὰς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως

mountains called Ilius, Asia and Cnacadium; formerly it lay on the summit of Mount Asia. Even now there are ruins of the old town, with a statue of Heracles outside the walls, and a trophy for a victory over the Macedonians. These formed a detachment of Philip's army, when he invaded Laconia, but were separated from the main body and were plundering the coastal districts. Among the ruins is a temple of Athena named Asia, made, it is said, by Polydeuces and Castor on their return home from Colchis; for the Colchians had a shrine of Athena Asia. I know that the sons of Tyndareus took part in Jason's expedition. As to the Colchians honouring Athena Asia, I give what I heard from the Lacedaemonians. Near the present town is a spring called Galaco (*Milky*) from the colour of the water, and beside the spring a gymnasium, which contains an ancient statue of Hermes. On Mount Ilius is a temple of Dionysus, and of Asclepius at the very summit. On Cnacadium is an Apollo called Carneius.

Some thirty stades from the Apollo is a place Hypsoi, within the Spartan frontier. Here is a sanctuary of Asclepius and of Artemis called Daphnaea (*of the laurel*). By the sea is a temple of Artemis Dictynna on a promontory, in whose honour they hold an annual festival. A river Smenus reaches the sea to the left of the promontory; its water is extremely sweet to drink; its sources are in Mount

- 10 σταδίους οὐ πλέον πέντε. ἐν δὲ Ἀραίῳ καλου-  
 μένῳ χωρίῳ τάφος Λᾶ καὶ ἀνδριάς ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι  
 ἔπεστι. τοῦτον τὸν Λᾶν οἰκιστὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν  
 οἱ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως,  
 Ἀχιλλέα δὲ κατὰραί σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν  
 Ἐλένην παρὰ Τυνδάρεω γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. λέ-  
 γοντι δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν Λᾶν  
 ἀποκτείνας· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ μνηστευσάμενός  
 ἐστιν Ἐλένην. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῶν Ἐλένης μνηστήρων  
 Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν,  
 11 αὐτόν· Ὅμηρος δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν τῆς ποιήσεως  
 ἀρχόμενος ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀτρέως  
 παισὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐνεχόμενος τοῖς ὄρκοις τοῖς  
 Τυνδάρεω παραγένοιτο ἐς Τροίαν, ἐποίησε δὲ  
 ἐν ἄθλοις λέγοντα Ἀντίλοχον ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ γενεᾶ, τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεῶ  
 πρὸς Ἀλκίονον περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ ἄλλα  
 διηγούμενον καὶ ὅτι Θησέα ἰδεῖν ἐθελήσαι καὶ  
 Πειρίθουν προτέρους ἄνδρας ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ· Θησέα δὲ ἴσμεν ἀρπάσαντα Ἐλένην.  
 οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγχωροῦν ἐστιν ἀρχὴν Ἐλένης  
 μνηστήρα Ἀχιλλέα γενέσθαι.

XXV. Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος  
 ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ  
 Σκύρας, ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον ἀνώνυμον τέως ὄντα  
 Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσίν, ἠνίκα  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης γάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐκ Σκύρου.  
 διαβάντων δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἀρχαίου  
 . . . ἀπωτέρω Διὸς βωμοῦ. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ  
 σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει Πύρριχος ἐν  
 μεσογαίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι φασὶν

Taygetus, and it passes within five stades of the town. At a spot called Arainus is the tomb of Las with a statue upon it. The natives say that Las was their founder and was killed by Achilles, and that Achilles put in to their country to ask the hand of Helen of Tyndareus. In point of fact it was Patroclus who killed Las, for it was he who was Helen's suitor. We need not regard it as a proof that Achilles did not ask for Helen because he is not mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women* as one of her suitors. But at the beginning of his poem Homer says that Achilles came to Troy as a favour to the sons of Atreus,<sup>1</sup> and not because he was bound by the oaths which Tyndareus exacted; and in the Games he makes Antilochus say that Odysseus was a generation older than he,<sup>2</sup> whereas Odysseus, telling Alcinous of his descent to Hades and other adventures, said that he wished to see Theseus and Peirithous, men of an earlier age.<sup>3</sup> We know that Theseus carried off Helen, so that it is quite impossible that Achilles could have been her suitor.

XXV. Beyond the tomb a river named Scyras enters the sea. Formerly it was without a name, but was so called, because Pyrrhus the son of Achilles put in here when he sailed from Scyros to wed Hermione. Across the river is an ancient shrine . . . further from an altar of Zeus. Inland, forty stades from the river, lies Pyrrhichus, the name of which is said to be derived from Pyrrhus the son

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, i. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xxxiii. 790.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. 630.

2 ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ δὲ εἶναι θεὸν Πύρριχον τῶν καλουμένων Κουρήτων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιληνὸν ἐκ Μαλέας ἐλθόντα ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι. τραφήναι μὲν δὴ τὸν Σιληνὸν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἐξ ἄσματος Πινδάρου

ὁ ζαμενῆς δὲ ὁ χοροτύπος, ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος ἔθρεψε, Ναΐδος ἀκοίτας, Σιληνός·

ὡς δὲ καὶ Πύρριχος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, Πινδάρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρημένον, λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν

3 Μαλέαν οἰκοῦντες. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρρίχῳ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, δοῦναι δὲ σφισι τὸν Σιληνὸν νομίζουσι· σπανίζοιέν τ' ἂν ὕδατος, εἰ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦτο ἐπιλείποι. θεῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ σφισιν ἱερί ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀστρατείας, ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος· ξόανα μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκας.

4 Ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρώνη· τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ταύτῃ Τεύθραντα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα ἀποφαίνουσι, τιμῶσι δὲ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἰσσωρίαν Ἀρτεμιν, καὶ πηγὴ σφισίν ἐστι Ναΐα. Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεῖός ἐστι καὶ Ψαμαθοῦς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος

5 ἄγαλμα. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδοῦ διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φερούσης οὔτε ἔτοιμον ὃν πεισθῆναι θεῶν ὑπόγειον εἶναι τινα

of Achilles; but according to another account Pyrrhichus was one of the gods called Curetes. Others say that Silenus came from Malea and settled here. That Silenus was brought up in Malea is clear from these words in an ode of Pindar: <sup>1</sup>

The mighty one, the dancer, whom the mount of  
Malea nurtured, husband of Nais, Silenus.

Not that Pindar said his name was Pyrrhichus; that is a statement of the men of Malea. At Pyrrhichus there is a well in the market-place, considered to be the gift of Silenus. If this were to fail, they would be short of water. The sanctuaries of the gods, that they have in the country, are of Artemis, called *Astrateia*, because the Amazons stayed their advance (*strateia*) here, and an Apollo Amazonius. Both gods are represented by wooden images, said to have been dedicated by the women from Thermodon.

From Pyrrhichus the road comes down to the sea at Teuthrone. The inhabitants declare that their founder was Teuthras, an Athenian. They honour Artemis Issoria most of the Gods, and have a spring Naïa. The promontory of Taenarum projects into the sea 150 stades from Teuthrone, with the harbours Achilleius and Psamathus. On the promontory is a temple like a cave, with a statue of Poseidon in front of it. Some of the Greek poets state that Heracles brought up the hound of Hades here, though there is no road that leads underground through the cave, and it is not easy to believe that the gods possess any underground dwelling where

<sup>1</sup> Frag. 156 (Schröder).

- οἴκησιν ἐς ἣν ἀθροίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχάς. ἀλλὰ Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὗρεν εἰκότα, ὄφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἄιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παραντίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ, καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ' Εὐρυσθέα·
- 6 Ὅμηρος δέ—πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν Ἄιδου κύνα ὄντινα Ἡρακλῆς ἤγεν—οὔτε ὄνομα ἔθετο οὐδὲν οὔτε συνέπλασεν ἐς τὸ εἶδος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Κέρβερον ὄνομα ἐποίησαν καὶ κυνὶ τᾶλλα εἰκάζοντες κεφαλὰς τρεῖς φασιν ἔχειν αὐτόν, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον Ὀμήρου κύνα τὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σύντροφον εἰρηκότος ἢ εἰ δράκοντα
- 7 ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν Ἄιδου κύνα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφίνος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρίονα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφίνι Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ἀκοὴν ἐν τῇ Λυδία συγγραφῇ· τὸν δὲ ἐν Ποροσελήνῃ δελφίνα τῷ παιδὶ σῶστρα ἀποδιδόντα, ὅτι συγκοπέντα ὑπὸ ἀλιέων αὐτὸν ἰάσατο, τοῦτον τὸν δελφίνα εἶδον καὶ καλοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ὑπακούοντα καὶ φέροντα, ὁπότε ἐποχεῖσθαί οἱ
- 8 βούλοιτο. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ καὶ πηγὴ, νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ θαῦμα εἶναι παρεχομένη, πρότερον δὲ τοῖς ἐνιδούσιν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοὺς λιμένας—φασί—καὶ τὰς ναῦς θεάσασθαι παρείχε. τοῦτο ἔπαυσε γυνὴ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μεμιασμένην ἐναποπλύνασα ἐσθῆτα.
- 9 Ταϊνάρου δὲ τῆς ἄκρας πλοῦν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἀφέστηκε Καινήπολις· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν πάλαι καὶ ταύτῃ Ταίναρον. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ



the souls collect. But Hecataeus of Miletus gave a plausible explanation, stating that a terrible serpent lived on Taenarum, and was called the hound of Hades, because any one bitten was bound to die of the poison at once, and it was this snake, he said, that was brought by Heracles to Eurystheus. But Homer, who was the first to call the creature brought by Heracles the hound of Hades,<sup>1</sup> did not give it a name or describe it as of manifold form, as he did in the case of the Chimaera.<sup>2</sup> Later poets gave the name Cerberus, and though in other respects they made him resemble a dog, they say that he had three heads. Homer, however, does not imply that he was a dog, the friend of man, any more than if he had called a real serpent the hound of Hades. Among other offerings on Taenarum is a bronze statue of Arion the harper on a dolphin. Herodotus has told the story of Arion and the dolphin, as he heard it, in his history of Lydia.<sup>3</sup> I have seen the dolphin at Poroselene that rewards the boy for saving his life. It had been damaged by fishermen and he cured it. I saw this dolphin obeying his call and carrying him whenever he wanted to ride on it. There is a spring also on Taenarum; but now it possesses nothing marvellous. Formerly, as they say, it showed harbours and ships to those who looked into the water. These sights in the water were brought to an end for good and all by a woman washing dirty clothes in it.

From the point of Taenarum Caenepolis is distant forty stades by sea. Its name also was formerly Taenarum. In it is a hall of Demeter, and

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, viii. 368; *Odyssey*, xi. 623.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, vi. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Hdt.*, i. 23.

μέγαρον Δήμητρος καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθου. ἐντεῦθεν ἀποσχόντι τριάκοντα σταδίους Θυρίδες ἄκρα Ταινάρου καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Ἰππόλας ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν Ἰπολαΐτιδος· ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Μέσσα πόλις καὶ λιμὴν. ἀπὸ τούτου στάδια τοῦ λιμένος πεντήκοντά ἐστι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Οἴτυλον· ὁ δὲ ἦρως ἀφ' οὗ τῆ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἀργεῖος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, Ἀμφιάνακτος υἱὸς ὦν τοῦ Ἀντιμάχου. θεᾶς δὲ ἄξια ἐν Οἰτύλῳ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καρνείου ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος.

XXVI. Ἐς Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οἰτύλου μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά εἰσι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἴνους καὶ μαντεῖον. μαντεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὅποσα δ' ἂν πυθέσθαι δεηθῶσιν, ὀνείρατα δείκνυσί σφισιν ἢ θεός. χαλκᾷ δὲ ἔστηκεν ἀγάλματα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασιφάης καὶ Ἡλίου τὸ ἕτερον· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ στεφανωμάτων, χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι λέγουσι. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἱεράς πιεῖν ἠδύ· Σελήνης δὲ ἐπὶ κλησις καὶ οὐ Θαλαμάταις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἐστὶν ἢ Πασιφάη.

2 Θαλαμῶν δὲ ἀπέχει σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὀνομαζομένη Πέφνος ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ. πρόκειται δὲ νησὶς πέτρας τῶν μεγάλων οὐ μείζων, Πέφνος καὶ ταύτη τὸ ὄνομα· τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασὶν οἱ Θαλαμάται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα ἐν ἄσματι οἶδα εἰπόντα· τραφῆναι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ Πέφνῳ φασὶν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἐς

3 Πελλίαναν κομίσαντα εἶναι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νησίδι

a temple of Aphrodite on the shore, with a standing statue of stone. Thirty stades distant is Thyrides, a headland of Taenarum, with the ruins of a city Hippola; among them is a sanctuary of Athena Hippolaitis. A little further are the town and harbour of Messa. From this harbour it is 150 stades to Oetylus. The hero, from whom the city received its name, was an Argive by descent, son of Amphianax, the son of Antimachus. In Oetylus the sanctuary of Sarapis, and in the market-place a wooden image of Apollo Carneius are worth seeing.

XXVI. From Oetylus to Thalamae the road is about eighty stades long. On it is a sanctuary of Ino and an oracle. They consult the oracle in sleep, and the goddess reveals whatever they wish to learn, in dreams. Bronze statues of Pasiphae and of Helius stand in the unroofed part of the sanctuary. It was not possible to see the one within the temple clearly, owing to the garlands, but they say this too is of bronze. Water, sweet to drink, flows from a sacred spring. Pasiphae is a title of the Moon, and is not a local goddess of the people of Thalamae.

Twenty stades from Thalamae is a place called Pephnus on the coast. In front of it lies a small island no larger than a big rock, also called Pephnus. The people of Thalamae say that the Dioscuri were born here. I know that Alcman too says this in a song: but they do not say that they remained to be brought up in Pephnus, but that it was Hermes who took them to Pellana. In this little island there are

ἀγάλματα Διοσκούρων χαλκᾶ μέγεθος ποδιαῖα  
 ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς νησίδός ἐστιν· ταῦτα ἢ θάλασσα  
 ἀποκινεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλει κατακλύζουσα ὥρα χειμῶνος  
 τὴν πέτραν. τοῦτό τε δὴ θαῦμά ἐστι καὶ οἱ  
 μύρμηκες αὐτόθι λευκότερον ἢ ὡς μυρμηκῶν τὸ  
 χρῶμα φαίνουσι. τὴν δὲ χώραν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι  
 ταύτην αὐτῶν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὥστε καὶ  
 τοὺς Διοσκούρους μᾶλλον τι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους προσήκειν νομίζουσιν.

- 4 Πέφνου δὲ στάδια εἴκοσιν ἀπέχει Λεῦκτρα.  
 ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει Λεῦκτρα,  
 οὐκ οἶδα· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ Λευκίππου τοῦ Περιήρους,  
 ὡς οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι, τούτου μοι δοκοῦσιν ἔνεκα  
 οἱ ταύτη θεῶν μάλιστα Ἄσκληπιὸν τιμᾶν, ἅτε  
 Ἄρσινόης παῖδα εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου νομίζοντες.  
 λίθου δὲ ἐστὶν Ἄσκληπιοῦ τε ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἴνους
- 5 ἐτέρωθι. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρας τῆς  
 Πριίμου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα, Ἀλεξάνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐγχωρίων καλουμένης· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου  
 ξόανά ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτά καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων νομίζουσιν οἱ Σπάρτην ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς,  
 καὶ Ἐρωτός ἐστὶν ἐν Λεύκτροις ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος·  
 ὕδωρ δὲ ὥρα χειμῶνος διαρρεῖ τὸ ἄλσος, τὰ δὲ  
 φύλλα τῷ ἀέρι<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων πίπτοντα οὐκ
- 6 χθεῖη. ὃ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσην χώρα τῆς  
 Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γρίφω. ἄνεμος  
 πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν  
 δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωριὸν ψιλόν, ἄγαλμα  
 ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἴθωμάτα. τοῦτο  
 οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι μαρτύριον εἶναί σφισι τὰ

bronze statues of the Dioscuri, a foot high, in the open air. The sea will not move them, though in winter-time it washes over the rock, which is wonderful. Also the ants here have a whiter colour than is usual. The Messenians say that this district was originally theirs, and so they think that the Dioscuri belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians.

Twenty stades from Pephnus is Leuctra. I do not know why the city has this name. If indeed it is derived from Leucippus the son of Perieres, as the Messenians say, it is for this reason, I think, that the inhabitants honour Asclepius most of the gods, supposing him to be the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. There is a stone statue of Asclepius, and of Ino in another place. Also a temple and statue have been erected to Cassandra the daughter of Priam, called Alexandra by the natives. There are wooden images of Apollo Carneius according to the same custom that prevails among the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. On the acropolis is a sanctuary and image of Athena, and there is a temple and grove of Eros in Leuctra. Water flows through the grove in winter-time, but the leaves which are shaken from the trees by the wind would not be carried away by the water even in flood. I record an event which I know to have taken place in my time on the coast of Leuctra. A fire carried by the wind into a wood destroyed most of the trees, and when the place showed bare, a statue of Zeus of Ithome was found to have been dedicated there. The Messenians say that this is evidence that

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<sup>1</sup> ἀέρι, Hitzig., ἦρι, codd.

Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι· δύναίτο δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἴθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς.

7 Καρδαμύλη δέ, ἧς καὶ Ὅμηρος μνήμην ἐποίησατο ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑποσχέσει δώρων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶν ὑπήκοος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, Βασιλέως Ἀυγούστου τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀποτεμομένου. ἀπέχει δὲ Καρδαμύλη θαλάσσης μὲν ὀκτὼ σταδίους, Λεύκτρων δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐνταῦθα οὐ πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τέμενος ἱερὸν τῶν Νηρέως θυγατέρων ἐστίν· ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀναβῆναι τὸ χωρίον φασὶν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὰς Πύρρον ὄψομένας τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτε ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμιόνης ἀπῆι γάμον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολίσματι Ἀθηνᾶς τε ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Κάρνειος, καθὰ Δωριεῦσιν ἐπιχώριον.

8 Πόλιν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἐνόπην τοῖς Ὀμήρου, Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον συντελοῦντας τὸ Ἐλευθερολακῶνων, καλοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Γερηνίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Νέστορα οἱ μὲν τραφῆναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν φεύγοντα τὸ χωρίον, ἠνίκα Πύλος ἠλίσκετο

9 ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους. ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ μνῆμα καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἅγιον, καὶ ἀνθρώποις νόσων ἰάματα παρὰ τῷ Μαχάονι ἐστὶν εὐρέσθαι. καὶ Ῥόδον μὲν τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἄγαλμα δὲ τοῦ Μαχάονος χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθόν· ἐπίκειται δὲ οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ὃν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κίφος καλοῦσι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ. Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησὶν ὁ τὰ

10 ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. διὸ καὶ τάδε

Leuctra was formerly a part of Messenia. But it is possible, if the Lacedaemonians originally lived in Leuctra, that Zeus of Ithome might be worshipped among them.

Cardamyle, which is mentioned by Homer in the *Gifts promised by Agamemnon*,<sup>1</sup> is subject to the Lacedaemonians of Sparta, having been separated from Messenia by the emperor Augustus. It is eight stades from the sea and sixty from Leuctra. Here not far from the beach is a precinct sacred to the daughters of Nereus. They say that they came up from the sea to this spot to see Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, when he was going to Sparta to wed Hermione. In the town is a sanctuary of Athena, and an Apollo Carneius according to the local Dorian custom.

A city, called in Homer's poems Enope,<sup>2</sup> with Messenian inhabitants but belonging to the league of the Free Laconians, is called in our time Gerenia. One account states that Nestor was brought up in this city, another that he took refuge here, when Pylos was captured by Heracles. Here in Gerenia is a tomb of Machaon, son of Asclepius, and a holy sanctuary. In his temple men may find cures for diseases. They call the holy spot Rhodos; there is a standing bronze statue of Machaon, with a crown on his head which the Messenians in the local speech call *kiphos*. The author of the epic *The Little Iliad* says that Machaon was killed by Eurypylos, son of Telephus. I myself know that to be the reason of the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 150, 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 150, 292.

αὐτὸς οἶδα περὶ τὸ Ἴ�σκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐν Περγᾶμω  
 γινόμενα· ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου τῶν ὕμνων,  
 προσάδουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὐδὲ  
 ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ θέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν αὐτόν, οἷα  
 ἐπιστάμενοι φονέα ὄντα Μαχάονος. ἀνασώσα-  
 σθαι δὲ Νέστορα λέγεται τοῦ Μαχάονος τὰ ὄστα·  
 Ποδαλείριον δέ, ὡς ὀπίσω πορθήσαντες Ἴλιον  
 ἐκομίζοντο, ἀμαρτεῖν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς Σύρνον τῆς  
 Καρικῆς ἠπείρου φασὶν ἀποσωθέντα οἰκῆσαι.

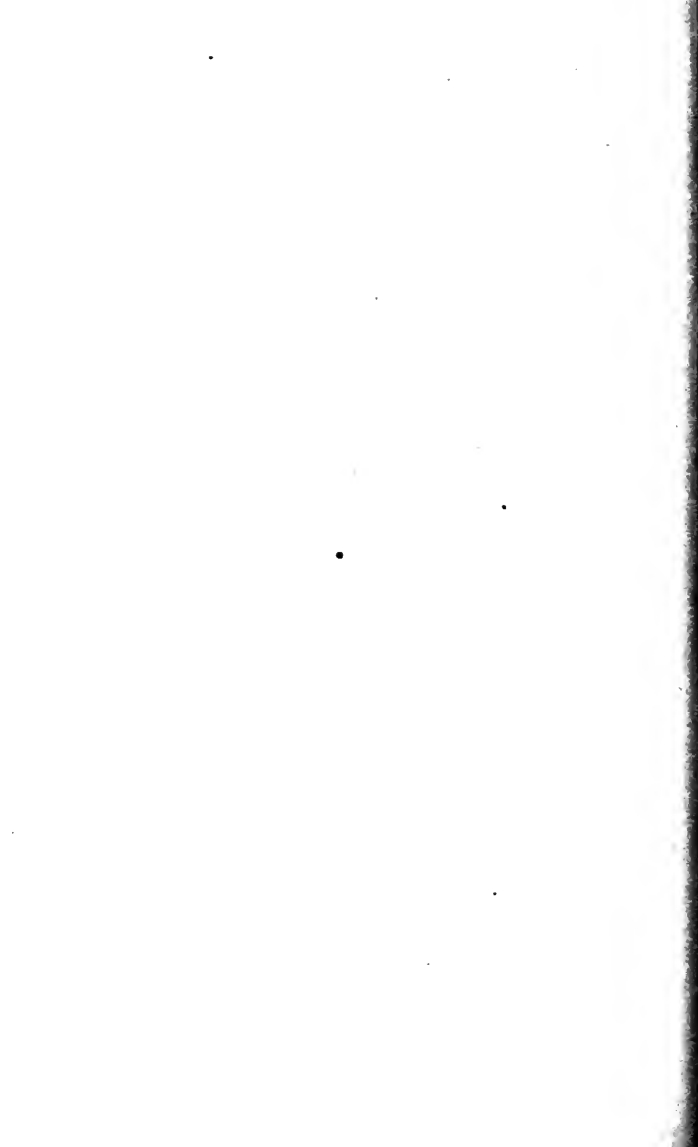
- 11 Τῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς Γερηνίας ὄρος Καλάθειον  
 ἐστίν· ἐν αὐτῷ Κλαίας ἱερόν καὶ σπήλαιον παρ'  
 αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔσοδον μὲν στενὴν, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον  
 παρεχόμενον θέας ἄξια. Γερηνίας δὲ ὡς ἐς  
 μεσόγαιαν ἄνω τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Ἀλα-  
 γονία, καὶ τὸ πόλισμα κατηρίθμησα ἤδη καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἐν Ἐλευθερολάκωσι· θέας δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια  
 Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερά.



practice at the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum, where they begin their hymns with Telephus but make no reference to Eurypylus, or care to mention his name in the temple at all, as they know that he was the slayer of Machaon. It is said that the bones of Machaon were brought home by Nestor, but that Podaleirius, as they were returning after the sack of Troy, was carried out of his course and reached Syrnus on the Carian mainland in safety and settled there.

In the territory of Gerenia is a mountain, Calathium; on it is a sanctuary of Claea with a cave close beside it; it has a narrow entrance, but contains objects which are worth seeing. Thirty stades inland from Gerenia is Alagonia, a town which I have already mentioned in the list of the Free Laconians. Worth seeing here are temples of Dionysus and of Artemis.

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BOOK IV—MESSENA

## ΜΕΣΣΗΝΙΑΚΑ

I. Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην τὴν ἀπονεμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὸ Λακωνικὸν ὄροι κατὰ τὴν Γερηνίαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν <ή> ὀνομαζομένη Χοίριος νάπη. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔρημον οὔσαν οὕτω σχεῖν τοὺς πρῶτους λέγουσιν οἰκήτορας· ἀποθανόντος Λέλεγος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ, τότε δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Πελεγία καλουμένη, Μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῶν παίδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερός τε ἦν ἡλικία καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἰδιώτης, ἐς ὃ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα τοῦ Φόρβαντος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα ἐξ

2 Ἄργους. φρονούσα δὲ ἡ Μεσσήνη διὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἀξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τῶν τότε προέχοντα Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἠξίου τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδιωτεύειν. ἀθροίσαντες δὲ ἕκ τε Ἄργους δύναμιν καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, καὶ συμπάση μὲν ἐτέθη τῇ γῆ Μεσσήνη τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Πολυκάωνος γυναικός, πόλεις δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἐκτίσθησαν καί—ἐνθα τὰ βασίλεια κατεσκευ-

3 ἴσθη σφίσιν—Ἀνδανία. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης, ἦν Θηβαῖοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις, καὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ, πόλιν οὐδεμίαν πω κληθῆναι πρότερον δοκῶ Μεσσήνην· εἰκάζω δὲ οὐχ ἦκιστα Ὅμηρου τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ κατα-

## BOOK IV

### MESSENIA

I. THE frontier between Messenia and that part of it which was incorporated by the emperor in Laconia towards Gerenia is formed in our time by the valley called Choerius. They say that this country, being unoccupied, received its first inhabitants in the following manner: On the death of Lelex, who ruled in the present Laconia, then called after him Lelegia, Myles, the elder of his sons, received the kingdom. Polycaon was the younger and for this reason a private person, until he took to wife Messene, the daughter of Triopas, son of Phorbas, from Argos. Messene, being proud of her origin, for her father was the chief of the Greeks of his day in reputation and power, was not content that her husband should be a private person. They collected a force from Argos and from Lacedaemon and came to this country, the whole land receiving the name Messene from the wife of Polycaon. Together with other cities, they founded Andania, where their palace was built. Before the battle which the Thebans fought with the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, and the foundation of the present city of Messene under Ithome, I think that no city had the name Messene. I base this conclusion principally on Homer's lines.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 591.

λόγῳ τῶν ἐς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένων Πύλον καὶ Ἀρήνην καὶ ἄλλας καταλέγων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν Μεσσήνην ἐκάλεσεν· ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ δὲ δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔθνος καὶ οὐ πόλιν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ὄντας,

μῆλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσηνιοὶ ἄνδρες ἄειραν,  
 4 σαφέστερον δὲ ἔτι περὶ τοῦ τόξου λέγων τοῦ Ἰφίτου

τὼ δ' ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοιιν οἴκῳ ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο.

τοῦ γὰρ Ὀρτιλόχου τὸν οἶκον ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πόλισμα εἶρηκε τὰς Φηράς, καὶ τότε ἐξηγήσατο αὐτὸς ἐν Πεισιστράτου παρὰ Μενέλαον ἀποδημία·

ἐς Φηράς δ' ἵκοντο Διοκλῆος ποτὶ δῶμα, υἱέος Ὀρτιλόχοιο.

5 πρῶτοι δ' οὖν βασιλευουσιν ἐν τῇ χῶρᾳ ταύτῃ Πολυκάων τε ὁ Λέλεγος καὶ Μεσσήνη γυνὴ τοῦ Πολυκάονος. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰ ὄργια κομίζων τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Καύκων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ὁ Κελαίνου τοῦ Φλύου. Φλύον δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις  
 6 ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα. τὴν δὲ τελετὴν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Καύκωνος προήγαγεν ἐς πλεον τιμῆς· καὶ Λύκου δρυμὸν ἔτι ὀνομάζουσιν ἔνθα ἐκάθηρε τοὺς μύστας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δρυμὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ Λύκου καλούμενος, Ῥιανῶ τῷ Κρητὶ ἐστὶ πεποιημένον

πάρ τε τρηχὺν Ἐλαιὸν ὑπὲρ δρυμὸν τε Λύκοιο·

## MESSENIAN, I. 3-6

In the catalogue of those who came to Troy he enumerated Pylos, Arene and other towns, but called no town Messene. In the *Odyssey* he shows that the Messenians were a tribe and not a city by the following:—

“For Messenian men carried away sheep from Ithaca.”<sup>1</sup>

He is still more clear when speaking about the bow of Iphitus:—

“They met one another in Messene in the dwelling of Ortilochus.”<sup>2</sup>

By the dwelling of Ortilochus he meant the city of Pherae in Messene, and explained this himself in the visit of Peisistratus to Menelaus:—

“They came to Pherae to the house of Diocleus, son of Ortilochus.”<sup>3</sup>

The first rulers then in this country were Polycaon, the son of Lelex, and Messene his wife. It was to her that Caucon, the son of Celaenus, son of Phlyus, brought the rites of the Great Goddesses from Eleusis. Phlyus himself is said by the Athenians to have been the son of Earth, and the hymn of Musaeus to Demeter made for the Lycomidae agrees. But the mysteries of the Great Goddesses were raised to greater honour many years later than Caucon by Lycus, the son of Pandion, an oak-wood, where he purified the celebrants, being still called Lycus' wood. That there is a wood in this land so called is stated by Rhianus the Cretan<sup>4</sup>:—

“By rugged Elaeum above Lycus' wood.”

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xxi. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, xxi. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, iii. 488.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 200.

7 ὡς δὲ ὁ Πανδίωνος οὗτος ἦν Λύκος, δηλοῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἔπη τῇ Μεθάπου. μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἔστιν ἅ· ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελεστής δὲ καὶ ὀργίων [καὶ] παντοίων συνθέτης. οὗτος καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν Καβείρων τὴν τελετὴν κατεστήσατο, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ κλίσιον τὸ Λυκομιδῶν εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλα τε λέγον καὶ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐς πίστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου·

8 ἤγγισα δ' Ἑρμείου δόμους <σεμνῆς> τε κέλευθα Δάματρος καὶ πρωτογόνου Κούρας, ὅθι φασὶ Μεσσήνην θείναι Μεγάλαισι θεαῖσιν ἀγῶνα Φλυάδεω κλεινοῖο γόνω Καύκωνι δαεῖσαν.<sup>1</sup>  
θαύμασα δ' ὡς σύμπαντα Λύκος Πανδιόνιος  
φῶς  
Ἀτθίδος ἱερὰ ἔργα παρ' Ἀνδανίῃ θέτο κεδνῇ.

9 τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ μὲν ὡς παρὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Καύκων ἀπόγονος ὦν Φλύου, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Λύκον <τά> τε ἄλλα καὶ ὡς ἡ τελετὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ. καί μοι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἐφαίνεται, τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ ἐτέρωθι, ἀλλὰ ἔνθα αὐτὴ τε καὶ Πολυκάων ὄκουν, καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν.

II. Πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνυ ἐβελήσας, οἵ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάωνι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης· ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἡοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναίθων καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὲν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένοι, ἀλλὰ Ἰλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαίχμῃ συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάωνα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς μεγάλας



That this Lycus was the son of Pandion is made clear by the lines on the statue of Methapus, who made certain improvements in the mysteries. Methapus was an Athenian by birth, an expert in the mysteries and founder of all kinds of rites. It was he who established the mysteries of the Cabiri at Thebes, and dedicated in the hut of the Lycomidae a statue with an inscription that amongst other things helps to confirm my account:—

“I sanctified houses of Hermes and paths of holy Demeter and Kore her firstborn, where they say that Messene established the feast of the Great Goddesses, taught by Caucon, sprung from Phlyus’ noble son. And I wondered that Lycus, son of Pandion, brought all the Attic rite to wise Andania.”

This inscription shows that Caucon who came to Messene was a descendant of Phlyus, and proves my other statements with regard to Lycus, and that the mysteries were originally at Andania. And it seems natural to me that Messene should have established the mysteries where she and Polycaon lived, not anywhere else.

II. As I was extremely anxious to learn what children were born to Polycaon by Messene, I read the poem called *Eoeae* and the epic *Naupactia*, and in addition to these all the genealogies of Cinaethon and Asius. However, they made no reference to this matter, although I know that the *Great Eoeae* says that Polycaon, the son of Butes, married

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<sup>1</sup> γόνφ Καύκωνι δαείσαν, Porson. γόνου Καυκωνιάδαο, cold.

- οἶδα Ἱοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ  
 2 τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσήνην παρεῖται σφισι. χρόνῳ  
 δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάονος οὐδεὶς ἔτι  
 ἀπογόνων, ἐς γενεὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προ-  
 ελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας, Περιήρην τὸν Αἰόλου  
 βασιλέα ἐπάγονται. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκετο, ὡς  
 οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι, Μελανεύς, τοξεύειν ἀνὴρ  
 ἀγαθὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι νομι-  
 ζόμενος· καὶ οἱ τῆς χώρας τὸ Καρνάσιον, τότε  
 δὲ Οἰχαλίαν κληθεῖσαν, ἀπένειμεν ὁ Περιήρης  
 ἐνοικῆσαι· γενέσθαι δὲ ὄνομα Οἰχαλίαν τῇ πόλει  
 3 φασὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελανέως τῆς γυναικός. Θεσ-  
 σαλοὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐβοεῖς, ἤκει γὰρ δὴ ἐς ἀμφί-  
 σβήτησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι <τὰ> πλείω, λέγουσιν  
 οἱ μὲν ὡς τὸ Εὐρύτιον—χωρίον δὲ ἔρημον ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶν ἐστι τὸ Εὐρύτιον—πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν  
 καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Οἰχαλία, τῷ δὲ Εὐβοέων λόγῳ  
 Κρεώφυλος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντα·  
 Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Σκίῳ μοῖρα τῆς  
 Ἐρετρικῆς ἔγραψεν εἶναι Οἰχαλίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὰ τε ἄλλα δοκοῦσί μοι μᾶλλον  
 εἰκότα ἐκείνων λέγειν καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα τῶν ὀστών  
 ἕνεκα τῶν Εὐρύτου, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτά που  
 <ὁ> λόγος ἐπέξεισί μοι.
- 4 Περιήρει δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφόνης τῆς  
 Περσέως Ἀφαρευς καὶ Λεύκιππος, καὶ ὡς ἀπέ-  
 θανε Περιήρης, ἔσχον οὗτοι τὴν Μεσσηνίων  
 ἀρχὴν· κυριώτερος δὲ ἔτι Ἀφαρευς ἦν. οὗτος  
 βασιλεύσας πόλιν ὤκισεν Ἀρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Οἰβάλου θυγατρὸς, αὐτοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς  
 καὶ ἀδελφῆς ὁμομητρίας. καὶ γὰρ Οἰβάλῳ  
 συνώκησε Γοργοφόνη, καὶ μοι δις ἤδη τὰ ἐς

Euaichme, the daughter of Hyllus, son of Heracles, but it omits all reference to the husband of Messene and to Messene herself. Some time later, as no descendant of Polycaon survived (in my opinion his house lasted for five generations, but no more), they summoned Perieres, the son of Aeolus, as king. To him, the Messenians say, came Melaneus, a good archer and considered for this reason to be a son of Apollo; Perieres assigned to him as a dwelling a part of the country now called the Carnasium, but which then received the name Oechalia, derived, as they say, from the wife of Melaneus. Most matters of Greek history have come to be disputed. The Thessalians say that Eurytium, which to-day is not inhabited, was formerly a city and was called Oechalia. The account given by the Euboeans agrees with the statements of Creophylus in his *Heracleia*; and Hecataeus of Miletus stated that Oechalia is in Scius, a part of the territory of Eretria. Nevertheless, I think that the whole version of the Messenians is more probable than these, particularly on account of the bones of Eurytus, which my story will deal with later.<sup>1</sup>

Perieres had issue by Gorgophone the daughter of Perseus, Aphareus and Leucippus, and after his death they inherited the Messenian kingdom. But Aphareus had the greater authority. On his accession he founded a city Arene, named after the daughter of Oebalus, who was both his wife and sister by the same mother. For Gorgophone was married to Oebalus. The facts regarding her have already

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. xxxiii. 5.

αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος ἔν τε τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδήλωσε καὶ  
 5 ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ συγγραφῇ. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀφαρεὺς  
 πόλιν τε ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ  
 Νηλέα τὸν Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ  
 ἐπὶ κλησιν, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ, φεύγοντα ἐξ  
 Ἰωλκοῦ Πελίαν ἐδέξατο οἴκῳ καὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ  
 ἔδωκε τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ, ἐν οἷς ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν  
 6 πόλεις καὶ ἡ Πύλος, ἔνθα καὶ ᾤκησε καὶ τὸ  
 βασιλείου κατεστήσατο ὁ Νηλεὺς. ἀφίκετο δὲ  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀρήνην καὶ Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ὅτε καὶ  
 αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἰγέα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφευγε·  
 καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπέδειξε τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Ἀφαρεῖ  
 καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀρήνῃ· ταῦτα δὲ  
 σφισιν ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ὅτι  
 καὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὁ Καύκων ἐμύησεν ἐνταῦθα.  
 7 Ἀφαρεῖ δὲ τῶν παίδων πρεσβύτερος μὲν καὶ  
 ἀνδρειότερος Ἴδας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Λυγκεύς, ὃν  
 ἔφη Πίνδαρος—ὄτῳ πιστά—οὕτως ὀξὺ ὄραν ὡς  
 καὶ διὰ στελέχους θεᾶσθαι δρυός. Λυγκεύς  
 μὲν δὴ παῖδα οὐκ ἴσμεν γενόμενον, Ἴδα δὲ  
 Κλεοπάτραν θυγατέρα ἐκ Μαρπήσσης, ἣ Με-  
 λεάγρῳ συνώκησεν. ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας  
 τὰ Κύπρια Πρωτεσιλάου φησὶν, ὃς ὅτε  
 κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἔσχον Ἕλληνες ἀποβῆναι  
 πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν  
 γυναῖκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ  
 Μελεάγρου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ Οἰνέως. εἰ τοίνυν  
 ἐστὶν ἀληθές, αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται τρεῖς οὖσαι τὸν  
 ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Μαρπήσσης ἀρξάμεναι προαποθα-  
 νοῦσι πᾶσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιw ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατέσφαξαν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀφαρέως παισὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 Διοσκούρους ἐγένετο ἀνεψιούς ὄντας μάχῃ περὶ

been given twice, in my account of the Argolid and of Laconia.<sup>1</sup> Aphareus then founded the city of Arene in Messenia, and received into his house his cousin Neleus the son of Cretheus, son of Aeolus (he was also called a son of Poseidon), when he was driven from Iolcos by Pelias. He gave him the maritime part of the land, where with other towns was Pylos, in which Neleus settled and established his palace. Lycus the son of Pandion also came to Arene, when he too was driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus, and revealed the rites of the Great Goddesses to Aphareus and his children and to his wife Arene; but it was to Andania that he brought the rites and revealed them there, as it was there that Caucon initiated Messene. Of the children born to Aphareus Idas was the elder and more brave, Lynceus the younger; he, if Pindar's words are credible,<sup>2</sup> possessed eyesight so keen that he saw through the trunk of an oak. We know of no child of Lynceus, but Idas had by Marpessa a daughter Cleopatra, who married Meleager. The writer of the epic *Cypria* says that the wife of Protesilaus, the first who dared to land when the Greeks reached Troy, was named Polydora, whom he calls a daughter of Meleager the son of Oeneus. If this is correct, these three women, the first of whom was Marpessa, all slew themselves on the death of their husbands.

III. After the fight about the cattle between the sons of Aphareus and their cousins the Dioscuri,

<sup>1</sup> II. xxi. 7; III. i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Nemean*, x. 61

τῶν βοῶν καὶ τὸν μὲν Πολυδεύκης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἴδαν δὲ ἐπέλαβε τὸ χρεῶν κεραυνωθέντα, ὁ μὲν Ἀφαρέως οἶκος γένους παντὸς ἠρήμωτο τοῦ ἄρρενος, ἐς δὲ Νέστορα τὸν Νηλέως περιῆλθε Μεσσηνίων ἢ ἀρχὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσων πρότερον ἐβασίλευεν Ἴδας, πλὴν ὅσοι τοῖς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παισὶν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουον. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας στρατεῦσαί φασιν ἐπ' Ἴλιον Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, Ἀρσινόης γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸν τῆς Λευκίππου καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Τρίκκαν τε καλοῦσιν ἔρημον ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον καὶ ἔπη τῶν Ὀμήρου καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς τὸν Μαχάονα ὁ Νέστωρ τῷ ὀιστῷ βεβλημένον περιέπων ἐστὶν εὐνοϊκῶς· οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτὸν <εἰ> μὴ ἐς γείτονα καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα ὁμοφύλων προθυμίαν τοσύνδε γε ἐπιδείξασθαι. οἱ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἤδη βεβαιοῦνται τὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας λόγον, ἀποφαίνοντες ἐν Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος μνῆμα καὶ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς τῶν Μαχάονος παίδων ἱερόν.

3 Διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον πολέμου καὶ Νέστωρος ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν οἴκαδε τελευτήσαντος, Δωριέων στόλος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ἡρακλειδῶν γενομένη δύο γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Νηλέως ἀπογόνους ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. καὶ μοι ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ προσθήκη τῷ ἐς Τισαμενόν· πλὴν τοσόνδε ἔτι δηλώσω. Τημένῳ τῶν Δωριέων Ἄργος ἐφέντων ἔχειν, Κρεσφόντης γῆν σφᾶς ἤπει τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἄτε καὶ

4 αὐτὸς Ἀριστοδήμου πρεσβύτερος. Ἀριστόδημος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη τεθνεώς, Θήρας δὲ ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦτο,

## MESSEZIA, III. 1-4

when Lynceus was killed by Polydeuces and Idas met his doom from the lightning, the house of Aphareus was bereft of all male descendants, and the kingdom of Messenia passed to Nestor the son of Neleus, including all the part ruled formerly by Idas, but not that subject to the sons of Asclepius. For they say that the sons of Asclepius who went to Troy were Messenians, Asclepius being the son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, not the son of Coronis, and they call a desolate spot in Messenia by the name Tricca and quote the lines of Homer,<sup>1</sup> in which Nestor tends Machaon kindly, when he has been wounded by the arrow. He would not have shown such readiness except to a neighbour and king of a kindred people. But the surest warrant for their account of the Asclepiadae is that they point to a tomb of Machaon in Gerenia and to the sanctuary of his sons at Pharae.

After the conclusion of the Trojan war and the death of Nestor after his return home, the Dorian expedition and return of the Heracleidae, which took place two generations later, drove the descendants of Nestor from Messenia. This has already formed a part of my account of Tisamenus.<sup>2</sup> I will only add the following: When the Dorians assigned Argos to Temenus, Cresphontes asked them for the land of Messenia, in that he was older than Aristodemus. Aristodemus was now dead, but Cresphontes was vigorously opposed by Theras the son of Autesion,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 596.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 18.

τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Θηβαῖός τε καὶ ἀπόγονος  
 πέμπτος Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ  
 ἐπετρόπευεν Ἀριστοδήμου τοὺς παῖδας θεῖος ὢν  
 πρὸς μητρός. Αὐτεσίωνος γὰρ θυγατέρα Ἀριστό-  
 δημος ἔγημεν ὄνομα Ἀργείαν. Κρεσφόντης δὲ  
 —γενέσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἤθελε τὴν Μεσσηνίαν πάντως  
 μοῖραν—Τημένου δεῖται, παρεσκευασμένος <δὲ>  
 5 τοῦτον τῷ κλήρῳ δῆθεν ἐφίησι. Τήμενος δὲ ἐς  
 ὑδρίαν, ἐνότος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατος, καθίησι  
 τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων καὶ Κρεσφόντου τοὺς  
 πάλους ἐπὶ δὴ εἰρημένοις μοῖραν αἰρεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> τῆς  
 χώρας προτέρους ὀποτέρων ἂν πάλος ἀνέλθῃ  
 πρότερον. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πάλους <γῆς> ὁ Τήμενος  
 ἐπεποίητο ἀμφοτέρους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀριστο-  
 δήμου παισὶ ξηρᾶς ὑπὸ ἡλίου, Κρεσφόντη δὲ  
 ὀπτῆς πυρί· ὃ τε δὴ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων  
 πάλος κατετέθηκτο καὶ ὁ Κρεσφόντης οὕτω  
 6 λαχὼν γῆν αἰρεῖται τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. Μεσ-  
 σηνίων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν  
 Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι  
 τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδά-  
 σασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν· ταῦτα δὲ  
 σφισιν εἴκειν παρίστατο ὑποψία πρὸς τοὺς βα-  
 σιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξ Ἴωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ  
 Νηλεῖδαι. γυναῖκα δὲ ἔσχε Κρεσφόντης Με-  
 ρόπην τὴν Κυψέλου, βασιλεύοντας τότε Ἀρκά-  
 δων, ἀφ' ἧς ἄλλοι τε δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ  
 7 καὶ νεώτατος Αἴπυτος· τὰ δὲ βασιλεία, ἐνθα  
 αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἔμελλον οἰκῆσειν, ὠκοδομή-  
 σατο ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ  
 βασιλεῖς οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Περιήρης ὤκουν ἐν  
 Ἄνδανίᾳ, κτίσαντος δὲ Ἀφαρέως Ἀρήνην αὐθις



who was of Theban origin and fourth in descent from Polyneices the son of Oedipus. He was at that time guardian of the sons of Aristodemus, being their uncle on the mother's side, Aristodemus having married a daughter of Autesion, called Argeia. Cresphontes, wishing to obtain Messenia as his portion at all costs, approached Temenus, and having suborned him pretended to leave the decision to the lot. Temenus put the lots of the children of Aristodemus and of Cresphontes into a jar containing water, the terms being that the party whose lot came up first should be the first to choose a portion of the country. Temenus had caused both lots to be made of clay, but for the sons of Aristodemus sun-dried, for Cresphontes baked with fire. So the lot of the sons of Aristodemus was dissolved, and Cresphontes, winning in this way, chose Messenia. The common people of the old Messenians were not dispossessed by the Dorians, but agreed to be ruled by Cresphontes and to divide the land with the Dorians. They were induced to give way to them in this by the suspicion which they felt for their rulers, as the Neleidae were originally of Iolcos. Cresphontes took to wife Merope the daughter of Cypselus, then king of the Arcadians, by whom with other children was born to him Aepytus his youngest. He had the palace, which he and his children were to occupy, built in Stenyclerus. Originally Perieres and the other kings dwelt at Andania, but when Aphareus founded

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<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ δὴ εἰρημένοις. Valckenaer. ἐπὶ διηρημένοις, codd. αἰρεῖσθαι, Valckenaer. ἀναίρεῖσθαι, codd.

- Ἄφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐνταῦθα ὤκησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ Νέστορος καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐν Πύλῳ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν· Κρεσφόντης δὲ ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τὸν βασιλέα οἰκεῖν κατεστήσατο. διοικούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτὸν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς  
 8 λοιπούς, ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος—παῖδα γὰρ ἔτι ὄντα ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος—περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην· συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων, οἳ τε Ἄριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Ἴσθμιος ὁ Τημένου. Αἴπυτος δὲ ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐτιμωρήσατο μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς φονέας, ἐτιμωρήσατο δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ φόνου παραίτιοι καθεστήκεσαν· προσ-αγόμενος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τέλει τῶν Μεσσηνίων θεραπείαις, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ δήμου, δωρεαῖς, ἐς τοσοῦτο προέβη τιμῆς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰπυτίδας ἀντὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κληθῆναι.
- 9 Γλαῦκῳ δὲ τῷ Αἰπυτου βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἴπυτον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξήρκεσε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἐν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας, εὐσεβείας δὲ ἐς πλεόν προέβη. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Ἰθώμης τέμενος, ἀνέντων Πολυκάονος καὶ Μεσσήνης, οὐκ ἔχον παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι πω τιμάς, Γλαῦκος ἦν ὁ καὶ τούτοις σέβειν καταστησάμενος· καὶ Μαχάουι τῷ Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρῶτος ἔθυσεν ἐν Γερηνίᾳ, γέρα δὲ ἀπένειμε Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Τριόπα τὰ νομιζόμενα ἤρωσιν. Ἴσθμιος δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν.
- 10

Arene, he and his sons settled there. In the time of Nestor and his descendants the palace was at Pylos, but Cresphontes ordained that the king should live in Stenyclerus. As his government for the most part was directed in favour of the people, the rich rebelled and killed Cresphontes and all his sons except Aepytus. He was still a boy and being brought up by Cypselus, and was the sole survivor of his house. When he reached manhood, he was brought back by the Arcadians to Messene, the other Dorian kings, the sons of Aristodemus and Isthmius, the son of Temenus, helping to restore him. On becoming king, Aepytus punished his father's murderers and all who had been accessories to the crime. By winning the Messenian nobles to his side by deference, and all who were of the people by gifts, he attained to such honour that his descendants were given the name of Aepytidae instead of Heracleidae.

Glaucus, his son and successor, was content to imitate his father in all other matters, both publicly and in his treatment of individuals, but attained to greater piety. For the precinct of Zeus on the summit of Ithome, having been consecrated by Polycaon and Messene, had hitherto received no honour among the Dorians, and it was Glaucus who established this worship among them; and he was the first to sacrifice to Machaon the son of Asclepius in Gerenia, and to assign to Messene, the daughter of Triopas, the honours customarily paid to heroes. Isthmius the son of Glaucus built a shrine also to Gorgasus and Nicomachus which is in Pharae.

Ισθμίου δὲ γίνεται Δωτάδας, ὃς ἐπίνεια καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Μεσσηνίας παρεχομένης τὸ ἐν Μοθώνῃ κατεσκευάσατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμίσῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον θύειν τὸν βασιλεύοντα καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τῷ Μελανέως ἐναγίζειν ἐν Οἰχαλίᾳ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἀγομένης ἔτι ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ.

IV. Ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσηνιοὶ τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι· τὸ δὲ σφισιν ἄσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναί τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορὰ πρῶτον, ἀπὸ αἰτίας ἀμφισβητουμένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης, γενέσθαι δὲ οὕτω λεγομένης. ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἳ τε Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτὰς τε βιάσαιντο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείνειεν πειρώμενον κωλύειν, Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβῶτα τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγιδος, πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις τὰς βιασθείσας τῶν παρθένων διεργάσασθαι λέγουσιν αὐτὰς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης· Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ κατὰ ἀξίωμα, τούτοις φασὶν ἐπιβουλεύσαι Τήλεκλον, αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν ὅποσοι πω γένεια οὐκ

Isthmius had a son Dotadas, who constructed the harbour at Mothone, though Messenia contained others. Sybotas the son of Dotadas established the annual sacrifice by the king to the river Pamisus and also the offering to the hero Eurytus the son of Melaneus at Oechalia before the mysteries of the great Goddesses, which were still held at Andania.

IV. In the reign of Phintas the son of Sybotas the Messenians for the first time sent an offering and chorus of men to Apollo at Delos. Their processional hymn to the god was composed by Eumelus, this poem being the only one of his that is considered genuine. It was in the reign of Phintas that a quarrel first took place with the Lacedaemonians. The very cause is disputed, but is said to have been as follows: There is a sanctuary of Artemis called Limnatis (*of the Lake*) on the frontier of Messenia, in which the Messenians and the Lacedaemonians alone of the Dorians shared. According to the Lacedaemonians their maidens coming to the festival were violated by Messenian men and their king was killed in trying to prevent it. He was Teleclus the son of Archelaus, son of Agesilaus, son of Doryssus, son of Labotas, son of Echestratus, son of Agis. In addition to this they say that the maidens who were violated killed themselves for shame. The Messenians say that a plot was formed by Teleclus against persons of the highest rank in Messene who had come to the sanctuary, his incentive being the excellence of the Messenian land; in furtherance of his design he selected some Spartan youths, all

εἶχον, τούτους δὲ ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυόμενοις τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, δόντα ἐγχειρίδια· καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τοὺς τε ἀγενεῖους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι Τηλέκλον, Λακεδαιμονίους δέ—οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλευσαί σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα—συνειδότας ὡς ἄρξαιεν ἀδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφᾶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτῆσαι. ταῦτα μὲν ἑκάτεροι λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς ἑτέρους σπουδῆς.

- 4 Γενεᾷ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος, Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τῶν Φίντα, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἐξήρθη τὸ ἐς ἀλλήλους μῖσος· καὶ ἦρξαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πόλεμον, ἐπιγενομένης ἀφορμῆς σφισιν ἐθελέχθρως μὲν ἔχουσι καὶ πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἐγνωκόσιν οὐ μόνον ἀποχρώσης ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐπροσώπου, μετὰ δὲ εἰρημικωτέρας γνώμης κἂν διελύθη δικαστηρίου γνώσει. τὰ δὲ συμβάντα ἔσχευ οὕτω.
- 5 Πολυχάρης Μεσσηνίος τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανῆς καὶ νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνηρημένος—τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἦγον Ἡλείοι καὶ ἀγώνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον, ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησεν—τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐγένοντο βούς· καί—οὐ γὰρ ἐκέκτητο ἰδίαν γῆν ὡς νομὰς ταῖς βουσίην ἰκανὰς εἶναι—Σπαρτιάτῃ σφᾶς δίδωσιν Εὐαίφνω βό-

## MESSEZIA, iv. 3-5

without beards, dressed them in girls' clothes and ornaments, and providing them with daggers introduced them among the Messenians when they were resting; the Messenians, in defending themselves, killed the beardless youths and Teleclus himself; but the Lacedaemonians, they say, whose king did not plan this without the general consent, being conscious that they had begun the wrong, did not demand justice for the murder of Teleclus. These are the accounts given by the two sides; one may believe them according to one's feelings towards either side.

A generation later in the reign of Alcamenes the son of Teleclus in Lacedaemon—the king of the other house was Theopompus the son of Nicander, son of Charillus, son of Polydectes, son of Eunomus, son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon; in Messenia Antiochus and Androcles, the sons of Phintas were reigning—the mutual hatred of the Lacedaemonians and Messenians was aroused, and the Lacedaemonians began war, obtaining a pretext which was not only sufficient for them, eager for a quarrel as they were and resolved on war at all costs, but also plausible in the highest degree, although with a more peaceful disposition it could have been settled by the decision of a court. What happened was as follows. There was a Messenian Polychares, a man of no small distinction in all respects and an Olympic victor. (The Eleians were holding the fourth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> the only event being the short foot-race, when Polychares won his victory.) This man, possessing cattle without land of his own to provide them with sufficient grazing, gave them to a Spartan Euaephnus

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 764.

- σκεσθαί τε ἐν ἐκείνου καὶ μοῖραν εἶναι καὶ  
 6 Εὐαίφνω τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν βοῶν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα  
 τοιόσδε τις ὁ Εὐαίφνος, κέρδη τε ἄδικα ἐπί-  
 προσθεν ἢ πιστὸς εἶναι ποιούμενος καὶ ἄλλως  
 αἰμύλος· ὃς καὶ τότε καταπλεύσασιν ἐς τὴν  
 Λακωνικὴν ἐμπόροις ἀποδόμενος βούς τὰς Πολυ-  
 χάρους ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ὡς Πολυχάρην ἄγγελος,  
 ἐλθὼν δὲ ἀποβάντας ἔλεγεν ἐς τὴν χώραν  
 ληστὰς καὶ βιασαμένους αὐτὸν λείαν βούς τε  
 ἄγεσθαι καὶ βουκόλους. ἕως δὲ οὗτος παρέ-  
 πειθεν, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις βουκόλων ἀποδιδράσκει  
 τοὺς ἐμπόρους, ἐπανήκων δὲ καταλαμβάνει τε  
 αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη τὸν Εὐαίφνον καὶ  
 7 Πολυχάρους ἐναντίον ἤλεγχεν. ἀλισκόμενος δὲ  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπαρνήσασθαι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸν  
 Πολυχάρην, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν  
 παῖδα ἰκέτευε νεῖμαί οἱ συγγνώμην· ἐν γὰρ τῇ  
 ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει καὶ ἄλλων ἐνότων, ἐφ' οἷς  
 βιαζόμεθα ἄδικοι γίνεσθαι, τὰ κέρδη μεγίστην  
 ἀνάγκην ἔχειν· τιμὴν δὲ ἦντινα εἰλήφει τῶν  
 βοῶν, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἡξίου  
 τὸν Πολυχάρους ἔπεσθαί οἱ κομιούμενον. ὡς  
 δὲ προϊόντες ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, ἔργον  
 ἐτόλμησεν Εὐαίφνος ἀνοσιώτερον τοῦ προτέρου·  
 8 φονεύει τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν υἱόν. ὁ δὲ ὡς καὶ  
 ταῦτα ἔγνω πεπονθῶς, φοιτῶν ἐς τὴν Λακε-  
 δαίμονα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις δι'  
 ὄχλου, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν παῖδα ἀνακλαίων, κατα-  
 ριθμούμενος δὲ οἷα ὑπὸ Εὐαίφνου πεπονθῶς ἦν,  
 ὃν αὐτὸς ξένον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπίστευσεν. ὡς δὲ οἱ συνεχῶς  
 ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐδεμία ἐγίνετο τιμωρία,



## MESSENA, iv. 5-8

to feed on his own land, Euaephus to have a share of the produce. Now Euaephus was a man who set unjust gain above loyalty, and a trickster besides. He sold the cattle of Polychares to some merchants who put in to Laconia, and went himself to inform Polychares; but he said that pirates had landed in the country, had overcome him and carried off the cattle and the herdsmen. While he was trying to deceive him by his lies, one of the herdsmen, escaping in the meantime from the merchants, returned and found Euaephus there with his master, and convicted him before Polychares. Thus caught and unable to deny it, he made many appeals to Polychares himself and to his son to grant him pardon; for among the many inducements to be found in human nature which drive us to wrongdoing the love of gain exercises the greatest power. He stated the price which he had received for the cattle and begged that the son of Polychares should come with him to receive it. When on their way they reached Laconia, Euaephus dared a deed more impious than the first; he murdered Polychares' son. Polychares, when he heard of this new misfortune, went to Lacedaemon and plagued the kings and ephors, loudly lamenting his son and recounting the wrongs that he had suffered from Euaephus, whom he had made his friend and trusted above all the Lacedaemonians. Obtaining no redress in spite of

ἐνταῦθα παρετράπη τε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἅτε ἔχων ἀφειδῶς ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ, πάντα τινὰ ὄν λάβοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτόλμα φονεύειν.

V. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ Πολυχάρους τε ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος σφίσι καὶ διὰ τὸν Τηλέκλου φόνον, καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα ἐς τὸν κλῆρον, πολεμῆσαι λέγουσι. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ περὶ Τηλέκλου ἀντιλέγουσι τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι καὶ Αἴπυτον τὸν Κρεσφόντου συγκαταχθέντα ἀποφαίνουσιν ὑπὸ Ἄριστοδήμου τῶν παίδων, ὃ μῆποτ' ἂν ποιῆσαι σφᾶς Κρεσφόντη γε ὄντας  
 2 διαφόρους. Πολυχάρην δὲ ἐκδοῦναι μὲν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐ φασιν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν Εὐραιφνον, ἐθέλειν μέντοι παρὰ Ἄργείοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἄμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας, ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίῳ, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ὅτι δίκας τὰς φονικὰς τὸ δικαστήριον  
 3 τοῦτο ἐδόκει δικάζειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμῆσαί φασιν, ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἄλλα ἐργάσασθαι, προφέροντες μὲν σφίσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων, προφέροντες δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀργείων, ὡς οὐποτε ἐσχήκασι κόρον ἀποτεμνόμενοι τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ τι ἐκατέρων. Κροίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δῶρα ἀποστείλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρῳ πρώτους, ἀφ' οὐ γε τούς τε ἄλλους τούς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεδουλώσατο Ἑλληνας καὶ ὅσοι Δωριεῖς ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ  
 4 κατοικοῦσιν ἠπειρῳ. ἀποφαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ἠνίκα

continual visits to the authorities, Polychares at last was driven out of his mind, gave way to his rage, and, regardless of himself, dared to murder every Lacedaemonian whom he could capture.

V. The Lacedaemonians say that they went to war because Polychares was not surrendered to them, and on account of the murder of Teleclus; even before this they had been suspicious on account of the wrongdoing of Cresphontes in the matter of the lot. The Messenians make the reply that I have already given with regard to Teleclus, and point to the fact that the sons of Aristodemus helped to restore Aepytus the son of Cresphontes, which they would never have done if they had been at variance with Cresphontes. They say that they did not surrender Polychares to the Lacedaemonians for punishment because they also had not surrendered Euaephnus, but that they offered to stand trial at the meeting of the league before the Argives, kinsmen of both parties, and to submit the matter to the court at Athens called the Areopagus, as this court was held to exercise an ancient jurisdiction in cases pertaining to murder. They say that these were not the reasons of the Lacedaemonians in going to war, but that they had formed designs on their country through covetousness, as in others of their actions, bringing forward against them their treatment of the Arcadians and of the Argives; for in both cases they have never been satisfied with their continual encroachments. When Croesus sent them presents they were the first to become friends with the barbarian, after he had reduced the other Greeks of Asia Minor and all the Dorians who live on the Carian mainland. They point out too that

οἱ Φωκέων δυνάσται τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς  
κατειλήφασιν, ἰδίᾳ τε κατὰ ἄνδρα τοὺς βασι-  
λεύοντας ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπ'  
ἀξιώματος καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τε ἐφόρων τὴν ἀρχὴν  
καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν μετασχόντας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.  
πρὸ τε δὴ πάντων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
μονίους κέρδους ἔνεκα ὀκνήσαντας, τὴν συμμα-  
χίαν ὄνειδίζουσί σφισι <τὴν> πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον  
5 τὸν ἐν Κασσανδρεία τυραννήσαντα. ἀνθ' ὅτου  
δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ τὸ ὄνειδος ἤγηνται τοῦτο οὕτω  
πικρόν, οὐ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ παρόντι ἦν ἐπι-  
εισάγεσθαι· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ  
εὐψυχον καὶ χρόνου μῆκος ὃν ἐπολέμησαν  
διάφορα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου τυραννίδος,  
ἔς γε τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ πολλῶ τιμι ἀποδέοι <ἂν>  
ἢ οἱ Κασσανδρεῖς πεπόνθασι.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αἷτια ἑκάτεροι τοῦ πολέμου  
γενέσθαι λέγουσι· τότε δὲ πρεσβεῖα Λακεδαι-  
μονίων ἤκουσα ἐξήτει Πολυχάρην. οἱ δὲ τῶν  
Μεσσηνίων βασιλεῖς τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπε-  
κρίναντο ὅτι βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰ  
δόξαντα ἐπιστελοῦσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ  
ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς πολίτας  
συνήγον. αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι διάφοροι παρὰ πολὺ  
ἐγίνοντο, Ἀνδροκλέους μὲν ἐκδιδόναι Πολυχάρην  
ὡς ἀνόσιά τε καὶ πέρα δεινῶν εἰργασμένον·  
Ἀντίοχος δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντέλεγε καὶ τὸ ἀπάντων  
οἴκτιστον, εἰ Πολυχάρης ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πείσεται  
τοῖς Εὐαίφνου, καταριθμούμενος ὅσα καὶ οἷα ἦν  
7 ἀνάγκη παθεῖν. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο προη-  
χθησαν οἱ τε Ἀνδροκλεῖ καὶ οἱ τῷ Ἀντίῳχω  
συσπεύδοντες ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔλαβον. οὐ  
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when the Phocian leaders had seized the temple at Delphi, the kings and every Spartan of repute privately, and the board of ephors and senate publicly, had a share of the god's property. As the most convincing proof that the Lacedaemonians would stick at nothing for the sake of gain, they reproach them with their alliance with Apollodorus, who became tyrant in Cassandreia. I could not introduce into the present account the reasons why the Messenians have come to regard this as so bitter a reproach. Although the courage of the Messenians and the length of time for which they fought differ from the facts of the tyranny of Apollodorus, in their disastrous character the sufferings of the people of Cassandreia would not fall far short of the Messenian.

These then are the reasons for the war which the two sides allege. An embassy then came from the Lacedaemonians to demand the surrender of Polychares. The Messenian kings replied to the ambassadors that after deliberation with the people they would send the findings to Sparta; and after their departure they themselves summoned the citizens to a meeting. The views put forward differed widely, Androcles urging the surrender of Polychares as guilty of an impious and abominable crime. Antiochus among other arguments urged against him that it would be the most piteous thing that Polychares should suffer before the eyes of Euaephnus, and enumerated in detail all that he would have to undergo. Finally the supporters of Androcles and of Antiochus were so carried away that they took up

μὴν ἐς μακρὰν γε προῆλθέ σφισιν ἢ μάχη·  
περιόντες γὰρ ἀριθμῶ καὶ πολὺ οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ  
τὸν τε Ἀνδροκλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγους  
μάλιστα ἀξίους ἀποκτείνουσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ  
βασιλεύων ἤδη μόνος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς  
ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἃ ἤδη  
λέλεκταί μοι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ λέγονται τοῖς  
κομίσασσι τὰ γράμματα ἀποκρίνασθαι.

- 8 Μησὶ δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου τελευ-  
τήσαντος Εὐφαῆς ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν  
ἀρχήν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε κήρυκα ἀποστέλ-  
λουσι προερούντα Μεσσηνίοις πόλεμον οὔτε  
προαπειπάμενοι τὴν φιλίαν, κρύφα δὲ καὶ  
μάλιστα ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρα-  
σκευασάμενοι, προομνύουσιν ὄρκον μήτε τοῦ  
πολέμου μῆκος, ἢν μὴ δι' ὀλίγου κριθῆ, μήτε  
τὰς συμφορὰς, εἰ μεγάλαι πολεμοῦσι γένοιτο,  
ἀποστρέψειν σφᾶς πρὶν ἢ κτήσαιντο χώραν τὴν  
9 Μεσσηνίαν δοριάλωτον. ταῦτα προομόσαντες  
ἔξοδον νύκτωρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἄμφειαν, Ἀλκα-  
μένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνα  
ἀποδείξαντες. ἢ δὲ Ἄμφεια πρὸς τῇ Λακω-  
νικῇ πόλισμα ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, μεγέθει μὲν  
οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ λόφου δὲ ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, καὶ  
ὑδάτων πηγὰς εἶχεν ἀφθόρους· ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλως ἐς τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὀρμητήριόν σφισιν  
ἐπιτήδειον ἢ Ἄμφεια εἶναι. καὶ τό τε πόλισμα  
αἰροῦσι πυλῶν ἀνεωγμένων καὶ φυλακῆς οὐκ  
ἐνούσης καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοὺς ἐγκαταλη-  
φθέντας φονεύουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς,  
τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἤσθοντο πρὸς τε ἱερὰ θεῶν καὶ βωμοὺς  
καθημένους ἰκέτας· ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες

## MESSENA, v. 7-9

arms. But the battle did not last long, for the party of Antiochus, far outnumbering the other, killed Androcles and his principal supporters, Antiochus, now sole king, sent to Sparta that he was ready to submit the matter to the courts which I have already mentioned. But the Lacedaemonians are said to have made no reply to the bearers of the letter.

Not many months later Antiochus died and his son Euphaes succeeded to the kingdom. The Lacedaemonians, without sending a herald to declare war on the Messenians or renouncing their friendship beforehand, had made their preparations secretly and with all the concealment possible; they first took an oath that neither the length of the war, should it not be decided soon, nor their disasters, however great they might be, would deter them until they won the land of Messenia by the sword. After taking this oath, they attacked Ampheia by night, appointing Alcamenes the son of Teleclus leader of the force. Ampheia is a small town in Messenia near the Laconian border, of no great size, but situated on a high hill and possessing copious springs of water. It seemed generally a suitable base for the whole war. The gates being open and the town not garrisoned, they took it and killed the Messenians captured there, some still in their beds and others who had taken refuge at the sanctuaries and altars of the gods when they realized what had happened. Those who escaped were few. This was the first

10 ἐγένοντο. ταύτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρώτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποίησαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Ξενοδόκος Μεσσήνιος ἐνίκα στάδιον. Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν πω τότε οἱ τῷ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλουμένους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν ἐς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἰσιμίδης Ἀθηναίους ἦρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλου πέμπτον ἔτος.

VI. Πρὶν δὲ ἢ συγγράφειν με τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅποσα πολεμοῦσιν ἑκατέροις ὁ δαίμων παθεῖν ἢ δρᾶσαι παρεσκεύασε, διακρίναι τι καὶ ἡλικίας [ἔργα] πέρι ἠθέλησα ἀνδρὸς Μεσσηνίου. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον τοῦτον γενόμενον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους, ὀνομασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὥσπερ γε ὁ Μηδικὸς καὶ ὁ Πελοποννήσιος, Μεσσήμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ κληθῆναι Τρωικὸν καὶ οὐχ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐξενίκησεν, τοῦτον [γὰρ] τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ῥιανὸς τε ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ Βηναῖος καὶ ὁ Πριηνεὺς Μύρων· λόγοι δὲ πεζοὶ Μύρωνός ἐστιν ἡ συγγραφή.

2 συνεχῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τελευταίην οὐδετέρῳ διήνυσται· μέρος δὲ ὧ ἑκάτερος ἠρέσκετο, ὁ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν οὐ πρόσω

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 743.

<sup>2</sup> Myron of Priene is of unknown date. Rhianus of Bene



attack which the Lacedaemonians made on the Messenians, in the second year of the ninth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> when Xenodocus of Messenia won the short foot-race. In Athens there were not as yet the archons appointed annually by lot; for at first the people deprived the descendants of Melanthus, called Medontidae, of most of their power, transforming the kingship into a constitutional office; afterwards they limited their tenure of office to ten years. At the time of the seizure of Ampheia, Aesimides the son of Aeschylus was holding his fifth year of office at Athens.

VI. Before I wrote the history of the war and all the sufferings and actions that heaven prepared in it for both sides, I wished to reach a decision regarding the age of a certain Messenian. This war was fought between the Lacedaemonians with their allies and the Messenians with their supporters, but received its name not from the invaders like the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, but was called Messenian from their disasters, just as the name Trojan war, rather than Greek, came to be universally applied to the war at Troy. An account of this war of the Messenians has been given by Rhianus of Bene in his epic, and by Myron of Priene.<sup>2</sup> Myron's history is in prose. Neither writer achieved a complete and continuous account of the whole war from its beginning to the end, but only of the part which each selected: Myron narrated the capture of Ampheia and subsequent events down to the death

in Crete was of the third century B.C., a Homeric scholar and the author of various works of a mythological and quasi-historical character. Besides his *Messenica*, largely used by the author in the present account, we hear of his *Heracleia*, *Achaica*, *Eliaca*, and *Thessalica*.

τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς, Ῥιανὸς δὲ τοῦδε μὲν  
 τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολέμων οὐδὲ ἤψατο ἀρχήν·  
 ὅποσα δὲ χρόνῳ συνέβη τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποστᾶ-  
 σιν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ  
 τὰ πάντα ἔγραψε, τῆς μάχης δὲ τὰ ὕστερα ἦν  
 3 ἄνδρα οὖν Μεσσήμιον—τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἕνεκα  
 τὸν πάντα ἐποίησάμην Ῥιανοῦ καὶ Μύρωνος  
 λόγον—Ἀριστομένην, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μά-  
 λιστα το Μεσσήνης ὄνομα ἐς ἀξίωμα προήγαγε,  
 τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐς  
 τὴν συγγραφὴν, Ῥιανῶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν οὐδὲν  
 Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν  
 Ἰλιάδι Ὀμήρῳ. διάφορα οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον  
 εἰρηκότων, προσέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἕτερόν μοι τῶν  
 λόγων καὶ οὐχ ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους ὑπελείπετο,  
 Ῥιανὸς δέ μοι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα  
 4 ἐς τὴν Ἀριστομένους ἡλικίαν· Μύρωνα δὲ ἐπί-  
 τε ἄλλοις καταμαθεῖν ἐστὶν οὐ προορώμενον εἰ  
 ψευδῆ τε καὶ οὐ πιθανὰ δόξει λέγειν καὶ οὐχ  
 ἦκιστα ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφῇ. πεποίηκε  
 γὰρ ὡς ἀποκτείνειε Θεόπομπον τῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστομένης ὀλίγον πρὸ  
 τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς· Θεόπομπον δὲ οὔτε  
 μάχης γινομένης οὔτε ἄλλως προαποθανόντα  
 5 ἴσμεν πρὶν ἢ διαπολεμηθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον. οὗτος  
 δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρασ ἐπιθεὶς τῷ  
 πολέμῳ· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν  
 Ἰγυρταίου λέγοντα

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆι θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,  
 ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἴλομεν εὐρύχορον.

of Aristodemus; Rhianus did not touch this first war at all. He described the events that in time befell the Messenians after their revolt from the Lacedaemonians, not indeed the whole of them, but those subsequent to the battle which they fought at the *Great Trench*, as it is called. The Messenian, Aristomenes, on whose account I have made my whole mention of Rhianus and Myron, was the man who first and foremost raised the name of Messene to renown. He was introduced by Myron into his history, while to Rhianus in his epic Aristomenes is as great a man as is the Achilles of the *Iliad* to Homer. As their statements differ so widely, it remained for me to adopt one or other of the accounts, but not both together, and Rhianus appeared to me to have given the more probable account as to the age of Aristomenes. One may realize in others of his works that Myron gives no heed to the question of his statements seeming to lack truth and credibility, and particularly in this Messenian history. For he has made Aristomenes kill Theopompus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, shortly before the death of Aristodemus; but we know that Theopompus was not killed either in battle or in any other way before the war was concluded. It was this Theopompus who put an end to the war, and my evidence is the lines of Tyrtaeus, which say:—

“To our king beloved of the gods, Theopompus,  
through whom we took Messene with wide  
dancing-grounds.”

ὁ τοίνυν Ἀριστομένης δόξη γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου· καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴν ἐς τοῦτο ὁ λόγος ἀφίκηται, τηρικαῦτα ἐπέξειμι.

- 6 Οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ τότε, ὡς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφειαν ἤκουον παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποσωθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως, συνελέγοντο ἐς Στενύκληρον ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς παρεκελεύετο μῆτε τῆς Ἀμφείας καταπεπληχθαι τὴν πόρθησιν, ὡς τὸν πάντα ἤδη κεκριμένον δι' αὐτῆς πόλεμον, μῆτε ὡς τῆς σφετέρας κρείσσονα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δεδοικέναι τὴν παρασκευήν· μελέτην μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ χρόνου πλείονος, σφίσι δὲ εἶναι τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἰσχυροτέραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐμενέστερον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδικίας ἄρχουσιν.
- VII. Τοιαῦτα ὁ Εὐφάης εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάντας ἔσχεν ἤδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐν ὅπλοις, τοὺς τε οὐκ εἰδότας ἐπαναγκάζων διδάσκεσθαι τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐπιμελεστέραν ἢ πρότερον τὴν ἄσκησιν εἶναι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν οὐκ ἐλυμαίνοντο ἅτε δὴ νομίζοντες οἰκείαν οὐδὲ δένδρα ἔκοπτον οὐδὲ οἰκήματα κατέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ λείαν εἰ περιτύχοιεν ἤλαυνον καὶ σῖτον καὶ
- 2 τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν ἀφηροῦντο. πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις ποιούμενοι προσβολὰς εἶλον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἅτε καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχυρωμένας καὶ δι' ἀκριβείας φρουρουμένας, λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀπεχώ-

Aristomenes then in my view belongs to the time of the second war, and I will relate his history when I come to this.

The Messenians, when they heard of the events at Ampheia from the actual survivors from the captured town, mustered in Stenyclerus from their cities. When the people had gathered in the assembly, first the leading men and finally the king exhorted them not to be panic-stricken at the sack of Ampheia, or to suppose that the issue of the whole war had already been decided thereby, or to be afraid of the power of the Lacedaemonians as superior to their own. For the Lacedaemonians had longer practice in warfare, but they themselves had a stronger necessity to show themselves brave men, and greater goodwill would be shown by the gods to men defending their country, who were not the authors of injustice. VII. With these words Euphaes dismissed the gathering, and henceforward kept all the Messenians under arms, compelling the untrained to learn the art of war and the trained men to undergo a more rigorous discipline than before. The Lacedaemonians carried out raids into Messenia, but did no harm to the country, regarding it as their own, nor did they cut down trees or demolish buildings, but they drove off any cattle that they met with, and carried off the corn and other produce. They made assaults on the towns but captured none, as they were fortified with walls and carefully garrisoned. They withdrew with loss and without

ρουν ἄπρακτοι καὶ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι ἀπεπει-  
 ρῶντο τῶν πόλεων. ἐλήστευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσ-  
 σήνιοι τά τε ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ  
 ὅσαι γεωργίαι περὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ἦσαν.

- 3 Τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν  
 Εὐφαῆς τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσασθαι τῷ Μεσσηνίων  
 προθυμούμενος ἀκμαζόντων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἄσκησιν ἤδη  
 σφίσιν αὐτάρκη νομίζων εἶναι, προεῖπεν ἔξοδον  
 συνακολουθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας προσέτασσε  
 φέροντας ξύλα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς  
 ποίησιν χαρακώματος. ἐπυθάνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρῶν  
 τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐξιώντας· ἐξεστρατεύοντο οὖν  
 4 καὶ οὗτοι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον  
 ἄλλως μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐπιτήδειον, χαράδρα δὲ  
 προεβέβλητο αὐτοῦ βαθεῖα· ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μεσ-  
 σηνίους παρέτασσε ὁ Εὐφαῆς, ἀποδείξας στρα-  
 τηγὸν Κλέονιν· τῆς δὲ ἵππου καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, οἱ  
 συναμφότεροι ἐλάσσους πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, τού-  
 5 των Πυθάρατος καὶ Ἀντανδρος ἡγούντο. ὡς δὲ  
 συνῆει τὰ στρατόπεδα, τοῖς μὲν ὀπλίταις καὶ  
 ἀφειδῶς ὅμως καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ μίσους  
 φερομένοις ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐ παρέσχεν ἐλθεῖν ἐς  
 χεῖρας ἢ χαράδρα διείργουσα· τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν καὶ  
 οἱ ψιλοὶ συμμίσγουσι μὲν κατὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 χαράδραν, ἦσαν δὲ οὔτε πλήθος οὔτε ἐμπειρία  
 διαφέροντες οὐδέτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰσόρροπος  
 6 ἡ μάχη σφίσιν ἐγένετο. <ἐν><sup>1</sup> ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτοι συνε-  
 στήκασιν, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευεν ὁ  
 Εὐφαῆς πρῶτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ νῶτον τοῦ στρατο-

<sup>1</sup> ἐν add. Facius.

effecting anything, and finally gave up attempting the towns. The Messenians also ravaged the Lacedaemonian coast and all the cultivated land round Taygetos.

Three years after the capture of Ampheia, being eager to put to use the spirit of the Messenians, now at the height of their passion against the Lacedaemonians, and considering too that they had undergone sufficient training, Euphaes ordered an advance. He bade the slaves also accompany him, bringing wood and all else that was required for the making of an entrenched camp. The Lacedaemonians heard from their garrison at Ampheia that the Messenians were marching out, so they also came out to battle. There was a place in Messenia which was in other ways suitable for an engagement, but had a deep ravine in front of it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians and appointed Cleonnis general; the cavalry and light-armed, together amounting to less than 500, were commanded by Pytharatus and Antander. As the two forces were about to engage, the ravine which divided them prevented the heavy-armed from coming to close quarters, though they approached one another eagerly and with a recklessness born of hate. The cavalry and light-armed engaged above the ravine, but as they were equally matched in numbers and skill, for this reason the fight was indecisive. While they were involved, Euphaes ordered the slaves to fortify with a palisade first the rear of his force and

πέδου φράξασθαι τοῖς σταυροῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἑμφότερα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦ τε νύξ ἐπέλαβε καὶ ἡ μάχη διελέλυτο, τότε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐφράξαντο, ὥστε ἐπισχούσης ἡμέρας τῆς τε προνοίας τοῦ Εὐφαιῶς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιπίπτει λογισμὸς εἶχόν τε οὔτε ὅπως μάχεσθαι χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μὴ προϊόντας ἐκ τοῦ χίρακος προσκαθῆσθαι τε ἀπεγίνωσκον ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὄντες.

- 7 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀποχωροῦσιν οἴκαδε, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον κακιζόντων σφᾶς τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ δειλίαν τε ὁμοῦ προφερόντων καὶ τοῦ ὄρκου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, οὕτω δευτέραν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους στρατείαν ἐποιοῦντο. ἠγοῦντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφότεροι, Θεόπομπός τε ὁ Νικάνδρου καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένους· Ἀλκαμένης δὲ οὐκέτι περιῆν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ πειρωμένων μάχης τῶν Σπαρτια-
- 8 τῶν ἄρχειν ἀντεπεξήεσαν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἠγείτο Πολύδωρος μὲν κατὰ τὸ κέρασ τὸ ἀριστερόν, Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, τὸ μέσον δὲ εἶχεν Εὐρυλέων, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν, Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντετάσσοντο Ἄντανδρός τε καὶ Εὐφαιῆς, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρασ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Πολύδωρον Πυθάρατος εἶχε, Κλέωνις δὲ τὸ
- 9 μέσον. συνιέναι δὲ ἤδη μελλόντων, ἐπεὶ παριόντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προέτρεπον τοὺς αὐτῶν, πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βραχείαν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον



afterwards both flanks, and when the battle had been broken off at nightfall, they fortified his front also on the ravine. So at daybreak the Lacedaemonians realized the forethought of Euphaes. They had no means of fighting the Messenians unless they came out from the stockade, and despaired of forming a siege, for which they were unprepared in all things alike.

They then returned home; but a year later, when the older men reviled them and taunted them both with cowardice and disregard of their oath, they made a second expedition openly against the Messenians. Both kings were in command, Theopompus the son of Nicander and Polydorus the son of Alcamenes, Alcamenes being no longer alive. The Messenians encamped opposite them, and when the Spartans endeavoured to join battle, went out to meet them. The Lacedaemonian commander on the left wing was Polydorus, and Theopompus on the right. The centre was held by Furyleon, now a Lacedaemonian, but of Theban origin of the house of Cadmus, fourth in descent from Aegeus the son of Oeolycus, son of Theras, son of Autesion. On the side of the Messenians Antander and Euphaes were posted opposite the Lacedaemonian right; the other wing, opposite Polydorus, was held by Pytharatus, with Cleonnis in the centre. As they were about to engage, the kings came forward to encourage their men. The words of encouragement addressed by Theopompus to the Lacedaemonians were few,

τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Θεόπομπος, τοῦ τε ὄρκου τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ ὡς καλὸν σφισι τὸ φιλοτίμημα, τῶν πατέρων οὐ τοὺς περιοίκους κατεδουλώσαντο φανῆναι λαμπρότερα εἰργασμένους καὶ χώραν εὐδαιμονεστέραν προσκεκτημένους· Εὐφαῆς δὲ μακρότερα μὲν εἶπεν ἢ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, οὐ πλείω δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος

10 ἢ ἐφιέντα ἑώρα τὸν καιρὸν. οὐ γὰρ περὶ γῆς μόνον οὐδὲ κτημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπέφαινε γενησόμενοι, εἰδέναι δὲ ἔφη σαφῶς ἂ νικωμένους ἐπιλήψεται· γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ ἀχθήσεσθαι καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μέρει, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὸ ἐλαφρότατον ἔσεσθαι θάνατον, ἣν μετ' αἰκίας μὴ γένηται, συλήσεσθαι δὲ σφισι καὶ τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐμπρήσεσθαι· λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκάζων, μάρτυρα δὲ ἐναργῆ πᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐγκατα-

11 ληφθέντων ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ τὰ πάθη. πρό τε δὴ τηλικούτων κακῶν κέρδος εἶναι καλῶς τινα ἀποθανεῖν, πολὺ δὲ εἶναι ῥᾶον ἀηττήτοις οὖσιν ἔτι καὶ τὰς τόλμας καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἴσου προθυμίας τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ὑπερβαλεῖν ἢ προαποβαλόντας τὸ φρόνημα ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐπταισμένα.

VIII. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐφαῆς εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκατέροις ἐσήμηναν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, Μεσσηνιοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ τε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἀφειδῶς αὐτῶν εἶχον ἅτε ἄνθρωποι θανατῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος ἔσπενδεν ἄρξαι μάχης· ἀντεπήρσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σπουδῇ καὶ οὗτοι, πρόνοιαν δὲ ὅμως ἐποιοῦντο μὴ

2 διαλυθῆναί σφισι τὴν τάξιν. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγίνοντο, ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο τῶν τε ὀπλων τῇ κινήσει καὶ ἐνορῶντες ἐς ἀλλήλους δεινόν· ἔς τε

according to their native custom. He reminded them of their oath against the Messenians, and said how noble was their ambition, to prove themselves to have done a deed more glorious than their fathers, who subdued the neighbouring peoples, and to have won a more fortunate land. Euphaes spoke at greater length than the Spartan, but no more than he saw the occasion admitted. He declared that the contest would be not only for land and possessions, but he knew well what would overtake them if defeated. Their wives and children would be carried off as slaves, and death unaccompanied by outrage would be the mildest fate for their grown men; their sanctuaries would be despoiled and their ancestral homes burnt. His words were not supposition, the fate of the men captured at Ampheia was evidence that all could see. Better a noble death than such evils; it was far easier for them, while still undefeated and equally matched in courage, to outdo their adversaries in zeal than to repair their losses when once they had lost heart.

VIII. Such were the words of Euphaes. When the leaders on either side gave the signal, the Messenians charged the Lacedaemonians recklessly like men eager for death in their wrath, each one of them eager to be the first to join battle. The Lacedaemonians also advanced to meet them eagerly, but were careful not to break their ranks. When they were about to come to close quarters, they threatened one another by brandishing their arms

λοιδορίας προήγοντο, οἱ μὲν οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἤδη  
 τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλευθερωτέρους ἀποκα-  
 λοῦντες τῶν εἰλώτων, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνους τῷ τε ἐγχει-  
 ρήματι ἀνοσίους, ἐπεὶ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα ἐπὶ  
 ἄνδρας συγγενεῖς ἐπίασι, καὶ θεῶν ἀσεβεῖς ὅσοι  
 Δωριεῦσι πατρῶοι, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μαλιστα  
 Ἡρακλέους. ἤδη τε ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδεσι καὶ ἔργων  
 ἤπτοντο, ἀθρόοι τε πρὸς ἀθρόους ὠθισμῷ χρώμεοι  
 μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιόντες.

3 τέχνη μὲν οὖν ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ μελέτη  
 πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέσχον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
 τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τε γὰρ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους ἤδη  
 καὶ συνακολουθοῦντας εἶχον Ἀσιναῖοί τε οἱ  
 Δρύοπες γενεᾷ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς  
 σφετέρας ἀνεστηκότες καὶ ἤκοντες ἐς τὴν Λακε-  
 δαίμονα ἰκέται κατ' ἀνάγκην συνεστρατεύοντο·  
 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψιλούς τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοξότας

4 Κρήτας ἐπήγοντο μισθωτούς. Μεσσηνίοις δ'  
 ἀπήντα<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἢ τε ἀπόνοια καὶ τὸ ἐς  
 τὸν θάνατον εὐθυμον· καὶ ὅποσα μὲν πάσχοιεν,  
 ἀναγκαῖα μᾶλλον τοῖς πατρίδα σεμνύνουσιν ἢ  
 δεινὰ ἐνόμιζον, ἃ δὲ ἔδρων, αὐτοὶ τε ἠγοῦντες  
 εἰργάσθαι μειζόνως καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμ-  
 βαίνειν χαλεπώτερα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν προεκπη-  
 δῶντες τῆς τάξεως τολμήματα λαμπρὰ ἀπεδεί-  
 κνυντο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπικαίρως τετρωμένοις καὶ

5 ἐμπνέουσιν ὀλίγον ὅμως ἢ ἀπόνοια ἤκμαζε. παρα-  
 κλήσεις τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ζῶντες καὶ ἔτι  
 ἄτρωτοι τοὺς τραυματίας παρῶξυνον, πρὶν ἢ  
 τὴν ἐσχάτην τιμὴν ἐφεστηκέαι μοῖραν, ἀντιδρά-  
 σαντα ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο σὺν ἡδονῇ δέχεσθαι τὸ

<sup>1</sup> δ' ἀπήντα, Facius. δὲ ἐς ἅπαντα codd.

and with fierce looks, and fell to recriminations, these calling the Messenians already their slaves, no freer than the Helots; the others answering that they were impious in their undertaking, who for the sake of gain attacked their kinsmen and outraged all the ancestral gods of the Dorians, and Heracles above all. And now with their taunts they come to deeds, mass thrusting against mass, especially on the Lacedaemonian side, and man attacking man. The Lacedaemonians were far superior both in tactics and training, and also in numbers, for they had with them the neighbouring peoples already reduced and serving in their ranks, and the Dryopes of Asine, who a generation earlier had been driven out of their own country by the Argives and had come as suppliants to Lacedaemon, were forced to serve in the army. Against the Messenian light-armed they employed Cretan archers as mercenaries. The Messenians were inspired alike by desperation and readiness to face death, regarding all their sufferings as necessary rather than terrible to men who honoured their country, and exaggerating their achievements and the consequences to the Lacedaemonians. Some of them leapt forth from the ranks, displaying glorious deeds of valour, in others fatally wounded and scarce breathing the frenzy of despair still reigned. They encouraged one another, the living and unwounded urging the stricken before their last moment came to sell their lives as dearly as they could and accept

πεπρωμένον· οἱ δὲ ὁπότε αἰσθοῦντο οἱ τραυματῆται  
 τὴν ἰσχὺν σφᾶς ὑπολείπουσιν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ  
 παραμένον, διεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἀτρώσι μὴ χεῖρονας  
 ἢ αὐτοὶ γίνεσθαι μηδὲ εἰς ἀνωφελὲς τῇ πατρίδι  
 6 καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τελευτὴν καταστήσαι. Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι δὲ προτροπῇ μὲν εἰς ἀλλήλους οὐκ  
 ἐχρῶντο καὶ εἰς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν τολμημάτων  
 οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐτοίμως τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις εἶχον.  
 ἄτε δὲ εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπιστάμενοι,  
 βαθυτέρα τε τῇ φύλαγγι ἐχρῶντο καὶ τοὺς Μεσ-  
 σηνίους ἠλπίζον οὔτε χρόνον τὸν ἴσον καρτερήσειν  
 ἀντιτεταγμένους οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις  
 7 κάματον ἢ τὰ τραύματα ἀνθέξειν. ἴδια μὲν  
 τοιαῦτα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τε τὰ  
 ἔργα ἦν καὶ εἰς τὰς γνώμας τῶν μαχομένων, κοινὰ  
 δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· οὔτε γὰρ ἰκεσίαις οἱ φονεύ-  
 μενοι καὶ χρημάτων ὑποσχέσεις ἐχρῶντο, τάχα  
 μὲν που μὴ πείσειν διὰ τὸ ἔχθος ἀπεγνωκότες, τὸ  
 δὲ πλεῖστον ἀπαξιούντες ὡς οὐ τὰ πρότερά γε  
 κακιοῦσιν· οἱ τε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀπείχοντο καὶ  
 αὐχῆματος ὁμοίως καὶ ὀνειδῶν, οὐκ ἔχοντες πω  
 βεβαίαν οὐδέτεροι τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰ κρατήσουσι.  
 παραδοξότατα δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οἱ τῶν κειμένων  
 σκυλεύειν τινὰ ἐπιχειροῦντες· ἢ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος  
 γυμνόν τι ὑποφῆναντες ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ἐτύπτοντο  
 οὐ προορώμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀσχολίαν,  
 ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σκυλευομένων ἐπι ἐμπνεόντων  
 8 διεφθείροντο. ἐμάχοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀξίως  
 λόγου, Θεόπομπος δὲ καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὄρμητο  
 ὡς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενῶν Εὐφαῆ. Εὐφαῆς δὲ ὀρώων  
 ἐπιόντα εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τὸν Ἄντανδρον οὐδὲν  
 εἶναι τὰ Θεοπόμπου διάφορα ἢ <ὄσα> ὁ πρόγονος

## MESSEANIA, VIII. 5-8

their fate with joy. And the wounded, when they felt their strength ebbing and breath failing, urged the unwounded to prove themselves no less valorous than they and not to render their death of no avail to their fatherland. The Lacedaemonians refrained from exhorting one another, and were less inclined than the Messenians to engage in striking deeds of valour. As they were versed in warfare from boyhood, they employed a deeper formation and hoped that the Messenians would not endure the contest for so long as they, or sustain the toil of battle or wounds. These were the differences in both sets of combatants in action and in feeling; but on both sides alike the conquered made no appeals or promises of ransom, perhaps in their enmity despairing of getting quarter, but mainly because they scorned to disgrace their previous achievements. The victorious refrained alike from boasting and from taunts, neither side having yet sure hopes of victory. The most remarkable was the death of those who tried to strip any of the fallen. For if they exposed any part of their bodies, they were struck with javelins or were struck down while intent on their present occupation, or were killed by those whom they were plundering who still lived. The kings fought in a manner that deserves mention. Theopompus rushed wildly forward to slay Euphaes himself. Euphaes, seeing him advancing, said to Antander that the action of Theopompus was no different from the attempt of

αὐτοῦ Πολυνείκης ἐτόλμησε· Πολυνείκην τε γὰρ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀγαγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους ἀποκτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοχειρὶ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ ἐκείνου, Θεόπομπόν τε ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσαι μιάσματος τοῖς ἀπὸ Λαΐου καὶ Οἰδίποδος τὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος· οὐ μέντοι χαίροντά γε ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διακριθήσεσθαι. τοιαῦτα ἐπι-  
 9 λέγων ἀντεπήει καὶ οὗτος. ἐνταῦθα ἢ τε πᾶσα μάχη κεκμηκότων ἄμφω ἐς τὸ ἀκμαιοτάτον αὐθις ἦρθη, καὶ τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνερρώνοντο καὶ τὸ ἀφειδὲς ἐς τὸν θάνατον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἠΰξανετο, ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἄν τις τοῦ ἔργου τότε σφᾶς πρῶτον ἄπτεσθαι. τέλος δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῆ τῆς τε ἀπονοίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι μανίας ὄντες ἐγγύτατα καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδραγαθίας—πᾶν γὰρ δὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα οἱ λογάδες τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν—βιάζονται τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους· καὶ αὐτὸν τε Θεόπομπον ἀπόσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον κέρας τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐταλαιπώρει. Πυθιάρατός τε γὰρ ὁ  
 10 στρατηγὸς ἐτεθνήκει καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἀτακτότερον καὶ <θορυβωδέστερον ἐμάχοντο, οὐ μέντοι><sup>1</sup> ἀθύμως εἶχον οὐδ' οὔτοι. φεύγουσι δὲ οὔτε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ὁ Πολύδωρος οὔτε οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῆ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἠκολούθησαν· Εὐφαεὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰρετώτερα ἐφαίνετο ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἠττωμένοις—οὐ μέντοι Πολυδώρῳ γέ οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν συμμίσγουσιν,  
 11 ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ γινόμενα ἦν—καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἅμα εἶργε μὴ πρόσω τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν οὐχ ἠκιστα καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία

<sup>1</sup> Suppl. Bekker.



his ancestor Polyneices ; for Polyneices led an army from Argos against his fatherland, and slaying his brother with his own hand was slain by him ; Theopompus was ready to involve the race of the Heracleidae in pollution as great as that of the house of Laius and Oedipus, but he would not leave the field unscathed. With these words he too advanced. Thereupon the battle, though the combatants had wearied, everywhere broke out again in full force. Their strength was renewed and recklessness of death heightened on both sides, so that it might have been thought that they were engaging for the first time. Finally Euphaes and his men in a frenzy of despair that was near to madness (for picked Messenian troops formed the whole of the king's bodyguard), overpowering the enemy by their valour, drove back Theopompus himself and routed the Lacedaemonian troops opposed to them. But the other Messenian wing was in difficulties, for the general Pytharatus had been killed, and the men, without a commander, were fighting in a disorganized and confused manner, though not without heart. Polydorus did not pursue the Messenians when they gave way, nor Euphaes' men the Lacedaemonians. It seemed better to him and his men to support the defeated wing ; they did not, however, engage with Polydorus' force, for darkness had already descended on the field ; moreover, the Lacedaemonians were prevented from following the retiring force further not least by their ignorance of the country. Also it

τῶν τόπων. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλως πάτριον σχολαιοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ποιεῖσθαι, μὴ διαλύσαι τὴν τάξιν πλείονα ἔχοντας πρόνοιαν ἢ τινα ἀποκτεῖναι φεύγοντα. τὰ δὲ μέσα ἀμφοτέροις, ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρυλέων, Μεσσηνίοις δὲ Κλέωνις ἠγεῖτο, ἰσοπαλῶς μὲν ἠγωνίζοντο, διέλυσε δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τούτους ἐπελθοῦσα ἡ νύξ.

- 12 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἡ μόνα ἡ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο τὰ ὀπλιτικά. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ μνημονευθῆναι διεπράξαντο· οὐ γάρ τοι ἀγαθοὶ τότε ἱππεύειν ἦσαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Κρήτες οὐδὲ συνέμιξαν ἀρχήν· τῷ γὰρ πεζῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ κατὰ τρόπον ἔτι ἐκάτεροι τὸν ἀρχαῖον
- 13 ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν μάχης μὲν οὐδέτεροι διανοοῦντο ἄρχειν οὐδὲ ἰστάναι πρότεροι τρόπαιον, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ ἀναιρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων συνεχωρήθη, θάψειν ἔμελλον ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.

IX. Τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις μετὰ τὴν μάχην πονηρὰ γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἤρχετο· δαπάνη τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀπειρήκεσαν, ἃ τῶν πόλεων ἀνήλισκον ἐς τὰς φρουράς, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠύτομόλουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ νόσος ἐνέπεσε καὶ ταραχὰς μὲν παρέσχεν ὡς εἶη λοιμώδης, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἅπαντάς γε ἐχώρησεν. βουλευομένοις δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκει τὰ μὲν πολλὰ πολίσματα τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν πάντα ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην.

was an ancient practice with them not to carry out a pursuit too quickly, as they were more careful about maintaining their formation than about slaying the flying. In the centre, where Euryleon was commanding the Lacedaemonians, and Cleonnis on the Messenian side, the contest was undecided; the coming of night separated them here also.

This battle was fought principally or entirely by the heavy-armed troops on both sides. The mounted men were few and achieved nothing worth mention; for the Peloponnesians were not good horsemen then. The Messenian light-armed and the Cretans on the Lacedaemonian side did not engage at all; for on both sides according to the ancient practice they were posted in reserve to their own infantry. The following day neither side was minded to begin battle or to be the first to set up a trophy, but as the day advanced they made proposals for taking up the dead; when this was agreed on both sides, they proceeded at once to bury them.

IX. But after the battle the affairs of the Messenians began to get serious. They were exhausted by the expenditure of money devoted to the garrisoning of the towns, and their slaves were deserting to the Lacedaemonians. They were visited also by disease, which caused alarm, as resembling plague, although it did not attack all. In these circumstances they resolved to desert all their numerous towns inland and to settle on Mount Ithome. A

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

2 ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλισμα αὐτόθι οὐ μέγα, ὃ καὶ "Ὀμηρόν φασιν ἔχειν ἐν καταλόγῳ·

καὶ Ἰθώμην κλιμακώεσσαν.

ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πόλισμα ἀνωκίζοντο, ἐπεκτείνοντες τὸν ἀρχαῖον περίβολον ἔρυμα εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐτάρκες. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρόν· ἡ γὰρ Ἰθώμη μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὄρων ὅποσα ἐντὸς ἐστὶν ἰσθμοῦ καὶ δύσβατος κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἦν.

3 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ θεωρὸν πέμψαι σφίσιν ἐς Δελφούς. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν Τῆσιν τὸν Ἄλκιδος, καὶ ἀξιώματι οὐδενὸς ὕστερον καὶ ὅτι προσκεῖσθαι μαντικῇ μάλιστα ἐνομίζετο. τοῦτον τὸν Τῆσιν ἐπανιόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν λοχῶσιν ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀμφείᾳ φρουρᾶς· λοχήσαντες δέ—οὐ γὰρ ὑπεῖκεν αἰχμάλωτος γενέσθαι—περιμένοντα οὖν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα ἐτίτρωσκον, ἐς ὃ γίνεται βοή σφίσιν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς "τὸν χρησιμοφόρου 4 μέθες." καὶ Τῆσις μὲν ὡς ἀπεσώθη τάχιστα ἐς Ἰθώμην καὶ τὴν μαντείαν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνήνεγκε, μετ' οὐ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων τελευτᾷ· τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους συναθροίσας ὁ Εὐφαῆς ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν χρησμόν.

κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσι,  
κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν Αἴπυτιδῶν ἀφ' αἵματος,  
θυηπολεῖτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγαῖς.  
ἦν δὲ σφαλήτε, καὶ παρ' ἀλλοίου τότε  
θύειν, διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἐκουσίως.

5 ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος αὐτίκα ἐκληροῦντο ὅσαι παρθένοι τοῦ Αἴπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν· καὶ ἐπε-

## MESSENIÀ, IX. 2-5

small town existed here, which they say Homer mentions in the *Catalogue* :

“Stepped Ithome.”<sup>1</sup>

To this town they withdrew, extending the old circuit to form a sufficient protection for them all. The place was strong in other respects, for Ithome falls short of none of the mountains within the Isthmus in height and at this point was most difficult to climb. They also resolved to send an envoy to Delphi, and despatched Tisis the son of Alcis, a man of the highest reputation, considered to be fully versed in divination. While he was returning from Delphi men from the Lacedaemonian garrison at Amphibia laid an ambush for him. Though trapped, he did not submit to be made a prisoner, but stood his ground to resist in spite of the wounds he received, until a voice was heard from an unseen quarter, “Let the bearer of the oracle go free.” Tisis, reaching Ithome with all speed, delivered the oracle to the king, and soon afterwards died of his wounds. Euphaes assembled the Messenians and made known the oracle :

“Ye shall sacrifice a pure maiden to the gods below, appointed by lot of the blood of the sons of Aepytus, and slay her by night. But if that ye cannot do, offer a maiden from another house, if the father gives her freely for the slaughter.”

When the god declared this, all the maidens of the house of the Aepytidae forthwith cast lots, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 729.

λάμβανε γὰρ Λυκίσκου θυγατέρα ὁ κλῆρος, ταύτην  
 Ἐπήβολος ὁ μάντις ἀπηγόρευεν ὡς οὐ δέοι θύειν,  
 οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Λυκίσκου· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἢ Λυκίσκῳ  
 συνώκησεν, ὡς τεκεῖν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν, τὴν  
 παῖδα ὑποβαλέσθαι. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτος ἀνε-  
 δίδασκε τὰ ἐς αὐτήν, ἐν τοσῶδε ὁ Λυκίσκος  
 ἀπαγόμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἠντομόλησεν  
 6 ἐς Σπάρτην. ἐχόντων δὲ ἀθύμως τῶν Μεσσηνίων  
 ὡς Λυκίσκου ἀποδράντα ἦσθοντο, ἐνταῦθά σφισιν  
 Ἀριστόδημος ἀνὴρ καὶ γένους τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν  
 καὶ Λυκίσκου τῇ τε ἄλλῃ δόξῃ καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλε-  
 μον ἐπιφανέστερος ἐδίδου τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκὼν  
 θῦσαι. τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ  
 πρόθυμον ἢ πεπρωμένη κατὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπικρύπτει  
 καὶ εἰ ψηφίδα ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἰλὺς ποταμοῦ, ὅπου  
 καὶ τότε Ἀριστοδήμῳ διασώσασθαι Μεσσήνην  
 ἀγώνισμα ποιουμένῳ ἐμπόδιον ἐπήγαγε τοι-  
 7 ὄνδε. ἀνὴρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων—τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐ  
 λέγουσιν—ἐρῶν ἔτυχε τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τῆς  
 θυγατρὸς, τότε δὲ ἤδη ἔμελλε καὶ γυναῖκα ἄξεσθαι.  
 οὗτος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀρισ-  
 τοδήμῳ προῆλθεν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐγγυήσαντά οἱ  
 μηκέτι εἶναι κύριον τῆς παιδός, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγγυη-  
 σάμενος κυριώτερος ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι. δεύτερα  
 δὲ ὡς τοῦτο οὐχ ἑώρα οἱ κατορθούμενον, ἐπ'  
 ἀναίσχυντον τρέπεται λόγον· ξυγγενέσθαι τε τῇ  
 8 παιδί καὶ κύειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον  
 Ἀριστόδημον προήγαγεν ὡς ἐκμανέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 θυμοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποκτείνειν· μετὰ δὲ ἀνέτεμνε  
 καὶ ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ.  
 παρῶν δὲ Ἐπήβολος ἐκέλευεν ἄλλον τινὰ τὸν  
 θυγατέρα ἐπιδώσοντα γενέσθαι· τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Αἰρι-

## MESSENA, ix. 5-8

lot fell on the daughter of Lyciscus. But Epebolus the seer forbade them to offer her, for she was not the daughter of Lyciscus, but the woman who was married to Lyciscus being unable to bear a child had palmed off the girl as hers. While Epebolus was making this declaration, Lyciscus took the girl away and deserted to Sparta. The Messenians were in despair when they saw that Lyciscus had fled; thereupon Aristodemus, a son of the house of the Aepytidae, of higher standing than Lyciscus both in reputation and in war, freely offered his daughter for the sacrifice. But human affairs and human purpose above all are obscured by fate, just as the mud of a river hides a pebble; for when Aristodemus was striving his utmost to save Messene, fate set this obstacle in his path. A Messenian, whose name is not recorded, was in love with the daughter of Aristodemus, and was already about to make her his wife. He at first disputed the rights of Aristodemus over the girl; for Aristodemus, since he had betrothed her to himself, had no further rights over the girl, but he to whom she was betrothed had greater rights than the father. Next, when he saw that this was of no avail, he had recourse to a shameless plea, that the girl was with child by him. At last he drove Aristodemus to such a fury of passion that he killed his daughter; then cutting her open he showed that she was not pregnant. Epebolus, who was present, ordered another man to come forward and offer his daughter, for the daughter of Aristodemus was of

τοδήμου πλέον εἶναι σφισιν ἀποθανούσης οὐδέν·  
 φονεῦσαι γὰρ τὸν πατέρα αὐτὴν, θεοῖς δὲ οἷς  
 9 ἢ Πυθία προσέταξεν οὐ θῦσαι. τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος  
 τοῦ μάντεως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὄρμησεν  
 ἀποκτενοῦντες τὸν μνηστῆρα τῆς παιδός, ὡς  
 Ἄριστοδήμῳ τε μίασμα εἰκαῖον προσάψαντα  
 καὶ σφίσι τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀμφίβολον  
 πεποιηκότα. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
 τῷ Εὐφαιεὶ φίλος· πείθει <οὖν> τοὺς Μεσσηνίους  
 Εὐφαιῆς τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἔχειν τέλος ἀποθανούσης  
 τῆς παιδός καὶ σφίσιν ἀποχρᾶν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἄρισ-  
 10 τοδήμου πεποιημένα. λέγοντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔφασαν  
 τὰ ὄντα λέγειν ὅσοι τοῦ Αἰπυτιδῶν γένους ἦσαν·  
 ἀπεινὰ γὰρ σφισι τὸ δέος τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ  
 ἕκαστος ἔσπευδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ  
 παραινέσει πειθόμενοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύουσι  
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τε θυσίας θεῶν καὶ ἑορτὴν  
 τρέπονται· Χ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες τὸν  
 γενόμενον Μεσσηνίοις χρησμὸν ἀθύμως διέκειντο  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔς τε τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ  
 ἔρχειν ὀκνοῦντες μάχης.

Ἔτει δὲ ἕκτῳ μετὰ τὸν ἐξ Ἰθώμης Λυκίσκου  
 δρασμὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι—τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο  
 αὐτοῖς αἴσια—στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰθώμην·  
 οἱ δὲ Κρήτες οὐκέτι παρόντες σφίσιν ἔτυχον.  
 ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων σύμμαχοι—  
 δι' ὑποψίας γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη  
 Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀρκάσιν ἦσαν καὶ Ἀργείοις  
 μάλιστα—καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι κρύφα ἔμελλον τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἰδία δὴ μᾶλλον  
 <ἢ> μετὰ δόγματος κοινοῦ, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ἢ  
 στρατεία μὲν ἀνείρητο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, παρέτυχον



no avail to them dead; for the father had murdered her, not offered her to the gods whom the Pythia ordained. When the seer said this, the multitude of the Messenians rushed on the girl's lover to kill him, since he had fixed the guilt of bloodshed on Aristodemus to no purpose, and had made their hopes of safety doubtful. But as he was a close friend of Euphiæes, Euphaes persuaded the Messenians that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of the girl and that the deed done by Aristodemus sufficed for them. When he said this, all the members of the house of the Aepytidae said that he spoke truth, for each was eager to be rid of the terror threatening his daughter. The people took the advice of the king and broke up the assembly and thereupon turned to sacrifices to the gods and feasting. X. But the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the oracle given to the Messenians, were in despair, both they and their kings, and for the future shrank from offering battle.

But five years after the escape of Lyciscus from Ithome, the victims being auspicious, the Lacedaemonians marched against Ithome. The Cretans were no longer with them. The allies of the Messenians also were late, for the Spartans had now incurred the suspicion of others of the Peloponnesians, especially of the Arcadians and Argives. The Argives intended to come without the knowledge of the Lacedaemonians, and by private enterprise rather than by public declaration. The expedition was openly proclaimed among the Arcadians, but they did not arrive either. For the

- δὲ οὐδ' οὔτοι. τοὺς γὰρ Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἄνευ  
 συμμάχων κινδυνεῦσαι προήγαγεν ἢ δόξα τοῦ  
 2 χρησμοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὐδέν τι ἐγένετο  
 διάφορα ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης, ἢ τε  
 ἡμέρα καὶ τότε μαχομένους προαπέλιπεν· οὐ  
 μέντοι βιασθῆναί γε οὐδέτερον κέρας ἢ καὶ λόχον  
 μνημονεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τὴν τάξιν, ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς  
 ἐτάχθησαν, συμμείναί φασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑκατέρων  
 τοὺς ἀρίστους συνελθόντας ἐς τὸ μεσαίτατον  
 3 ἐνταῦθα τὸν πάντα ἔχειν πόνον. ὁ γὰρ Εὐφαῆς  
 πλέον τι ἢ βασιλέα εἰκὸς ἦν προθυμούμενος καὶ  
 ἀφειδῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον ἐγκείμενος  
 τραύματα [τε] πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐκ ἰάσιμα λαμβάνει·  
 λιποψυχήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πεσόντα οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὀλίγον ὅμως ἐμπνέοντα ἐποι-  
 οῦντο παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλκύσαι σπουδῆν. ἐπήγειρε  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἢ τε ἐς τὸν Εὐφαῆ  
 προὔπαρχουσα εὐνοια καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐπιβλητὰ  
 φονευομένοις τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄμεινόν σφισιν  
 ἐφαίνετο προΐεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἢ ἐκείνον προε-  
 4 μένων ἀποσωθῆναί τινα. τότε μὲν δὴ πεσὼν ὁ  
 Εὐφαῆς τὴν τε μάχην ἐπεμήκυνε καὶ προήγαγεν  
 ἐς πλέον παρὰ ἑκατέρων τὰ τολμήματα· ὕστερον  
 δὲ ἀνήνεγκε μὲν καὶ ἦσθετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαττον  
 ἐσχήκασιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς  
 ἀποθνήσκει, βασιλεύσας Μεσσηνίων τρία ἔτη καὶ  
 δέκα καὶ πολεμήσας Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν πάντα  
 τῆς βασιλείας χρόνον.
- 5 Εὐφαεῖ δὲ οὐκ ὄντων παίδων τὸν αἰρεθέντα  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατελείπετο ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχήν,  
 Κλέονις τε καὶ Δᾶμις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστο-  
 δήμῳ προήλθον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον

## MESSENA, x. 1-5

Messenians were induced by the credit placed in the oracle to face the risk without allies. This engagement did not differ in most points from the first, as on this occasion too daylight failed the combatants, but they record that on neither side was a wing or division broken, as they did not maintain the formation in which they were originally posted, champions on either side meeting in the middle and there supporting the whole combat. Euphaes, who showed more eagerness than a king should and recklessly attacked Theopompus' body-guard, received a number of mortal wounds. When he swooned and fell, the Lacedaemonians did their utmost to drag him into their own ranks, as he still breathed. But the Messenians were roused by the affection which they felt for their king and by the reproach that would be theirs. It seemed better to die for their king and sacrifice their lives than that he should be abandoned while one of them escaped. So the fall of Euphaes prolonged the battle and called forth further deeds of daring on both sides. He came to himself later and saw that his men had not had the worst of the fight, but he died in a few days, having reigned thirteen years over the Messenians, and having been at war with the Lacedaemonians for the whole of his reign.

Euphaes, having no children, left his kingdom to the man chosen by the people. Cleonnis and Damis came forward to dispute it with Aristodemus, as they were considered superior to him in war and

διαφέρειν νομιζόμενοι· τὸν δὲ Ἄντανδρον οἱ πολέμιοι κατειργάσαντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ προκινδυνεύοντα Εὐφαοῦς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν μάντεων αἱ γνώμαι κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἀμφοτέρων, Ἐπηβόλου καὶ Ὀφιονέως, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνδρὶ ἐναγεῖ καὶ θυγατρὸς μίασμα ἐπικειμένῳ δοῦναι τὴν Αἰπύτου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τιμὴν· ἠρέθη δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν  
 6 Ἄριστόδημος. ὁ δὲ Ὀφιονεὺς οὗτος ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων μάντις τυφλὸς ὢν εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς μαντικὴν τινα εἶχε τοιαύτην· πυνθανόμενος τὰ γινόμενα ἐκάστοις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν κοινῷ προέλεγεν οὕτω τὰ μέλλοντα. οὗτος μὲν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετο τὸν εἰρημένον, Ἄριστόδημος δὲ βασιλεύσας τῷ τε δήμῳ διέμεινε τὰ εἰκότα χαρίζεσθαι προθυμούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ μάλιστα Κλέονιν καὶ Δᾶμιν ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ· διὰ θεραπείας δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἄρκάδων τε τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ  
 7 Σικυῶνα ἀποστέλλων δῶρα. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄριστοδήμου βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν ληστεῖαις τε κατ' ὀλίγους αἰεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὠραίαν καταδρομαῖς ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων χρώμενοι, συνεσέβαλλον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἄρκάδων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαναφῆναι μὲν τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος οὐκ ἠξίου, γινομένου δὲ ἀγῶνος παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μεθέξοντες.

XI. Πέμπτω δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἄριστοδήμου <βασιλείας> μελλόντων ἐκ προρρήσεως συμβολὴν ποιήσεσθαι—τῷ τε γὰρ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῖς δαπανήμασιν ἀπειρήκεσαν—οὕτω παρεγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, Λακεδαι-

all else. Antander had been killed by the enemy, risking his life for Euphaes in the battle. The views of both the seers, Epebolus and Ophioneus, were identical, that they should not give the honours of Aepytus and his descendants to a man who was accursed and polluted by the murder of his daughter. Nevertheless Aristodemus was chosen and became king. This Ophioneus, the Messenian seer, was blind from birth and practised the following method of divination. By learning the facts relevant to each case, both private and public, he thus foretold the future. This then was the way he practised his art. Aristodemus, becoming king, constantly was ready to show all reasonable favour to the people, and held all the nobles in honour, especially Cleonnis and Damis. He maintained good relations with the allies, sending gifts to the Arcadian leaders and to Argos and Sicyon. They carried on the war during his reign by means of constant forays with small parties, and made incursions into one another's country at harvest time, the Messenians being supported by the Arcadians in their raids into Laconia. The Argives did not think fit to declare their hatred for the Lacedaemonians beforehand, but prepared to take part in the contest when it came.

XI. In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, being exhausted by the length of the war and by their expenditure, after due notice that a battle would be fought, both sides were joined by their

μορίοις μὲν Κορίνθιοι Πελοποννησίων μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οἷ τε Ἀρκάδες πανστρατιᾷ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων λογάδες. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν Κορινθίοις καὶ τοῖς εἴλωσι καὶ ὅσοι περίοικοι συνεστρατεύοντο τὸ μέσον ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐτάσσοντο βαθεῖα τε ὡς οὔπω πρότερον καὶ πυκνῇ 2 τῇ φάλαγγι. τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν διετάχθη τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην· οὕτως. ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦσαν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ὅπλα δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἰσχυρά, τούτοις τῶν ὀπλων τὰ χρησιμώτατα ἐπέλεξε, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἤπειγεν, ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ Σικυωνίοις καὶ τούτους ἔτασσε· τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα ἐπὶ πλεόν ἤπλωσεν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. προείδετο δὲ καὶ ὅπως τεταγμένοις σφίσι τὸ ὄρος ἢ Ἰθώμη κατὰ νότου γίνοιτο. καὶ τούτοις μὲν Κλέονιν 3 ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ Δᾶμις ὑπέμεινον ἔχοντες τοὺς ψιλούς, σφενδονήτας μὲν ἢ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἦσαν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ τῇ ὀπλίσει κούφοι· θώρακα γὰρ ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν <οὐχ> ἕκαστος, ὅσοι δὲ ἠπόρουν τούτων, περιεβέβληντο αἰγῶν νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὀρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων. 4 ἀκόντια δὲ ἕκαστος πολλά, οἱ δὲ καὶ λόγχας αὐτῶν ἔφερον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλόχων τῆς Ἰθώμης ἔνθα ἔμελλον ἠκιστα ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτοι· οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων τὴν τε ἔφοδον τὴν πρώτην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέ-

allies, the Lacedaemonians by the Corinthians alone of the Peloponnesians, the Messenians by the full muster of the Arcadians and by picked troops from Argos and Sicyon. The Lacedaemonians entrusted their centre to the Corinthians, Helots and all the neighbouring peoples who were serving with them; they themselves and the kings were posted on the wings in a deeper and closer formation than ever before. The dispositions of Aristodemus and his men were as follows: he selected the most serviceable of the arms for all the Arcadians and Messenians who were physically strong and stout-hearted but did not possess powerful weapons, and as the matter was urgent, posted them with the Argives and Sicyonians, extending the line that they might not be surrounded by the enemy. He also took care that they should be drawn up with Mount Ithome in their rear. Placing Cleonnis in command of these troops, he himself and Damis remained in reserve with the light troops consisting of a few slingers or archers, the bulk of the force being physically suited to rapid assaults and retirements and lightly armed. Not all of them possessed a breastplate or shield, but those who lacked them were protected with the skins of goats and sheep, some of them, particularly the Arcadian mountaineers, having the hides of wild beasts, wolves and bears. Each carried several javelins, and some of them spears. While these were in ambush in a part of Ithome where they were least likely to be visible, the heavy-armed troops of the Messenians and their allies withstood the first assault of the Lacedae-

μειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
 ἀνδρεῖοι. ἀριθμῶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπε-  
 λείποντο, λογάδες δὲ ὄντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς δῆμον  
 καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς κρείττους, ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον  
 τῇ τε ἄλλῃ προθυμία καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἐπὶ  
 5 πολὺ ἀντεῖχον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων ὁ εὐζωνος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τούτοις ἦρθη  
 τὰ σημεῖα, ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 δρόμῳ καὶ περιστάντες ἠκόντιζον ἐς τὰ πλάγια.  
 ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον μετῆν τόλμης, προσ-  
 ἔθεόν τε καὶ ἔτυπτον ἐκ χειρός. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι, κίνδυνόν σφισι δεύτερον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ  
 οὕτως ἀνέλπιστον ὀρῶντες παρόντα, ὅμως οὔτε  
 ἐταρίχθησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοί τε ἐς τοὺς ψιλούς  
 ἀμύνεσθαι μὲν ἐπειρῶντο, διὰ δὲ τὴν κουφότητα  
 οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποφευγόντων ἀπορία τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἤδη καὶ ὀργὴ γίνεται.  
 6 πεφύκασι δὲ πῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα ἔχειν  
 ἀκρατῶς πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἀξίαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε  
 οἱ τε ἤδη τραύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰληφότες  
 καὶ ὅσοι κειμένων τῶν παραστατῶν ἐγίνοντο  
 πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ψιλῶν πρῶτοι προεξέθεόν  
 τε, ὅποτε ἴδοιεν ἐπιφερομένους τοὺς ψιλούς,  
 καὶ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ μακροτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο  
 ἀποχωρούντων. οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς  
 τὸ πρῶτον ἦρξαντο, κατὰ χώραν τε μένοντας  
 ἔτυπτον καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον καὶ διωκόντων ἔφθανον  
 ἀποφεύγοντες καὶ πειρωμένοις ἀναστρέφειν αὐθις  
 7 ἐπήεσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ἔδρων σποράδην καὶ ἄλλοι  
 κατ' ἄλλο τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τάξεως· οἱ τε ὀπλίται  
 τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων θρασύτερον ἐν  
 τῷ τοιῷδε τοῖς κατὰ στόμα αὐτῶν ἐπέκειντο.



monians, and continued after this to show courage in every way. They were inferior in numbers to the enemy, but were picked men fighting against levies, not selected troops like themselves, and so, by their bravery and training were more able to maintain a lengthy resistance. Then the mobile Messenian force, when the signal was given to them, charged the Lacedaemonians and enveloping them threw javelins on their flanks. All who were of higher courage ran in and struck at close quarters. The Lacedaemonians, faced simultaneously with a second and unforeseen danger, were not demoralised, but turning on the light troops, tried to defend themselves. But, as the enemy with their light equipment drew off without difficulty, the Lacedaemonians were filled with perplexity and, as a consequence, with anger. Men are apt to be most annoyed by what they regard as beneath them. So then the Spartans who had already been wounded and all who after the fall of their comrades were the first to meet the attack of the light troops, ran out to meet them when they saw the light troops advancing and hotly extended the pursuit as they retired. The Messenian light troops maintained their original tactics, striking and shooting at them when they stood still, and outstripping them in flight when they pursued, attacking again as they tried to retire. They did this in separate parties and at different points of the enemy's line. The Messenian heavy-armed and their allies meantime pressed more boldly on the

τέλος δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς  
 τραύμασιν ἀπαγορεύοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ τὸ  
 εἰώθως ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ταρασσόμενοι διαλύουσι  
 τὴν τάξιν· τραπέντων δέ, ἐνταῦθά σφισι πλείω  
 8 παρείχον κακὰ οἱ ψιλοί. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συλλαβεῖν  
 μὲν οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν ἀριθμῶ, πείθομαι δὲ εἶναι καὶ  
 αὐτὸς πολλούς. ἡ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀναχώρησις τοῖς  
 μὲν ἄλλοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν, Κορινθίοις δὲ ἔμελλεν  
 ἔσσεσθαι χαλεπή· διὰ πολεμίας γὰρ ἐγένετο  
 ὁμοίως διὰ τε τῆς Ἀργείας πειρωμένοις καὶ παρὰ  
 Σικυῶνα ἀνασωθῆναι.

XII. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν καὶ τὸ  
 γεγονός πταῖσμα, τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολλῶν  
 τε καὶ ἀξίων λόγου, παρίστατο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν  
 πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν ἀθύμως ἔχειν·  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελ-  
 φούς. τούτοις ἐλθοῦσιν ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ τάδε·

οὐ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ' ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος  
 ἄνωγεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαίαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός,  
 ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἀλώσεται αἴσπερ  
 ὑπῆρξεν.

2 [ὁ] πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις  
 τέχνας μὲν [οὖν] προθυμουμένοις οὐκ ἐγένετο  
 ἀνευρεῖν· οἱ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως τῶν ἔργων ἀπομιμού-  
 μενοι τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ πέμπουσιν ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν  
 ἐς Ἰθώμην συνήσουτας ἃ μηχανῶνται, λόγῳ δὲ  
 αὐτομόλους· ἦν δὲ καὶ φυγὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ  
 τοῦ φανεροῦ κατεγνωσμένη. τούτους ἤκουτας  
 ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτίκα Ἀριστόδημος, Λακεδαιμο-

troops facing them. Finally the Lacedaemonians, worn out by the length of the battle and their wounds, and demoralised contrary to their custom by the light troops, broke their ranks. When they had been routed, the light troops inflicted greater damage on them. It was impossible to reckon the Lacedaemonian losses in the battle, but I for my part am convinced that they were heavy. The rest made their retreat homewards without molestation, but for the Corinthians it was likely to be difficult, for whether they tried to retire through the Argolid or by Sicyon, in either case it was through enemy country.

XII. The Lacedaemonians were distressed by the reverse that had befallen them. Their losses in the battle were great and included important men, and they were inclined to despair of all hope in the war. For this reason they sent envoys to Delphi, who received the following reply from the Pythia :

“Phoebus bids thee pursue not only the task of war with the hand, but by guile a people holds the Messenian land, and by the same arts as they first employed shall the people fall.”

At this the kings and ephors were eager to invent stratagems, but failed. They imitated that deed of Odysseus at Troy, and sent a hundred men to Ithome to observe what the enemy were planning, but pretending to be deserters. A sentence of banishment had been openly pronounced on them. On their arrival Aristodemus at once sent them away, saying

3 νίων φήσας τὰ ἀδικήματα καινὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ  
 σοφίσματα ἀρχαῖα. ἀμαρτόντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος δεύτερα ἐπειρῶντο τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων διαλυσαὶ τὸ συμμαχικόν· ἀντειπόν-  
 των δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων—παρὰ γὰρ τούτους πρό-  
 τερον ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις—οὕτω τὴν ἐπ' Ἄργος  
 ἐπέσχον πορείαν. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ πυνθανόμενος  
 τὰ πρασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πέμπει  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρησομένους τὸν θεόν, ἣ δὲ Πυθία  
 σφίσιν ἔχρησε·

4 κῦδός σοι πολέμοιο διδοῖ θεός· ἀλλ' ἀπάταισι  
 φράξο μὴ Σπάρτης δόλιος λόχος ἐχθρὸς ἀνέλθη  
 (κρείσσω δὴ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων)<sup>1</sup> εὐήρεα τείχη·  
 καὶ <τὸ> χορῶν στεφάνωμα πικροὺς οἰκήτορας  
 ἔξει,  
 τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπτὸν λόχον ἐξανα-  
 δύντων.  
 οὐ πρόσθεν δὲ τέλος τόδ' ἐπόψεται ἱερὸν ἡμαρ,  
 πρὶν τὰ παραλλά<ξαν>τα φύσιν τὸ[ξαν]  
 χρεῶν ἀφίκηται.

τότε μὲν δὴ Ἀριστόδημος καὶ οἱ μάντις ἀπίρως  
 εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ εἰρημένον· ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον  
 οὐ πολλοῖς ἀναφαίνειν τε καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄξειν  
 ἔμελλεν ὁ θεός.

5 Ἔτερα δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις συνέ-  
 βαινε τοιαῦτα. Λυκίσκου μετοικούντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ  
 τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, ἣν ἅμα ἀγό-  
 μενος ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης. πολλάκις δὲ αὐτὸν  
 φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα τῆς παιδὸς λοχήσαντες

<sup>1</sup> (κρείσσω δὴ γὰρ Ἄρης κείνων) εὐήρεα τείχη Lobeck. εἰ,  
 τεύχη, codd.

that the crimes of the Lacedaemonians were new, but their tricks old. Failing in their attempt, the Lacedaemonians next attempted to break up the Messenian alliance. But when repulsed by the Arcadians, to whom their ambassadors came first, they put off going to Argos. Aristodemus, hearing of the Lacedaemonian intrigues, also sent men to enquire of the god. And the Pythia replied to them:

“The god gives thee glory in war, but beware lest by guile the hated company of Sparta scale the well-built walls, for mightier is their god of war. And harsh shall be the dwellers in the circle of the dancing ground, when the two have started forth by one chance from the hidden ambush. Yet the holy day shall not behold this ending until their doom o’ertake those which have changed their nature”

At the time Aristodemus and the seers were at a loss to interpret the saying, but in a few years the god was like to reveal it and bring it to fulfilment.

Other things befell the Messenians at that time: while Lyciscus was living abroad in Sparta, death overtook the daughter whom he carried with him on his flight from Messene. As he often visited her

- ἰππεῖς τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἰροῦσιν· ἀναχθεῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν καταστάς ἀπελογοῖτο ὡς οὐ προδιδούς τὴν πατρίδα ἀποχωρήσαι, πειθόμενος δὲ τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μίντεως ἐς τὴν παῖδα ὡς οὔσαν οὐ γνησίαν.
- 6 ταῦτα ἀπολογούμενος οὐ πρότερον ἔδοξεν ἀληθῆ λέγειν πρὶν ἢ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἢ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τότε τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσα. αὕτη δὲ τεκεῖν τε τὴν παῖδα ὠμολόγει καὶ τῇ Λυκίσκου γυναικὶ ὑποβαλέσθαι δοῦναι· “νῦν δὲ” ἔφη “τότε ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνουσα ἦκω καὶ παύσουσα ἐμαυτὴν ἱερωμένην” ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καθεστηκός, ἦν γυναικὸς ἱερωμένης ἢ καὶ ἀνδρὸς προαποθάνη τις τῶν παίδων, ἐς ἄλλον τὴν ἱερωσύνην μεταχωρεῖν. νομίζοντες οὖν τὴν γυναικὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν, τῇ θεῷ τε εἶλοντο ἱερατευσομένην ἀντ’ ἐκείνης καὶ Λυκίσκου συγνωστὰ ἔφασαν εἰργάσθαι.
- 7 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐδόκει σφίσι—καὶ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐπῆει τῷ πολέμῳ—πέμπειν αὐθις ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὑπὲρ νίκης. ἐρομένοις δὲ ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία·

τοῖς τρίποδας περὶ βωμὸν Ἰθωμάτα Διὶ  
πρώτοις

στήσασιν δεκάδων ἀριθμὸν δις πέντε δίδωσι  
σὺν κύδει πολέμου γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα δαίμων.  
Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔνευσ’ οὕτως. ἀπάτη δέ σε πρόσθε  
τίθησιν

ἢ τ’ ὀπίσω τίσις ἔστ’, οὐδ’ ἂν θεὸν ἐξαπατῶης.<sup>1</sup>  
ἔρδ’ ὅππῃ τὸ χρεῶν. ἄτη δ’ ἄλλοισι πρὸ  
ἄλλων.

tomb, Arcadian horsemen lay in wait and captured him. When carried to Ithome and brought into the assembly he urged that he had not departed a traitor to his country, but because he believed the words of the seer that the girl was not his own. His defence did not win credence until the woman who was then holding the priesthood of Hera came into the theatre. She confessed that she was the mother of the girl and had given her to Lyciscus' wife to pass off as her own. "And now," she said, "revealing the secret, I have come to lay down my office." She said this because it was an established custom in Messene that, if a child of a man or woman holding a priesthood died before its parent, the office should pass to another. Accepting the truth of her statement, they chose another woman to take her place as priestess of the goddess, and said that Lyciscus' deed was pardonable.

After this, as the twentieth year of the war was approaching, they resolved to send again to Delphi to ask concerning victory. The Pythia made answer to their question :

"To those who first around the altar set up tripods ten times ten to Zeus of Ithome, heaven grants glory in war and the Messenian land. For thus hath Zeus ordained. Deceit raised thee up and punishment follows after, nor would'st thou deceive the god. Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that."

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<sup>1</sup> ἔστ' οὐδ' ἄν. θεδν, Spiro. ἐστὶ καὶ ἔνθεον codd.

- 8 ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες γεγονέναι τε ἡγούντο ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ σφίσι δίδοναι <τὸ> τοῦ πολέμου κράτος· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν γε ἐχόντων ἐντὸς τείχους τοῦ Ἴθωμάτα τὸ ἱερὸν Λακεδαιμονίους προτέρους ἀναθέντας φθήσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ξυλίνους κατασκευάσεσθαι τρίποδας ἔμελλον, οὐ γάρ σφισι περιῆν χρήματα ὡς χαλκοῦς ποιήσασθαι· τῶν δέ τις Δελφῶν τὸν χρησμὸν ἐξήγγειλεν ἐς Σπάρτην. πυθομένοις δὲ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν οὐδέν
- 9 σφισιν ἐξεγένετο ἀνευρεῖν σοφόν, Οἴβαλος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, γνώμην δὲ ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἀγαθός, ποιησάμενος ὡς ἔτυχε πηλοῦ τρίποδας ἑκατόν, τούτους τε ἀποκεκρυμμένους ἐν πήρα καὶ δίκτυα ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνὴρ θηρευτής. ἄτε δὲ ὦν ἀγνώως καὶ Λακεδαιμονίῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ῥᾶον Μεσσηνίους ἐλάνθανεν· ἀναμίξας δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἀγροίκοις ἐσῆλθέ τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἴθώμην καὶ ὡς νύξ τάχιστα ἐπελάμβανεν ἀναθεὶς τοὺς τρίποδας τῷ θεῷ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πηλίλους αὐθις ἐς Σπάρτην
- 10 ἀπαγγελῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ᾤχετο. Μεσσηνίους δέ, ὡς εἶδον, ἐτάραξε μὲν μεγάλως, καὶ εἵκαζον—ὥσπερ ἦν—παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι· παρεμυθεῖτο δὲ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀριστόδημος λέγων ἄλλα τε ἂ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ξυλίνους τρίποδας—ἐπεποίηντο γὰρ ἤδη—περὶ τοῦ Ἴθωμάτα τὸν βωμὸν ἔστησε. συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν τούτου, τὸν ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλόν, ἀναβλέψαι παραλόγως δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων· ἐπέλαβε γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλγημα αὐτὸν ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

XIII. Τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν—ἔρρεπε γὰρ ἤδη τὸ



Hearing this they thought that the oracle was in their favour and granted them victory; for as they themselves possessed the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome within the walls, the Lacedaemonians could not forestall them in making the dedication. They set about making tripods of wood, as they had not money enough to make them of bronze. But one of the Delphians reported the oracle to Sparta. When they heard it, no plan occurred to them in public, but Oebalus, a man of no repute in general, but evidently shrewd, made a hundred tripods, as best he might, of clay, and hiding them in a bag, carried nets with them like a hunter. As he was unknown even to most of the Lacedaemonians, he would more easily escape detection by the Messenians. Joining some countrymen, he entered Ithome with them, and as soon as night fell, dedicated these tripods of clay to the god, and returned to Sparta to tell the Lacedaemonians. The Messenians, when they saw them, were greatly disturbed, thinking, rightly enough, that they were from the Lacedaemonians. Nevertheless Aristodemus encouraged them, saying what the occasion demanded, and setting up the wooden tripods, which had already been made, round the altar of the god of Ithome. It happened also that Ophioneus, the seer who had been blind from birth, received his sight in the most remarkable way. He was seized with a violent pain in the head, and thereupon received his sight.

XIII. Next, as fate was already inclining towards

χρεῶν ἐς ἄλωσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων—προεσήμαινεν  
 αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεός. τό τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀρτέ-  
 μιδος ἄγαλμα, ὃν χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα,  
 παρῆκε τὴν ἄσπίδα· καὶ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ Διὶ  
 τῷ Ἴθωμάτα θύειν μέλλοντος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἱ κριοὶ  
 ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν αὐτόματοι καὶ βία τὰ κέρατα  
 ἐνράξαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. τρί-  
 2 τον δὲ ἄλλο συνέβη σφίσιν· οἱ κύνες συνιόντες  
 ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ὠρύνοντο, τέλος δὲ  
 καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Λακεδαι-  
 2 μονίων στρατόπεδον. ταυτὰ τε δὴ τὸν Ἀριστό-  
 δημον ἐτάρασσε καὶ ὄνειρατος ὄψις ἐπιγενομένη  
 τοιάδε. ἔδοξεν ἐξιέναι οἱ μέλλοντι ἐς μάχην καὶ  
 ὠπλισμένῳ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ σπλάγχχνα ἐπὶ τρα-  
 πέξῃ προκείσθαι, τὴν δὲ οἱ θυγατέρα ἐπιφανῆναι  
 μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα ἔχουσαν καὶ φαίνουσαν τό τε  
 στέρνον καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀνατετμημένα, ἀνα-  
 φανείσαν δὲ ἀπορρίψαι μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέξης,  
 ἀφελέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ  
 στέφανον ἐπιθεῖναι χρυσοῦν καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐπι-  
 3 βαλεῖν λευκόν. ἔχοντας δὲ Ἀριστοδήμου τά τε  
 ἄλλα ἀθύμως καὶ τὸν ὄνειρον ἠγουμένου προλέ-  
 γειν οἱ τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, ὅτι οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τῶν  
 ἐπιφανῶν τὰς ἐκφορὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐστεφανωμένων  
 καὶ ἱμάτια ἐπιβεβλημένων λευκά, ἀπαγγέλλει  
 τις Ὀφιονέα τὸν μάντιν οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔτι ἄλλ' ἐξαί-  
 φνης γενέσθαι τυφλόν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς. συνιᾶσι δὴ καὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τότε, ὡς  
 τοὺς ἀναδύντας δύο ἐκ τοῦ λόχου καὶ ἐς τὸ χρεῶν  
 αὐθις ἐλθόντας τοῦ Ὀφιονέως τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 4 εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία. ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστόδημος τά τε οἰκεία  
 ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον γένοιτο φονεὺς

the conquest of the Messenians, the god revealed to them the future. For the armed statue of Artemis, which was all of bronze, let its shield fall. And as Aristodemus was about to sacrifice the victims to Zeus of Ithome, the rams of their own accord leapt towards the altar, and dashing their horns violently against it were killed by the force of the blow. A third portent befell them. The dogs assembled together and howled every night, and at last fled together to the camp of the Lacedaemonians. Aristodemus was alarmed by this and by the following dream which came to him. He thought that he was about to go forth armed to battle and the victims' entrails were lying before him on a table, when his daughter appeared, wearing a black robe and showing her breast and belly cut open; when she appeared she flung down what was on the table, stripped him of his arms, and instead set a golden crown on his head and put a white robe about him. Aristodemus, who was already in despair, thought the dream foretold the end of life for him, because the Messenians used to carry out their chiefs for burial wearing a crown and dressed in white garments. Then he received news that Ophioneus the seer could no longer see but had suddenly become blind, as he was at first. Then they understood the oracle, that by the two starting forth from the ambush and again meeting their doom the Pythia meant the eyes of Ophioneus. Then Aristodemus, reckoning up his private sorrows, that to no purpose he had become the slayer of his daughter, and

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θυγατρός, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι οὐχ ὄρων ἔτι ὑποῦσαν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς παιδὸς τῷ τάφῳ, τὰ μὲν ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν ἦκουτα Μεσσηνίουσ σωσας, τῆς τύχης δὲ ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ἀγαγούσης τά τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βουλευματα. ἀπέθανε δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη τε ἕξ καὶ ἕκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου μῆνας ἐπιλαβὼν <οὐ> πολλούς.

- 5 Τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπεγνωκέαι τὰ πράγματα παρίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ὄρμησαν ἰκεσίαι ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποστέλλειν· οὕτω σφόδρα κατέπληξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θυμὸς ἐπέσχευ αὐτοὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι· συλλεγόντες δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαι βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἶλοντο. ὁ δὲ Κλέουνίν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Φυλέα ἐλόμενος συνάρχοντας παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνάψων [ἐς] μάχην· ἐπηνάγκαζε γὰρ ἢ τε πολιορκία καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα ὁ λιμὸς καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
- 6 δέος, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐνδείας. ἀρετῇ μὲν δὴ καὶ τολμήμασιν οὐδὲ τότε ἀπεδέησε τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ σφισιν ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῆνας μὲν πέντε μάλιστα ἀντέσχον, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξέλιπον τὴν Ἰθώμην, πολεμήσαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα εἴκοσι, καθὰ καὶ Ἑρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν·

εἴκοστῷ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πῖονα ἔργα λιπόντες φεῦγον Ἰθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

- 7 ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς

## MESSENA, XIII. 4-7

seeing that no hope of safety remained for his country, slew himself upon the tomb of his child. He had done all that human calculation could do to save the Messenians, but fortune brought to naught both his achievements and his plans. He had reigned six years and a few months when he died.

The Messenians were plunged into despair, and were even ready to send to the Lacedaemonians to ask mercy, so demoralised were they by the death of Aristodemus. Their pride, however, prevented them from doing this. But they met in the assembly and chose not a king, but Damis as general with absolute power. He selected Cleonnis and Phyleus as colleagues, and even with their present resources made ready to join battle. For he was forced to this by the blockade, and above all by famine and by the consequent terror that they would be destroyed by want. Even then the Messenians were not inferior in courage and brave deeds, but all their generals were killed and their most notable men. After this they held out for some five months, but as the year was coming to an end deserted Ithome, the war having lasted twenty years in all, as is stated in the poems of Tyrtaeus :

“But in the twentieth year they left their rich  
tilled lands, and fled from out the lofty  
mountains of Ithome.”

This war came to an end in the first year of the

τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάσμων Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα στάδιον, Ἀθήνησι Μεδοντιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν δεκέτιν καὶ ἔτους Ἰππομένει τετάρτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡνυσμένου.

- XIV. Μεσσηνίων δὲ ὅσοις μὲν ἔτυχον ἐν Σικυῶνι οὔσαι καὶ ἐν Ἀργεὶ προξενίαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τισίν, οὗτοι μὲν ἐς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐς Ἐλευσίνα δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις τελοῦντες τὰ ὄργια· ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοι τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.
- 2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Ἰθώμην καθεῖλον ἐς ἔδαφος, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες ἤρουν. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ τρίποδας χαλκοῦς· Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐστηκὸς ὑπὸ τῷ τρίποδι τῷ πρώτῳ, Ἀρτέμιδος δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Κόρης δὲ ἡ Δήμητρος
- 3 ὑπὸ τῷ τρίτῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνέθεσαν ἐνταῦθα, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Μεσσηνίας Ἀσιναίοις μὲν ἀνεστηκόσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων διδόασιν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ταύτην ἦν καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι νέμονται· τοῖς δὲ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπογόνους—ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀνδροκλεί καὶ παῖδες τῆς θυγατρὸς, φεύγοντες δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ Ἀνδροκλέους ὄχοντο ἐς Σπάρτην—τούτοις τὴν Ἰαμίαν κα-
- 4 λουμένην ἀπονέμουσι. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔσχεν οὕτως. πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὄρκον μήτε ἀποστήναί ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν μήτε ἄλλο ἐργάσασθαι νεώτερον μηδέν· δεύτερα δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπέταξαν εἰρημένον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γεωργουμένων τροφῶν σφισιν ἀπέφερον ἐς Σπάρτην πάντων τὰ

fourteenth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> when Dasmon of Corinth won the short footrace. At Athens the Medontidae were still holding the archonship as a ten years' office, Hippomenes having completed his fourth year.

XIV. All the Messenians who had ties with Sicyon and Argos and among any of the Arcadians retired to these states, but those who belonged to the family of the priests and performed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, to Eleusis. The majority of the common people were scattered in their native towns, as before. The Lacedaemonians first razed Ithome to the ground, then attacked and captured the remaining towns. Of the spoils they dedicated bronze tripods to the god of Amyclae. A statue of Aphrodite stands under the first tripod, of Artemis under the second, of Kore or Demeter under the third. Dedicating these offerings at Amyclae, they gave to the people of Asine, who had been driven out by the Argives, that part of Messenia on the coast which they still occupy; to the descendants of Androcles (he had a daughter, who with her children had fled at his death and come to Sparta) they assigned the part called Hyamia. The Messenians themselves were treated in this way: First they exacted an oath that they would never rebel or attempt any kind of revolution. Secondly, though no fixed tribute was imposed on them, they used to bring the half of all the produce of their fields to Sparta. It was also

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 724.

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ἡμίσεα. προείρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθήτῃ ἦκειν μελαίνῃ· καὶ τοῖς παραβάσιν ἐπέκειτο 5 ποινή. <ἐς> τιμωρίας δὲ ἅς ὕβριζον ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,  
δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς  
ἡμισυ πᾶν ὄσσων καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπευθεῖν ἔκειτο αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη,  
δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε·

δεσπότης οἰμῶζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,  
εὐτέ τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

- 6 Τοιούτων οὖν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κατειληφόντων καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὰ μελλόντα οὐδὲν ἐνορῶντες παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φιλάνθρωπον, πρό τε δὴ τῶν παρόντων τεθνάναι μαχομένους ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας οἷχεσθαι νομίζοντες αἰρετώτερα, ἀφίστασθαι πάντως ἐγίνωσκον. ἐν-ἠγον δὲ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐς τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, πολέμου μὲν ἔτι ἀπείρως ἔχοντες, λαμπροὶ δὲ ὄντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν προτιμῶντες ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πατρίδι, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαι-  
7 μόνως δουλεύειν παρείη. ἐπετράφη δὲ νεότης καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστοι περὶ τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστομένης, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ὡς ἠρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμὰς. καὶ οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρξαι νομίζουσι· Νικοτελεία γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἢ θεὸν



## MESSENA, XIV. 4-7

ordained that for the funerals of the kings and other magistrates men should come from Messene with their wives in black garments, and a penalty was laid on those who disobeyed. As to the wanton punishments which they inflicted on the Messenians, this is what is said in 'Tyrtaeus' poems :

“ Like asses worn by their great burdens, bringing of dire necessity to their masters the half of all the fruits the corn-land bears.”

That they were compelled to share their mourning, he shows by the following :

“ Wailing for their masters, they and their wives alike, whensoever the baneful doom of death came upon any.”

In these straits the Messenians, foreseeing no kindness from the Lacedaemonians, and thinking death in battle or a complete migration from Peloponnese preferable to their present lot, resolved at all costs to revolt. They were incited to this mainly by the younger men, who were still without experience of war but were of high spirit and preferred death in a free country, even though slavery might bring happiness in all else. Of the young men who had grown up in Messenia the best and most numerous were round Andania, and among them was Aristomenes, who to this day is worshipped as a hero among the Messenians. They think that even the circumstances of his birth were notable, for they assert that a spirit or a god united with his

δράκοντι εἰκασμένον συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἄριστοδάμῳ Σικυωνίου οἶδα εἰρηκότας, διάφορα δὲ τοσόνδε ἦν· Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐποιοῦσιν Ἄριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἢ Δίῃ, ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμωνι οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἄρατον Ἀσκληπιῷ Σικυώνιοι· Ἄριστομένει δὲ πατέρα Ἑλλήνων μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἶναι, Μεσσηνίους δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἄριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζων ἡλικία καὶ τόλμη καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν· ἐπράσσετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εὐθύς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, κρύφα δὲ ἐς Ἄργος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀπέστελλον, εἴ σφισιν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου ἀμῦναι θελήσουσιν.

XV. Ὡς δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προθυμότερα ἢ προσεδόκων—καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοις ἤδη καὶ Ἀρκάσι λαμπρῶς τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχθος ἐξῆπτο—οὕτως ἀπέστησαν ἔπει τριακοστῷ μὲν καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ Ἰθώμης ἄλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἦν Ἰκαρος Ὑπερησιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον· Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν ἤδη τότε ἄρχοντες, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Τλησίαις ἦρχεν.  
 2 ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι οἱ τινες τηνικαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύοντες, Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε, Ῥιανὸς δ' ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου. Ῥιανῷ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδαμῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο συνθήσομαι· Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὅμως εἰρη-

mother, Nicoteleia, in the form of a serpent. I know that the Macedonians tell a similar story about Olympias, and the Sicyonians about Aristodama, but there is this difference: The Messenians do not make Aristomenes the son of Heracles or of Zeus, as the Macedonians do with Alexander and Ammon, and the Sicyonians with Aratus and Asclepius. Most of the Greeks say that Pyrrhus was the father of Aristomenes, but I myself know that in their libations the Messenians call him Aristomenes son of Nicomedes. He then, being in the full vigour of youth and courage, with others of the nobles incited them to revolt. This was not done openly at first, but they sent secretly to Argos and to the Arcadians, to ask if they were ready to help unhesitatingly and no less energetically than in the former war.

XV. When all their preparations were made for the war, the readiness of their allies exceeding expectation (for now the hatred which the Argives and Arcadians felt for the Lacedaemonians had blazed up openly), they revolted in the thirty-ninth year after the capture of Ithome, and in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> when Icarus of Hyperesia won the short footrace. At Athens the archonship was now of annual tenure, and Tlesias held office. Tyrtaeus has not recorded the names of the kings then reigning in Lacedaemon, but Rhianos stated in his epic that Leotychides was king at the time of this war. I cannot agree with him at all on this point. Though Tyrtaeus makes no statement, he may be regarded as having done

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 685.

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κέναι τις ἂν ἐν τῷδε ἡγοῖτο. ἐλεγεία γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πόλεμον·

ἀμφ' αὐτῇ δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη  
νωλεμέως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,  
αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες.

3 δῆλα οὖν ἐστὶν ὡς ὕστερον τρίτη γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν, ἀποδείκνυσί τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχές βασιλεύοντας τηνικαῦτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀνάξανδρον Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Ἀναξίδαμον Ζευξιδάμον τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. κατέβην δὲ ἐς ἀπόγονον Θεοπόμπου τέταρτον, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προαπέθανε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον υἱιδούν ὄντα ἢ Θεοπόμπου περιῆλθεν ἀρχή. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν Ἀρίστωνος Θεοπόμπου δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀπόγονος ἔβδομος.

4 Τότε δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλουσιν ἐν Δέραις καλουμέναις τῆς σφετέρας, ἔτι πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν· ἀπῆσαν δὲ ἀμφοτέροις οἱ σύμμαχοι. καὶ νίκη μὲν ἐγένετο οὐδετέρων σαφῆς, Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔργα φασὶν ἀποδείξασθαι πλέον τι ἢ ἄνδρα ἓνα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἠροῦντο αὐτόν, ἦν γὰρ καὶ γένους τῶν Αἴπυτιδῶν· παραιτουμένου τε, οὕτω στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα

5 εἶλοντο. Ἀριστομένει δὲ παρίστατο μηδ' ἂν ἄλλον ἀπαξιῶσαι παθεῖν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δράσαντα ἄξια μνήμης· αὐτῷ μέντοι καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαι-

## MESSEANIA, xv. 2-5

so by the following; there are lines of his which refer to the first war:

“Around it they fought unceasingly for nineteen years, ever maintaining a stout heart, the warrior fathers of our fathers.”

It is obvious then that the Messenians went to war now in the second generation after the first war, and the sequence of time shows that the kings of Sparta at that time were Anaxander the son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, and of the other house Anaxidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, son of Theopompus. I go as far as the third in descent from Theopompus, because Archidamus the son of Theopompus died before his father, and the kingdom of Theopompus passed to his grandson, Zeuxidamus. But Leotychides clearly succeeded Demaratus the son of Ariston, Ariston being sixth in descent from Theopompus.

In the first year after the revolt the Messenians engaged the Lacedaemonians at a place called Derae in Messenia, both sides being without their allies. Neither side won a clear victory, but Aristomenes is said to have achieved more than it seemed that one man could, so that, as he was of the race of the Aepytidae, they were for making him king after the battle. As he declined, they appointed him general with absolute power. It was the view of Aristomenes that any man would be ready to die in battle if he had first done deeds worthy of record, but that it was his own especial task at the very beginning of the war to prove that he had

μονίους καταπλήξαντα φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά σφισι φοβερώτερον. ἄτε δὲ οὕτως ἔχων, ἀφικόμενος νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀνατίθουσιν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τὸν τῆς Χαλκιοῦκου ναόν· ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ Ἀριστομένην ἀπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν δίδοναι τῇ θεῷ.

- 6 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραιέσοντα ἂν χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδέτερα θέλοντες, οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἄνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβεῖν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἀρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Τυρταῖος διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων ροῦν τε ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός, τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἰδία τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὀπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία καὶ τὰ ἔπη σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα
- 7 ἦδεν. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δέρας ἀγῶνος, ἠκόντων ἀμφοτέροις καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς μάχην συνάψοντες ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Κάπρου σήματι. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἀργους ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυῶνος βοήθεια. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἔφευγον ἑκουσίως, ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος τε, οἷς πάτριον δρᾶν τὰ ὄργια τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν, καὶ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ συσπεύσαντες μάλιστά σφισιν ἦσαν
- 8 οὔτοι. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἦλθον Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσοντες καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινες κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ

struck terror into the Lacedaemonians and that he would be more terrible to them for the future. With this purpose he came by night to Lacedaemon and fixed on the temple of Athena of the Brazen House a shield inscribed "The Gift of Aristomenes to the Goddess, taken from Spartans."

The Spartans received an oracle from Delphi that they should procure the Athenian as counsellor. So they sent messengers to Athens to announce the oracle, asking for a man to advise what they must do. The Athenians, who were not anxious either that the Lacedaemonians should add to their possessions the best part of Peloponnese without great dangers, or that they themselves should disobey the god, made their plans accordingly. There was a man Tyrtæus, a teacher of letters, who was considered of poor intellect and was lame in one foot. Him they sent to Sparta. On his arrival he recited his poems in elegiacs and anapaests to the nobles in private and to all whom he could collect. A year after the fight at Derae, both sides being joined by their allies, they prepared to join battle at the *Boar's Tomb*, as it is called. The Messenians had the Eleians and Arcadians and also succours from Argos and from Sicyon. They were joined by all the Messenians who had previously been in voluntary exile, together with those from Eleusis, whose hereditary task it was to perform the rites of the Great Goddesses, and the descendants of Androcles. These indeed were their most zealous supporters. The Corinthians came to fight on the side of the Lacedaemonians, and some of the Lepreans owing to

Ἡλείων· Ἀσιναίοις δὲ ὄρκοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, Κάπρου σῆμα, ἔστι μὲν ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, Ἡρακλέα δὲ αὐτόθι ὄρκον ἐπὶ τομίῳν κάπρου τοῖς Νηλέως παισὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ ἐκείνων λέγουσιν.

XVI. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις προεθύσαντο οἱ μάντις, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Ἐκας ἀπόγονός τε καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἐκα τοῦ σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶν ἐλθόντος ἐς Σπάρτην, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις Θεόκλος—ἐγεγόνει δὲ ὁ Θεόκλος οὗτος ἀπὸ Εὐμάντιδος, Εὐμαντιν δὲ ὄντα Ἡλείῳ τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Μεσσήνην—τότε δὲ παρόντων καὶ τῶν μάντεων σὺν φρονήματι ἀμφότεροι  
 2 μᾶλλον ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν μάχην. καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρόθυμα, ὡς ἡλικίας ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἢ ῥώμης, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀνάξανδρός τε ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν παρὰ Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι Φίντας καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐπειρῶντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι. Τυρταῖος δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱεροφάνται τῶν Μεγάλων ἔργου μὲν ἠπτοντο οὐδενός, τοὺς τελευταίους δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐκάτεροι στρατιᾶς ἐπήγειρον.  
 3 κατὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένην εἶχεν οὕτω. λογάδες περὶ αὐτὸν ὄγδοῖκοι ἦσαν Μεσσηνίων, ἡλικίαν τε γεγονότες ἐκείνῳ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἕκαστος προτετιμῆσθαι μεγάλως ὑμίζων ὅτι ἠξίωτο Ἀριστομένει συντετάχθαι ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι δι' ὀλίγου δεινοὶ τὰ τε παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνου καὶ ἀρχομένου τι δρᾶν καὶ ἔτι μέλλοντος. οὗτοι μὲν



their hatred of the Eleians. But the people of Asine were bound by oaths to both sides. This spot, the *Boar's Tomb*, lies in Stenyclerus of Messenia, and there, as is said, Heracles exchanged oaths with the sons of Neleus over the pieces of a boar.

XVI. Sacrifice was offered by the seers on both sides before the battle; on the Lacedaemonian side by Hecas, descendant and namesake of the Hecas who had come with the sons of Aristodemus to Sparta, on the Messenian side by Theoclus, who was descended from Eumantis, an Eleian of the house of the Iamidae, whom Cresphontes had brought to Messene. Then in the presence of the seers both sides were spurred by greater ardour for the fight. All showed the zeal that befitted their age and strength, but Anaxander, the Lacedaemonian king, and his Spartan guard above all. On the Messenian side the descendants of Androcles, Phintas and Androcles, and their company tried to acquit themselves like brave men. Tyrtæus and the chief priests of the Great Goddesses took no part in the action, but urged on the hindmost on their own sides. As to Aristomenes himself—he had with him eighty picked men of the Messenians of the same age as himself, each one of them thinking it the highest honour that he had been thought worthy of a place in the troop with Aristomenes. They were quick to understand each other's movements, especially those of their leader, when he began or contemplated

- πρῶτον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀριστομένης πόνον εἶχον  
 πολὺν κατ' Ἀνάξανδρον καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἀρίστους· λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύ-  
 ματα ἀφειδῶς καὶ ἐς πᾶν προΐοντες ἀπονοίας τῷ  
 τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς  
 4 περὶ Ἀνάξανδρον. τούτοις μὲν δὴ φεύγουσι  
 διώκειν ἐπέταξεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἕτερον τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων λόχον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὀρμήσας πρὸς τὸ  
 μάλιστα ἀνθεστηκός, ὡς ἐβιάσατο καὶ τούτους,  
 ἐπ' ἄλλους ἐτράπετο αὐθις. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους  
 ὡσάμενος ἐτοιμότερον ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς ὑπομένοντας  
 ἐπεφέρετο, ἐς ὃ πᾶσαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν  
 τάξιν καὶ αὐτῶν <καὶ> τῶν συμμάχων συνέχεε·  
 καὶ οὐχὶ σὺν αἰδοῖ φευγόντων οὐδὲ ἀναμένειν  
 θελόντων ἔτι ἀλλήλους, ἐπέκειτό σφισι φοβερῶ-  
 5 τερος ἢ κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς εἶναι μανίαν. ἔνθα δὴ  
 καὶ παρ' ἀχράδα πεφυκυῖάν που τοῦ πεδίου, παρὰ  
 ταύτην Ἀριστομένην οὐκ εἶα παραθεῖν ὁ μάντις  
 Θεόκλος· καθέζεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἔφα-  
 σκεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀχράδι. Ἀριστομένης δὲ εἰκὼν τῷ  
 θυμῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀκροώμενος τὰ πάντα τοῦ μάντεως,  
 ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀχράδα ἐγίνετο, ἀπόλλυσι τὴν  
 ἀσπίδα, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦ  
 Ἀριστομένουσ παρῆσχεν αὐτῶν ἀποσωθῆναί τινας  
 ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς· διέτριψε γὰρ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνευρεῖν  
 πειρώμενος.
- 6 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν  
 πληγὴν καὶ ὠρμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον,  
 Τυρταῖός τε ἐλεγεία ἄδων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς  
 καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν  
 ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἰλώτων. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὡς  
 ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ταινίας αἱ γυναῖκες

any manœuvre. They themselves with Aristomenes were at first hard pressed in face of Anaxander and the Lacedaemonian champions, but receiving wounds unflinchingly and showing every form of desperate courage they repulsed Anaxander and his men by their long endurance and valour. As they fled, Aristomenes ordered another Messenian troop to undertake the pursuit. He himself attacked the enemies' line where it was firmest, and after breaking it at this point sought a new point of assault. Soon successful here, he was the more ready to assail those who stood their ground, until he threw into confusion the whole line of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of their allies. They were now running without shame and without waiting for one another, while he assailed them with a terror that seemed more than one man's fury could inspire. There was a wild pear-tree growing in the plain, beyond which Theoclus the seer forbade him to pass, for he said that the Dioscuri were seated on the tree. Aristomenes, in the heat of passion, did not hear all that the seer said, and when he reached the tree, lost his shield, and his disobedience gave to the Lacedaemonians an opportunity for some to escape from the rout. For he lost time trying to recover his shield.

The Lacedaemonians were thrown into despair after this blow and purposed to put an end to the war. But Tyrtaeus by reciting his poems contrived to dissuade them, and filled their ranks from the Helots to replace the slain. When Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women threw ribbons and

καὶ τὰ ὠραῖα ἐπιβάλλουσαι τῶν ἀνθῶν ἐπέλεγον  
ἄσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἀδόμενον

ἔς τε μέσον πεδίου Στενυκλήριον ἔς τ' ὄρος  
ἄκρον

εἶπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

- 7 ἀνεσώσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐκείνην, ἔς τε  
Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος καὶ ὡς οἱ προσέταξεν ἡ  
Πυθία καταβάς ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἱερόν τοῦ Τρο-  
φωνίου τὸ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ. ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα  
ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Λεβάδειαν φέρων, ἧ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς  
εἶδον ἀνακειμένην· ἐπίθημα δέ ἐστιν αὐτῆς αἰτὸς  
τὰ πτερὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκτετακῶς ἐς ἄκραν τὴν  
ἴτυν. τότε δὲ Ἀριστομένης ὡς ἐπανῆκεν ἐκ  
Βοιωτίας εὐρών τε παρὰ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ κομι-  
σάμενος τὴν ἀσπίδα, αὐτίκα ἔργων μειζόνων  
8 ἤπτετο. συλλέξας δὲ ἄλλους τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων  
καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἔχων λογάδας, φυλάξας  
τὰ μετὰ ἐσπέραν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ πόλιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς,  
τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα καὶ ἐν Ὀμήρου καταλόγῳ  
Φᾶριν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ προσοίκων  
καλουμένην Φαράς· ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀφικόμενος τοὺς  
τε πειρωμένους ἀμύνεσθαι διέφθειρε καὶ λείαν  
περιβαλλόμενος ἀπήλαυεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην.  
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ  
βασιλέως ἐπιθεμένων καθ' ὁδόν, ἐτρέψατό τε καὶ  
τούτους καὶ διώκειν τὸν Ἀνάξανδρον ὄρμητο·  
βληθεὶς δὲ ἀκοντίῳ τὸν γλουτὸν τὴν δίωξιν  
ἐπέσχευ, οὐ μέντοι τὴν λείαν γε ἦν ἤλαυεν  
9 ἀφηρέθη. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀκεσθῆναι τὸ τραῦμα,  
ἐς μὲν αὐτὴν Σπάρτην ἔξοδον ποιούμενος νύκτωρ  
ἀπετράπετο ὑπὸ φασμάτων Ἑλένης καὶ Διοσ-

flower blossoms over him, singing also a song which is sung to this day :

“To the middle of Stenyclerus’ plain and to the hilltop Aristomenes followed after the Lacedaemonians.”

He recovered his shield also, going to Delphi and descending into the holy shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia, as the Pythia bade. Afterwards he took the shield to Lebadeia and dedicated it, and I myself have seen it there among the offerings. The device on it is an eagle with both wings outspread to the rim. Now on his return from Boeotia, having learnt of the shield at the shrine of Trophonius and recovered it, he at once engaged in greater deeds. Collecting a force of Messenians, together with his own picked troop, he waited for night and went to a city of Laconia whose ancient name in Homer’s *Catalogue* is Pharis,<sup>1</sup> but is called Pharae by the Spartans and neighbouring people. Arriving here he killed those who offered resistance and surrounding the cattle started to drive them off to Messene. On the way he was attacked by Lacedaemonian troops under king Anaxander, but put them to flight and began to pursue Anaxander ; but he stopped the pursuit when wounded in the buttocks with a javelin ; he did not, however, lose the booty which he was driving away. After waiting only for the wound to heal, he was making an attack by night on Sparta itself, but was deterred by the appearance of Helen and of the Dioscuri. But he

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 582.

κούρων, τὰς δ' ἐν Καρύαις παρθένους χορευούσας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐλόχησε μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ συνέλαβεν ὅσαι χρήμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀξιώματι πατέρων προεῖχον· ἀγαγὼν δὲ ἐς κώμην τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύετο, ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου  
 10 τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν παρθένων. ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ μέθης οἱ νεανίσκοι δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκρατῶς ἔχοντες λογισμοῦ πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τῶν παρθένων, Ἀριστομένους δὲ ἀπείργοντος οὐ νομιζόμενα Ἕλλησι δρῶντας οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο λόγον, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παροινούντας μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων πολλῶν, παρθένους ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶλεν.

XVII. Ἔστι δὲ Αἴγιλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἔνθα ἱερὸν ἴδρυται ἅγιον Δῆμητρος. ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγούσας ἑορτὴν . . . ἀμύνεσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς θεοῦ προυχθειςῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἷς τὰ ἱερεῖα αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθνον, καὶ ὀβελοῖς, οἷς τὰ κρέα ἔπειρον ὀπτῶσαι τὸν δὲ Ἀριστομένην τύπτουσαι ταῖς δασὶ ζῶντα αἰροῦσιν. ἀπεσώθη δὲ ὅμως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ἀφεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἱερεῖα τῆς Δῆμητρος αἰτίαν ἔσχεν Ἀρχιδάμεια· ἀφῆκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐρώσα ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι, προῦφασίζετο δὲ ὡς Ἀριστομένης διακαύσας τὰ δεσμὰ ἀποδρὰς οἴχοιτο.

2 Τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου μελλούσης γίνεσθαι συμβολῆς ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ καὶ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδων βεβοηθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν

lay in wait by day for the maidens who were performing the dances in honour of Artemis at Caryae, and capturing those who were wealthiest and of noblest birth, carried them off to a village in Messenia, entrusting them to men of his troop to guard, while he rested for the night. There the young men, intoxicated, I suppose, and without any self-control, attempted to violate the girls. When Aristomenes attempted to deter them from an action contrary to Greek usage, they paid no attention, so that he was compelled to kill the most disorderly. He released the captives for a large ransom, maidens, as when he captured them.

XVII. There is a place Aegila in Laconia, where is a sanctuary sacred to Demeter. Aristomenes and his men knowing that the women were keeping festival there . . . the women were inspired by the goddess to defend themselves, and most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat. Aristomenes was struck with the torches and taken alive. Nevertheless he escaped to Messenia during the same night. Archidameia, the priestess of Demeter, was charged with having released him, not for a bribe but because she had been in love with him before ; but she maintained that Aristomenes had escaped by burning through his bonds.

In the third year of the war, when an engagement was about to take place at what is called *The Great Trench*, and the Messenians had been joined by Arcadians from all the cities, the Lacedaemonians

- τῶν πόλεων, Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ἰκέτα Τραπεζούντιον, βασιλέα τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἐν τῷ τότε, διαφθείρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρήμασι. πρῶτοι γὰρ ὧν ἴσμεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμίῳ ἀνδρὶ δῶρα ἔδωκαν, καὶ ὄνιον πρῶτοι κατεστήσαντο εἶναι τὸ κράτος τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις.
- 3 πρὶν δὲ ἢ παρανομῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Ἀρκάδος τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀρετῇ τε οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ τύχαις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διεκρίνοντο. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὕστερον, ἠνίκα ἐπὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ταῖς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἀνθῶρμον, ἄλλους τε τῶν στρατηγούντων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ
- 4 Ἀδείμαντον ἐξωνησάμενοι. περιῆλθε μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἡ Νεοπτολέμειος καλουμένη τίσις. Νεοπτολέμῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως, ἀποκτείναντι Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρα τοῦ Ἑρκείου, συνέπεσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποσφαγῆναι· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ παθεῖν ὁποῖόν τις
- 5 καὶ ἔδρασε Νεοπτολέμειον τίσιν ὀνομάζουσι. τοῖς οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα ἦνθησαν καὶ Ἀθηναίων τε τὸ ναυτικὸν καθηρήκεσαν καὶ Ἀγησίλαος κεχείρωτο τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη τῆς Ἀσίας, τότε σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀφελῆσθαι τὸν Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος περιῆλθε τῷ ἐκείνων εὐρήματι, ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θήβας χρήματα ἀποστείλας· ὃ τε ὀνομαζόμενος Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξήφθη τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς ἀπολείπειν Ἀγησίλαον ἀναγκασθῆναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.
- 6 Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν τὸ ἐς Μεσσηνίους σόφισμα



bribed Aristocrates the son of Hicetas of Trapezus, who was then king and general of the Arcadians. The Lacedaemonians were the first of whom we know to give bribes to an enemy, and the first to make victory in war a matter of purchase. Before the Lacedaemonians committed this crime in the Messenian war in the matter of the treachery of Aristocrates the Arcadian, the decision in battle was reached by valour and the fortune of heaven. Again it is clear that at a later date, when they were lying opposite the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, the Lacedaemonians bought Adeimantus and other Athenian generals. However in course of time the punishment of Neoptolemus, as it is called, came upon the Lacedaemonians themselves in their turn. Now it was the fate of Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, after killing Priam on the altar of Zeus Herkeios (*Of the Courtyard*), himself to be slain by the altar of Apollo in Delphi. Thenceforward to suffer what a man has himself done to another is called the Punishment of Neoptolemus. So in the case of the Lacedaemonians, when they were at the height of their power after the destruction of the Athenian fleet, and Agesilaus had already reduced the greater part of Asia, they were unable to capture the whole empire of the Persians, but the barbarian overreached them with their own invention, sending money to Corinth, Argos, Athens and Thebes; as the result of this bribery the so-called Corinthian war broke out, compelling Agesilaus to abandon his conquests in Asia.

Thus it was the purpose of heaven to turn the

ὁ δαίμων ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς ἀποφανεῖν συμφορὰν Ἄριστοκράτης δὲ ὡς τὰ χρήματα ἐδέξατο ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα ἔκρυπτεν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἷα ἐπεβούλευε, μελλόντων δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἤδη συνέρχεσθαι, τηνικαῦτα ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν δυσχωρία τέ εἰσιν ἀπειλημένοι καὶ ἀναχώρησις οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῖς, ἦν κρατηθῶσιν, τὰ τε ἱερά σφισιν οὐκ ἔφη γεγονέναι κατὰ γνώμην. ἐκέλευεν οὖν πάντα τινά, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς σημήνη, 7 φυγῇ χρῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνέμισγον καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τετραμμένοι, ἐνταῦθα Ἄριστοκράτης ἀρχομένης τῆς μάχης ἀπήγε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τό τε ἀριστερὸν καὶ μέσον ἠρήμωτο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀρκάδες σφίσι εἶχον ἀμφότερα ἅτε ἀπόντων μὲν Ἡλείων τῆς μάχης, ἀπόντων δὲ Ἀργείων καὶ Σικυωνίων. προσεξειργάσθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τῷ Ἄριστοκράτει· διὰ γὰρ Μεσσηνίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν 8 φυγῆν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τῶν παρόντων ἐγένοντο ἔκφρονες καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τῆς διεξόδου τῆς κατὰ σφῆς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐταράσσοντο, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐδέησαν οὐ πολλοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν ἐν χερσίν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιφερομένων ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀφεώρων φεύγοντας, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραμειναὶ σφισιν ἰκέτενον, οἱ δὲ καὶ λαιδορῆαις ἐς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας 9 προδότας καὶ οὐ δικαίους ἐχρῶντο. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἢ τε κύκλωσις τῶν Μεσσηνίων μονωθέντων ἐγένετο οὐ χαλεπὴ καὶ νίκην ἐτοιμοτάτην πασῶν καὶ ἀπονώτατα ἀνείλοντο. Ἄριστομένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ συνέμειναν μὲν καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς μάλιστα ἐγκειμένους ἀνείργειν 266

trick employed by the Lacedaemonians against the Messenians to their own destruction. After receiving the money from Lacedaemon, Aristocrates concealed his plot from the Arcadians for the present, but when they were about to come into action, he alarmed them by saying that they were caught in a difficult place and there would be no means of retreat for them, if defeated, also that the offerings had not been satisfactory. He ordered everyone therefore to take to flight when he gave the signal. When the Lacedaemonians were about to close and the Messenians were occupied on their own front, then Aristocrates withdrew the Arcadians as the battle began, leaving the Messenian left and centre without troops. For the Arcadians occupied both positions in the absence of the Eleians from the battle and of the Argives and Sicyonians. To complete his work Aristocrates caused his men to fly through the Messenians. They were amazed at the unexpected state of affairs, and moreover were thrown into confusion by the passage of the Arcadians through their ranks, so that they almost forgot what lay before them; for instead of the advance of the Lacedaemonians they watched the Arcadian retirement, some begging them to stand by them, others cursing them for traitors and scoundrels. It was not difficult for the Lacedaemonians to surround the Messenians thus isolated, and they won without trouble the easiest of victories. Aristomenes and his men held together and tried to check the fiercest of the Lacedaemonian assaults but, being few in number, were unable to

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<sup>1</sup> οὐ πολλοῦ, Hitzig. οἱ πολλοί, codd.

ἐπειρῶντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ ὄντες οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων τοῦ μὲν δήμου τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἀνηλώθησαν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα Λακεδαιμονίων δεσπότας ἀντὶ δούλων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντας τότε μηδὲ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτὴν ἔτι ἔχειν ἐλπίδα· ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄνδροκλῆς καὶ Φίντας καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως ἀγωνισάμενος Φάνας, ὃς πρότερον τούτων ἔτι δολίχου νίκην Ὀλυμπίασιν ἦν ἀνηρημένος.

- 10 Ἄριστομένης δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς διαπέφευγῶτας τῶν Μεσσηνίων συνήθροιζε, καὶ Ἄνδανίαν μὲν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἶραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίξεσθαι. συνεληλαμένοις δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον προσεκάθηντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιορκία σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἐξαιρήσειν νομίζοντες· ἀντήρκεσαν δὲ ὅμως οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ συμφορὰν ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν
- 11 ἀμυνόμενοι. τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γειέσθαι τοσοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἔπη Ῥιανοῦ πεποιημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους·

οὔρεος ἀργεννοῖο περὶ πτύχας ἐστρατόωντο  
χείματά τε ποίας τε δύο καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας.

χειμῶνας γὰρ καὶ θέρη κατέλεξε, πόας εἰπὼν τὸν χλωρὸν σίτον ἢ ὀλίγον πρὸ ἀμητοῦ.

XVIII. Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Εἶραν <ἀνωκίσθησαν,> τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐξείργοντο πλὴν ὅσον σφίσιςιν οἱ Πύλιοι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ οἱ Μοθωναῖοι διέσωζον, [ἢ] ἐλήστευον τὴν τε Λακωνικὴν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν, πολεμίαν ἤδη καὶ ταύτην νομίζοντες· ἄλλοι τε δὴ συνίσταντο ἐς τὰς κατα-

render much assistance. So great were the numbers of the people of the Messenians slain that in lieu of their former thoughts of becoming the masters instead of the slaves of the Lacedaemonians they now despaired of safety itself. Among the chieftains killed were Androcles and Phintas, and Phanas after the most glorious resistance. He had previously been victorious in the long foot race at Olympia.

Aristomenes collected the Messenian survivors after the battle and persuaded them to desert Andania and most of the other towns that lay in the interior and to settle on Mount Eira. When they had been driven to this spot, the Lacedaemonians sat down to besiege them, thinking that they would soon reduce them. Nevertheless the Messenians maintained their resistance for eleven years after the disaster at the *Trench*. The length of the siege is proved by these lines of the poet Rhianus, regarding the Lacedaemonians:—

“In the folds of the white mountain were they encamped, for two and twenty winters and green herbs.”

He reckons winters and summers, by “green herbs” meaning the green corn or the time just before harvest.

XVIII. Settling on Eira and cut off from the rest of Messenia, except in so far as the people of Pylos and Mothone maintained the coastal districts for them, the Messenians plundered both Laconia and their own territory, regarding it now as enemy country. The men taking part in the raids were

- δρομάς, ὡς ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν, καὶ Ἄριστομένης δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν λογάδας ἐς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν
- 2 προήγαγεν. ἦγον μὲν δὴ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἔφερον ὅ τι καὶ δύναίτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ἐλόντες δὲ σίτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ οἶνον ἀνήλισκον, ἐπιπλα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπεδίδοσαν χρημάτων. ὥστε καὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δόγμα, ἅτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Εὔρῃ μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦντες, τὴν Μεσσηνίαν καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὴν προσεχῆ, ἕως ἂν πολεμῶσιν, ἑᾶν ἄσπορον.
- 3 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου σιτοδεία ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ σιτοδείᾳ στάσις· οὐ γὰρ ἠνείχοντο οἱ ταύτῃ τὰ κτήματα ἔχοντες τὰ σφέτερα ἀργὰ εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τὰ διάφορα διέλυε Τυρταῖος· Ἄριστομένης δὲ ἔχων τοὺς λογάδας τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον περὶ βαθείαν ἐποιήσατο ἐσπέραν, ἔφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τάχους τὴν ἐς Ἀμύκλας ἀνύσας πρὸ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου, καὶ Ἀμύκλας τὸ πόλισμα εἶλέ τε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιήσατο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης προσβοηθῆσαι.
- 4 κατέτρεχε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὃ Λακεδαιμονίων λόχοις πλεον ἢ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι καὶ τοῖς βασιλευσιν ἀμφοτέροις συμβαλὼν ἄλλα τε ἔσχεν ἀμννόμενος τραύματα καὶ πληγέντι ὑπὸ λίθου τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ σκοτοδινιῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί. καὶ πεσόντα ἀθροοὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιδραμόντες ζῶντα αἰροῦσιν· ἤλωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐς πεντήκοντα. τούτους ἔγνωσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ρίψαι πάντας ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν· ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὓς ἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τιμωρῶνται.
- 5 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Μεσσηνίων ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπώλλυντο αὐτίκα, Ἄριστομένην δὲ ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα

drawn from all sources, and Aristomenes raised the number of his chosen troop to three hundred. They harried and plundered whatever Lacedaemonian property they could; when corn, cattle and wine were captured, they were consumed, but movable property and men were sold. The Lacedaemonians, as their labours were more profitable to the men at Eira than to themselves, accordingly resolved that Messenia and the neighbouring part of Laconia should be left uncultivated during the war. As a result scarcity arose in Sparta, and with it revolution. For those who had property here could not endure its lying idle. Their differences were being composed by Tyrtaeus, when Aristomenes and his troop, starting in the late evening and by rapid movement reaching Amyclae before sunrise, captured and plundered the town, retiring before a force from Sparta could come to its relief. He continued to overrun the country afterwards, until in an engagement with more than half the Lacedaemonian infantry and both the kings he received various wounds while defending himself and was struck on the head by a stone, so that his eyes became dizzy. When he fell a number of the Lacedaemonians closed upon him and took him alive with some fifty of his followers. The Lacedaemonians resolved to fling them all into the *Ceadas*, into which they throw men punished for the greatest crimes. The rest of the Messenians were killed at once as they fell, but Aristomenes now as on other occasions was preserved

θεῶν τις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπο-  
 σεμνύοντες τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένει φασὶν  
 ἐμβληθέντι ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν ὄρνιθα τὸν αἰτὸν  
 ὑποπέτεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχειν ταῖς πτέρυξιν, ἐς ὃ κατή-  
 νεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πέρασ οὔτε πηρωθέντα οὐδὲν  
 τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τραῦμά τι λαβόντα. ἔμελλε  
 δὲ ἄρα καὶ αὐτόθεν ὁ δαίμων ἔξοδον ἀποφαίνειν  
 6 αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὸ τέρμα ἦλθε τοῦ  
 βαράθρου, κατεκλίθη τε καὶ ἐφελκυσάμενος  
 τὴν χλαμύδα ἀνέμενεν ὡς πάντως οἱ ἀποθανεῖν  
 πεπρωμένον· τρίτη δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ψόφου τε  
 αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος—ἐδύνατο δὲ ἦδη  
 διὰ τοῦ σκότους διορᾶν—ἀλώπεκα εἶδεν ἀπτομέ-  
 νην τῶν νεκρῶν. ὑπονοήσας δὲ ἔσοδον εἶναι τῷ  
 θηρίῳ ποθέν, ἀνέμενεν ἐγγύς οἱ τὴν ἀλώπεκα  
 γενέσθαι, γενομένης δὲ λαμβάνεται· τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα  
 χειρὶ, ὅποτε ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφοιτο, τὴν χλαμύδα  
 προῦβαλλέν οἱ καὶ δάκνειν παρέιχε. τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 πλείω θεοῦση συνέθει, τὰ δὲ ἄγαν δυσέξοδα καὶ  
 ἐφείλκετο ὑπ' αὐτῆς· ὄψ' ἐ δέ ποτε ὀπῆν τε εἶδεν  
 ἀλώπεκι ἐς διάδυσιν ἱκανὴν καὶ φέγγος δι' αὐτῆς.  
 7 καὶ τὴν μὲν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστομένουσ ἠλευ-  
 θερώθη, τὸ φωλίον ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι· Ἀριστο-  
 μένης δέ—οὐ γὰρ τι ἢ ὀπῆ καὶ τούτῳ παρέχειν  
 ἐδύνατο ἔξοδον—εὐρυτέραν τε ταῖς χερσὶν ἐποίησε  
 καὶ οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Εἰραν ἀποσώζεται, παραδόξῳ  
 μὲν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν χρησάμενος, τὸ  
 γάρ οἱ φρόνημα ἦν καὶ τὰ τολμήματα μείζονα  
 ἢ ὡς ἐλπίσαι τινὰ Ἀριστομένην αἰχμάλωτον  
 ἂν γενέσθαι, παραδοξότερα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πάντων  
 προδηλότατα οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Κεάδα  
 σωτηρία.



by one of the gods. His panegyrists say that, when Aristomenes was thrown into the *Ceadas*, an eagle flew below him and supported him with its wings, bringing him to the bottom without any damage to his body and without wound. Even from here, as it seems, it was the will of heaven to show him a means of escape. For when he came to the bottom of the chasm he lay down, and covering himself with his cloak awaited the death that fate had surely decreed. But after two days he heard a noise and uncovered, and being by this time able to see through the gloom, saw a fox devouring the dead bodies. Realizing that the beast must have some entrance, he waited for the fox to come near him, and then seized it. Whenever it turned on him he used one hand to hold out his cloak for it to bite. For the most part he kept pace with it as it ran, but over the more difficult ground he was dragged along by it. At last he saw a hole big enough for a fox to get through and daylight showing through it. The fox, when released by Aristomenes, made off, presumably, to its earth. But Aristomenes enlarged the hole, which was not large enough to let him through, with his hands and reached his home at Eira in safety, having undergone a remarkable chance in the matter of his capture, for his courage and prowess were so high that no one would have expected Aristomenes to be made a prisoner. Still more remarkable, and a convincing example of divine assistance, was his escape from the *Ceadas*.

XIX. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτομόλων, ὡς Ἀριστομένης ἐπανήκοι σῶς νομιζομένου δὲ ἀπίστου κατὰ ταῦτα ἢ εἴ τινα τεθνεῶτα ἐλέγετο ἀναβιῶναι, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιούδε Ἀριστομένους ὑπήρξεν ἐς πίστιν. Κορίνθιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δύναμιν ὡς  
 2 συνεξαίρησοντας τὴν Εἴραν ἀποστέλλουσι. τούτους παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης τῇ πορείᾳ τε ἀτακτότερον χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἀφυλάκτως, ἐπιτίθεται νύκτωρ σφίσι· καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων καθευδόντων ἔτι ἐφόνευσε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας Ὑπερμενίδην καὶ Ἀχλαδαῖον καὶ Λυσίστρατον καὶ Σίδεκτον ἀποκτίνουσι. διαρπάσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν στρατηγίδα παρέστησεν εὖ εἰδέναί Σπαρτιάταις ὡς Ἀριστομένης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος  
 3 Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα εἰργασμένος. ἔθυσεν δὲ καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἰθωμάτῃ τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἑκατομφόνια ὀνομάζουσιν. αὕτη δὲ καθεστήκει μὲν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, θύειν δὲ αὐτὴν Μεσσηνίων ἐνομίζετο ὅποσοι πολεμίους ἄνδρας κατεργάσαιντο ἑκατόν. Ἀριστομένει δέ, ὅτε ἐπὶ Κάπρου σήματι ἐμαχέσατο, θύσαντι ἑκατομφόνια πρῶτον, δεύτερα ἤδη θῦσαι καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῶν Κορινθίων παρέσχε φόνος. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὕστερον θῦσαι καταδρομαῖς θυσίαν  
 4 τρίτην. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ—ἐπήγει γὰρ Ἐακίνθια—πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εἴρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα ἐποίησαντο ἡμερῶν σπονδὰς· καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀναχωρήσαντες οἴκαδε ἐώρταζον, Κρήτες δὲ τοξόται—μετεπέμψαντο γὰρ ἐκ τε Λύκτου καὶ ἐτέρων πόλεων μισθατούς—οὔτοί σφισιν ἀνὰ τὴν Μεσ-

## MESSEANIA, XIX. 1-4

XIX. The Lacedaemonians at once received information from deserters that Aristomenes had returned in safety. Though they thought it as incredible as the news that anyone had risen from the dead, their belief was ensured by the following action on the part of Aristonienes himself. The Corinthians were sending a force to assist the Lacedaemonians in the reduction of Eira. Learning from his scouts that their march discipline was lax and that their encampments were made without precaution, Aristomenes attacked them by night. He slew most of them while the rest were still sleeping, and killed the leaders Hypermenides, Achladaeus, Lysistratus and Sidectus. And having plundered the generals' tent, he made it clear to the Spartans that it was Aristomenes and no other Messenian who had done this. He also made the sacrifice called the *Offering for the hundred slain* to Zeus of Ithome. This was an old-established custom, all Messenians making it who had slain their hundred enemies. Aristomenes first offered it after the battle at the *Boar's Tomb*, his second offering was occasioned by the slaughter of the Corinthians in the night. It is said that he made a third offering as the result of his later raids. Now the Lacedaemonians, as the festival of Hyacinthus was approaching, made a truce of forty days with the men of Eira. They themselves returned home to keep the feast, but some Cretan archers, whom they had summoned as mercenaries from Lyctus and other cities, were

σηνίαν ἐπλανῶντο. Ἄριστομένην οὖν, ἅτε ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς Εἵρας γενόμενον καὶ προῖοντα ἀδεέστερον, ἐπτά ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν τούτων ἐλόχησαν, συλλαβόντες δὲ τοῖς ἰμάσιν οἷς εἶχον ἐπὶ ταῖς φαρέτραις δέουσιν· ἐσπέρα γὰρ  
 5 ἐπήει. δύο μὲν οὖν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἄριστομένην εὐηγγελίζοντο ἠλωκέσαι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς ἀγρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ᾤκει κόρη σὺν μητρὶ παρθένος, πατὴρ ὄρφανή. τῇ δὲ προτέρα νυκτὶ εἶδεν ὄψιν ἢ παιῖς· λέοντα ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν λύκοι σφίσιν ἤγαγον δεδεμένον καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄνυχας, αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἀνευροῦσα ἔδωκε τοὺς ὄνυχας, οὕτω  
 6 τε διασπασθῆναι τοὺς λύκους ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ λέοντος. τότε δὲ ὡς τὸν Ἄριστομένην ἐσάγουσιν οἱ Κρήτες, συνεφρόνησεν ἢ παρθένος ὑπαρ ἤκειν τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ οἱ πεφηνὸς καὶ ἀνηρώτα τὴν μητέρα ὅστις εἶη· μαθοῦσα δὲ ἐπερρώσθη τε καὶ ἀπιδουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ προσταχθὲν συνῆκεν. οἶνον οὖν τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγχέουσα ἀνέδη, ὡς σφᾶς ἢ μέθη κατελάμβανεν, ὑφαιρεῖται τοῦ μάλιστα ὑπνωμένου τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον· τὰ μὲν δὴ δεσμὰ τοῦ Ἄριστομένους ἔτεμεν ἢ παρθένος, ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸ ξίφος <ἐκείνους> διειργάσατο. ταύτην τὴν παρθένον λαμβάνει γυναῖκα Γόργος Ἄριστομένους· ἐδίδου δὲ Ἄριστομένης τῇ παιδὶ ἐκτίων σῶστρα, ἐπεὶ Γόργῳ οὐκ ἦν πω δέκατον καὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος, ὅτε ἔγημεν.

XX. Ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας τὴν τε Εἴραν ἐπέπρωτο ἀλῶναι καὶ ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι Μεσσηνίους, καὶ δὴ σφισιν ἐπετέλεσεν  
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patrolling Messenia for them. Aristomenes then, in view of the truce, was at a distance from Eira and was advancing somewhat carelessly, when seven of these archers laid an ambush for him. They captured him and bound him with the thongs which they had on their quivers, as evening was coming on. So two of them went to Sparta, bringing the glad news that Aristomenes had been captured. The rest went to one of the farms in Messenia, where there dwelt a fatherless girl with her mother. On the previous night the girl had seen a dream: Wolves brought a lion to their farm bound and without talons; but she herself loosed the lion from his bonds and found and gave to him his talons, and thus it seemed that the wolves were torn in pieces by the lion. And now when the Cretans brought in Aristomenes, the girl realised that the dream of the night had come true, and asked her mother who he was. On learning she was encouraged, and looking intently at him understood what she had been bidden to do. Accordingly she plied the Cretans with wine, and when they were overcome with drunkenness she stole away the dagger of the man who was sleeping most heavily. Then the girl cut the bonds of Aristomenes, and he took the sword and despatched the men. This maiden was taken to wife by Gorgus the son of Aristomenes. Aristomenes gave him to the girl as a recompense for saving his life, for Gorgus had not yet completed his eighteenth year when he wedded her.

XX. But in the eleventh year of the siege it was fated that Eira should be taken and the Messenians dispersed, and the god fulfilled for them an oracle

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ὁ θεὸς Ἀριστομένει καὶ Θεόκλῳ χρησθέν τι. τούτοις γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ πληγὴν καὶ ἐπερομένοις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοσόνδε εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία·

εὔτε τράγος πίνῃσι Νέδης ἐλικόρροον ὕδωρ,  
οὐκέτι Μεσσήνην ῥύομαι· σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὄλεθρος.

- 2 εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπιστρέψας αὐθις ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὀρίζει τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ἡλείοις τὴν γῆν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν τοὺς αἶγας τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ πίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Νέδας· τοῖς δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων πρρησήμεναι τοιόνδε. τὸ δένδρον τὸν ἐρινεὸν εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ καλοῦσιν ὀλύνην, Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ τράγον. τότε οὖν πρὸς τῇ Νέδα πεφυκῶς ἐρινεὸς οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἠΰξητο, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε τὸ ρεῦμα ἐπέστρεφε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄκροις τοῖς φύλλοις ἐπέψαυε.
- 3 θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος συνεβάλετο ὡς τὸν τράγον τὸν πίνοντα ἐκ τῆς Νέδας προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐρινεὸν τοῦτον καὶ ὡς ἤδη Μεσσηνίοις ἤκει τὸ χρεῶν· καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, Ἀριστομένην δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν ἐρινεὸν ἤγαγε καὶ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξήκοι σφίσιν ὁ χρόνος. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχειν οὕτω πείθεται καὶ ἀναβολὴν οὐκέτι εἶναί σφισι, προενοήσατο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
- 4 παρόντων. καὶ ἦν γάρ τι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἔμελλε δὲ ἀφανισθὲν ὑποβρύχιον τὴν Μεσσήνην κρύψειν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, φυλαχθὲν δὲ οἱ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίουος χρησμοὶ

given to Aristomenes and Theoclus. They had come to Delphi after the disaster at the *Trench* and asked concerning safety, receiving this reply from the Pythia :

“ Whensoever a he-goat drinks of Neda’s winding stream, no more do I protect Messene, for destruction is at hand.”

The springs of the Neda are in Mount Lycaeus. The river flows through the land of the Arcadians and turning again towards Messenia forms the boundary on the coast between Messenia and Elis. Then they were afraid of the he-goats drinking from the Neda, but it appeared that what the god foretold to them was this. Some of the Greeks call the wild fig-tree *olynthe*, but the Messenians themselves *tragos* (he-goat). Now at that time a wild fig-tree growing on the bank of the Neda had not grown straight up, but was bending towards the stream and touching the water with the tips of its leaves. When the seer Theoclus saw it, he guessed that the goat who drinks of the Neda foretold by the Pythia was this wild fig-tree, and that their fate had already come upon the Messenians. He kept it secret from the rest, but led Aristomenes to the fig-tree and showed him that their time of safety had gone by. Aristomenes believed that it was so and that there was no delaying their fate, and made provision such as circumstances demanded. For the Messenians possessed a secret thing. If it were destroyed, Messene would be overwhelmed and lost for ever, but if it were kept, the oracles of Lycus the son of Pandion said

Μεσσηνίους ἔλεγον χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἀνασώσεσθαι τὴν χώραν· τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Ἄριστομένης ἄτε ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐγίνετο, ἐκόμιζε. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἔνθα τῆς Ἰθώμης ἦν τὸ ἐρημότατον, κατώρυξεν ἐς Ἰθώμην τὸ ὄρος, καὶ Δία Ἰθώμην ἔχοντα καὶ θεοὺς οἱ Μεσσηνίους <ἐς> ἐκεῖνο ἔσωζον φύλακας μῆναι τῆς παρακαταθήκης αἰτούμενος, μηδὲ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι τὴν μόνην καθόδου Μεσσηνίοις ἐλπίδα.

- 5 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἤρχετο, καθὼ καὶ Τρωσὶν ἔτι πρότερον, γίνεσθαι κακὰ ἀπὸ μοιχείας. ἐπεκράτουν μὲν αὐτοὶ [ἐπεὶ ἐκράτουν] τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εἵραν ἄχρι τῆς Νέδας, ἦσαν δὲ οἰκίσεις καὶ ἔξω πυλῶν ἐνίοις. αὐτόμολος δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἄλλος μὲν ἀφίκετο οὐδεὶς, οἰκέτης δὲ Ἐμπεράμου βουκόλος ἐλαύνων τοῦ δεσπότητος τὰς βοῦς· ὁ δὲ
- 6 Ἐμπεράμος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος. οὗτος ὁ βουκόλος ἔνεμεν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Νέδας. ἀνδρὸς οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων τῶν οὐκ ἐντὸς τείχους ἔχόντων οἴκησιν γυναῖκα εἶδεν ἐφ' ὕδαρ ἐλθοῦσαν· ἐρασθεὶς δὲ διαλεχθῆναί τε ἐτόλμησε καὶ δοῦς δῶρα συγγίνεται. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν ἀνδρα παρεφύλασσεν αὐτῆς, ὅποτε ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐς τὴν φρουράν. ἀνὰ μέρος δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπήγετο ἡ φυλακή. ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ ὑπερβῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὅποτε οὖν οὗτος ἀποχωρήσειε, τηνικαῦτα ὁ βουκόλος ἐφοίτα παρὰ
- 7 τὴν γυναῖκα. καὶ ποτε ἔτυχε σὺν ἄλλοις ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιήκουσα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ <ἢ> φυλακή, ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὕειν πολλῶ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐκλείπουσιν οἱ



that after lapse of time the Messenians would recover their country. Aristomenes, knowing the oracles, took it towards nightfall, and coming to the most deserted part of Ithome, buried it on the mountain, calling on Zeus who keeps Ithome and the gods who had hitherto protected the Messenians to remain guardians of the pledge, and not to put their only hope of return into the power of the Lacedaemonians.

After this, as formerly for the Trojans, the beginning of the Messenian misfortunes was in adultery. The Messenians commanded the mountain of Eira and its slopes as far as the Neda, some of them having their dwellings outside the gates. The only deserter that came to them from Laconia was a herdsman, slave of Emperamus, bringing his master's cattle. Emperamus was a man of repute in Sparta. This herdsman, who kept his cattle not far from the Neda, saw the wife of one of the Messenians, who had their dwellings outside the wall, as she came to draw water. Falling in love with her, he dared to speak with her and seduced her with gifts. Thenceforward he marked the time when her husband went away to mount guard, garrison duty on the acropolis being undertaken by the Messenians in turn. For it was at this point that they were most afraid of the enemy making their way into the town. Whenever he went away, then the herdsman used to visit the lady. Now once when it happened that the turn for duty fell to him and others in the night, it chanced that there was heavy rain, and the

Μεσσηνιοὶ τὴν φρουρὰν· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐβιάζετο σφᾶς ἀθρόον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταχεόμενον, οὔτε ἐπάλλξεων ἐνφοδομημένων οὔτε πύργων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ κινήσεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠλπίζον ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ

8 καὶ οὕτω χειμερίῳ. Ἀριστομένης δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις Κεφαλλῆνα ἔμπορον, ἑαυτῷ ξένον καὶ ἐσάγοντα ἐς τὴν Εἴραν ὀπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἐαλωκότα ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοξοτῶν Ἀπτεραίων ὧν ἦρχεν Εὐρύαλος Σπαρτιάτης, τοῦτον τὸν Κεφαλλῆνα ἀφαιρούμενος ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὀπόσα ἦγεν ἀπέσωσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτέτρωτο καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐπιφοιτᾶν τοῖς φυλάσσοισι καθάπερ εἰώθει. τοῦτο μάλιστα αἴτιον

9 ἐγένετο ἐκλειφθῆναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουκόλου μοιχευομένης ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἡ δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἔνδον εἶχε τὸν βουκόλον, αἰσθάνεται τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιόντος καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἶχεν ἀποκρύπτει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἐσελθόντα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο ὡς οὔπω πρότερον καὶ ἠρώτα καθ' ἣν τινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε μεμοιχευμένην εἰδὼς οὔτε ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν βουκόλον ἐχρήτο τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς τε διὰ τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον

10 ἔφασκεν ἀπολελοιπέναι τὴν φρουρὰν. ἐπηκροᾶτο δὲ λέγοντος ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπύθετο ἕκαστα, αὐθις ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίκετο αὐτόμολος. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τηνικαῦτα ἀπῆσαν, πολεμαρχῶν δὲ τότε Ἐμπέραμος ὁ τοῦ βουκόλου δεσπότης προσεκάθητο τῇ Εἴρᾳ. ἀφι-

Messenians deserted their post. For they were overcome by the density of the rain that streamed from heaven, as there were no battlements or towers erected on the wall owing to the hurried nature of its building; moreover they did not expect the Lacedaemonians even to stir on a moonless night that was so stormy. A few days earlier a merchant from Cephallenia, who was a friend of Aristomenes and was bringing to Eira all that they needed, had been captured by the Lacedaemonians and archers from Aptaera, commanded by Euryalus the Spartan; Aristomenes rescued him and recovered all the goods that he was bringing, but had himself been wounded and was unable to visit rounds, as was his custom. This was the main reason that the acropolis was deserted. All of them left their posts and with them the husband of the woman seduced by the herdsman. She was entertaining the herdsman at the time but heard her husband coming and at once hid the man away as quickly as possible. When the husband entered, she treated him with greater affection than ever before and asked him what was the reason of his return. Not knowing that she was unfaithful or that the herdsman was in the house, he told her the truth, that owing to the violence of the rain he and all the rest had deserted their post. The herdsman listened to him speaking, and learning the exact position, again deserted from the Messenians to the Lacedaemonians. The Kings were absent at the time from the Lacedaemonian camp, but Emperamus, his master, who was commandant, was conducting the siege of Eira. Coming

κόμενος οὖν ἐς τοῦτον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δρασμῷ παρητεῖτο ἀμάρτημα, δεύτερα δὲ ἀνεδίδασκεν ὡς τὴν Εἶραν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα αἰρήσουσιν, αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ὅποσα ἦσθετο τοῦ Μεσσηνίου διηγούμενος.

XXI. Ἐδοξέ τε δὴ λέγειν πιστὰ καὶ ἠγεῖτο Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἦν δὲ ἡ πορεία χαλεπὴ σφισιν ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντος τοῦ ἕτεοῦ· ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἤνυσαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Εἶρας ἐγένοντο, ὑπερέβαινον κλίμακας τε προστιθέντες καὶ ὅτῳ τις ἐδύνατο ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρείχετο μὲν τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ καὶ ἄλλα αἰσθησιν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κύνες οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑλακτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ συνεχεστέρα καὶ βιαιοτέρα τῇ κραυγῇ χρώμενοι. γνόντες οὖν τὸν ὕστατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτον σφᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐπειληφότα, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντα ἀνελάμβανον, ἀλλ' ὅτῳ προχείρῳ μάλιστα ἐντύχοι τις, ἀρπάζοντες ἤμνον τῇ πατρίδι, ἢ μόνῃ σφίσιν ἐλείπετο

2 ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας πάσης. πρῶτοι δὲ ἦσθοντο ἔνδον τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ ἐβοήθουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρῶτοι Γόργος τε ὁ Ἀριστομένους καὶ Ἀριστομένης αὐτὸς Θεόκλος τε ὁ μάντις καὶ Μάντικλος ὁ Θεόκλου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐεργετίδας ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πλέον ἀξιώματος ἦκων. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ εἶχεν Ἀριστομένους Ἀγναγόραν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, συιέντες ὡς ἐν δικτύοις εἰσὶν ἐσχημένοι, ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἶχόν τινα

3 ἐλπίδα· Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις ἠπίσταντο μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀναβολὴν ὀλέθρου Μεσσηνίοις

to him he first begged forgiveness for his crime of deserting and then showed him that now was the time for them to take Eira, recounting everything that he had learnt from the Messenian.

XXI. His story seemed to be reliable, and he led the way for Emperamus and the Spartans. Their march was difficult, as it was dark and the rain never ceased. Nevertheless they accomplished it in their eagerness, and arriving before the acropolis of Eira, mounted by raising ladders and in any other way that was possible. Various indications of the trouble that was upon them were given to the Messenians, especially by the dogs barking, not in their usual fashion, but uttering more loud and continuous howls. Realising that the supreme and most desperate crisis had come upon them, they did not wait to collect all their arms but snatched whatever lay ready to the hand of each, to defend the fatherland that alone was left to them of all Messenia. The first to realise that the enemy were within and to go against them were Gorgus the son of Aristomenes, Aristomenes himself, Theoclus the seer and Manticlus his son, and with them Euergetidas a man of high repute in Messenia who had attained to greater honour through his wife; for he was wedded to Hagnagora, the sister of Aristomenes. Then the rest, though understanding that they were caught as in a net, nevertheless derived some hope even from their present plight. But Aristomenes and the seer knew that there was no putting off destruction for the Messenians, for

οὔσαν, ἅτε εἰδότες καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ὃν ἠνίξατο  
 ἐς τὸν τράγον ἢ Πυθία, ἐπέκρυπτον δὲ οὐδὲν  
 ἦσσαν, καὶ ἦν σφισιν ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπόρρητον.  
 ἐπιόντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας  
 ἐρχόμενοι τοῖς τε ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὅποτε αἰσθάνοιτο  
 ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, παρεκελεύοντο ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς  
 εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεκάλουν τοὺς  
 4 ἔτι ὑπολειπομένους. ἐν μὲν δὴ νυκτὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον  
 ἐπράχθη λόγου παρ' οὐδετέρων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ  
 ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων καὶ ἡ τόλμα τοῦ Ἄριστο-  
 μένου παρέιχε μελλησμόν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις  
 οὔτε παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν σύνθημα ἐγεγόνει  
 φθάνοντας εἰληφέναι, τὰς τε δᾶδας, ἧ εἴ τινα  
 λαμπτήρα ἀλλοῖον ἄψαιτό τις, ὕων ἂν ἐσβέννυνεν  
 5 ὁ θεός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν καὶ ἀλλήλους  
 καθορᾶν ἐδύνατο, ἐνταῦθα Ἄριστομένης καὶ  
 Θεόκλος ἐπειρῶντο ἐς πᾶσαν ἀπονοίαν προάγειν  
 τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἄλλα τε ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν  
 διδάσκοντες καὶ Σμυρναίων τὰ τολμήματα ἀνα-  
 μιμνήσκοντες, ὡς Ἴώνων μοῖρα ὄντες Γύγην τὸν  
 Δασκύλου καὶ Λυδοὺς ἔχοντας σφῶν τὴν πόλιν  
 6 ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκβάλοιεν. οἱ Μεσση-  
 νιοὶ δὲ ἀκούοντες ἀπονοίας τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ  
 συνιστάμενοι καθ' ὅποσους ἕκαστοι τύχοιεν ἐφέ-  
 ροντο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ὤρμησαν δὲ καὶ  
 γυναῖκες τῷ κέραμῳ καὶ ὄτῳ δύναιτο ἐκάστη  
 τοὺς πολεμίους βάλλειν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μὴ  
 ὄρᾶσαι σφᾶς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῶν τεγῶν τοῦ  
 ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον ἐπεκώλυε· λαβεῖν δὲ ὄπλα  
 ἐτόλμησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ πλεον αὐταὶ  
 τὴν τόλμαν ἐξῆψαν, ὅποτε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας  
 ἐώρων προτιμῶσας συναπολέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἢ

they knew the riddle of the oracle which the Pythia had uttered concerning the goat. Nevertheless they would not declare it, and kept it secret from the rest. As they hastened through the city, visiting all, they exhorted those whom they encountered, when they saw that they were Messenians, to be brave men, and summoned from the houses those who still remained. During the night nothing worthy of mention was done on either side; for their ignorance of the ground and the daring of Aristomenes gave pause to the Lacedaemonians, while the Messenians had not previously received a watchword from their generals, and the rain would put out torches or any other light that they kindled. When it was day and they could see one another, Aristomenes and Theoclus tried to rouse the fury of despair in the Messenians, setting forth all that suited the occasion and reminding them of the valour of the men of Smyrna, how, though an Ionian people, by their valour and courage they had driven out Gyges the son of Dascylus and the Lydians, when they were in occupation of their town. The Messenians, when they heard, were filled with desperate courage, and mustering as they happened to be gathered rushed on the Lacedaemonians. Women too were eager to fling tiles and what they could upon the enemy, yet the violence of the rain prevented them from doing this and from mounting to the rooftops. But they dared to take arms, and they too further inflamed the ardour of the men, when they saw their women preferring to perish with their father-

- ἀχθῆναι δούλας ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ὥστε κὰν  
 7 παρελθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τὸ πεπρωμένον· ἀλλὰ ὁ  
 θεὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγεν ἀθρόον μᾶλλον μετὰ  
 ἰσχυροῦ τῶν βροντῶν τοῦ ψόφου καὶ τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐναντίας ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐξέ-  
 πλησσε. τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταῦτα πάντα  
 παρίστη φρόνημα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύνειν σφίσι  
 ἔφασαν τὸν θεόν· καί—ἤστραπτε γὰρ τούτοις  
 κατὰ δεξιὰ—ἀπέφαιεν Ἔκας ὁ μάντις ὡς αἴσιον  
 8 εἶη τὸ σημεῖον. οὗτος δὲ καὶ στρατήγημα ἐξεύρε  
 τοιόνδε. ἀριθμῶ καὶ πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 περιῆσαν· ἄτε δὲ οὐκ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ σφίσι οὐδὲ  
 κατὰ σύνταγμα ἐγγινομένης τῆς μάχης, ἄλλων  
 δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τῆς πόλεως ποιουμένων τὸν ἀγῶνα,  
 ἀχρεῖους ὑπὸ ἐκάστης τάξεως συνέβαινε εἶναι  
 τοὺς τελευταίους. τούτους ἐκέλευεν ἀποχωρή-  
 σαντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σιτίων μεταλαβεῖν  
 καὶ ὕπνου καὶ αὐθις πρὸ ἑσπέρας ἤκειν τοῖς  
 ὑπομενοῦσιν αὐτῶν διαδεξομένους τὸν πόνον.  
 9 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναπαυόμενοί τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος  
 μαχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀντήρκουν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις  
 πανταχόθεν παρίστατο ἀπορία· μεθ' ἡμέραν γὰρ  
 αἰεὶ καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ τρίτην ἡμύνοντο.  
 ἤδη τε ἡμέρα ἦν καὶ ἡ τε ἀυπνία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ ῥίγος ἐπίεζε σφᾶς, ὃ  
 τε λιμὸς καὶ ἡ δίψα ἐπέκειτο· μάλιστα δὲ αἱ  
 γυναῖκες ἀηθεία τε πολέμου καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς  
 10 τάλαιπωρίας ἀπειρήκεσαν. παραστὰς οὖν ὁ  
 μάντις Θεόκλος πρὸς Ἀριστομένην εἶπε· “τί  
 μάτην τόνδε ἔχεις τὸν πόνον; ἀλῶναι Μεσσήνην  
 πάντως ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον, συμφορὰν δὲ τὴν ἐν  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς πάλαι τε ἡμῖν προεσήμαιεν ἡ Πυθία



land rather than be taken as slaves to Lacedaemon, so that they might yet have been able to escape their fate. But the god caused the rain to descend more densely, with loud claps of thunder, and dazzled their eyes with lightning flashing in their faces. All this put courage in the Lacedaemonians, who said that heaven itself was helping them; and as the lightning was on their right, Hecas the seer declared the sign of good omen. It was he who devised the following plan. The Lacedaemonians far outnumbered the Messenians, but as the battle was not being fought on open ground with troops in line, but they were fighting over different quarters of the town, the rearmost of each detachment were rendered useless. Hecas ordered these to retire to the camp, take food and sleep, and return before evening to relieve their own men who were to remain on duty. The Lacedaemonians, by resting and fighting by turns, held out the longer, but the Messenians were faced with difficulties on all sides. They fought continuously day and night until the third day with none to relieve them. When the next day dawned, worn out by lack of sleep and by the rain and cold from heaven, they were assailed by hunger and thirst. The women especially, unaccustomed to war, were exhausted by the continuous suffering. So the seer Theoclus came to Aristomenes' side and said: "Why vainly maintain this toil? The decree of fate stands fast that Messene should fall; long since the Pythia declared to us the disaster now before our eyes,

καὶ ἔναγχος ὁ ἔρινεὸς ἔδειξεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ κοινὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπάγει τὴν τελευτήν· σὺ δὲ σώζειν μὲν ὡς δυνάμεως ἦκεις Μεσσηνίους, σώζειν δὲ καὶ σαυτόν.” ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθει· καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεισιν ἐκβοῆσαι τοσόνδε· “ἀλλ’ οὐ τοι τὸν πάντα γε χρόνον

- 11 χαίροντες καρπώσεσθε τὰ Μεσσηνίων.” μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθεστηκόσιν ἐμπεσῶν ἐκείνους τε ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, προεμπλήσας δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφήσει τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ὀπίσω τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀνεκάλει, πλὴν ὅσοι κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίαν αὐτῶν προεμάχοντο· τούτους δὲ εἶα κατὰ χώραν μένειν· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς προσέταξε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐντὸς τῆς τάξεως ἔχοντας ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἥπερ
- 12 ἂν αὐτὸς παρέχεται διέξοδον. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοῖς τελευταίοις Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἐπέστησεν ἄρχοντας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τοὺς προεταγμένους τῆς τε κεφαλῆς τῷ νεύματι καὶ τοῦ δόρατος τῇ κινήσει δῆλος ἦν διέξοδόν τε αἰτούμενος καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν ἤδη βεβουλευμένος. τῷ τε οὖν Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῖς παροῦσι διεῖναι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρεσκε μηδὲ λυσσῶντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἀπονοίας ἦκοντας ἐξαγριᾶναι πέρα· καὶ ἅμα οὕτω σφᾶς ποιεῖν Ἔκας ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευεν.

XXII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες παραντίκα τε τὴν κατάληψιν ἐπυθάνοντο τῆς Εἴρας καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην ἐκέλευον σφᾶς ἄγειν ὡς ἡ σώσοντας Μεσσηνίους ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπολουμένους. ὁ δὲ

and lately the fig-tree revealed it. On me the gods have laid one doom with my country, but do thou save the Messenians with what power thou hast and save thyself." When he had spoken to Aristomenes he rushed upon the enemy, and these were the words that he was constrained to fling at the Lacedaemonians. "Yet not for all time shall you enjoy the fruits of Messenia with impunity." Then falling upon the men who faced him he killed them and himself was wounded, and having sated his passion with the slaughter of his foes, he breathed his last. But Aristomenes called the Messenians back from the fight, except those who by virtue of their courage were fighting to cover them. These he allowed to remain at their post. The rest he ordered to receive the women and children within their ranks and follow him wherever he should show a passage. He appointed Gorgus and Mantichus to command the rear, he himself ran to the head of the company and by the gestures of his head and movement of his spear signified that he asked a passage and had resolved to depart. Emperamus and the Spartans present were pleased to let the Messenians pass, without further inflaming men who had reached the bounds of frenzy and despair. Moreover Hecas the seer ordered them to act thus.

XXII. As soon as the Arcadians heard of the capture of Eira, they at once ordered Aristocrates to lead them to the rescue of the Messenians or to death with them. But he, being in receipt of bribes

ἄτε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος δεδεγμένος δῶρα, οὔτε  
 ἄγειν ἤθελεν εἰδέναι τε ἔφασκεν οὐδένα ἔτι Μεσ-  
 2 σσηνίων ὄτω καὶ ἀμυνοῦσιν ὄντα ὑπόλοιπον. τότε  
 δὲ ὡς σαφέστερον ἠσθάνοντο περιόντας καὶ ἐκλεί-  
 πειν τὴν Εἴραν βεβιασμένους, αὐτοὶ μὲν περὶ  
 τὸ ὄρος σφᾶς τὸ Λύκαιον ἔμελλον ὑποδέξεσθαι,  
 προετοιμασάμενοι καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σιτία, ἄνδρας  
 δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει πέμπουσι παραμυθεῖσθαι τε  
 τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἅμα τῆς πορείας  
 γενέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὸ Λύκαιον  
 ἀνεσώθησαν, ἐξένιζον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐνοικῶς  
 περιεῖπον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, κατανέμειν τε ἐς τὰς  
 πόλεις ἤθελον καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι δι' ἐκείνους τὴν  
 3 γῆν· Ἀριστομένει δὲ ὃ τε οἶκτος διαρπαζομένης  
 τῆς Εἴρας καὶ τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 βούλευμα παρίστησι τοιόνδε. πεντακοσίους τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων, οὓς μάλιστα ἠπίστατο αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς  
 ἔχοντας, ἀποκρίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἤρετο σφᾶς  
 ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀρκίδων καὶ Ἀριστο-  
 κράτους, ἄτε ὄντα προδότην οὐκ εἰδῶς—ἀνανδρία  
 γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας φυγεῖν τότε ἤδη [Ἀριστο-  
 κράτην] τῆς μάχης καὶ οὐ διὰ κακίαν οὐδεμίαν  
 ἐδόξαζεν αὐτόν, ὥστε ἐναντίον καὶ τούτου τοὺς  
 πεντακοσίους ἤρετο—εἰ τιμωροῦντες τῇ πατρίδι  
 4 ἀποθνήσκειν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐθελήσουσι. φαμένων δὲ  
 ἐθέλειν ἀπεγύμνου τὸ πᾶν, ὡς πάντως τῆς ἐπιούσης  
 ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄγειν μέλλοι· Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων γὰρ τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν Εἴραν  
 ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπεφοίτων φέ-  
 ροντες καὶ ἄγοντες τὰ Μεσσηνίων. “καὶ ἦν μὲν  
 ἐλεῖν τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶμεν,”  
 ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης, “ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποδόντας

from Lacedaemon, refused to lead them, and said that he knew that no Messenian survived for them to help. When they obtained more certain news, that they survived and had been forced to desert Eira, they themselves proposed to receive them at Mount Lycaeus after preparing clothing and food, and sent some of their leading men to comfort the Messenians and also to be their guides on the way. After their safe arrival at Mount Lycaeus, the Arcadians entertained them and treated them kindly in every way, offering to distribute them among their towns and to make a new distribution of their land on their account. But Aristomenes' grief for the sack of Eira and his hatred of the Lacedaemonians suggested to him the following plan. He chose from the body of the Messenians five hundred men, whom he knew to be the most unsparing of themselves, and asked them in the hearing of Aristocrates and the rest of the Arcadians if they were ready to die with him, avenging their country. He did not know that Aristocrates was a traitor, for he thought that he had fled from the battle formerly from lack of courage and through cowardice, not for any knavery; so he asked the five hundred in his presence. When they said that they were ready, he revealed the whole plan, that he proposed at all costs to lead them against Sparta during the following evening. For now was the time when the majority of the Lacedaemonians was away at Eira, and others were scouring Messenia for booty and plunder. "If we can capture and occupy Sparta," said Aristomenes, "we can give back to the Lace-

Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἐκείνων κομίσασθαι τὰ οἰκεία·  
 ἀμαρτάνοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ ἀποθανούμεθά γε μνήμης  
 5 καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἄξια ἐργασάμενοι." ταῦτα  
 εἰπόντος τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅσον τριακόσιοι μετέχειν  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ τολμήματος ἤθελον. καὶ τότε μὲν  
 ἐπεῖχον τῆς ἐξόδου, τὰ γὰρ ἱερά ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς  
 οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τό τε ἀπόρρητον  
 ἔγνωσαν σφῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προπετυσμέ-  
 νους καὶ αὐτοὶ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοκράτους προ-  
 δεδομένοι· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστομένου βουλευματα  
 αὐτίκα ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ἐγγράψας βιβλίῳ, καὶ  
 τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιθεὶς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὃν ἠπίστατο ὄντα  
 εὐνούστατον, παρὰ Ἀνάξανδρον ἀπέστειλεν ἐς  
 6 Σπάρτην. ἐπανίοντα δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην λοχῶσιν  
 ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀρκάδων διάφοροι καὶ πρότερον τῷ  
 Ἀριστοκράτει, σχόντες δέ τι καὶ ὑποπτον τότε  
 ἐς αὐτόν. λοχήσαντες δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐπανάγου-  
 σιν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἐπεδείκνυνον ἐς τὸν δῆμον  
 τὰ ἀντεπεσταλμένα ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος· ἐπέστειλε  
 δὲ ὁ Ἀνάξανδρος, φυγῆν τε αὐτῷ τὴν πρότερον  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τάφρου φάμενος οὐκ ἀνόνητον  
 ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι, προσέσεσθαι δέ οἱ  
 7 χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνυμάτων. ὡς δὲ  
 ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα ἐς ἅπαντας, αὐτοὶ τε τὸν  
 Ἀριστοκράτην ἔβαλλον οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τοῖς  
 Μεσσηνίοις διεκελεύοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀριστο-  
 μένην ἀπέβλεπον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφο-  
 ρῶν ἔκλαιεν· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες  
 καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐκβάλ-  
 λουσιν ἄταφον, στήλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος  
 τοῦ Λυκαίου λέγουσαν

daemonians what is theirs and receive our own. If we fail, we shall die together, having done a deed for posterity to remember." When he said this, as many as three hundred of the Arcadians were ready to share his enterprise. For the time they delayed their departure, as the victims were unfavourable, but on the following day they learnt that the Lacedaemonians had been forewarned of their secret, and that they themselves had been a second time betrayed by Aristocrates. For Aristocrates had at once written the designs of Aristomenes in a letter, and having entrusted it to the slave whom he knew to be most loyal, sent him to Anaxander in Sparta. As the slave was returning, he was intercepted by some of the Arcadians, who had formerly been at variance with Aristocrates and regarded him then with some suspicion. Having intercepted the slave they brought him before the Arcadians and made known to the people the answer from Lacedaemon. Anaxander was writing that his retreat from the *Great Trench* formerly had not gone unrewarded on the part of the Lacedaemonians and that he would receive an additional recompense for his information on the present occasion. When this was declared to all, the Arcadians themselves stoned Aristocrates and urged the Messenians to join them. They looked to Aristomenes. But he was weeping, with his eyes fixed on the ground. So the Arcadians stoned Aristocrates to death and flung him beyond their borders without burial, and set up a tablet in the precinct of Zeus Lycaeus with the words :

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκῳ βασιλῆι,  
 εὔρε δὲ Μεσσηνίας σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην  
 ρηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπίορκον.  
 χαῖρε Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων ὅποσοι περὶ τὴν  
 Εἶραν ἢ καὶ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐγκατε-  
 λήφθησαν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέ-  
 νειμαν ἐς τὸ εἰλωτικόν· Πύλιοι δὲ καὶ Μοθωναῖοι  
 καὶ ὅσοι τὰ παραθαλάσσια ὤκουν, [καὶ] ναυσὶν  
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Εἶρας ἀπαίρουσιν ἐς Κυλ-  
 λήνην τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἡλείων. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρὰ  
 τοὺς ἐν Ἀρκαδία Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλον, ἐθέ-  
 λοντες κοινῶ στόλῳ χώραν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν  
 ἀναζητεῖν, καὶ Ἀριστομένην ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι  
 2 σφίσι ἐς ἀποικίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἕως ἂν  
 περιῆ, πολεμήσειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασκεν, ἐπί-  
 στασθαι δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὡς αἰεὶ τι ἀναφύσεται τῇ  
 Σπάρτῃ δι' αὐτοῦ κακόν· ἐκείνοις δὲ Γόργον καὶ  
 Μάντικλον ἔδωκεν ἡγεμόνας. ὁ δὲ Εὐεργετίδας  
 ἐς μὲν τὸ Λύκαιον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μεσσηνίοις  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν· ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ὡς ἑώρα τὸ  
 βούλευμα διαπεπτωκὸς τῷ Ἀριστομένει τὸ ἐς  
 τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀναπέσας τῶν  
 Μεσσηνίων ὡς πεντήκοντα ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 3 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὴν Εἶραν, καὶ ἐντυχῶν  
 διαρπάζουσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐπινίκια πένθος σφίσι  
 ἐποίησε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ  
 χρεῶν, Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῖς  
 Μεσσηνίοις ἐπέταξεν <λέναι> ἐς Κυλλήνην, ὅστις  
 ἐθέλοι μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας. καὶ μετέσχον  
 ἅπαντες, πλὴν εἰ γῆράς τινα ἀπείργεν ἢ μηδὲ



“Truly time hath declared justice upon an unjust king and with the help of Zeus hath easily declared the betrayer of Messene. Hard it is for a man forsworn to hide from God. Hail, king Zeus, and keep Arcadia safe.”

XXIII. All the Messenians, who were captured about Eira or anywhere else in Messenia, were reduced by the Lacedaemonians to serfdom. The people of Pylos and Mothone and all who occupied the maritime district retired in ships on the capture of Eira to Cyllene, the port of the Eleians. Thence they sent to the Messenians in Arcadia, proposing to unite their forces and seek a new country to dwell in, enjoining Aristomenes to lead them to a colony. But he said that while he lived, he would make war on the Lacedaemonians, as he knew well that trouble would always be brewing for Sparta through him, but he gave them Gorgus and Mantichus as leaders. Energetidas too had retired to Mount Lycaeus with the rest of the Messenians. From there, when he saw that Aristomenes' plan to seize Sparta had failed, he persuaded some fifty of the Messenians to go back with him to Eira and attack the Lacedaemonians, and coming upon them while they were still plundering, he turned their celebrations of victory to grief. He then met his doom there, but Aristomenes ordered all the Messenians who wished to take part in the colony to join the leaders at Cyllene. And all took part except those debarred by age or lack of funds for

εὐπορῶν ἔτυχεν ἐς τὴν ἀποδημίαν· οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμειναν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν.

4 Ἐάλω δὲ ἢ Εἶρα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Αὐτοσθένους, ἔπει πρῶτον τῆς ὀγδόης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνῖκα Χίονις Λάκων.

5 Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην οἱ Μεσσήνιοι συνελέχθησαν, τὸν μὲν παρόντα χειμῶνα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ χειμάζειν, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισι καὶ χρήματα οἱ Ἡλεῖοι παρείχον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἐβουλευόντο ποῖ χρὴ σταλῆναι. γινῶμαι δὲ ἦσαν Γόργου μὲν Ζάκνιθον τὴν ὑπὲρ Κεφαλληνίας καταλαβόντας καὶ νησιώτας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτῶν γενομένους ναυσὶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιπλέοντας κακοῦν τὴν γῆν· Μάντικλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Μεσσήνης μὲν καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχθους λαβεῖν λήθην, πλεύσαντας δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶ κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ

6 εὐδαιμονία πρῶτην. ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ Ἀναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστειλεν ἐς Ἰταλίαν καλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου· μετώκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευταίην καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο· ἐλθοῦσί τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ, χώραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἃ δὴ σφίσιν ἐθέλειν ἔφη συγκατεργασάμενος δοῦναι. προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἀναξίλας διεβίβασεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς.

journeying abroad. These remained here with the Arcadians.

Eira was taken, and the second war between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians completed in the archonship of Autosthenes at Athens, and in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> when Chionis the Laconian was victorious.

When the Messenians assembled at Cyllene, they resolved to winter there for that season, the Eleians providing a market and funds. With the spring they began to debate where they should go. It was the view of Gorgus that they should occupy Zacynthos off Cephallenia, becoming islanders instead of mainlanders, and raid the coasts of Laconia with their ships and ravage the land. But Mantichus bade them forget Messene and their hatred of the Lacedaemonians, and sail to Sardinia and win an island which was of the largest extent and greatest fertility. Meantime Anaxilas sent to the Messenians and summoned them to Italy. He was tyrant of Rhegium, third in descent from Alcidas, who had left Messene for Rhegium after the death of king Aristodemus and the capture of Ithome. So now this Anaxilas summoned the Messenians. When they came, he said that the people of Zancle were at war with him, and that they possessed a prosperous land and city well placed in Sicily; and these he said he was ready to give them and help them to conquer. When they accepted the proposal, Anaxilas then transported them to Sicily.

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 668.

- 7 Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λησταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῆ τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο· ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας.
- 8 τότε δὲ τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ὃ τε Ἄναξίλας ναυσὶν ἀνταναγομένους ἐνίκησε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι μάχῃ πεζῇ· Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν τε ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ ἀλισκομένου σφίσις ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ τε βωμοὺς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερά καταφεύγουσιν. Ἄναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκελεύετο τοὺς τε ἰκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ
- 9 παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι· Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρητοῦντο Ἄναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγειῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλληνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν καὶ ὄρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ὤκησαν ἀμφότεροι κοινῇ· ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν
- 10 Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἦν Χίονις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος. Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἰδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος, καθάπερ γε καὶ Ἄμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὁ ἐν

Zancle was originally occupied by pirates, who, as the land was uninhabited, walled off the harbour and used it as a base for their raids and cruises. Their leaders were Crataemenes a Samian and Perieres of Chalcis. Later Perieres and Crataemenes resolved to introduce other Greek settlers. Anaxilas defeated the Zancaeans, when they put to sea to oppose him, and the Messenians did the like by land, and the Zancaeans, blockaded on land by the Messenians and from the sea by the fleet of the Rhegines, when their wall was carried, fled for refuge to the altars of the gods and to the temples. Anaxilas, however, advised the Messenians to put to death the suppliant Zancaeans and to enslave the rest together with the women and children. But Gorgus and Manticlus besought Anaxilas not to compel them, the victims of unholy treatment at the hands of kinsmen, to do the like to men of Greek race. After this they made the Zancaeans rise from the altars, and exchanging pledges with them, dwelt together in common. They changed the name of the city from Zancle to Messene. This event took place in the twenty-ninth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> when Chionis the Laconian was victorious for the second time. Miltiades was archon at Athens. Manticlus founded the temple of Heracles for the Messenians; the temple of the god is outside the walls and he is called Heracles Manticlus, just as Ammon in Libya

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 664.

Βαβυλῶνι Βήλος ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Βήλου τοῦ Λιβύης ὄνομα ἔσχεν, Ἄμμων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου ποιμένος.

XXIV. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγγόνοι πέρας τῆς ἄλης· Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέπειπατο τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν στελλομένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ Ἀγναγόραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν μὲν Θάρυκι ἐς Φιγαλίαν, Δαμοθοῖδα δὲ Λεπρεάτῃ καὶ Ἡραιεῖ Θεοπόμπῳ τὰς θυγατέρας συνώκισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρήτο τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Ἀριστομένει γενόμενον μάντευμα οὐ λέγεται· Δαμαγήτῳ δὲ Ῥοδίῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Ἰαλυσῶ, τότε δὲ ἤκουτι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἐρωτῶντι ὀπόθεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρῆ γυναῖκα, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ—ἦν γὰρ καὶ τρίτῃ τῷ Ἀριστομένει θυγάτηρ—γαμεί ταύτην, Ἑλλήνων τῶν τότε ἐκείνου μακρῶ δὴ τιμῆ ἀριστον νομίζων. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐς τε Σάρδεις ἐνενοεῖ παρὰ Ἄρδυν τὸν Γύγου καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ἀναβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Φραόρτην· ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τούτων συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ νοσήσαντι, οὐ γὰρ ἔδει συμφορὰν οὐδεμίαν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι ἐξ Ἀριστομένους γενέσθαι. τελευτήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ Δαμάγητος καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι μνημὰ τε ἐπιφανὲς ἐποίησαν καὶ ἔνεμον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου τιμὰς. τὰ μὲν δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλουμένους ἐν Ῥόδῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς

and Belus in Babylon are named, the latter from an Egyptian, Belus the son of Libya, Ammon from the shepherd-founder. Thus the exiled Messenians reached the end of their wanderings.

XXIV. After declining the leadership of the men setting forth to found a colony, Aristomenes gave his sister Hagnagora in marriage to Tharyx at Phigalia, and his daughters, both the eldest and the next in age, to Damothoïdas of Lepreum and Theopompus of Heraea. He himself went to Delphi to enquire of the god. The reply that was given to Aristomenes is not recorded, but when Damagetus the Rhodian, who reigned at Ialysos, came to Apollo and asked whence he should take a wife, the Pythia bade him take a daughter of the bravest of the Greeks. As Aristomenes had a third daughter, he married her, considering that Aristomenes was by far the bravest of the Greeks of that age. Aristomenes, coming to Rhodes with his daughter, purposed to go up from there to Sardis to Ardys the son of Gyges, and to Ecbatana of the Medes to king Phraortes. But ere that he was overtaken by illness and death, for no further misfortune was to befall the Lacedaemonians at the hands of Aristomenes. On his death Damagetus and the Rhodians built him a splendid tomb and paid honour to him thenceforward. I omit what is recorded of the Diagoridae in Rhodes, as they are called, a line sprung from Diagoras the son of Damagetus, son of Dorieus, who

- Ἄριστομένους θυγατρός, παρήκα, μὴ οὐ κατὰ  
 4 καιρὸν δοκοίην γράφειν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τότε,  
 ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην  
 πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναίων αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μο-  
 θώνην δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐδίδουσαν ἐκπεπτωκόσιν  
 ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἔναγχος ὑπὸ Ἀργείων.
- 5 Μεσσηνίων δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν τῇ γῇ,  
 συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς εἰλώτας,  
 ἐπέλαβεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστερον ἀποστήναι  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐβδομηκοστήν,  
 ἣν Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν, Ἀρχιμήδους Ἀθή-  
 νησιν ἄρχοντας. ἀπέστησαν δὲ καιρὸν τοιούδε  
 εὐρόντες. Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ  
 ἐγκλήματι ὅτῳ δὴ καταγνωσθέντες ἰκέται κατα-  
 φεύγουσιν ἐς Ταίναρον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν  
 ἐφόρων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ σφᾶς ἀποσπάσασα  
 6 ἀπέκτεινε. Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θε-  
 μένοις τοὺς ἰκέτας ἀπήντησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος  
 μήνιμα, καὶ σφισιν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν  
 κατέβαλεν ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ  
 καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων ὅσοι Μεσσηνιοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
 ἦσαν, ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄλλα τε μετεπέμποντο συμμα-  
 χικὰ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου  
 πρόξενόν σφισιν ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν  
 ἀφικομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑποπτεῦσαι  
 δοκοῦσιν ὡς τάχα νεωτερίσοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς  
 7 ὑποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ' οὐ πολὺν ἔξ Ἰθώμης.  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ὑπόνοιαν συνέντες Ἀργείοις τε φίλοι δι' αὐτὸ  
 ἐγένοντο καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πολιορ-



was the son of Damagetus and of the daughter of Aristomenes, lest it should seem to be irrelevant. Now the Lacedaemonians, gaining possession of Messenia, divided it all among themselves, except the land belonging to the people of Asine; but they gave Mothone to the men of Nauplia, who had recently been driven from their town by the Argives.

The Messenians who were captured in the country, reduced by force to the position of serfs, were later moved to revolt from the Lacedaemonians in the seventy-ninth Olympiad,<sup>1</sup> when Xenophon the Corinthian was victorious. Archimedes was archon at Athens. The occasion which they found for the revolt was this. Certain Lacedaemonians who had been condemned to death on some charge fled as suppliants to Taenarum; but the board of ephors dragged them from the altar there and put them to death. As the Spartans paid no heed to their being suppliants, the wrath of Poseidon came upon them, and the god razed all their city to the ground. At this disaster all the serfs who were of Messenian origin seceded to Mount Ithome. Against them the Lacedaemonians, amongst other allies, called to their assistance Cimon the son of Miltiades, their patron in Athens, and an Athenian force. But when the Athenians arrived, they seem to have regarded them with suspicion that they were likely to promote revolution, and as a result of this suspicion to have soon dismissed them from Ithome. The Athenians, realizing the feelings of the Lacedaemonians towards them, made friends therefore with the Argives, and gave Naupactus to the Messenians besieged in Ithome, when they were

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 464.

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κουμένοις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑποσπόνδοις ἔδωσαν Ναύπακτον, ἀφελόμενοι Λοκρούς τοὺς πρὸς Αἰτωλία καλουμένους Ὀζόλας. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις παρέσχεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰθώμης τοῦ τε χωρίου τὸ ἐχυρὸν καὶ ἅμα Λακεδαιμονίοις προεῖπεν ἢ Πυθία ἢ μὴν εἶναί σφισι δίκην ἀμαρτοῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν ἰκέτην.

XXV. Ὑπόσπονδοι μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τούτων ἕνεκα ἀφείθησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔσχον τὴν Ναύπακτον, οὐκ ἀπέχρη πόλιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς πόθος εἶχεν ἰσχυρὸς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν φανῆναι λόγου τι κεκτημένους ἄξιον. καὶ ἠπίσταντο γὰρ Οἰνιάδας Ἀκαρνάνων γῆν τε ἔχοντας ἀγαθὴν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις διαφόρους τὸν πάντα ὄντας χρόνον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ὄντες δὲ ἀριθμῶ μὲν οὐ πλείους, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνουες [ὄντες] τῇ σφετέρᾳ νικῶσι, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν κατα-  
 2 κεκλειμένους ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, οὐ γάρ τι τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐρημένων ἐς πολιορκίαν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ παρέσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίμακας προστιθέντες ἐπειρῶντο ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑπώρυσσον κάτωθεν τὸ τεῖχος, μηχανήματά τε, ὅποια ἐνῆν δι' ὀλίγου παρασκευάσασθαι, προσαγαγόντες αἰεὶ τι ἤρειπον· δείσαντες δὲ οἱ ἔνδον μὴ ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τε ἀπόλωνται καὶ αἱ γυναῖκές σφισι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐξανδραπο-  
 3 δισθῶσιν, εἴλοντο ἀπελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι.

Καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν μάλιστα οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν· τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ὑστέρῳ δύναμιν οἱ Ἀκαρναῆες ἀπὸ πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων ἐβουλεύοντο

allowed to depart under a truce. They had taken Naupactus from the Locrians adjoining Aetolia, called the Ozolian. The retirement of the Messenians from Ithome was secured by the strength of the place; also the Pythia announced to the Lacedaemonians that assuredly they would be punished if they committed a crime against the suppliant of Zeus of Ithome. For this reason then they were allowed to go from Peloponnese under a truce.

XXV. When they occupied Naupactus it was not enough for them to have received a city and country at the hands of the Athenians, but they were filled with a strong desire to show that they had won something notable with their own hands. Knowing that the Acarnanians of Oeniadae possessed a good land and were continually at war with the Athenians, they marched against them. They had no numerical advantage, but defeating them by their superior courage, they shut them up in the fortress and besieged them. They neglected no human invention in the matter of siege-craft, tried to carry the town by raising scaling-ladders, mined the walls, and by bringing up such engines as could be made ready at short notice proceeded with the destruction of the fortifications. The inhabitants, fearing that if the city were taken they would be put to death and their wives and children enslaved, elected to withdraw on terms.

The Messenians held the town and occupied the country for about a year. In the following year the Acarnanians collected a force from all their

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ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον στρατεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπέδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πορείαν ὀρώσιν, ὅτι ἔσεσθαι δι' Αἰτωλῶν ἔμελλε πολεμίων αἰεὶ ποτε ὄντων, καὶ ἅμα τοὺς Ναυπακτίους κεκτῆσθαι τὴν ναυτικὸν ὑπώπτεον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ εἶχον, ἐπικρατούντων δὲ ἐκείνων τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν εἶναι  
 4 κατεργάσασθαι μέγα οὐδὲ στρατῶ πεζῶ· μετεβουλεύετό τε δὴ σφισι <καὶ> αὐτίκα ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους τρέπονται τοὺς ἐν Οἰνιάδαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς πολιορκήσοντες παρεσκευάζοντο· οὐ γάρ ποτε ὑπελάμβανον ἄνδρας οὕτως ὀλίγους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἤξειν ὡς μαχέσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκαρνανῶν ἀπάντων στρατιάν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ προητοιμασμένοι μὲν καὶ σίτον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἦσαν ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν, πολιορκίας πειράσεσθαι  
 5 μακροτέρας ἐλπίζοντες· παρίστατο δὲ σφισι πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης πολιορκίας ἀγῶνα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ ὄντας Μεσσηνίους, οἱ μὲν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρία, τύχη δὲ ἤλαττώθησαν, καταπεπλήχθαι τὸν ἤκοντα ὄχλον ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας· τό τε Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαραθῶν ἔργον ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο, ὡς μυριάδες τριάκοντα ἐφθάρησαν τῶν Μήδων ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς  
 6 μυρίους ἀριθμόν. καθίσταντό τε δὴ τοῖς Ἀκαρνανῶσιν ἐς ἀγῶνα καὶ ὁ τρόπος λέγεται τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι τοιόσδε. οἱ μὲν, ἅτε πλήθει προέχοντες πολὺ, οὐ χαλεπῶς περιέβαλον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ πύλαι τε ἀπέϊργον κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις γινόμεναι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς σφετέροις προθύμως ἀμύνοντες· ταύτη μὲν δὴ μὴ περισχεθῆναι σφᾶς ἐκώλυε, τὰ δὲ πλευρὰ ἀμφοτέρα ἐκυκλώσαντο

towns and discussed an attack on Naupactus. They rejected this, as they saw that their line of march would be through the Aetolians, who were always their enemies; moreover they suspected that the men of Naupactus possessed a fleet, which was the fact; and while they commanded the sea, it was impossible to achieve anything of importance with a land force. So they changed their plans and at once turned on the Messenians in Oeniadae and prepared to besiege them, for they never supposed that men so few in number would show such desperate courage as to fight against the full levy of the Acarnanians. The Messenians had previously prepared food and all else that was requisite, expecting to stand a long siege. But they were determined before the siege was formed to fight a battle in the open, and being Messenians, who had not been surpassed in valour even by Lacedaemonians, but in fortune only, were determined not to be dismayed at the horde which had come from Acarnania. They recalled the achievement of the Athenians at Marathon, how thirty myriad Persians had been destroyed by men not numbering ten thousand. So they joined battle with the Acarnanians, and the course of the battle is said to have been thus. The enemy, being far superior in numbers, had no difficulty in surrounding the Messenians, except where prevented by the gates in the Messenian rear and by the zealous help of their men posted on the wall. Here they could not be surrounded, but the

αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον παντα-  
 7 χόθεν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ συνεστραμμένοι μετ'  
 ἀλλήλων, ὅποτε ἀθροοὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἐμπέ-  
 σοιεν, ἐτάρασσον μὲν τοὺς κατὰ ταῦτ' ἑστηκότας  
 καὶ ἐφόνεον τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον πολ-  
 λούς, τελείαν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐργάσασθαι  
 φυγὴν· ὅπου γὰρ τῆς τάξεως αἰσθινοτό τι  
 οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσση-  
 νίων διασπώμενον, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀμύνοντες τοῖς  
 βιαζομένοις αὐτῶν ἀνείργον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους  
 8 ἐπικρατοῦντες τῷ πλήθει. οἱ δὲ ὅποτε ἀνακο-  
 πείεν, κατ' ἄλλο αὐθις πειρώμενοι διακόψαι  
 τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων φάλαγγα τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν ἔπασχον·  
 ὅτῳ μὲν προσβάλλοιεν, διέσειόν τε καὶ τροπὴν  
 ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐποίουν, ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ αὐθις κατὰ  
 τοῦτο σπουδῇ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπειρέποντο  
 ἄκοντες. γενομένου δὲ ἰσορρόπου τοῦ ἀγῶνος  
 ἄχρι ἐσπέρας καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν  
 νύκτα ἐπελθούσης δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων,  
 οὕτω τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις περιεστήκει πολιορκία.  
 9 καὶ ἀλώναι μὲν κατὰ κράτος τὸ τεῖχος ἢ  
 ὑπερβάντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἢ καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν  
 βιασθείσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν φρουρὰν δέος ἦν οὐδέν·  
 τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδειά σφισι πάντα ὁμοίως ὀγδόῳ μηνὶ  
 ἐξανήλωτο. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας ἐχρῶντο  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους χλευασία, μὴ σφᾶς τὰ σιτία  
 προδοῦναί ποτε ἂν μηδὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον πολι-  
 10 ορκουμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὕπνον πρῶτον  
 ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνιαδῶν, <καὶ> γενομένης  
 τοῦ δρασμοῦ σφῶν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν αἰσθήσεως  
 [καὶ] ἐς μάχην ἀναγκασθέντες ἀφικέσθαι, περὶ  
 τριακοσίους μὲν ἀποβίλλουσι καὶ πλείονας ἔτι

Acarmanians enveloped both their flanks and shot volleys at them from all sides. The Messenians, in close formation, whenever they charged the Acarnanians in a body, threw the enemy at that point into confusion, killing and wounding many of them, but they could not effect a complete rout. For wherever the Acarnanians saw a part of their own line being broken by the Messenians they went to the support of their harassed troops at this point and checked the Messenians, overwhelming them by numbers. The Messenians, beaten back and again attempting to pierce the massed troops of the Acarnanians at another point, would meet with the same result. Wherever they attacked, they threw the enemy into confusion and drove them a short distance, but as the Acarnanians again streamed eagerly to this point, they were driven back against their will. The battle was evenly contested until evening, but when at nightfall the Acarnanians received reinforcements from their cities, the blockade of the Messenians was formed. They had no fear of the wall being taken by assault, either by the Acarnanians scaling it or by themselves being forced to abandon their posts. But in the eighth month all their provisions alike had been consumed. They shouted to the Acarnanians from the wall in mockery that their supplies would not fail them until the tenth year of the siege, but they themselves sallied out of Oeniadae at the time of the first sleep. Their escape became known to the Acarnanians and they were compelled to fight, losing some three hundred and killing still more of the

αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κατεργάζονται, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῶν διεκπίπτουσι διὰ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἀνασώζονται.

XXVI. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἐνέκειτό σφισι τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου· τὴν τε γὰρ Ναύπακτον ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρείχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποληφθέντας Μεσσηνίων σφενδονῆται τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου συνεξείλον. 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο <τὸ> Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκβάλλουσι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντες, οὐ ἐς Σικελίαν τε παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐς Ῥήγιον ἐστάλησαν, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἔς τε Λιβύην ἀφίκετο καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Εὐεσπερίτας· οἱ γὰρ Εὐεσπερίται πολέμῳ κακωθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προσοίκων πάντα τινὰ Ἕλληνα ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύνοικον. ἐς τούτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολὺ ἀπεχώρησεν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ σφισιν ἦν Κόμων, ὃς καὶ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν ἐστρατήγησεν αὐτοῖς.

3 Ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον ἢ κατορθῶσαι Θηβαίους τὰ ἐν Λεύκτροις, προεσήμαιεν ὁ δαίμων Μεσσηνίοις τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ <τῇ> πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν ὀνειράτος ἰδεῖν ὄψιν—τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔδοξε κληθῆναι τὸν Μάντικλον ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ ἐς Ἰθώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός—τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Εὐεσπερίταις Κόμων συγγενέσθαι



enemy. But the greater part of them got through the Acarnanians, and reaching the territory of the Aetolians, who were their friends, arrived safely at Naupactus.

XXVI. Afterwards, as at all times, they were stirred by their hatred against the Lacedaemonians, and provided the most striking example of their hostility towards them in the war which took place between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. For they offered Naupactus as a base against Peloponnese, and Messenian slingers from Naupactus helped to capture the Spartans cut off in Sphacteria. When the Athenian reverse at Aegospotami took place, the Lacedaemonians, having command of the sea, then drove the Messenians from Naupactus; they went to their kinsmen in Sicily and to Rhegium, but the majority came to Libya and to the Euesperitae there, who had suffered severely in war with barbarian neighbours and were inviting any Greek to join them. So the majority of the Messenians went to them, their leader being Comon, who had commanded them in Sphacteria.

A year before the victory of the Thebans at Leuctra, heaven foretold their return to Peloponnese to the Messenians. It is said that in Messene on the Straits the priest of Heracles saw a vision in a dream: it seemed that Heracles Mantichus was bidden by Zeus as a guest to Ithome. Also among the Euesperitae Comon dreamt that he lay with his

νεκρᾶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐδόκει, συγγενομένου δὲ αὐθίς  
οἱ τὴν μητέρα ἀναβιῶναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπήλπιζεν  
Ἀθηναίων δυνηθέντων ναυτικῶ κάθοδον ἔσεσθαι  
σφισιν ἐς Ναύπακτον· τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐδήλου τὸ  
4 ὄνειρον ἀνασώσεσθαι Μεσσήνην. ἐγένετό τε οὐ  
μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λεύκτροις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἀτύ-  
χημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ· Ἀριστοδήμῳ γὰρ  
τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Μεσσηνίων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ  
χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος ἐστὶν

ἔρδ' ὅππῃ τὸ χρεῶν· ἄτη δ' ἄλλοισι πρὸ  
ἄλλων·

ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐκείνον δέον καὶ Μεσση-  
νίους κακῶς πράξαι, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Λακε-  
5 δάιμονα ἐπιληψομένης τῆς ἄτης. τότε δὲ ἐν  
Λεύκτροις οἱ Θηβαῖοι νενικηκότες ἀγγέλους ἐς  
Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Εὐεσ-  
περίτας ἀπέστελλον, ἐκ τε τῆς ἄλλης, εἴ πού  
τις Μεσσηνίων εἴη, πανταχόθεν ἀνεκάλουν ἐς  
Πελοπόννησον. οἱ δὲ θᾶσσον ἢ ὡς ἂν τις ἤλπισε  
συνελέχθησαν γῆς τε τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ καὶ διὰ  
τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μίσος παραμείναν ἀεὶ σφισιν.  
6 Ἐπαμινώνδα δὲ οὔτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ῥάδια  
ἀξιομάχον πόλιν ἐποικίσει Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔτε  
ὅπου χρὴ κτίσει τῆς χῶρας ἐξευρίσκει· τὴν γὰρ  
Ἄνδανίαν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Οἰχαλίαν οὐκ ἔφασαν  
ἀνοικιεῖν, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ σφισιν ἐγεγονεσαν  
ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. ἀποροῦντι οὖν αὐτῷ πρεσ-  
βύτην ἄνδρα, ἱεροφάντη μάλιστα εἰκασμένον,  
νύκτωρ φασὶν ἐπιστάντα εἰπεῖν· “σοὶ μὲν δῶρᾶ  
ἐστὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ κρατεῖν ὅτῳ ἂν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπέρχῃ·  
καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένη, ἔγωγε ὦ Θηβαῖε

dead mother, but that afterwards she came to life again. He hoped that as the Athenians had recovered their sea-power, they would be restored to Naupactus. But the dream really indicated the recovery of Messene. Not long afterwards the Lacedaemonians suffered at Leuctra the disaster that had long been due. For at the end of the oracle given to Aristodemus, who reigned over the Messenians, are the words:

“Act as fate wills, destruction comes on this man before that,”

signifying that he and the Messenians must suffer evil at the present, but that hereafter destruction would overtake Lacedaemon. Then after their victory at Leuctra the Thebans sent messengers to Italy, Sicily and to the Euesperitae, and summoned the Messenians to Peloponnese from every other quarter where they might be, and they, with longing for their country and through the hatred which had ever remained with them for the Lacedaemonians, assembled quicker than could have been expected. To Epaminondas it seemed in no way easy to find a city that could resist the Lacedaemonians, nor could he discover where in the land to build it. For the Messenians refused to settle again in Andania and Oechalia, because their disasters had befallen them when they dwelt there. To Epaminondas in his difficulty it is said that an ancient man, closely resembling a priest of Demeter, appeared in the night and said: “My gift to thee is that thou shalt conquer whomsoever thou dost assail; and when thou dost pass from men, Theban, I will cause thy

ποιήσω μή ποτε ἀνώνυμον μηδὲ ἄδοξόν <σε>  
γενέσθαι. σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίοις γῆν τε πατρίδα  
καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μῆνιμα ἤδη  
7 σφίσι πέπαυται τὸ Διοσκούρων.” Ἐπαμινώνδα  
μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἐπιτέλει δὲ τῷ Αἰσχίνου τάδε  
ἐμήνυε—στρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἄργεῖοι τὸν  
Ἐπιτέλην καὶ Μεσσήνην ἀνοικίζουσιν ἤρηντο—  
τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὄνειρος, ἔνθα  
ἂν τῆς Ἰθώμης εὖρη πεφυκυῖαν σμίλακα καὶ  
μυρσίνην, τὸ μέσον ὀρύξαντα αὐτῶν ἀνασῶσαι  
τὴν γραῦν· κάμνειν γάρ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ καθειργ-  
μένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἤδη λιποψυχεῖν αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ  
Ἐπιτέλης, ὥς ἐπελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, παραγενό-  
μενος ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον ἐπέτυχεν ὀρύσσων  
8 ὑδρία χαλκῆ, καὶ αὐτίκα παρὰ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν  
κομίσας τό τε ἐνύπνιον ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον  
τὸ πῶμα ἀφελόντα ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι ἐνεῖη σκο-  
πεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ πεφηνότι  
ὄνειρατι ἠνοιγε τὴν ὑδρίαν, ἀνοίξας δὲ εὔρε κασ-  
σίτερον ἐληλασμένον ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον· ἐπείλικτο  
δὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βιβλία. ἐνταῦθα τῶν Μεγάλων  
θεῶν ἐγέγραπτο ἡ τελετή, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν παρα-  
καταθήκη τοῦ Ἀριστομένου. τοῦτον τὸν ἐπελ-  
θόντα τῷ Ἐπιτέλει καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδα καθεύδουσι  
Καύκωνα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὃς ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν  
ἐς Ἀνδανίαν παρὰ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα.

XXVII. Τὸ δὲ τῶν Τυνδάρεω παίδων μῆνιμα  
ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρξατο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐν  
Στενυκλήρῳ μάχης, γενέσθαι <δὲ> αὐτὸ δι’  
αἰτίαν τοιάνδε εἰκάζω. μεράκια ὠραῖα ἐξ Ἀνδα-  
νίας, Πάνορμος καὶ Γώνιππος, τά τε ἄλλα οἰκείως  
εἶχον ἀλλήλοις καὶ κοινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας ἐξόδους

name to be unforgotten and give thee glory. But do thou restore to the Messenians their fatherland and cities, for now the wrath of the Dioscuri against them hath ceased." This he said to Epaminondas, and revealed this to Epiteles the son of Aeschines, who had been chosen by the Argives to be their general and to refound Messene. He was bidden by the dream, wherever he found yew and myrtle growing on Ithome, to dig between them and recover the old woman, for, shut in her brazen chamber, she was overcome and well-nigh fainting. When day dawned, Epiteles went to the appointed place, and as he dug, came upon a brazen urn. He took it at once to Epaminondas, told him the dream and bade him remove the lid and see what was within. Epaminondas, after sacrifice and prayer to the vision that had appeared, opened the urn and having opened it found some tin foil, very thin, rolled like a book. On it were inscribed the mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and this was the pledge deposited by Aristomenes. They say that the man who appeared to Epiteles and Epaminondas in their sleep was Caucon, who came from Athens to Messene the daughter of Triopas at Andania.

XXVII. The wrath of the sons of Tyndareus against the Messenians began before the battle in Stenyclerus, and arose, I think, for the following reason. Panormus and Gonippus of Andania, young men in the bloom of youth, were close friends in

- καὶ καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν.
- 2 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Διοσκούροις ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων καὶ ἤδη πρὸς πότον καὶ παιδίας τετραμμένων μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον, ὁ Γώνιππος καὶ ὁ Πάνορμος χιτῶνας λευκοὺς καὶ χλαμύδας πορφυρᾶς ἐνδύντες ἐπὶ τε ἵππων τῶν καλλίστων ὀχούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πῖλους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ δόρατα ἔχοντες ἐπιφαίνονται Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, προσεκύνουν τε καὶ εὐχοντο, ἀφίχθαι δοκοῦντές σφισιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν
- 3 θυσίαν τοὺς Διοσκούρους. οἱ νεανίσκοι δὲ ὡς ἅπαξ ἀνεμίχθησαν, διεξήλανον διὰ πάντων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ ἤδη κειμένων πολλῶν ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς Ἄνδανίαν, καθυβρίσαντες τῶν Διοσκούρων τῇ θυσίᾳ. τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προήγαγε τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐς τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Μεσσηνίων· τότε δέ, ὡς ἐδήλου τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ τὸ ὄνειρον, οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀκούσιος τῶν
- 4 Μεσσηνίων ἡ κáθοδος. μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν οἱ Βάκιδος ἐνήγον χρησμοί. Βάκιδι γὰρ μανέντι ἐκ Νυμφῶν ἐς ἄλλους τέ ἐστὶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων κáθοδον προειρημένα

καὶ τότε δὴ Σπάρτης μὲν ἀπ' ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ὀλεῖται,

Μεσσήνη δ' αὖτις οἰκῆσεται ἤματα πάντα.

ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἵρας, ὄντινα ἀλώσοιτο τρόπον, Βάκιν ἐφώρασα εἰρηκότα· καὶ οἱ καὶ τὸδε ἐστὶ τῶν χρησμῶν,

οἷ τ' ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης πατάγω κρουνοῖς τε δαμείσης.

all things, and marched together into battle and on raids into Laconia. The Lacedaemonians were keeping a feast of the Dioscuri in camp and had turned to drinking and sports after the midday meal, when Gonippus and Panormus appeared to them, riding on the finest horses and dressed in white tunics and scarlet cloaks, with caps on their heads and spears in their hands. When the Lacedaemonians saw them they bowed down and prayed, thinking that the Dioscuri themselves had come to their sacrifice. When once they had come among them, the youths rode right through them, striking with their spears, and when many had been killed, returned to Andania, having outraged the sacrifice to the Dioscuri. It was this, in my view, that roused the Dioscuri to their hatred of the Messenians. But now, as the dream declared to Epaminondas, the Dioscuri no longer opposed the return of the Messenians. Epaminondas was most strongly drawn to the foundation by the oracles of Bacis, who was inspired by the Nymphs and left prophecies regarding others of the Greeks as well as the return of the Messenians :

“Then indeed shall the bright bloom of Sparta  
perish and Messene again shall be inhabited  
for all time.”

I have discovered that Bacis also told in what manner Eira would be captured, and this too is one of his oracles :

“The men of Messene o’ercome by the thunder’s  
roll and spouting rain.”

- 5 Ὡς δὲ ἡ τελετὴ σφισιν ἀνεύρητο, ταύτην μὲν, ὅσοι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων ἦσαν, κατετίθεντο ἐς βίβλους· Ἐπαμινώνδας δέ, ὡς οἱ τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα νῦν ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὴν πόλιν, μάλιστα ἐς οἰκισμὸν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκέλευεν ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τοῖς μάντεσιν, <εἷ> οἱ βουλήσεται ταύτη καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρήσαι. φαιμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἴσια, οὕτω παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν, λίθους τε ἄγεσθαι κελεύων καὶ ἄνδρας μεταπεμπόμενος, οἷς τέχνη στενωποὺς κατατέμνεσθαι καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τείχη περιβάλλεσθαι.
- 6 ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πάντα ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν—ἱερεία γὰρ παρεῖχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες—αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐπαμινώνδας καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔθνον Ἰσμηνίῳ τὸν νομιζόμενον τρόπον, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τῇ τε Ἥρᾳ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ Δίῳ, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ Δίῳ τε Ἰθωμάτῳ καὶ Διοσκούροισι, οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἱερεῖς θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις καὶ Καύκωνι. ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν κοινῷ καὶ ἡρώας σφισιν ἐπανήκειν συνοίκους, Μεσσήνην μὲν τὴν Τριόπα μάλιστα, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ Εὐρυτον καὶ Ἀφαρέα τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντην τε καὶ Αἴπυτον· πλείστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνάκλησις
- 7 ἐγίνετο Ἀριστομένους. καὶ τὴν μὲν τότε ἡμέραν πρὸς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἦσαν, ταῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ τείχους τὸν περίβολον ἤγειρον καὶ ἐντὸς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐποιούντο. εἰργάζοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ μουσικῆς ἄλλης μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, αὐλῶν δὲ Βοιωτίων καὶ Ἀργείων· τὰ τε Σακάδα καὶ Προνόμου μέλη τότε δὴ προήχθη μάλιστα ἐς



When the mysteries were recovered, all who were of the priestly family set them down in books. As Epaminondas considered the spot where the city of the Messenians now stands most convenient for the foundation, he ordered enquiry to be made by the seers if the favour of the gods would follow him here. When they announced that the offerings were auspicious, he began preparations for the foundation, ordering stone to be brought, and summoning men skilled in laying out streets and in building houses, temples, and ring-walls. When all was in readiness, victims being provided by the Arcadians, Epaminondas himself and the Thebans then sacrificed to Dionysus and Apollo Ismenius in the accustomed manner, the Argives to Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus, the Messenians to Zeus of Ithome and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. And together they summoned heroes to return and dwell with them, first Messene the daughter of Triopas, after her Eurytus, Aphareus and his children, and of the sons of Heracles Cresphontes and Aepytus. But the loudest summons from all alike was to Aristomenes. For that day they were engaged in sacrifice and prayer, but on the following days they raised the circuit of the walls, and within built houses and the temples. They worked to the sound of music, but only from Boeotian and Argive flutes, and the tunes of Sacadas and Pronomus were brought into keen com-

- ἄμιλλαν. αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνην ἔθεντο ὄνομα, ἀνώκιζον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα. Ναυ-  
 8 πλιεῖς δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης οὐκ ἀνέστησαν· κατὰ  
 χώραν δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναίους μένειν εἶων, τούτοις  
 μὲν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπομνημονεύοντες πολεμήσαι  
 μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς σφᾶς οὐ θελήσασι,  
 Ναυπλιεῖς δὲ κατιούσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Μεσση-  
 νίοις τε δῶρα ἤγαγον ὅποια εἶχον καὶ ἅμα μὲν  
 ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῆς ἐκείνων συνεχέσιν ἐς τὸ θεῖον  
 ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σφετέρας  
 δεήσεσιν ἐς ἐκείνους ἐχρῶντο.
- 9 Κατῆλθον δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι  
 καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα  
 καὶ διακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον μετὰ Εἴρας ἄλωσιν,  
 Δυσκινήτου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τρίτῳ δὲ  
 ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν  
 Δάμων Θούριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. οὐκ ὀλίγος  
 μὲν οὖν ὁ χρόνος καὶ Πλαταιεῦσιν ἐγένετο, ἐφ'  
 ὅσον καὶ ἐκείνοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἔφευγον, καὶ Δηλίοις,  
 ἠνίκα ὄκησαν Ἀδραμύττιον ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς  
 10 σφετέρας ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων [καὶ Ὀρχομενίων]. οἱ  
 δὲ Μινύαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις  
 ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, κατή-  
 χθησαν ἐς Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμυντοῦ,  
 καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Θηβαίων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 ἐρημώσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν πόλιν, αὐθις ἔτεσιν  
 οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς  
 Θήβας ἔκτισεν. φαίνεται μὲν δὴ τῶν κατει-  
 λεγμένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἢ Πλαταϊκὴ φυγὴ  
 συμβᾶσα, οὐ μέντοι περαιτέρω γε ἢ ἐπὶ δύο  
 11 ἐγένετο οὐδ' αὐτῇ γενεάς. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἐκτὸς  
 Πελοποννήσου τριακόσια ἔτη μάλιστα ἠλῶντο,

petition. The city itself was given the name Messene, but they founded other towns. The men of Nauplia were not disturbed at Mothone, and they allowed the people of Asine to remain in their home, remembering their kindness when they refused to join the Lacedaemonians in the war against them. The men of Nauplia on the return of the Messenians to Peloponnese brought them such gifts as they had, and while praying continually to the gods for their return begged the Messenians to grant protection to themselves.

The Messenians returned to 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,<sup>1</sup> when Damon of Thurii was victorious for the second time. It was no short time for the Plataeans that they were in exile from their country, and for the Delians when they settled in Adramyttium after being expelled from their island by the Athenians. The Minyae, driven by the Thebans from Orchomenos after the battle of Leuctra, were restored to Boeotia by Philip the son of Amyntas, as were also the Plataeans. When Alexander had destroyed the city of the Thebans themselves, Cassander the son of Antipater rebuilt it after a few years. The exile of the Plataeans seems to have lasted the longest of those mentioned, but even this was not for more than two generations. But the wanderings of the Messenians outside the Peloponnese lasted almost three hundred

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 370.

ἐν οἷς οὔτε ἔθῶν εἰσι δῆλοι παραλύσαντές τι τῶν οἴκοθεν οὔτε τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Δωρίδα μετεδιδάχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τὸ ἄκριβές αὐτῆς Πελοποννησίων μάλιστα ἐφύλασσον.

XXVIII. Κατελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεινὸν ἦν οὐδέν· κατεχόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φόβῳ τῷ Θηβαίων Μεσσηνίας τε ἠνεῖχοντο ἐποικιζομένης καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς μίαν ἠθροισμένων πόλιν. ὡς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ Φωκικός, καλούμενος δὲ <ὁ> αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ ἱερός, ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου Θηβαίους, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο ἀπέχεσθαι.

2 Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀντεῖχον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀμύναί σφισιν ἐδεήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὔποτε μετὰ ἐκείνων ἐσβαλεῖν ἔφασαν, ἀρχόντων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμου καὶ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐπηγγέλλοντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ Φιλίππῳ σύμμαχοι τῷ Ἀμύντου καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτο σφᾶς λέγουσιν ἀποκωλύσαι τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγῶνος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μὴ μετασχεῖν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐναντία

3 θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα ἠθέλησαν. Ἀλεξίονδρον δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεμον δεύτερον τότε ἀνηρημένων πρὸς Μακεδόνας, μετέσχον καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τοῦ πολέμου, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ. Γαλάταις δὲ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο, Κλεωνύμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων σπείσασθαι σπονδὰς σφισιν οὐ θελησάντων.

years, during which it is clear that they did not depart in any way from their local customs, and did not lose their Doric dialect, but even to our day they have retained the purest Doric in Peloponnese.

XXVIII. After their return they had nothing to fear at first from the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, restrained by fear of the Thebans, submitted to the foundation of Messene and to the gathering of the Arcadians into one city. But when the Phocian or, as it is called, the *Sacred War* caused the Thebans to withdraw from Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians regained courage and could no longer refrain from attacking the Messenians. The Messenians maintained the war with the help of the Argives and Arcadians, and asked the Athenians for help. They refused to join in an attack on Laconia, but promised to render assistance in person if the Lacedaemonians began war and invaded Messenia. Finally the Messenians formed an alliance with Philip the son of Amyntas and the Macedonians; it was this, they say, that prevented them from taking part in the battle which the Greeks fought at Chaeroneia. They refused, however, to bear arms against the Greeks. After the death of Alexander, when the Greeks had raised a second war against the Macedonians, the Messenians took part, as I have shown earlier in my account of Attica.<sup>1</sup> They did not join the Greeks against the Gauls, as Cleonymus and the Lacedaemonians refused to grant them a truce.

<sup>1</sup> I. xxv. 4.

- 4 Οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἔσχον Ἥλιν Μεσσήνιοι, σοφία τε ὁμοῦ χρησάμενοι καὶ τολμήματι. Ἥλαιο γὰρ τὰ μὲν παλαιότατα εὐνομώτατοι Πελοποννησίων ἦσαν· Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα εἴρηται κακουργήσαντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἥλειων τοὺς δυνατοὺς διαφθείραντος χρήμασι, στασιάζουσι πρῶτον τότε Ἥλαιο καὶ ἐς
- 5 ὄπλα, ὡς λέγουσι, χωροῦσι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ῥᾶον ἔτι ἔμελλον ἀπεχθῆσεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔνεκα διέστη τὰ βουλευματα, καὶ ἐς ἔμφυλον προῆλθον πόλεμον. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς Ἥλειων τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὰ σφέτερα ἀμνηοῦντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τέλη τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ διενέμοντο ἐς τοὺς λόχους· τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων λογάδες χίλιοι φθάνουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ἥλιν, σημεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι Λακωνικὰ
- 6 ἔχοντες. ὡς δὲ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐθεάσαντο ὅσοι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις εἶνοι τῶν Ἥλειων ἦσαν, συμμαχίαν τε ἀφίχθαι σφισιν ἠλπισαν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐδέχοντο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἐσελθόντες δὲ τρόπον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸν εἰρημένον τοὺς τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονοῦντας ἐδίωξαν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπουσι
- 7 τοῖς στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι μὲν δὴ τὸ σόφισμα Ὀμήρου, φαίνονται δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν δέοντι μιμησάμενοι καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, ἐπεὶ Πάτροκλόν γε ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὀμηρος Ἀχιλλέως τὰ ὄπλα ἐνδύντα, καὶ ἐγγενέσθαι τε ἔφη τοῖς βαρβάρους δόξαν ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπίοι καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους αὐτῶν παραχθῆναι. εὔρηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ὀμήρῳ στρατηγήματα, δύο τε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατασκόπους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ

Not long afterwards the Messenians occupied Elis, employing strategy and daring alike. The Eleians in the earliest times were the most law-abiding of the Peloponnesians, but when Philip the son of Amyntas did all the harm to Greece that has been related, he also bribed the leading men in Elis; the Eleians were divided by factions for the first time and came to blows, it is said. Henceforward it was likely to be more easy for quarrels to arise among men whose counsels were divided on account of the Lacedaemonians, and they arrived at civil war. Learning this, the Lacedaemonians were preparing to assist their partisans in Elis. While they were being organized in squadrons and distributed in companies, a thousand picked Messenian troops arrived hurriedly at Elis with Laconian blazons on their shields. Seeing their shields, all the Laconising party in Elis thought their supporters had arrived and received them into the fortress. But having obtained admission in this way, the Messenians drove out the supporters of the Lacedaemonians and made over the city to their own partisans. The trick is Homer's, but the Messenians plainly imitated it opportunely, for Homer represents Patroclus in the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> clad in the arms of Achilles, and says that the barbarians were filled with the belief that it was Achilles attacking them, and that their front ranks were thrown into confusion. Other stratagems are the invention of Homer, the coming of the two Greek spies by night among the Trojans, instead of

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 281.

ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα ὕστερον λόγῳ μὲν αὐτόμολον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἀπόρητα πολυπραγμονήσουσα ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἐσελθεῖν. 8 ἔτι δὲ τοὺς διὰ νεότητα ἐν τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἢ γῆρας οὐχ ὠραίους μάχεσθαι, τούτους μὲν τὸ τεῖχος φρουρεῖν ἔταξε, τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπηυλισμένων· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες ὀπλίζουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μάχιμον, ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἀργοῖεν. Τὰ Ὀμήρου μὲν οὖν ὠφέλιμα ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντα ἀνθρώποις·

XXIX. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἡλιδι Μακεδόνες καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μεσσήνην καταλαμβάνουσι. τὰ μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐς τε αὐτὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὰ ἐς Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου τολμηθέντα ἐκ Περσέως ἐν τοῖς Σικυωνίοις ἔγραψα ἤδη λόγοις· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τὴν 2 Μεσσήνης ἔσχευ οὕτω. χρημάτων ἐσπανίζετο Φίλιππος καί—ἔδει γὰρ πάντως οἱ γενέσθαι χρήματα—ἀποστέλλει Δημήτριον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Δημήτριος δὲ κατήγετό που τῆς Ἀργείας ἐς λιμένα τῶν ἐρημοτέρων· αὐτίκα δὲ ὡς εἶχε διὰ τῶν ἐπιτομωτάτων τῆς χώρας τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγειν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης. προτάξας δὲ ὅσον ἦν τῶν τε ὄπλων τῆ σκευῇ κοῦφον καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην εἶχεν ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἀπείρως, λανθάνει περὶ ὄρθρον μάλιστα ὑπερβὰς τὸ τεῖχος, καθὼς τῆς τε πόλεως μεταξὺ ἦν καὶ ἄκρας τῆς Ἰθώμης. 3 ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐπέσχε καὶ ἤδη τοῖς ἔνδον αἰσθησις ἐγεγόνει τοῦ κατειληφότες κινδύνου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐσήληθεν ὑπόνοια ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ὄπλοις παρέλθοιεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν,



one,<sup>1</sup> and later a man coming to Troy, who pretends to be a deserter but actually is to find out their secrets. Again, the Trojans who, through youth or years were not of fighting age, he posted as garrison of the walls,<sup>2</sup> while the men of military age were encamped against the Greeks. The wounded Greeks in Homer arm the fighting men, so that even they may not be altogether idle. Indeed Homer's ideas have proved useful to men in every matter.

XXIX. Not long after the affair at Elis, the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, son of Demetrius,<sup>3</sup> captured Messene. I have already, in my account of Sicyon,<sup>4</sup> narrated most of the crimes of Perseus against Philip himself and against Demetrius the son of Philip. These are the facts relating to the capture of Messene. Philip was in need of money, and as it was necessary to raise it at all costs, he sent Demetrius with a fleet to Peloponnese. He put in to one of the less frequented harbours of the Argolid, and at once marched his army by the shortest route to Messene. With an advance guard consisting of all the light-armed troops who knew the road to Ithome, he succeeded just before dawn in scaling the wall unnoticed at a point where it lay between the city and the peak of Ithome. When day dawned and the inhabitants had realised the danger that beset them, they were at first under the impression that the Lacedaemonians had forced an entry into

<sup>1</sup> x. 220.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 517.

<sup>3</sup> See, however, Polybius iii. 19, where it is stated that it was Demetrius of Pharos who made the raid.

<sup>4</sup> ii. ix. 5.

- ὥστε καὶ ὄρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον διὰ  
 τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τε τῶν ὄπλων  
 καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν  
 Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν ὄντας, δεῖμα ἰσχυρὸν  
 παρέστη σφίσι λογιζομένοις τὴν τε ἐς τὰ πολε-  
 μικὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων μελέτην καὶ τύχην ἢ πρὸς  
 4 ἅπαντα ἐώρων χρωμένους αὐτούς. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ  
 τε παρόντος κακοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἐδίδασκεν ἀνδρίαν  
 τινὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δυνατοῦ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἅμα τὰ  
 ἀμείνω παρίστατο αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζειν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 ἄνευ θεοῦ διὰ τοσοῦτου σφίσιν ὑπάρξαι τὴν ἐς  
 Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. οἳ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 Μεσσήνιοι θυμῷ παντὶ ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐχώ-  
 ρουν καὶ οἱ φρουροῦντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπέκειντο  
 5 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες  
 ὑπὸ τε ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίας τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 ἠμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως· ἅτε δὲ ὁδοιπορία προαπει-  
 ρηκότες καὶ ὁμοῦ τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν σφίσιν ἐγκει-  
 μένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθοις  
 βαλλόμενοι, σὺν οὐδενὶ ἔφευγον κόσμῳ. καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τῶν  
 κρημνῶν, ἀπότομος γὰρ δὴ ταύτη μάλιστά ἐστιν  
 ἢ Ἰθώμη· ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ ρίψαντες τὰ ὄπλα  
 ἀπεσώθησαν.
- 6 Ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐσελθεῖν κατ' ἀρχάς.  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτεπάγγελτοι βοηθήσοντες ἀφί-  
 κοντο ὑπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Αἰακίδου πολεμουμένοις,  
 καὶ σφίσιν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἤδη τὰ  
 ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰρηνικώτερα ὑπῆρχεν. οὐκ οὖν  
 ἀνακινήσαι τὸ ἔχθος ἐβούλοντο ἐς τὸ συνέδριον  
 συγχωρήσαντες, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα  
 33<sup>ο</sup>

the town, and attacked them more recklessly owing to their ancient hatred. But when they discovered from their equipment and speech that it was the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip, they were filled with great fear, when they considered the Macedonian training in warfare and the good fortune which they saw that they enjoyed in all their ventures. Nevertheless the magnitude of the present evil caused them to display a courage beyond their strength, also they were inspired with hope for the best, since it seemed not without divine help that they had accomplished their return to Peloponnese after so long an absence. So the Messenians in the town went against the Macedonians full of courage, and the garrison on the acropolis attacked from the high ground above. In like manner the Macedonians, brave and experienced troops, at first offered a firm resistance. But worn out by their march, attacked by the men and bombarded with tiles and stones by the women, they took to flight in disorder. The majority were pushed over the precipices and killed, for Ithome is very steep at this point. A few escaped by throwing away their arms.

The Messenians refrained at first from joining the Achaean league for the following reason, I think. When Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides made war on the Lacedaemonians, they came unasked to their assistance, and as a result of this service a more peaceful disposition towards them came to be established at Sparta. Therefore they were unwilling to revive the feud by joining the league, which was openly

- 7 πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν. ὁ δὲ οὐ λέληθεν ἐμέ, οὐδὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐλελήθει δῆπου, καὶ μὴ συντελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ Ἀχαιῶν ὑπάρχουσι· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦσαν. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι προσεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν. οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου Μεγάλην πόλιν εἶλεν Ἀρκάδων ἐν σπονδαῖς·
- 8 τῶν δὲ οἱ καταληφθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἄλωσιν, Φιλοποίμενα δὲ τὸν Κραύγιδος καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Φιλοποίμενος ἀπεχώρησαν—γενέσθαι δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τὸ διαφυγὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δύο μοῖρας λέγουσι—τούτους ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τῶν τε ἀρχαίων ἔργων ἕνεκα ὅποσα ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρκετο Ἀρκάσι καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνίας, ἀποδιδόντες
- 9 σφίσι τὴν ὁμοίαν. πέφυκε δὲ ἄρα ὡς ἐπίπαν μεταπίπτειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἰ δὴ Μεσσηνίους Ἀρκάδας τε ἀντισῶσαι καὶ τὸ ἀδοκητότερον ἔτι ἐλεῖν Σπάρτην ὁ δαίμων ἔδωκεν· Κλεομένει γὰρ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀράτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς συγκαθεῖλον.
- 10 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένοις Κλεομένους ἐπανίσταται τύραννος Μαχανίδας, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Νάβις ἀνέφυσφίσις αὐθις τύραννος· αἶτε δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρπάζουσι αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ συλῶντι, ἐν οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ χρήματά τε ἄφθονα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰ συνείλεκτο. τούτου τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσηνίην καταλαβόντος Φιλοποίμην καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται
- 11 νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο τῆς αὐτῆς· καὶ ὁ μὲν Σπαρτιατῆς

declared the bitterest enemy of the Lacedaemonians. I realise, as of course did the Messenians, that even without their joining the league the policy of the Achaeans was hostile to the Lacedaemonians. For the Argives and the Arcadian group formed not the smallest element in the league. However, in the course of time they joined the league. And not long afterwards Cleomenes the son of Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, captured the Arcadian Megalopolis in peace-time.<sup>1</sup> Of the people of Megalopolis who were caught in the city, some were killed at the time of its capture, but Philopoemen the son of Craugis and all who withdrew with him (the number of the citizens who escaped is said to have been more than two-thirds) were received by the Messenians, who for the sake of the former services rendered by the Arcadians in the time of Aristomenes and again at the founding of Messene now repaid the like. Such, it would seem, are the vicissitudes of human affairs, that it was the will of heaven that the Messenians should in their turn preserve the Arcadians, and what is still more surprising, that they should capture Sparta. For they fought against Cleomenes at Sellasia and joined with Aratus and the Achaeans to capture Sparta. When the Lacedaemonians were rid of Cleomenes there rose to power a tyrant Machanidas, and after his death a second tyrant arose in Nabis. As he plundered human property and robbed temples alike, he amassed vast wealth in a short time and with it raised an army. This Nabis seized Messene, but when Philopoemen and the people of Megalopolis arrived during the same night, the Spartan tyrant

<sup>1</sup> See II. ix. 2.

- τύραννος ἀπῆλθεν ὑπόσπονδος, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ὕστερον τούτων μεμφόμενοί τι Μεσσηνίοις στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔτεμον τῆς χώρας. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὖθις περὶ ἄκμην σίτου συνελέγοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες· Δεινοκράτης δὲ δήμουτε προεστηκῶς καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡρημένος Λυκόρταν μὲν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ἀναχωρῆσαι παρεσκεύασεν ἄπρακτον, τὰς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας παρόδους προλαβὼν τοῖς τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσηνίοις
- 12 καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων σφίσιν ἤμυναν· Φιλοποίμενος δὲ σὺν ἰππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις ἀφικομένου πολὺ ὕστερον ἢ ὁ μετὰ Λυκόρτα στρατός, πυθῆσθαι δὲ οὐδέν πω τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δεδυνημένου, νικῶσιν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ γινομένης σφίσιν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τῆς μάχης καὶ ζῶντα αἰροῦσι Φιλοποίμενα. τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἐάλω καὶ ὡς ἐτελεύτησε, τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀρκαδικὸς λόγος ἐπέξεισι· Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ τε Φιλοποίμενι αἴτιοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔδοσαν δίκας καὶ ἡ Μεσσηνὴ συνετέλεσεν αὖθις ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν.
- 13 Ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τοῦδε ὁ λόγος ἐπῆλθέ μοι Μεσσηνίων τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα, καὶ ὡς ὁ δαίμων σφᾶς ἐπὶ τε γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρώτατα Πελοποννήσου σκεδάσας ὕστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνέσωσε· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεων τραπώμεθα ἐς ἀφήγησιν.

XXX. Ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τῆς νάπης τῆς Χοιρίου στάδια εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἀπέχουσα Ἀβία ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πόλις. ταύτην Ἴρην καλεῖσθαι πάλαι καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ φασιν εἶναι

retired on terms. But the Achaeans after this, having some quarrel with the Messenians, invaded them with all their forces and ravaged most of the country. On a second occasion they mustered when the corn was ripe to invade Messenia. But Deino-crates, the head of the government, who had been chosen to command the Messenians on that occasion, compelled Lycortas and his force to retire without effecting anything, by occupying beforehand the passes from Arcadia into Messenia with the Messenians from the city and troops from the surrounding districts that came to their assistance. Philopomen arrived with a few cavalry some time later than the force with Lycortas and had been unable to obtain any news of it; the Messenians, having the advantage of the high ground, defeated him and took him alive. I will narrate the manner of Philopoe-men's capture and death in my account of Arcadia later.<sup>1</sup> The Messenians, who were responsible for his death, were punished and Messene was again brought into the Achaean league.

Hitherto my account has dealt with the many sufferings of the Messenians, how fate scattered them to the ends of the earth, far from Peloponnese, and afterwards brought them safely home to their own country. Let us now turn to a description of the country and cities.

XXX. There is in our time a city Abia in Messenia on the coast, some twenty stades distant from the Choerius valley. They say that this was formerly called Ire and was one of the seven cities

<sup>1</sup> VIII. li. 5 *seqq.*

πόλεων, ἃς Ἀχιλλεῖ πεποίηκεν Ὀμηρος Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπισχνούμενον. Ἔλλου δὲ καὶ Δωριέων μάχη κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι λέγουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἴρην καὶ οἰκῆσαί τε αὐτόθι καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον Κρεσφόντην ἄλλα τε γέρα νεῖμαι καὶ τῇ πόλει μεταθέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβίας. Ἡρακλεῖον δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι ἐπιφανὲς καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖον.

- 2 Φαραὶ δὲ ἀφεστήκασιν Ἀβίας σταδίου ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἄλμυρόν· βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὐγουστος τοὺς ἐν Φαραῖς Μεσσηνίους συντελεῖν ἀπέταξεν εἰς τὸ Λακωνικόν. τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν Φᾶριν Ἐρμού τε καὶ Φυλοδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῆς Δαναοῦ· Φάριε δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν οὐ φασι γενέσθαι, θυγατέρα δὲ Τηλεγόνην. τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐγενεαλόγησεν Ὀμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι διδύμους Κρήθωνα καὶ Ὀρτίλοχον εἶναι Διοκλεῖ, Διοκλέα δὲ αὐτὸν Ὀρτιλόχου τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ· τὰ δὲ εἰς Τηλεγόνην παρῆιδεν, αὕτη γὰρ λόγῳ τῶ Μεσσηνίων ἐστὶν ἡ τεκοῦσα Ἀλφειῶ τὸν Ὀρτίλοχον.
- 3 καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἤκουσα ἐν Φαραῖς, Διοκλεῖ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ τοῖς διδύμοις παισὶν Ἀντίκλειαν γενέσθαι, τῆς δὲ Νικόμαχόν τε εἶναι καὶ Γόργασον, πατρὸς δὲ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τούτους καταμείναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὁ Διοκλῆς ἐτελεύτησε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι. διαμεμένηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τόδε ἔτι νοσήματά τε καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰᾶσθαι· καὶ σφισιν ἀντὶ τούτων θυσίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς Φαραιάταις



which Homer says that Agamemnon promised to Achilles.<sup>1</sup> When Hyllus and the Dorians were defeated by the Achaeans, it is said that Abia, nurse of Glenus the son of Heracles, withdrew to Ire, and settling there built a temple to Heracles, and that afterwards for this reason Cresphontes, amongst other honours assigned to her, renamed the city after Abia. There was a notable temple of Heracles here, and also of Asclepius.

Pharae is seventy stades distant from Abia. On the road is a salt spring. The Emperor Augustus caused the Messenians of Pharae to be incorporated in Laconia. The founder Pharis is said to have been the son of Hermes and Phylodameia the daughter of Danaus. He had no male children, but a daughter Telegone. Homer, tracing her descendants in the *Iliad*,<sup>2</sup> says that twins, Crethon and Ortilochus, were born to Diocles, Diocles himself being the son of Ortilochus son of Alpheius. He makes no reference to Telegone, who in the Messenian account bore Ortilochus to Alpheius. I heard also at Pharae that besides the twins a daughter Anticleia was born to Diocles, and that her children were Nicomachus and Gorgasus, by Machaon the son of Asclepius. They remained at Pharae and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Diocles. The power of healing diseases and curing the maimed has remained with them to this day, and in return for this, sacrifices and votive offerings are brought to their sanctuary. The people of Pharae possess also a temple of Fortune

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 150.

<sup>2</sup> v. 541.

4 καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. πρῶτος δὲ ὦν οἶδα ἐποίησατο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος Τύχης μνήμην· ἐποίησατο δὲ ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς τὴν Δήμητρα ἄλλας τε τῶν Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατέρας καταριθμούμενος, ὡς ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζοιεν, καὶ Τύχην ὡς Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ ταύτην παῖδα οὔσαν· καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη·

ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα,  
 Λευκίππη Φαινὼ τε καὶ Ἥλέκτρῃ καὶ Ἰάνθῃ  
 Μηλόβοσῖς τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὀκυρόῃ καλυ-  
 κῶπις.

5 πέρα δὲ ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη μεγίστη θεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι καὶ ἰσχὺν παρέχεται πλείστην, ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίῳ μὲν καὶ Ἐνυὸν πολεμούντων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν, Ἄρτεμιν δὲ γυναικῶν ὠδίσιν εἶναι φοβερὰν, Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ τὰ ἔργα μέλειν τῶν γάμων. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο 6 ἐποίησεν ἐς τὴν Τύχην· Βούπαλος δέ, ναοὺς τε οἰκοδομήσασθαι καὶ ζῶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρναίοις ἄγαλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρῶτος ἐποίησεν ὦν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρα χεὶρὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσε τῆς θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα· ἦσε δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε ἐς τὴν Τύχην καὶ δὴ καὶ Φερέπολιν ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν.

XXXI. Ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Φαρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλσος ἐστὶ Καρνείου καὶ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ πηγῇ θαλάσσης δὲ ἕξ πού στάδια ἀπέχουσιν αἱ Φαραί.

(*Tyche*) and an ancient image. Homer is the first whom I know to have mentioned Fortune in his poems. He did so in the *Hymn to Demeter*,<sup>1</sup> where he enumerates the daughters of Ocean, telling how they played with Kore the daughter of Demeter, and making Fortune one of them. The lines are :

“We all in a lovely meadow, Leucippe, Phaeno,  
Electre and Ianche, Melobosis and Tyche and  
Ocyrhoe with face like a flower.”

He said nothing further about this goddess being the mightiest of gods in human affairs and displaying greatest strength, as in the *Iliad* he represented Athena and Enyo as supreme in war, and Artemis feared in childbirth, and Aphrodite heeding the affairs of marriage.<sup>2</sup> But he makes no other mention of Fortune. Bupalos<sup>3</sup> a skilful temple-architect and carver of images, who made the statue of Fortune at Smyrna, was the first whom we know to have represented her with the heavenly sphere upon her head and carrying in one hand the horn of Amaltheia, as the Greeks call it, representing her functions to this extent. The poems of Pindar later contained references to Fortune, and it is he who called her *Supporter of the City*.

XXXI. Not far from Pharae is a grove of Apollo Carneius and a spring of water in it. Pharae is about six stades from the sea. Eighty stades on

<sup>1</sup> 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, v. 333 ; xxi. 483 ; v. 429.

<sup>3</sup> A sixth-century artist of Chios, the son of Archermus. With his brother Athenis he is said to have caricatured the poet Hipponax (Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvi. 11). Other works of his at Smyrna and at Ephesus are mentioned in ix. xxxv. 6.

## PAUSANIAS : DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας σταδίους προελθόντι ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔστιν ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις, "Ανθειαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὠνομάσθαι τοῖς Ὀμήρου λέγουσι. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὔγουστος. Αὔγουστω γὰρ βασιλεύοντι Ῥωμαίων ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντώνιος, γένει καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαῖος· καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ προσέθεντο, ὅτι ἐφρόνουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ
- 2 Αὔγουστου. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτων ἕνεκα Μεσσηνίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλαττον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐπεξήλθε. Θουριάται δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐν μετεώρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκουμένης ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατελθόντες οἰκοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γε οὐδὲ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τείχους ἐρείπια καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτόθι ὀνομαζόμενον θεοῦ Συρίας· τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν ποταμὸς καλούμενος "Αρις παρέξεισιν.
- 3 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίῳ κόμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Λιμνάτιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔνθα Τηλέκλω βασιλεύοντι ἐν
- 4 Σπάρτῃ τὴν τελευταίην συμβῆναι λέγουσιν. ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Θουρίας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Παμίσου· καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς παισὶ μικροῖς ἀκέσματα γίνεται.

Ἰούσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα στάδια, ἔστι Μεσσηνίους ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ πόλις· περιέχεται δὲ οὐ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πάμισον τὰ τετραμμένα ὑπὸ τῆς Εὔας· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τῷ ὄρει φασὶ Βακχικόν τι ἐπίφθεγμα

the road which leads thence into the interior of Messenia is the city of the Thuriatae, which they say had the name Antheia in Homer's poems.<sup>1</sup> Augustus gave Thuria into the possession of the Lacedaemonians of Sparta. For when Augustus was emperor of the Romans, Antony, himself a Roman, made war upon him and was joined by the Messenians and the rest of the Greeks, because the Lacedaemonians were on the side of Augustus. For this reason Augustus punished the Messenians and the rest of his adversaries, some more, some less. The people of Thuria left their town, which lay originally on high ground, and came down to live in the plain. Nevertheless the upper town is not entirely deserted, but there are remains of the wall and a temple there, called the temple of the Syrian Goddess. A river called Aris flows past the town in the plain.

In the interior is a village Calamae and a place Limnae, where is a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (*Of the lake*). They say that Teleclus king of Sparta met his end here. On the road from Thuria towards Arcadia are the springs of the Pamisus, at which little children find cures.

A road turns to the left from the springs, and after some forty stades is the city of the Messenians under Ithome. It is enclosed not only by Mount Ithome, but on the side towards the Pamisos by Mount Eva. The mountain is said to have obtained its name from

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 151, 293.

εὔοι Διονύσου πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῦ τε εἰπόντος  
 5 καὶ τῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυναικῶν. περὶ δὲ  
 τὴν Μεσσηνὴν τείχος, κύκλος μὲν πᾶς λίθου  
 πεποίηται, πύργοι δὲ καὶ ἐπάλξεις εἰσὶν ἐνωκο-  
 δομημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν Βαβυλωνίων ἢ τὰ  
 Μεμνόνεια τὰ ἐν Σούσοις τείχη τοῖς Περσικοῖς  
 οὔτε εἶδον οὔτε ἄλλων περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα  
 αὐτοπτούντων· τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμβρόσσῳ τῇ Φωκικῇ  
 ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ῥόδῳ—ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ τετεί-  
 χισται τὰ χωρία ἄριστα—τούτων Μεσσηνίους  
 6 ἐστὶν ἐχυρώτερον. Μεσσηνίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ  
 Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ κρήνη·  
 τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκίππου θυγατρὸς  
 εἴληφεν, ὑπορρεῖ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς  
 καλουμένης Κλεψύδρας. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσει-  
 δῶνος, τὸ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ μάλιστα  
 ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς θεῶν  
 λίθου Παρίου, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον, ὃς καὶ  
 τὸν Δία ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέ-  
 φαντος συνήρμωσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον· καὶ οἱ  
 7 δεδομέναί τιμαὶ παρὰ Ἡλείων εἰσί. Δαμοφῶντος  
 δὲ ἐστὶ τούτου καὶ ἡ Λαφρία καλουμένη παρὰ  
 Μεσσηνίους· σέβεσθαι δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ τοιοῦδε  
 αὐτὴν καθέστηκε. Καλυδωνίους ἢ Ἄρτεμις—  
 ταύτην γὰρ θεῶν μάλιστα ἔσεβον—ἐπὶ κλησὶν  
 εἶχε Λαφρία· Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ λαβόντες Ναύπα-  
 κτον παρὰ Ἀθηναίων—τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Αἰτωλίας  
 ἐγγύτατα ὄκουν—παρὰ Καλυδωνίων ἔλαβον.  
 τὸ σχῆμα ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς  
 Λαφρίας ἀφίκετο ὄνομα ἐς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ

<sup>1</sup> The date of Damophon of Messene has now been fixed in the first half of the second century B.C. (see Dickins, *Annual*

the fact that the Bacchic cry of *Evoe* was first uttered here by Dionysus and his attendant women. Round Messene is a wall, the whole circuit of which is built of stone, with towers and battlements upon it. I have not seen the walls at Babylon or the walls of Memnon at Susa in Persia, nor have I heard the account of any eye-witness; but the walls at Ambrossos in Phocis, at Byzantium and at Rhodes, all of them the most strongly fortified places, are not so strong as the Messenian wall. The Messenians possess a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place and a fountain Arsinoe. It received its name from the daughter of Leucippus and is fed from a source called Clepsydra. There are sanctuaries of the gods Poseidon and Aphrodite, and, what is most deserving of mention, a statue of the Mother of the Gods, of Parian marble, the work of Damophon,<sup>1</sup> the artist who repaired the Zeus at Olympia with extreme accuracy when the ivory parted. Honours have been granted to him by the people of Elis. By Damophon too is the so-called Laphria at Messene. The cult came to be established among them in the following way: Among the people of Calydon, Artemis, who was worshipped by them above all the gods, had the title *Laphria*, and the Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians, being at that time close neighbours of the Aetolians, adopted her from the people of Calydon. I will describe her appearance in another place.<sup>2</sup> The name Laphria spread only to the Messenians and to

of the British School at Athens, xii. pp. 109, seqq.). For his work at Lycosura see vii. xxiii. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> vii. xviii. 8.

- 8 ἐς Πατρέϊς Ἀχαιῶν μόνους, Ἐφεσίαν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἱ πᾶσαι καὶ ἄνδρες ἰδία θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὰ δὲ αἷτια ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀμαζόνων τε κλέος, αἱ φήμην τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔχουσιν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ παλαιότητος τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐποιήθη. τρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις συνετέλεσεν ἐς δόξαν, μέγεθός τε τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατασκευάσματα ὑπερῆρκότος καὶ Ἐφεσίων τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἀκμῆ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπιφανὲς τῆς θεοῦ.
- 9 Πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Μεσσηνίοις ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, πλησίον δὲ Κουρήτων μέγαρον, ἔνθα ζῶα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν· ἀρξάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καταβαίνουσιν ἐς τοὺς ὄρνιθας ἀφιέντες ἐς τὴν φλόγα. καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἅγιον καὶ Διοσκούρων ἀγάλματα φέροντες τὰς Λευκίππου· καί μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐστὶν ἤδη δεδηλωμένα, ὡς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς Ἵνυδάρεω παῖδας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακε-  
 10 δαιμονίοις προσήκειν. πλεῖστα δὲ σφισι καὶ θεάς μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ἱερόν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους· πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος Τύχη τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο—Μεσσήνιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ τοῦτον ἄλλον γε οὐδένα λόγου ποιήσαντα ἀξίως οἶδα ἀγάλματα—ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐκ σιδήρου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔργον ἄλλου,  
 11 οὐ τούτου. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνης τῆς Τριόπα



the Achaeans of Patrae. But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there.

The Messenians have a temple erected to Eileithyia with a stone statue, and near by a hall of the Curetes, where they make burnt offerings of every kind of living creature, thrusting into the flames not only cattle and goats, but finally birds as well. There is a holy shrine of Demeter at Messene and statues of the Dioscuri, carrying the daughters of Leucippus. I have already explained in an earlier passage<sup>1</sup> that the Messenians argue that the sons of Tyndareus belong to them rather than to the Lacedaemonians. The most numerous statues and the most worth seeing are to be found in the sanctuary of Asclepius. For besides statues of the god and his sons, and besides statues of Apollo, the Muses and Heracles, the city of Thebes is represented and Epaminondas the son of Cleomnis, Fortune, and Artemis *Bringer of Light*. The stone statues are the work of Damophon (I know of no other Messenian sculptor of merit apart from him); the statue of Epaminondas is of iron and the work of some other artist. There is also a temple of Messene the

<sup>1</sup> III, xxvi, 3.

ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παρίου·  
 γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὀπισθεν οἱ βασιλεύ-  
 σαντές εἰσι Μεσσήνης, πρὶν μὲν ἢ στόλον ἀφι-  
 κέσθαι τὸν Δωριέων εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀφαρεὺς  
 καὶ οἱ παῖδες, κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν  
 Κρεσφόντης ἐστίν, ἡγεμῶν καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Δωρικοῦ,  
 τῶν δὲ οἰκησάντων ἐν Πύλῳ Νέστωρ καὶ Θρα-  
 συμήδης καὶ Ἀντίλοχος, προτετιμημένοι παίδων  
 τῶν Νέστορος ἡλικία καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰρῶν μετεσχηκότες  
 12 τῆς στρατείας. Λεύκιππος τε Ἀφαρέως ἀδελφὸς  
 καὶ Ἰλῆειρά ἐστι καὶ Φοίβη, σὺν δὲ σφισιν  
 Ἀρσινόη. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπίος, Ἀρσι-  
 νόης ὦν λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ Μαχάων καὶ  
 Ποδαλείριος, ὅτι ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ καὶ τούτοις  
 μέτεστι. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς ἔγραψεν Ὀμφα-  
 λίων, Νικίου τοῦ Νικομήδους μαθητῆς· οἱ δὲ  
 αὐτὸν καὶ δουλεύσαι παρὰ τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ παιδικὰ  
 γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτοῦ.

XXXII. Τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον παρὰ Μεσσηνίων  
 ἱεροθέσιον<sup>1</sup> ἔχει μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ὅπόσους  
 νομίζουσιν Ἕλληνας, ἔχει δὲ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα Ἐπα-  
 μινώνδου. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι τρίποδες· ἀπύ-  
 ρους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ Ὀμηρος. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ  
 ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματά ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπ-  
 τίων, Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Θησεύς. τού-  
 τους μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ ἤδη τῶν  
 βαρβάρων πολλοῖς περί τε γυμνάσια καὶ ἐν  
 2 παλαίστραις καθέστηκεν ἔχειν ἐν τιμῇ. . . . Αἰθίδαν  
 δὲ ἔμαντοῦ πρεσβύτερον ὄντα εὔρισκον, γενομένῳ

<sup>1</sup> ἱεροθέσιον, Rohde ; ἱεροθύσιον, codd. The word ἱεροθέσιον  
 is used of the tomb of Antiochus I. of Commagene on the  
 Nemroud Dagh (Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. Inscr.*, 383, ll. 36,

daughter of Triopas with a statue of gold and Parian marble. At the back of the temple are paintings of the kings of Messene: before the coming of the Dorian host to Peloponnese, Aphareus and his sons, after the return of the Heracleidae, Cresphontes the Dorian leader, of the inhabitants of Pylos, Nestor, Thrasymedes and Antilochus, singled out from among the sons of Nestor on the score of age and because they took part in the expedition to Troy. There is Leucippus brother of Aphareus, Hilaeira and Phoebe, and with them Arsinoe. Asclepius too is represented, being according to the Messenian account a son of Arsinoe, also Machaon and Podaleirius, as they also took part in the affair at Troy. These pictures were painted by Omphalion, pupil of Nicias<sup>1</sup> the son of Nicomedes. Some say that he was also a slave in the house of Nicias and his favourite.

XXXII. The place called *Hierothesion* by the Messenians contains statues of all the gods whom the Greeks worship, and also a bronze image of Epaminondas. Ancient tripods are dedicated there, which "have felt not the fire," as Homer says.<sup>2</sup> The statues in the gymnasium are the work of Egyptian artists. They represent Hermes, Heracles and Theseus, who are honoured in the gymnasium and wrestling-ground according to a practice universal among Greeks, and now common among barbarians. . . . I learnt by enquiry that Aethidas was a man older than myself, who

<sup>1</sup> See III. xix. 4. Nothing further is known of his pupil Omphalion.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 122.

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126, *ἱεροθεσίῳ σώματος ἐμοῦ*, 130), and of the tomb of Queen Isias near Melitene (*Ib.*, 403). .

δέ οἱ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἀδυνάτω τιμαὶ παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ὑπάρχουσιν ἅτε ἥρωι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων οἱ τῷ Αἰθίδα χρήματα μὲν γενέσθαι πολλὰ ἔλεγον, οὐ μόντοι τοῦτόν γε εἶναι τὸν ἐπειργασμένον τῇ στήλῃ πρόγονον δὲ καὶ ὁμῶνυμον ἄνδρα τῷ Αἰθίδα· Αἰθίδα δὲ τὸν πρότερον ἠγήσασθαι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις φασίν, ἠνίκα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ Δημήτριός σφισιν ὁ Φιλίππου μηδαμῶς ἐλπίσασιν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ λανθάνουσιν ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

3 Καὶ Ἀριστομένους δὲ μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα· οὐ κενὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ μνήμα λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐρομένου μου τρόπον τε ὄντινα καὶ ὀπόθεν Ἀριστομένους κομίσαιντο τὰ ὄστα, μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου φασί, τὸν δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν τὸν κελεύσαντα εἶναι. πρὸς τε δὴ τούτοις ἐδίδασκόν με ὅποια ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δρῶσι. ταῦρον ὄντινα ἐναγίζειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἔδησαν πρὸς τὸν ἐστηκότα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ κίονα. ὁ δὲ ἅτε ἄγριος καὶ ἀήθης δεσμῶν οὐκ ἐθέλει μένειν· θορυβουμένῳ δὲ οἱ καὶ σκιρτῶντι ἦν ὁ κίων κινήθῃ, Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν αἴσιον, οὐ κινήεντος δὲ ἀσύμφορα ἐπαγγέλλει τὸ σημεῖον.

4 παραγενέσθαι δὲ Ἀριστομένην καὶ τῷ περὶ Λεῦκτρα ἀγῶνι ἐθέλουσιν οὐ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὄντα, καὶ ἀμύναί τε αὐτόν φασι Θηβαίοις καὶ μάλιστα γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀτυχήματος Λακεδαιμονίοις αἴτιον. ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μάγους πρῶτους οἶδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆ, καὶ σφισι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄλλοι τε ἐπέισθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων ὁ Ἀρίστωνος· εἰ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ οἱ πάντες

gained influence through his wealth and is honoured by the Messenians as a hero. There are certain Messenians, who, while admitting that Aethidas was a man of great wealth, maintain that it is not he who is represented on the relief but an ancestor and namesake. The elder Aethidas was their leader, when Demetrius the son of Philip and his force surprised them in the night and succeeded in penetrating into the town unnoticed.

There is also the tomb of Aristomenes here. They say that it is not a cenotaph, but when I asked whence and in what manner they recovered the bones of Aristomenes, they said that they sent to Rhodes for them, and that it was the god of Delphi who ordered it. They also instructed me in the nature of the rites carried out at the tomb. The bull which is to be offered to the dead man is brought to the tomb and bound to the pillar which stands upon the grave. Being fierce and unused to bonds he will not stand; and if the pillar is moved by his struggles and bounds, it is a good omen to the Messenians, but if the pillar is not moved the sign portends misfortune. They have it that Aristomenes was present at the battle of Leuctra, though no longer among men, and say that he helped the Thebans and was the chief cause of the Lacedaemonian disaster. I know that the Chaldaeans and Indian sages were the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and have been followed by some of the Greeks, particularly by Plato the son of Ariston. If all are willing to accept this, this too

ἐθελήσουσιν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἀντειπεῖν οὐκ ἔνεστι μὴ οὐ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ἀριστομένει τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐς  
 5 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνεστάχθαι. ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ἤκουσα ἐν Θήβαις, εἰκὸς μὲν τι παρείχετο ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων λόγον, οὐ μὴν παντάπασί γέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὠμολογηκότα. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι μελλούσης τῆς μάχης ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐς ἄλλα τε ἀποστεῖλαι χρηστήρια καὶ ἐρησομένους τὸν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ θεόν. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ τοῦ Πτώου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἄβαις τε χρησθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς· Τροφώνιον δὲ φασιν εἰπεῖν ἑξαμέτρῳ·

πρὶν δορὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, στήσασθε τρό-  
 παιον,

ἀσπίδι κοσμήσαντες ἐμῆ,<sup>1</sup> τὴν εἴσατο νηῶ  
 θούρος Ἀριστομένης Μεσσήνιος. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ  
 τοι

ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων φθίσω στρατὸν ἀσπιστάων.

6 ἀφικομένοι δὲ τοῦ χρηστοῦ δεηθῆναι Ξενοκράτους λέγουσιν Ἐπαμινώνδαν· ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἀσπίδα μεταπέμπεται τοῦ Ἀριστομένου καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τρόπαιον, ὅθεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτον ἔμελλεν. ἤδεσαν δὲ ἄρα τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἑωρακότες, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ πάντες· ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ νίκη Θηβαίοις, ἀποδιδόασιν αὐθις τῷ Τροφώνιῳ τὸ ἀνάθημα. Ἀριστομένους δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνίων σταδίῳ· τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Σαράπιδός ἐστι καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερόν.

XXXIII. Ἐς δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν ἐρχομένῳ τῆς

cannot be denied, that his hatred for the Lacedaemonians was imparted to Aristomenes for all time. What I myself heard in Thebes gives probability to the Messenian account, although it does not coincide in all respects. The Thebans say that when the battle of Leuctra was imminent, they sent to other oracles and to enquire of the god of Lebadeia. The replies of the Ismenian and Ptoan Apollo are recorded, also the responses given at Abae and at Delphi. Trophonius, they say, answered in hexameters:—

“Or ever ye join battle with the foe, set up a trophy and deck it with my shield, which impetuous Aristomenes the Messenian placed in my temple. And I will destroy the host of foemen bearing shield.”

When the oracle was brought, they say that Epaminondas urged Xenocrates, who sent for the shield of Aristomenes and used it to adorn a trophy in a spot where it could be seen by the Lacedaemonians. Those of them who had seen the shield at Lebadeia in peace-time knew it, and all knew it by repute. After their victory the Thebans restored the offering to Trophonius. There is also a bronze statue of Aristomenes in the Messenian running-ground. Not far from the theatre is a sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis.

XXXIII. On the ascent to the summit of Ithome,

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<sup>1</sup> ἀσπίδι, ἐμῆ, Herwerden; ἀσπίδα, ἐμήν, codd.

Ἰθώμης, ἣ δὴ Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἀκρόπολις, πηγὴ  
 Κλεψύδρα γίνεται. πάντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμή-  
 σασθαι καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὅποσοι θέλουσι  
 γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία· μέτεστι  
 δ' οὖν καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ λόγου· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ  
 οὗτοι τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι τὸν θεόν, Ἰθώμην  
 δὲ εἶναι καὶ Νέδαν τὰς θρεψαμένας, κεκλήσθαι  
 δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Νέδας τὸν ποταμόν, τὴν δὲ  
 ἐτέραν τῷ ὄρει τὴν Ἰθώμην δεδωκένας τὸ ὄνομα.  
 ταύτας δὲ τὰς νύμφας τὸν Δία, κλαπέντα ὑπὸ  
 Κουρήτων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δεῖμα, ἐνταῦθα  
 λούσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ ὕδατι ἀπὸ  
 τῶν Κουρήτων τῆς κλοπῆς· φέρουσί τε ἀνὰ  
 πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐς τοῦ Διὸς  
 2 τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς  
 Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων· ἱερεὺς  
 δὲ αἰρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει [δὲ] τὸ ἄγαλμα  
 ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον  
 Ἰθωμαῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν  
 μουσικῆς· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἄλλοις τε καὶ  
 Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν  
 τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον·

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα  
 ἀκαθαρὰ <ν κιθάραν><sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ'  
 ἔχοισα.

οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς  
 ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας.

<sup>1</sup> Suppl. Bergk.

<sup>1</sup> See also vi. viii. 6; x. 6; xiv. 11, where the athletes commemorated were victorious between the years 520 and 352



which is the Messenian acropolis, is a spring Clepsydra. It is a hopeless task, however zealously undertaken, to enumerate all the peoples who claim that Zeus was born and brought up among them. The Messenians have their share in the story: for they too say that the god was brought up among them and that his nurses were Ithome and Neda, the river having received its name from the latter, while the former, Ithome, gave her name to the mountain. These nymphs are said to have bathed Zeus here, after he was stolen by the Curetes owing to the danger that threatened from his father, and it is said that it has its name from the Curetes' theft. Water is carried every day from the spring to the sanctuary of Zeus of Ithome. The statue of Zeus is the work of Ageladas<sup>1</sup> and was made originally for the Messenian settlers in Naupactus. The priest is chosen annually and keeps the image in his house.<sup>2</sup> They keep an annual festival, the Ithomaea, and originally a musical contest was held. This can be gathered from the epic lines of Eumelus and other sources. Eumelus, in his processional hymn to Delos, says:

"For dear to the God of Ithome was the Muse,  
 whose <lute> is pure and free her sandals."

I think that he wrote the lines because he knew that they held a musical contest.

508 B.C. An inscription from Olympia (c. 500 B.C.; *Inscr. v. Olymp.*, 631) mentions the slave or son of Hagelaidas the Argive. The Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ranae* 504, who calls Ageladas the master of Pheidias, states, however, that he was the artist who made the Heracles set up in Melite to commemorate the deliverance from the "great plague" (430-427 B.C. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiv. 49).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VII. xxiv. 4.

3 Ἴοντι δὲ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Ἑρμῆς τέχνης τῆς Ἀπτικῆς· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετραγωνόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ ἄλλοι. σταδίους δὲ καταβίντι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τριάκοντα τὸ ρεῦμά ἐστι τῆς Βαλύρας. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει· παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης τῆς νύμφης εἶναι. τὴν δὲ Ἀργιόπην τέως μὲν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶχεν ἐν γαστρὶ, ἐς Ὀδρύσας λέγουσι μετοικῆσαι· Φιλάμμωνα γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ Θάμυριν μὲν Ὀδρύσην τε καὶ Θραῖκα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καλοῦσιν· ἡ δὲ Λευκασία καὶ Ἀμφίτος συμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ρεύματα.

4 Διαβάντι δὲ τούτους πεδίων ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Στενυκληρικόν· εἶναι δὲ ἥρωα Στενύκληρον λέγουσι. τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καλουμένη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μάλιστα πλήρες. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Καρνείου <καὶ Ἀγνῆς><sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν. ἡ δὲ Ἀγνή Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησις· ὕδωρ δὲ

5 ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τὰς Μεγάλας—δρῶσι γὰρ καὶ ταύταις ἐν Καρνασίῳ τὴν τελετὴν—ἀπόρρητα ἔστω μοι· δεύτερα γὰρ σφισι νέμω σεμνότητος μετὰ γε Ἑλευσίνια. ὅτι δ' ὕδρια τε ἢ χαλκῆ, τὸ εὔρημα τοῦ Ἀργείου στρατηγοῦ, καὶ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Μελανέως τὰ ὄστα ἐφυλάσσετο ἐνταῦθα, δηλῶσαι

At the Arcadian gate leading to Megalopolis is a Herm of Attic style; for the square form of Herm is Athenian, and the rest adopted it thence. After a descent of thirty stades from the gate is the watercourse of Balyra. The river is said to have got its name from Thamyris throwing (*ballein*) his lyre away here after his blinding. He was the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope, who once dwelt on Parnassus, but settled among the Odrysae when pregnant, for Philammon refused to take her into his house. Thamyris is called an Odrysian and Thracian on these grounds. The watercourses Leucasia and Amphitos unite to form one stream.

When these are crossed, there is a plain called the plain of Stenyclerus. Stenyclerus was a hero, it is said. Facing the plain is a site anciently called Oechalia, in our time the Carnasian grove, thickly grown with cypresses. There are statues of the gods Apollo Carneius <and Hagne>, also Hermes carrying a ram. Hagne (*the holy one*) is a title of Kore the daughter of Demeter. Water rises from a spring close to the statue. I may not reveal the rites of the Great Goddesses, for it is their mysteries which they celebrate in the Carnasian grove, and I regard them as second only to the Eleusinian in sanctity. But my dream did not prevent me from making known to all that the brazen urn, discovered by the Argive general, and the bones of Eurytus

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<sup>1</sup> Suppl. Sauppe.

με καὶ ἐς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἀπείργε τὸ ὄνειρον. ρεῖ  
 6 δὲ ποταμὸς παρὰ τὸ Καρνάσιον Χάραδρος, καὶ  
 προελθόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίουσ ὀκτὼ μάλιστα  
 ἐρείπιά ἐστιν Ἀνδανίας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῇ πόλει  
 τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς γέγονεν Ἀνδανίας, ὁμο-  
 λογεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν· οὐ μὴν τά γε ἐς  
 τοὺς γονέας αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τῷ συνώκησεν ἔχω λέγειν.  
 ἰόντων δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσιᾶς ἀπὸ Ἀνδανίας  
 Πολίχνη τέ ἐστι καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἡλέκτρα  
 καὶ Κοῖος ρέουσι· τάχα δ' ἂν τινα καὶ λόγον  
 ἐς Ἡλέκτραν τὴν Ἀτλαντος λέγοιεν καὶ ἐς Κοῖου  
 τὸν Δητοῦς πατέρα, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡρώων  
 εἶεν Ἡλέκτρα τε καὶ Κοῖος.

7 Διαβάντων δὲ Ἡλέκτραν Ἀχαῖα τε ὀνομαζομένη  
 πηγὴ καὶ πόλεός ἐστιν ἐρείπια Δωρίου. πεποίηκε  
 δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν Θαμύριδι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ  
 γενέσθαι τὴν συμφορὰν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰς Μούσας  
 νικήσειν ἔφασκεν ἀδούσας· Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαεὺς  
 —εἰ δὴ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη—προσ-  
 κείσθαι φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Αἰδου δίκην τοῦ ἐς  
 τὰς Μούσας αὐχῆματος. διεφθάρη δὲ ὁ Θάμυρις  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸ δὲ  
 αὐτὸ καὶ Ὅμηρῳ συνέπεσεν ὕστερον· ἀλλ' ὁ  
 μὲν καὶ ἐς ἅπαν διετέλει ποιῶν, οὐ γάρ τι εἶκε  
 τῇ συμφορᾷ, Θάμυρις δὲ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν ὑπὸ κακοῦ  
 τοῦ παρόντος ἐξέλιπεν.

XXXIV. Ἐκ δὲ Μεσσηνίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Παμίσου  
 τὸ στόμα ὁδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐστὶν ὀγδοήκοντα,  
 ρεῖ δὲ ὁ Πάμισος διὰ τε ἀρουμένης καὶ καθαρὸς  
 καὶ ἀναπλεῖται ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ δέκα  
 πού σταδίουσ· ἀναθέουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ  
 θαλάσσιοι τῶν ἰχθύων περὶ ὥραν μάλιστα τοῦ

the son of Melaneus were kept here. A river Charadrus flows past the grove; about eight stades along the road to the left are the ruins of Andania. The guides agree that the city got its name from a woman Andania, but I can say nothing as to her parents or her husband. On the road from Andania towards Cyparissiae is Polichne, as it is called, and the streams of Electra and Coeus. The names perhaps are to be connected with Electra the daughter of Atlas and Coeus the father of Leto, or Electra and Coeus may be two local heroes.

When the Electra is crossed, there is a spring called Achaïa, and the ruins of a city Dorium. Homer states<sup>1</sup> that the misfortune of Thamyris took place here in Dorium, because he said that he would overcome the Muses themselves in song. But Prodicus of Phocaea, if the epic called the *Minyad*<sup>2</sup> is indeed his, says that Thamyris paid the penalty in Hades for his boast against the Muses. My view is that Thamyris lost his eyesight through disease, as happened later to Homer. Homer, however, continued making poetry all his life without giving way to his misfortune, while Thamyris forsook his art through stress of the trouble that afflicted him.

XXXIV. From Messene to the mouth of the Pamisus is a journey of eighty stades. The Pamisus is a pure stream flowing through cultivated lands, and is navigable some ten stades from the sea. Sea-fish run up it, especially in spring, as they do

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii. 594.

<sup>2</sup> See x. xxviii. 2.

ἦρος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς Ῥήνόν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν  
 Μαιάνδρον ποιούσιν οἱ ἰχθῦς· μάλιστα δὲ ἀνὰ  
 τὸ ρεῦμα τὸ Ἀχελῷου νήχονται τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος  
 2 κατὰ νήσους τὰς Ἐχινάδας. διάφοροι δὲ τὸ  
 εἶδος μάλιστα ἰχθῦς ἀναθέουσιν ἐς τὸν Πάμισον  
 ἅτε ἐς ὕδωρ καθαρὸν καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς  
 κατειλεγμένοις ποταμοῖς ἰλυῶδες· οἱ κέφαλοι δέ,  
 ἅτε ἰχθύων ὄντες τῶν πηλαίων, ποταμῶν φίλοι  
 τῶν θολερωτέρων εἰσί. θηρία δὲ ἐς ὄλεθρον  
 ἀνθρώπων οὐ πεφύκασιν οἱ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ  
 φέρειν, καθάπερ γε Ἰνδὸς καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος,  
 ἔτι δὲ Ῥήμος καὶ Ἰστρος Εὐφράτης τε καὶ Φᾶσις·  
 οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ θηρία ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα ἀνδρο-  
 φάγα αὔξουσι, ταῖς ἐν Ἑρμῶ καὶ Μαιάνδρῳ  
 γλάνισιν εἰκότα ἰδέας πλὴν χροᾶς τε μελαντέρας  
 καὶ ἀλκῆς· ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γλάνεις ἀποδέουσιν.  
 3 ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος κροκοδείλους μὲν ἀμφό-  
 τεροι, Νεῖλος δὲ παρέχεται καὶ ἵππους, οὐκ  
 ἔλασσον ἢ ὁ κροκόδειλος κακὸν ἀνθρώποις. οἱ  
 δὲ Ἑλλήνων ποταμοὶ δείματα ὡς ἀπὸ θηρίων  
 ἔχουσιν οὐδένα, ἔπει καὶ Ἀώῳ τῷ διὰ τῆς Θεσπρω-  
 τίδος ρέοντι ἠπειροῦ θηρία οὐ ποτάμια οἱ κύνες,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐπήλυδές εἰσιν ἐκ θαλάσσης.

4 Κορώνη δὲ ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Παμίσου  
 πρὸς θαλάσση τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Μαθίᾳ.  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση  
 χωρίον, ὃ Ἰνοῦς ἱερὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ἐπα-  
 ναβῆναι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ θαλάσσης φασὶν αὐτὴν  
 θεὸν τε ἤδη νομιζομένην καὶ Λευκοθέαν καλου-  
 μένην ἀντὶ Ἰνοῦς. προελθόντων δὲ οὐ πολὺ  
 Βίας ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός· γενέσθαι  
 δὲ αὐτῷ λέγουσι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Βίαντος τοῦ

up the Rhine and Maeander. The chief run of fish is up the stream of the Achelous, which discharges opposite the Echinades islands. But the fish that enter the Pamisus are of quite a different kind, as the water is pure and not muddy like the rivers which I have mentioned. The grey mullet, a fish that loves mud, frequents the more turbid streams. The rivers of Greece contain no creatures dangerous to men as do the Indus and the Egyptian Nile, or again the Rhine and Danube, the Euphrates and Phasis. These indeed produce man-eating creatures of the worst, in shape resembling the cat-fish of the Hermus and Maeander, but of darker colour and stronger. In these respects the cat-fish is inferior. The Indus and Nile both contain crocodiles, and the Nile river-horses as well, as dangerous to man as the crocodile. But the rivers of Greece contain no terrors from wild beasts, for the sharks of the Aous, which flows through Thesprotia, are not river beasts but migrants from the sea.

Corone is a city to the right of the Pamisus, on the sea-coast under Mount Mathia. On this road is a place on the coast regarded as sacred to Ino. For they say that she came up from the sea at this point, after her divinity had been accepted and her name changed from Ino to Leucothea. A short distance further the river Bias reaches the sea. The name is said to be derived from Bias the son of

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<sup>1</sup> ἔχουσιν, Hitzig, εἶσιν, codd.

- Ἄμυθάονος. καὶ Πλαταιιστῶνος δὲ ἡ πηγὴ  
 στάδια μὲν εἴκοσιν ἔστιν ἄνωτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ, ρεῖ  
 δὲ ἐκ πλατάνου τὸ ὕδωρ πλατείας καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς  
 κοίλης· κατὰ σπήλαιον μάλιστα που μικρὸν τὸ  
 εὐρὸς ἔστι τοῦ δένδρου, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐς  
 5 Κορώνην τὸ πότιμον κάτεισι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα  
 τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶχεν Αἴπεια· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων  
 κατήχθησαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, Ἐπιμηλίδην φασὶν  
 ἀποσταλέντα οἰκιστὴν καλέσαι Κορώνειαν, εἶναι  
 γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Κορωνείας τῆς Βοιωτῶν, τοὺς δὲ  
 Μεσσηνίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε οὐ κατορθοῦν περὶ τὸ  
 ὄνομα καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐνικῆσαι τὸ  
 ἐκείνων ἀμάρτημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος λόγος,  
 ὡς τοῦ τείχους τὰ θεμέλια ὀρύσσοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν  
 6 κορώνη χαλκῆ. θεῶν δὲ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος  
 τε καλουμένης Παιδοτρόφου καὶ Διονύσου καὶ  
 Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός· τῷ μὲν δὴ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ  
 Διονύσῳ λίθου, Διὸς δὲ Σωτήρος χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα  
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πεποίηται. χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐν  
 ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα. εἶδον δὲ  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἐπιμηλίδου μνήμα· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ τὸν  
 λιμένα Ἀχαιῶν καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἶδα.
- 7 Ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους προ-  
 ελθόντι Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν πρὸς θαλάσση  
 τιμὰς ἔχον· ἀρχαιότατόν τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσ-  
 σηνίων ἔστι καὶ νοσήματα ὁ θεὸς ἰᾶται, Κόρυνθον  
 δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον,  
 τοῦ Ἀργεῶτα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἔστι τὸ ἄγαλμα·  
 ἀναθεῖναι δὲ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεύσαντας.  
 8 τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἔστιν ὄμορος Κολωνίδες·  
 οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὐ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασὶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ



Amythaon. Twenty stades off the road is the fountain of Plataniston, the water of which flows out of a broad plane tree, which is hollow inside. The breadth of the tree gives the impression of a small cave; from it the drinking water flows to Corone. The old name of Corone was Aepeia, but when the Messenians were restored to Peloponnese by the Thebans, it is said that Epimelides, who was sent as founder, named it Coroneia after his native town in Boeotia. The Messenians got the name wrong from the start, and the mistake which they made gradually prevailed in course of time. Another story is told to the effect that, when digging the foundations of the city wall, they came upon a bronze crow, in Greek *corone*. The gods who have temples here are Artemis, called the "Nurse of Children," Dionysus and Asclepius. The statues of Asclepius and Dionysus are of stone, but there is a statue of Zeus the Saviour in the market-place made of bronze. The statue of Athena also on the acropolis is of bronze, and stands in the open air, holding a crow in her hand. I also saw the tomb of Epimelides. I do not know why they call the harbour "the harbour of the Achaeans."

Some eighty stades beyond Corone is a sanctuary of Apollo on the coast, venerated because it is very ancient according to Messenian tradition, and the god cures illnesses. They call him Apollo Corynthus. His image is of wood, but the statue of Apollo Argeotas, said to have been dedicated by the Argonauts, is of bronze. The city of Corone is adjoined by Colonides. The inhabitants say that they are not Messenians but settlers from Attica brought

ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς Κόλαινον λέγουσι, Κολαίνῳ δὲ κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἠγήσασθαι. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα διάλεκτόν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον καὶ ἔθνη μεταμαθήσεσθαι τὰ Δωριέων. κεῖται δὲ τὸ πόλισμα αἱ Κολωνίδες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ, μικρὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

- 9 Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκωρίταις ὄμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ὄκουν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπες. γενεὰ δὲ ὕστερον τρίτῃ βασιλεύοντος Φύλαντος μάχη τε οἱ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνη Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνὰ χρόνον οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ κατήχθησαν οὐ γενομένης σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως.
- 10 Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσι· κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους μάχη συγχωροῦσιν ἀλῶναί τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ πόλιν, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐ φασιν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, διαβάντες δὲ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γενέσθαι φασὶν Εὐρυσθέως ἰκέται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρυσθέα ἄτε ἀπεχθανόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δοῦναι
- 11 τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνην. μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυόπων οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ

by Colaenus, who followed a bird known as the crested lark to found the settlement in accordance with an oracle. They were, however, in the course of time to adopt the dialect and customs of the Dorians. The town of Colonides lies on high ground, a short distance from the sea.

The people of Asine originally adjoined the Lycoritae on Parnassus. Their name, which they maintained after their arrival in Peloponnese, was Dryopes, from their founder. Two generations after Dryops, in the reign of Phylas, the Dryopes were conquered in battle by Heracles and brought as an offering to Apollo at Delphi. When brought to Peloponnese according to the god's instructions to Heracles, they first occupied Asine by Hermion. They were driven thence by the Argives and lived in Messenia. This was the gift of the Lacedaemonians, and when in the course of time the Messenians were restored, they were not driven from their city by the Messenians. But the people of Asine give this account of themselves. They admit that they were conquered by Heracles and their city in Parnassus captured, but they deny that they were made prisoners and brought to Apollo. But when the walls were carried by Heracles, they deserted the town and fled to the heights of Parnassus, and afterwards crossed the sea to Peloponnese and appealed to Eurystheus. Being at feud with Heracles, he gave them Asine in the Argolid. The men of Asine are the only members of the race of the Dryopes to pride themselves on the name to this day. The case is very different

Εὐβοέων οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Στυρεῖς Δρύοπες τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅσοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης, ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκῆσεις· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν Στυρεῖς καλεῖσθαι Δρύοπες ὑπερφρονοῦσι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ πεφεύγασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι Φωκεῖς, Ἄσιναῖοι δὲ Δρύοπές τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἀγιώτατά εἰσι δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτῆ ἐν Παρνασσῷ σφισιν ἰδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον· ἄγουσι καὶ παρὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ τελετὴν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ποτῆ ἐν μοίρα τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνη· σταδίων δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ Κολωνίδων ἐς αὐτὴν ὁδός, τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης πρὸς τὸν Ἀκρίταν καλούμενον. ἀνέχει δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁ Ἀκρίτας, καὶ νῆσος Θηγανοῦσσά ἐστιν ἔρημος πρὸ αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκρίταν λιμὴν τε Φοινικοῦς καὶ νῆσοι κατ' αὐτὸν Οἰνοῦσσαι.

XXXV. Μοθώνη δέ, πρὶν ἢ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Τροίαν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλίῳ πολέμου καλουμένη Πήδασος, μεταβέβληκεν ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ Μοθωναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνέως θυγατρὸς· Οἰνεὶ γὰρ τῷ Πορθάονος μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου παρὰ Διομήδη ἀναχωρήσαντι ἐς Πελοπόννησον θυγατέρα φασὶν ἐκ παλλακῆς Μοθώνην γενέσθαι· δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μόθων λίθος. οὗτος δὲ σφισι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένά ἐστί·

with the Euboeans of Styra. They too are Dryopes in origin, who took no part in the battle with Heracles, as they dwelt at some distance from the city. Yet the people of Styra disdain the name of Dryopes, just as the Delphians have refused to be called Phocians. But the men of Asine take the greatest pleasure in being called Dryopes, and clearly have made the most holy of their sanctuaries in memory of those which they once had, established on Parnassus. For they have both a temple of Apollo and again a temple and ancient statue of Dryops, whose mysteries they celebrate every year, saying that he is the son of Apollo. The town itself lies on the coast just as the old Asine in Argive territory. It is a journey of forty stades from Colonides to Asine, and of an equal number from Asine to the promontory called Acritas. Acritas projects into the sea and has a deserted island, Theganussa, lying off it. After Acritas is the harbour Phoenicus and the Oenussae islands lying opposite.

● XXXV. Before the mustering of the army for the Trojan war, and during the war, Mothone was called Pedasus. Later, as the people themselves say, it received a new name from the daughter of Oeneus. They say that Mothone was born of a concubine to Oeneus the son of Porthaon, when he had taken refuge with Diomedes in Peloponnese after the fall of Troy. But in my view it was the rock Mothon that gave the place its name. It is this which forms

τόν τε γὰρ ἔσπλουν στενώτερον ταῖς ναυσὶν  
 ἐργάζεται παρήκων ὕφαλος καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ  
 2 ταρασσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρυμα ἔστηκεν. ἐδή-  
 λωσα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ὅτι Ναυ-  
 πλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῶ διωχθεῖσι Δαμοκρατίδα  
 βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἄργει Μοθῶνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 διδῶσιν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων κατελ-  
 θόντων ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς νεώτερον· ἦσαν  
 δὲ οἱ Ναυπλιεῖς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ πα-  
 λαιότερα, παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Δαναῶ ναυσὶν  
 ἐς τὴν Ἄργολίδα ὕστερον γενεαῖς τρισὶν ὑπὸ  
 3 Ναυπλίου τοῦ Ἀμυμώνης κατωκίσθησαν ἐν  
 Ναυπλίᾳ. Μοθωναίοις δὲ βασιλεὺς μὲν Τραϊανὸς  
 ἔδωκεν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτεύε-  
 σθαι· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνοις σφίσι Μεσ-  
 σηνίων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοιούδε ἀτύχημα ἰδίᾳ  
 συνέβη γενέσθαι. τὰ ἐν Ἠπειρῷ τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι  
 ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐφθάρη· Δηιδამεῖα γὰρ τῇ Πύρρου  
 παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ ὡς τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν,  
 ἐπιτρέπει τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα. θυγάτηρ δὲ  
 ἦν Πύρρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 4 τοῦ Πύρρου· τὰ δὲ ἐς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου  
 πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους  
 ἐδήλωσα, Προκλῆς δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τύχης μὲν  
 χρηστῆς ἕνεκα καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα ἔργων ἕνεκεν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου πλέον, τάξαι δὲ ὀπλίτας  
 τε καὶ ἵππικὸν καὶ στρατηγήματα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας  
 5 πολεμίους εὐρεῖν Πύρρον ἔφασκεν ἀμείνονα  
 γενέσθαι. Ἠπειρώται δὲ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο βασι-  
 λεύεσθαι, τά τε ἄλλα ὁ δῆμος ὑβριζε καὶ  
 ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπερεώρων· καὶ  
 σφᾶς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου τὴν  
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their harbour. For projecting under water, it makes the entrance for ships more narrow and also serves as a breakwater against a heavy swell. I have shown in earlier passages<sup>1</sup> that, when the Nauplians in the reign of Damocratidas in Argos were expelled for their Laconian sympathies, the Lacedaemonians gave them Mothone, and that no change was made regarding them on the part of the Messenians when they returned. The Nauplians in my view were Egyptians originally, who came by sea with Danaus to the Argolid, and two generations later were settled in Nauplia by Nauplius the son of Amymone. The Emperor Trajan granted civic freedom and autonomy to the people of Mothone. In earlier days they were the only people of Messenia on the coast to suffer a disaster like the following: Thesprotian Epirus was ruined by anarchy. For Deïdameia the daughter of Pyrrhus, being without children, handed over the government to the people when she was on the point of death. She was the daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemy, son of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus. I have told the facts relating to Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides in my account of the Athenians.<sup>2</sup> Procles the Carthaginian<sup>3</sup> indeed rated Alexander the son of Philip higher on account of his good fortune and for the brilliance of his achievements, but said that Pyrrhus was the better man in infantry and cavalry tactics and in the invention of stratagems of war. When the Epirots were rid of their kings, the people threw off all control and disdained to listen to their magistrates, and the Illyrians who live on the Ionian

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxiv. 4; xxvii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> i. 11-13.

<sup>3</sup> See II. xxi. 6.

Ἡπειρον ὑπεροικούντες παρεστήσαντο ἐξ ἐπι-  
δρομῆς. οὐ γάρ πω δημοκρατίαν ἴσμεν ἄλλους  
γε ἢ Ἀθηναίους αὐξήσασαν,<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ προή-  
χθησαν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῆς· συνέσει γὰρ οἰκεία  
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπερεβάλλοντο καὶ νόμοις τοῖς  
6 καθεστηκόσιν ἐλάχιστα ἠπείθουν. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοί,  
ἀρχῆς τε γεγευμένοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες αἰεὶ τοῦ  
πλείονος, ναῦς τε ἐπήξαντο καὶ ἐληίζοντο ἄλλους  
τε ὡς ἐκάστους τύχοιεν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μοθωναίαν  
σχόντες ὠρμίσαντο οἷα ἐς φιλίαν· στείλαντες δὲ  
ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄγειν σφίσιν οἶνον ἐπὶ  
τὰ πλοῖα ἐδείθησαν. ὡς δὲ ἄγοντες ἀφίκοντο  
ἄνδρες οὐ πολλοί, τὸν τε οἶνον ὠνοῦντο ἐπι-  
τιμώντων τῶν Μοθωναίων καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν  
7 ἐπίπρασκον ὧν ἐπήγοντο. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν  
ἀφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλείονων παρέχουσι  
καὶ τοῖσδε κερδᾶναι· τέλος δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ  
ἄνδρες κατίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα οἶνόν τε ἀποδόσθαι  
καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιληψόμενοι. ἔνθα νῦν  
ἀποτολμήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς  
καὶ ἔτι πλείονας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρπάζουσιν·  
ἐσθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου,  
Μοθωναίων ἐρημώσαντες τὸ ἄστν.

8 Ἐν Μοθώνῃ δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμώτιδος·  
Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
τῇ θεῷ φασι θέσθαι. βιαιότεροι γὰρ καὶ οὐ  
κατὰ καιρὸν πνέοντες ἐλυμαίνοντο οἱ ἄνεμοι τὴν  
χώραν· Διομήδους δὲ εὐξαμένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸ  
ἀπὸ τούτου συμφορὰ σφισιν οὐδεμία ἀνέμων γε  
ἔνεκα ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος δ' ἱερόν  
ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν φρέατι κεκραμένον  
πίσση, Κυζικηνῶ μύρω μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐμφερές·



sea above Epirus reduced them by a raid. We have yet to hear of a democracy bringing prosperity to a nation other than the Athenians; the Athenians attained to greatness by its means, for they surpassed the Greek world in native wit, and least disregarded the established laws. Now the Illyrians, having tasted empire and being always desirous of more, built ships, and plundering others whom they fell in with, put in to the coast of Mothone and anchored as in a friendly port. Sending a messenger to the city they asked for wine to be brought to their ships. A few men came with it and they bought the wine at the price which the inhabitants asked, and themselves sold a part of their cargo. When on the following day a larger number arrived from the town, they allowed them also to make their profit. Finally women and men came down to the ships to sell wine and trade with the barbarians. Thereupon by a bold stroke the Illyrians carried off a number of men and still more of the women. Carrying them on board ship, they set sail for the Ionian sea, having desolated the city of the Mothonaeans.

In Mothone is a temple of Athena *Of the Winds*, with a statue dedicated, it is said, by Diomede, who gave the goddess her name. The country being damaged by violent and unseasonable blasts, Diomede prayed to the goddess, and henceforward no disaster caused by the winds has visited their country. There is also a shrine of Artemis here and water in a well mixed with pitch, in appearance very like the iris-oil of Cyzicos. Water

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<sup>1</sup> ἀνξήσασαν Bekker.

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- παράσχοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶσαν καὶ χροῖαν ὕδωρ καὶ  
 9 ὀσμὴν. γλαυκότετον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος  
 τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, οὔτι που πᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον  
 κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν  
 οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρος γυναικίους· ξανθὸν δὲ  
 ὕδωρ, οὐδέν τι ἀποδέον τὴν χροῖαν αἵματος,  
 Ἐβραίων ἢ γῆ παρέχεται πρὸς Ἰόππην πόλει  
 θαλάσσης μὲν ἐγγυτάτω τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστί, λόγον  
 δὲ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτη, Περσέα  
 ἀνελόντα τὸ κῆτος, ᾧ τὴν παῖδα προκείσθαι τοῦ  
 10 Κηφέως, ἐνταῦθα τὸ αἶμα ἀπονίψασθαι. ὕδωρ  
 δὲ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀνερχόμενον μέλαν ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν  
 Ἄστύροις· τὰ δὲ Ἄστυρα ἀπαντικρὺ Λέσβου  
 λουτρά ἐστι θερμὰ ἐν τῷ Ἄταρνεϊ καλουμένῳ.  
 τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄταρνεὺς ὁ Χίων μισθός,  
 ὃν παρὰ τοῦ Μήδου λαμβάνουσιν ἄνδρα ἐκδόντες  
 ἰκέτην, Πακτύην τὸν Λυδόν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ με-  
 λαίνεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν, διαβάντων  
 τὸν Ἄνιον ὀνομαζόμενον ποταμόν, ὕδωρ λευκόν  
 ἐστίν· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐσβάντι ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν παραντικά  
 ψυχρόν τε πρόσεισι καὶ ἐμποιεῖ φρίκην, ἐπισχόντι  
 δὲ ὀλίγον ἄτε φάρμακον θερμαίνει τὸ πυρωδέ-  
 11 στατον. καὶ ὅσαις μὲν πηγαῖς θαῦμά τι ἦν  
 καὶ ἰδόντι, τοσαύτας θεασάμενος οἶδα, τὰς γὰρ  
 δὴ ἐλάσσοнос θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος παρήμι·  
 ἄλμυρόν δὲ ὕδωρ καὶ στρυφνὸν οὐ μέγα θαῦμα  
 ἐξευρεῖν. δύο δὲ ἀλλοῖα· τὸ μὲν τῆς Καρίας ἐν  
 πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ Λευκῷ θερμόν ἐστιν ὕδωρ παρὰ  
 κώμην ὀνομαζομένην Δασκύλου, πιεῖν καὶ γάλα-  
 12 κτος ἡδίων· τὸν δὲ Ἡρόδοτον οἶδα εἰπόντα ὡς ἐς  
 τὸν ποταμόν τὸν Ὑπανιν ἐκδίδωσιν ὕδατος πικροῦ  
 πηγῆ. πῶς δ' ἂν οὐκ ὑποδεξαίμεθα ἀληθεύειν  
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can assume every colour and scent. The bluest that I know from personal experience is that at Thermopylae, not all of it, but that which flows into the swimming-baths, called locally the *Women's Pots*. Red water, in colour like blood, is found in the land of the Hebrews near the city of Joppa. The water is close to the sea, and the account which the natives give of the spring is that Perseus, after destroying the sea-monster, to which the daughter of Cepheus was exposed, washed off the blood in the spring. I have myself seen water coming up black from springs at Astyra. Astyra opposite Lesbos is the name of the hot baths in the district called Atarneus. It was this Atarneus, which the Chians received as a reward from the Persians as a reward for surrendering the suppliant, Pactyas the Lydian.<sup>1</sup> This water then has a black colour; but the Romans have a white water, above the city across the river called Anio. When a man enters it, he is at first attacked with cold and shivering, but after a little time it warms him like the hottest drug. All these springs that had something wonderful to show I have seen myself. For I pass over the less wonderful that I know, and it is no great marvel to find water that is salt and harsh. But there are two other kinds. The water in the White Plain, as it is called, in Caria, by the village with the name Dascylou Come, is warm and sweeter than milk to drink. I know that Herodotus says that a spring of bitter water flows into the river Hypanis. We can assuredly admit the truth of his statement, when in

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. i. 160.

αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ τῇ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεύρηται ὕδωρ σφίσι θερμὸν οὕτω δὴ τι ὄξυ ὥστε τὸν μόλυβδον— διεξήει γὰρ διὰ μόλυβδου ῥέον—ἔτεσι κατέτηξεν οὐ πολλοῖς;

XXXVI. Ἔστι δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης ὁδὸς σταδίων μάλιστα ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Κορυφάσιον· ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Πύλος κεῖται. ταύτην ᾤκισε Πύλος ὁ Κλήσωνος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς ἔχοντας τότε αὐτὴν Λέλεγας· καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ ὤνατο ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἴωλκοῦ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθεῖς, ἀποχωρήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ὄμορον ἔσχευ ἐνταῦθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ. Νηλεὺς δὲ βασιλεύσας ἐς τοσοῦτο προήγαγεν ἀξιώματος τὴν Πύλον ὡς καὶ Ὀμηρον ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν

2 ἄστει ἐπονομάσαι Νηλήιον. ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κορυφασίας καὶ οἶκος καλούμενος Νέστορος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ γέγραπται· καὶ μνῆμα ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐστιν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς Πύλου Θρασυμήδους φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως· βουὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰς Νέστορος καὶ

3 ἔτι πρότερον Νηλέως φασὶν αὐλίζεσθαι. εἴη δ' ἂν Θεσσαλικὸν τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τούτων, Ἰφίκλου ποτὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλίου πατρός· ταύτας γὰρ δὴ τὰς βουὺς Νηλεὺς ἔδνα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἦται τοὺς μνωμένους, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα ὁ Μελάμπους χαριζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἐδέθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων τοῦ Ἰφίκλου, λαμβάνει δὲ μισθὸν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῷ δεηθέντι ἐμαντεύσατο. ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ ἄρα οἱ τότε πλοῦτόν τινα συλλέγεσθαι

our days at Dicaearchia (Puteoli), in the land of the Tyrrhenians, a hot spring has been found, so acid that in a few years it dissolved the lead through which its water passed.

XXXVI. It is a journey of about a hundred stades from Mothone to the promontory of Coryphasium, on which Pylos lies. This was founded by Pylos the son of Cleon, bringing from the Megarid the Leleges who then occupied the country. But he did not enjoy it, as he was driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians of Iolcos, on which he departed to the adjoining country and there occupied the Pylos in Elis. When Neleus became king, he raised Pylos to such renown that Homer in his epics calls it the city of Neleus.<sup>1</sup> It contains a sanctuary of Athena with the title *Coryphasia*, and a house called the house of Nestor, in which there is a painting of him. His tomb is inside the city; the tomb at a little distance from Pylos is said to be the tomb of Thrasymedes. There is a cave inside the town, in which it is said that the cattle belonging to Nestor and to Neleus before him were kept. These cattle must have been of Thessalian stock, having once belonged to Iphiclus the father of Protesilaus. Neleus demanded these cattle as bride gifts for his daughter from her suitors, and it was on their account that Melampus went to Thessaly to gratify his brother Bias. He was put in bonds by the herdsmen of Iphiclus, but received them as his reward for the prophecies which he gave to Iphiclus at his request. So it seems the men of those days made it their business to amass wealth of this kind, herds of

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xi. 682; *Odyssey*, iii. 4.

τοιοῦτον, ἵππων καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας, εἰ δὴ Νηλεύς  
 τε γενέσθαι οἱ βοῦς ἐπεθύμησε τὰς Ἰφίκλου καὶ  
 Ἑρακλεῖ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρία βοῶν  
 προσέταξεν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐλάσαι τῶν Γηρύνου  
 4 βοῶν τὴν ἀγέλην. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἐρυξ τότε  
 ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύων δριμὺν οὕτως ἔχων ἐς  
 τὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἔρωτα, ὥστε καὶ  
 ἐπάλαισε πρὸς τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ  
 καταθέμενος τὰς τε βοῦς ταύτας καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι, ὡς  
 Ἰφιδάμας ὁ Ἀντήνορος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἔδνων  
 ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῷ πενθερῷ δοίη. ταῦτα μὲν τὸν  
 λόγον μοι βεβαιοῖ, βουσι τοὺς τότε χαίρειν  
 5 μάλιστα ἀνθρώπους· ἐνέμοντο δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν αἱ  
 τοῦ Νηλέως βοῦς ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ·  
 ὑπόψαμμός τε γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἢ τῶν  
 Πυλίων χώρα καὶ πόαν βουσὶν οὐχ ἰκανὴ  
 τοσαύτην παρασχέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ  
 Ὅμηρος ἐν μνήμῃ Νέστορος ἐπιλέγων αἰεὶ βα-  
 σιλέα αὐτὸν ἡμαθόεντος εἶναι Πύλου.

6 Τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέ-  
 βληται, καθάπερ τοῦ ὄρμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἡ Ῥήνεια·  
 εἰοίκασι δὲ αἱ ἀνθρώπειαι τύχαι καὶ χωρία τέως  
 ἄγνωστα ἐς δόξαν προῆχθαι. Καφηρέως τε γάρ  
 ἐστιν ὄνομα τοῦ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοῖς σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι  
 Ἑλλησιν ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς  
 ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου· Ψυττάλειάν τε τὴν ἐπὶ  
 Σαλαμῖνι ἴσμεν ἀπολομένων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Μήδων.  
 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων γινώριμον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν·  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Νίκης ἀνέθηκαν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀκρο-  
 πόλει χαλκοῦν ἐς μνήμην τῶν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ.

horses and cattle, if it is the case that <sup>Neleus</sup> Nestor desired to get possession of the cattle of Iphiclus and that Eurystheus, in view of the reputation of the Iberian cattle, ordered Heracles to drive off the herd of Geryones. Eryx too, who was reigning then in Sicily, plainly had so violent a desire for the cattle from Erytheia that he wrestled with Heracles, staking his kingdom on the match against these cattle. As Homer says in the *Iliad*,<sup>1</sup> a hundred kine were the first of the bride gifts paid by Iphidamas the son of Antenor to his bride's father. This confirms my argument that the men of those days took the greatest pleasure in cattle. But the cattle of Neleus were pastured for the most part across the border, I think. For the country of the Pylians in general is sandy and unable to provide so much grazing. Homer testifies to this, when he mentions Nestor, always adding that he was king of sandy Pylos.

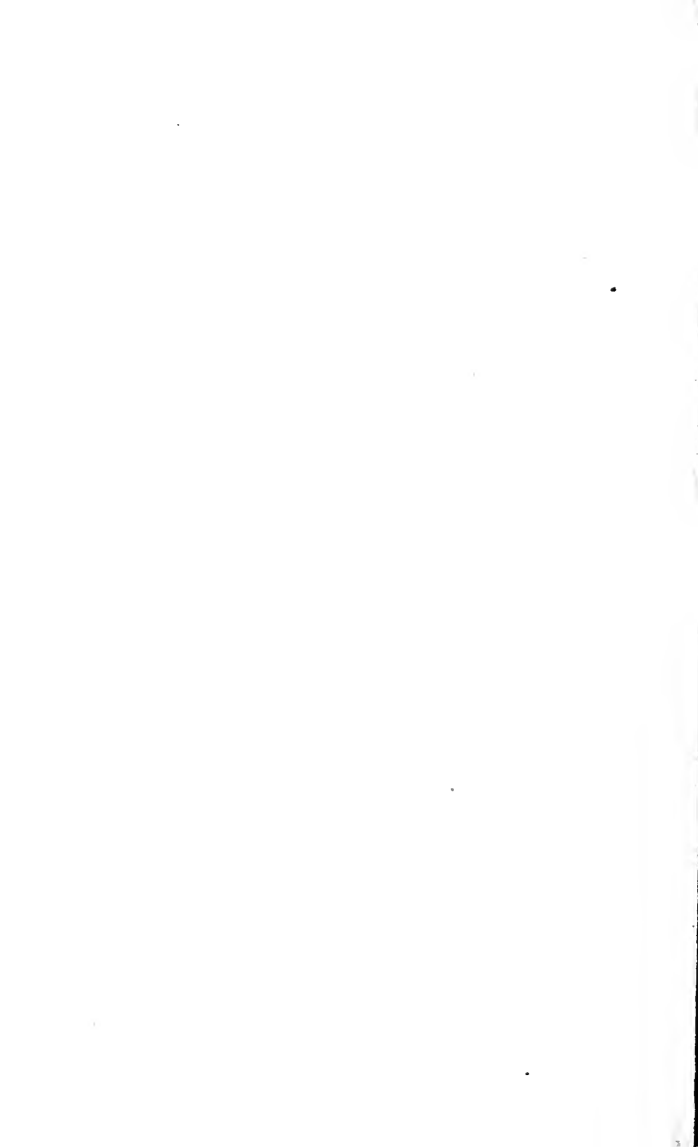
The island of Sphacteria lies in front of the harbour just as Rheneia off the anchorage at Delos. It seems that places hitherto unknown have been raised to fame by the fortunes of men. For Caphereus in Euboea is famous since the storm that here befell the Greeks with Agamemnon on their voyage from Troy. Psyttaleia by Salamis we know from the destruction of the Persians there. In like manner the Lacedaemonian reverse made Sphacteria known to all mankind. The Athenians dedicated a bronze statue of Victory also on the acropolis as a memorial of the events at Sphacteria.

<sup>1</sup> xi. 244.

7 Ἐφικομένων δὲ εἰς Κυπαρισσίαν ἐκ Πύλου σφίσι πηγὴ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει πλησίον θαλάσσης ἐστὶ· ῥυῆναι δὲ Διούσω τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι θύρσῳ πλήξαντι εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Διουσιάδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κυπαρισσιᾷ ἱερόν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Κυπαρισσίας. ἐν δὲ Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Αὐλωνίου· κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς ἢ Νέδα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μεσσηνίας ἤδη καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας διέξεισιν.



When Cyparissiae is reached from Pylos, there is a spring below the city near the sea, the water of which they say gushed forth for Dionysus when he struck the ground with a thyrsus. For this reason they call the spring Dionysias. There is a shrine of Apollo in Cyparissiae and of Athena with the title *Cyparissia*. In the depression called Aulon there is a temple and statue of Asclepius *Aulonius*. Here flows the river Neda, forming the boundary between Messenia and Elis.



BOOK V—ELIS I

## Ε΄

## ΗΛΙΑΚΩΝ Α

Ι. "Οσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων Πελοποννήσου πέντε εἶναι μοίρας καὶ οὐ πλείονάς φασι, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων οἰκουσιν Ἥλειοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, δευτέρα δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις αἱ Δωριέων. γένη δὲ οἰκεῖ Πελοπόννησον Ἀρκάδες μὲν αὐτόχθονες καὶ Ἀχαιοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνέστησαν, οὐ μέντοι Πελοποννήσου γε ἐξεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκβαλόντες Ἴωνας νέμονται τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τούτων καλούμενον· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διατελοῦσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ

2 ἐς τόδε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπηλύδων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νῦν νεώτατοι Πελοποννησίων εἰσὶ, καὶ σφισιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἦν ἐς ἐμέ· Δρύοπες δὲ καὶ Δωριεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρνασσοῦ, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐς Πελοπόννησόν εἰσιν ἀφιγμένοι.

3 Τοὺς Ἥλείους ἴσμεν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος διαβεβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε εὔρισκον. βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀέθλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διός τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Ἀεθλίου δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα γενέ-

## BOOK V

### ELIS I

I. The Greeks who say that the Peloponnesus has five, and only five, divisions must agree that Arcadia contains both Arcadians and Eleans, that the second division belongs to the Achaeans, and the remaining three to the Dorians. Of the races dwelling in Peloponnesus the Arcadians and Achaeans are aborigines. When the Achaeans were driven from their land by the Dorians, they did not retire from Peloponnesus, but they cast out the Ionians and occupied the land called of old Aegialus, but now called Achaea from these Achaeans. The Arcadians, on the other hand, have from the beginning to the present time continued in possession of their own country. The rest of Peloponnesus belongs to immigrants. The modern Corinthians are the latest inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and from my time to the time when they received their land from the Roman Emperor is two hundred and seventeen years. The Dryopians reached the Peloponnesus from Parnassus, the Dorians from Oeta.

171 A.D.  
41 B.C.

The Eleans we know crossed over from Calydon and Aetolia generally. Their earlier history I found to be as follows. The first to rule in this land, they say, was Aëthlius, who was the son of Zeus and of Protogeneia, the daughter of Deucalion, and the

- 4 σθαι· τούτου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος Σελήνην φασὶν ἐρασθῆναι, καὶ ὡς θυγατέρες αὐτῷ γένοιντο ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον τι εἰκότα λέγοντες Ἐνδυμίωμι λαβόντι Ἀστεροδίαν γυναῖκα —οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος Χρομίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑπερίππην τὴν Ἀρκάδος—, γενέσθαι δ' οὖν φασὶν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειὸν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εὐρυκύδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπία δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· καὶ Ἐπειοὶ
- 5 πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἤρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναί φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἡσση φυγεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτῳ, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐνδυμίωνος τελευτὴν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῶται τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλήτῳ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἡλεῖοι μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν Ἐνδυμίωνος μνήμα, Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος ἀποχωρῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν <καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῷ νέ><sup>1</sup>
- 6 Λάτμῳ. Ἐπειῷ δὲ γήμαντι Ἀναξιρόην τὴν Κορώνου θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρμίνα, ἄρσεν δὲ οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ γένος· καὶ τάδε ἄλλα συνέβη κατ' Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύοντα. Οἰνόμαος ὁ Ἀλξίωνος, Ἄρεως δὲ καθὰ ποιηταί τε ἐπεφήμισαν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, οὗτος δυναστεύων περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν καλουμένην ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς διαβάντος Πέλοπος τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἐκ τῆς
- 7 Ἀσίας. Πέλοψ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Οἰνομάου τὴν τε Πισαίαν ἔσχε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀποτεμόμενος

father of Endymion. The Moon, they say, fell in love with this Endymion and bore him fifty daughters. Others with greater probability say that Endymion took a wife Asterodia—others say she was Cromia, the daughter of Itonus, the son of Amphictyon; others again, Hyperippe, the daughter of Arcas—but all agree that Endymion begat Paeon, Epeius, Aetolus, and also a daughter Eurycyda. Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the throne; Epeius won, and obtained the kingdom, and his subjects were then named Epeans for the first time. Of his brothers they say that Aetolus remained at home, while Paeon, vexed at his defeat, went into the farthest exile possible, and that the region beyond the river Axius was named after him Paeonia. As to the death of Endymion, the people of Heracleia near Miletus do not agree with the Eleans; for while the Eleans show a tomb of Endymion, the folk of Heracleia say that he retired to Mount Latmus and give him honour, there being a shrine of Endymion on Latmus. Epeius married Anaxiroë, the daughter of Coronus, and begat a daughter Hyrmina, but no male issue. In the reign of Epeius the following events also occurred. Oenomaüs was the son of Alxion (though poets proclaimed his father to be Ares, and the common report agrees with them), but while lord of the land of Pisa he was put down by Pelops the Lydian, who crossed over from Asia. On the death of Oenomaüs, Pelops took possession of the land of Pisa and its bordering country Olympia,

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<sup>1</sup> The part within brackets is not in the MSS., but was added by Schubart.

τῆς Ἐπειοῦ χώρας ὄμορον οὖσαν τῇ Πισαίᾳ· Ἐρμοῦ τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ Πέλοπα ἔλεγον οἱ Ἥλαιοι πρῶτον, ἀποτρεπόμενον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλου θανάτῳ μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

8 Αἰτωλῷ δὲ μετὰ Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύσαντι συνέπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ Ἄπιδος παῖδες ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ δίκην εἶλον· Ἄπιν γὰρ τὸν Ἰάσονος ἐκ Παλλαντίου τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἄρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζᾶνι ἄθλων. ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶον οἰκοῦντες ἐκλήθησαν φυγόντος ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἡπειρον, τὴν δὲ Ἐπειῶν ἔσχευ ἀρχὴν Ἥλείος, Εὐρυκύδας τε τῆς Ἐνδυμίωνος καὶ—ὅτῳ πιστὰ—πατὴρ ὢν Ποσειδῶνος· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ νῦν ἀντὶ Ἐπειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλείου μεταβεβλήκασιν.

9 Ἥλείου δὲ ἦν Αὐγέας· οἱ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτόν, παρατρέψαντες τοῦ Ἥλείου τὸ ὄνομα, Ἥλιου φασὶν Αὐγέαν παῖδα εἶναι. τούτῳ βούς τῷ Αὐγέᾳ καὶ αἰπόλια τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῷ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη διατελεῖν ἀργὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς κόπρου· Ἡρακλέα οὖν εἴτε ἐπὶ μοίρᾳ τῆς Ἥλείας εἴτε ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ πείθει οἱ καθῆραι τῆς

10 κόπρου τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξεργάσατο ἐκτρέψας τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ ρεῦμα ἐς τὴν κόπρον· Αὐγέας δέ, ὅτι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σοφία πλέον καὶ οὐ σὺν πόνῳ τὸ ἔργον ἤνυστο, αὐτὸς τε ἀποδοῦναί οἱ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηξίου καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἀρσένων τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φυλέα ἐξέβαλεν



separating it from the land of Epeius. The Eleans said that Pelops was the first to found a temple of Hermes in Peloponnesus and to sacrifice to the god, his purpose being to avert the wrath of the god for the death of Myrtilus.

Aetolus, who came to the throne after Epeius, was made to flee from Peloponnesus, because the children of Apis tried and convicted him of unintentional homicide. For Apis, the son of Jason, from Pallantium in Arcadia, was run over and killed by the chariot of Aetolus at the games held in honour of Azan. Aetolus, son of Endymion, gave to the dwellers around the Acheloiis their name, when he fled to this part of the mainland. But the kingdom of the Epeans fell to Eleius, the son of Eurycyda, daughter of Endymion and, believe the tale who will, of Poseidon. It was Eleius who gave the inhabitants their present name of Eleans in place of Epeans.

Eleius had a son Augeas. Those who exaggerate his glory give a turn to the name "Eleius" and make Helius<sup>1</sup> to be the father of Augeas. This Augeas had so many cattle and flocks of goats that actually most of his land remained untilled because of the dung of the animals. Now he persuaded Heracles to cleanse for him the land from dung, either in return for a part of Elis or possibly for some other reward. Heracles accomplished this feat too, turning aside the stream of the Menius into the dung. But, because Heracles had accomplished his task by cunning, without toil, Augeas refused to give him his reward, and banished Phyleus, the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Sun.

ἀντειπόντα ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιοῖτο πρὸς ἄνδρα  
 εὐεργέτην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάζετο  
 ὡς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀμνυόμενος, ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιον  
 στρατεύηται, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἄκτορος  
 καὶ Ἀμαρυγκέα ἐπηγάγετο εἰς φιλίαν· ἦν δὲ  
 11 ὁ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ἀγαθὸς τὰ εἰς τὸν  
 πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ οἱ πατήρ Πυττίος Θεσσαλὸς τὰ  
 ἄνωθεν ἦν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Θεσσα-  
 λίας. Ἀμαρυγκεὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἥλείᾳ  
 μετέδωκεν ὁ Αὐγέας, Ἄκτορι δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ  
 γένος τε ἦν ἐπιχώριον βασιλείας τε μετῆν σφισίν·  
 Ἄκτωρ γὰρ πατὴρ μὲν Φόρβαντος ἦν τοῦ  
 Λαπίθου, μητὴρ δὲ Ἐρμίνης τῆς Ἐπειοῦ, καὶ  
 ὤκισεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἄκτωρ πόλιν Ἐρμίναν ἐν τῇ  
 Ἥλείᾳ.

II. Τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγέαυ πολε-  
 μοῦντι οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀποδείκνυσθαι λαμπρόν·  
 ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τόλμη καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις τοῦ Ἄκτορος  
 τῶν παίδων ἀκμαζόντων, ἐτρέπετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰεὶ  
 τὸ συμμαχικὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, εἰς ὃ Ἴσθμικὰς  
 σπονδὰς Κορινθίων ἐπαγγελιάντων καὶ θεωρῶν  
 εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐρχομένων τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἄκτορος  
 ἀπέκτεινε σφᾶς λοχήσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Κλεωναῖς.  
 ἀφανοῦς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ εἰργασμένου τὸν φόνον  
 μάλιστα ἐποιεῖτο ἡ Μολίνη σπουδὴν τῶν παίδων  
 2 τὸν αὐτόχειρα ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν, ἐνταῦθα  
 οἱ Ἥλαιοι δίκας τοῦ φόνον παρὰ Ἀργείων  
 ἀπήτουν· τῆνικαῦτα γὰρ ἔτυχεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐν  
 Τίρυνθι οἰκῶν. μὴ διδόντων δὲ σφισι δίκας τῶν  
 Ἀργείων, οἱ δὲ δεύτερα ἐνέκειντο Κορινθίοις  
 ἔκσπονδον τὸ Ἀργολικὸν πᾶν τοῦ ἀγῶνος γεν-  
 ἔσθαι τοῦ Ἴσθμικοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμάρτανον καὶ τού-  
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elder of his two sons, for objecting that he was wronging a man who had been his benefactor. He made preparations himself to resist Heracles, should he attack Elis; more particularly he made friends with the sons of Actor and with Amarynceus. Amarynceus, besides being a good soldier, had a father, Pyttius, of Thessalian descent, who came from Thessaly to Elis. To Amarynceus, therefore, Augeas also gave a share in the government of Elis; Actor and his sons had a share in the kingdom and were natives of the country. For the father of Actor was Phorbas, son of Lapithus, and his mother was Hyrmina, daughter of Epeius. Actor named after her the city of Hyrmina, which he founded in Elis.

II. Heracles accomplished no brilliant feat in the war with Augeas. For the sons of Actor were in the prime of courageous manhood, and always put to flight the allies under Heracles, until the Corinthians proclaimed the Isthmian truce, and the sons of Actor came as envoys to the meeting. Heracles set an ambush for them at Cleonae and murdered them. As the murderer was unknown, Moline devoted herself to detecting him. When she discovered him, the Eleans demanded satisfaction for the crime from the Argives, for at the time Heracles had his home at Tiryns. When the Argives refused them satisfaction, the Eleans as an alternative pressed the Corinthians entirely to exclude the Argive people from the Isthmian games. When they failed in this also, Moline is said to

του, Μολίνην θέσθαι φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολίταις  
κατάρως, ἣν Ἴσθμίων μὴ θέλωσιν εἶργεσθαι.  
φυλάσσουσι δὲ τῆς Μολίνης καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι τὰς  
κατάρως, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σώματα ἰσκούσιν Ἡλείων,  
οὐ σφισιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν καθέστηκε τὸν  
3 Ἴσθμικόν. διάφοροι δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ δύο εἰσὶν  
ἄλλοι λόγοι. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύψελον τὸν  
τυραννήσαντα Κορινθίων φησὶν ἄγαλμα ἀνα-  
θεῖναι τῷ Διὶ χρυσοῦν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, προαποθαν-  
όντος δὲ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τὸ  
ὄνομα ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς Κορινθίους παρὰ  
Ἡλείων αἰτεῖν δοῦναί σφισιν ἐπιγράψαι δημοσίᾳ  
τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι, οὐ τυχόντας δὲ ὀργῇ  
τε ἐς τοὺς Ἡλείους χρῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν σφισὶν  
Ἴσθμίων εἶργεσθαι. πῶς ἂν οὖν Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς  
τοῦ ἀγῶνος μετῆν τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, εἰ δὴ ἄκοντάς  
4 γε Ἡλείους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἴσθμίων εἶργον; ὁ δὲ ἕτερος  
ἔχει τῶν λόγων Προλάῳ παῖδας ἀνδρὶ παρὰ  
Ἡλείοις δοκίμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσίππῃ  
Φίλανθον καὶ Λάμπον γενέσθαι· τούτους ἐπὶ τὸν  
ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας τῶν Ἴσθμίων παγκρατιάσοντας<sup>1</sup>  
ἐν παισί, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παλαίοντα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντι-  
αγωνιστῶν, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσελθεῖν, ἀποπνι-  
γῆναι σφᾶς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διαχρησθῆναι  
καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡλείοις, ἣν Ἴσθμίων μὴ  
ἐκόντες εἶργονται, Λυσίππης ἀρὰς εἶναι. δείκνυ-  
5 ται δὲ καὶ ὅδε εὐήθης ὢν ὁ λόγος. Τίμωνι γὰρ  
ἀνδρὶ Ἡλείῳ γεγόνασι πεντάθλου νῖκαι τῶν ἐν  
Ἑλλησιν ἀγῶνων, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκῶν ἐστὶν ἐν  
Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἐλεγείῳ, στεφάνους τε ὀπόσους  
ἀνείλετο ὁ Τίμων λέγον καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτίαν δι'

<sup>1</sup> παγκρατιάσοντα has been proposed.

have laid curses on her countrymen, should they refuse to boycott the Isthmian festival. The curses of Moline are respected right down to the present day, and no athlete of Elis is wont to compete in the Isthmian games. There are two other accounts, differing from the one that I have given. According to one of them Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, dedicated to Zeus a golden image at Olympia. As Cypselus died before inscribing his own name on the offering, the Corinthians asked of the Eleans leave to inscribe the name of Corinth on it, but were refused. Wroth with the Eleans, they proclaimed that they must keep away from the Isthmian games. But how could the Corinthians themselves take part in the Olympic games if the Eleans against their will were shut out by the Corinthians from the Isthmian games? The other account is this. Prolaüs, a distinguished Elean, had two sons, Philanthus and Lampus, by his wife Lysippe. These two came to the Isthmian games<sup>1</sup> to compete in the boys' pancratium, and one of them intended to wrestle. Before they entered the ring they were strangled or done to death in some other way by their fellow competitors. Hence the curses of Lysippe on the Eleans, should they not voluntarily keep away from the Isthmian games. But this story too proves on examination to be silly. For Timon, a man of Elis, won victories in the pentathlon at the Greek games, and at Olympia there is even a statue of him, with an elegiac inscription giving the crowns he won and

<sup>1</sup> If the proposed emendation be adopted the meaning will be: "one to compete in the boys' pancratium, the other in wrestling."

ἦντινα Ἰσθμικῆς οὐ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ νίκης· καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἐλεγείον·

Σισυφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόν' ἐκόλυεν ἀνέρα νείκη  
ἀμφὶ Μολιοιδᾶν οὐλομένῳ θανάτῳ.

III. Τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐξητάσθω· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶλεν ὕστερον καὶ ἐπόρθησεν Ἕλιν, στρατιὰν παρά τε Ἀργείων καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ Ἀρκάδας· ἤμυναν δὲ καὶ Ἠλείοις οἱ ἐκ Πύλου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ καὶ οἱ Πισαῖοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πισαίους στρατείας αὐτὸν χρησμὸς ἐπέσχευ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἔχων οὕτω·

πατρὶ μέλει Πίσσης, Πυθούς δέ μοι ἐν  
γυάλοισι.<sup>1</sup>

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ σωτηρία Πισαίοις τὸ μάντευμα ἐγένετο· Φυλεῖ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν τε χώραν ἀνέδωκε τὴν Ἠλείαν καὶ τᾶλλα, αἰδοῖ τοῦ Φυλέως μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως· τά τε γὰρ αἰχμάλωτα ἐφίησιν ἔχειν αὐτῷ καὶ Λυγέαν μὴ ὑποσχεῖν  
2 δίκην. τῶν δὲ Ἠλείων αἱ γυναῖκες, ἅτε τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σφίσις ἡρημωμένης τῆς χώρας, εὐξασθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγονται κυῆσαι παραυτίκα, ἐπειδὴν μιχθῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ἦ τε εὐχή σφισιν ἐτελέσθη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μητρὸς ἰδρύσαντο. ὑπερησθέντες δὲ ἀμφότεροι τῇ μίξει καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἔνθα συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις πρῶτον, αὐτό τε τὸ χωρίον Βαδὺ ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν ῥέοντα ἐνταῦθα ὕδωρ Βαδὺ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ.

<sup>1</sup> Πυθῶ and ἐγγυάλιξεν Hermann.

also the reason why he secured no Isthmian victory  
The inscription sets forth the reason thus:—

But from going to the land of Sisyphus he was  
hindered by a quarrel

About the baleful death of the Molionids.

III. Enough of my discussion of this question.  
Heracles afterwards took Elis and sacked it, with  
an army he had raised of Argives, Thebans and  
Arcadians. The Eleans were aided by the men of  
Pisa and of Pylus in Elis. The men of Pylus were  
punished by Heracles, but his expedition against  
Pisa was stopped by an oracle from Delphi to this  
effect:—

My father cares for Pisa, but to me in the hollows  
of Pytho.<sup>1</sup>

This oracle proved the salvation of Pisa. To Phyleus  
Heracles gave up the land of Elis and all the rest,  
more out of respect for Phyleus than because he  
wanted to do so: he allowed him to keep the  
prisoners, and Augeas to escape punishment. The  
women of Elis, it is said, seeing that their land had  
been deprived of its vigorous manhood, prayed to  
Athena that they might conceive at their first union  
with their husbands. Their prayer was answered,  
and they set up a sanctuary of Athena surnamed  
Mother. Both wives and husbands were so delighted  
at their union that they named the place itself,  
where they first met, Bady (sweet), and the river  
that runs thereby Bady Water, this being a word of  
their native dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Hermann's emendation would mean: "but unto me he  
assigned Pytho."

- 3 Φυλέως δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἡλιδι κατεστήσατο, αὐθις ἐς Δουλίχιον ἀποχωρήσαντος, Αὐγέαν μὲν τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβε προήκοντα ἐς γῆρας, βασιλείαν δὲ τὴν Ἡλείων Ἀγασθένης ἔσχεν ὁ Αὐγέου καὶ Ἀμφίμαχός τε καὶ Θάλπιος· Ἄκτορος γὰρ τοῖς παισὶν ἀδελφὰς ἐσαγαγομένοις διδύμας ἐς τὸν οἶκον, Δεξαμενοῦ θυγατέρας ἐν Ὠλένω βασιλεύοντος, τῷ μὲν ἐκ Θηρουίκης Ἀμφίμαχος, Εὐρύτω
- 4 δὲ ἐκ Θηραιφόνης ἐγεγόνει Θάλπιος. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀμαρυγκεύς οὔτε αὐτὸς διέμεινεν ἰδιωτεύων οὔτε Διώρης ὁ Ἀμαρυγκέως. ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὀμηρος παρεδήλωσεν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἡλείων, τὸν μὲν σύμπαντα αὐτῶν στόλον ποιήσας τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι νεῶν, τούτων δὲ τὰς ἡμισείας ὑπὸ Ἀμφιμάχῳ τετάχθαι καὶ Θαλπίῳ, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ εἴκοσι δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ Διώρην τὸν Ἀμαρυγκέως ἡγεῖσθαι, τισαύταις δὲ ἑτέραις Πολύξενον τὸν Ἀγασθένου. Πολυξένῳ δὲ ἀνασωθέντι ἐκ Ἰγροίας ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀμφίμαχος—τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ παιδί ἔθετο ὁ Πολύξενος κατὰ φιλίαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πρὸς Ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Κτεάτου τελευτήσαντα ἐν Ἰλίῳ—,
- 5 Ἀμφιμάχου δὲ Ἡλείος· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλείου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἡλιδι, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δωριέων στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχου παισὶν ἠθροίζετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον. γίνεται δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν λόγιον τόδε, ἡγεμόνα τῆς καθόδου ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τριόφθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δὲ σφισιν ὅ τι ὁ χρησμὸς ἐθέλοι συνέτυχεν ἐλαύνων ἀνὴρ ἡμίονον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος διέφθαρτο τῷ
- 6 ἡμίονῳ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· Κρεσφόντου δὲ συμφρονήσαντος ὡς ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχοι τὸ μάντευμα, οὕτως ᾤκειώσαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Δωριεῖς. ὁ δὲ



When Phyleus had returned to Dulichium after organising the affairs of Elis, Augeas died at an advanced age, and the kingdom of Elis devolved on Agasthenes, the son of Augeas, and on Amphimachus and Thalpius. For the sons of Actor married twin sisters, the daughters of Dexamenus who was king at Olenus; Amphimachus was born to one son and Theronice, Thalpius to her sister TheraePHONE and Eurytus. However, neither Amarynceus himself nor his son DioreS remained common people. Incidentally this is shown by Homer<sup>1</sup> in his list of the Eleans; he makes their whole fleet to consist of forty ships, half of them under the command of Amphimachus and Thalpius, and of the remaining twenty he puts ten under DioreS, the son of Amarynceus, and ten under Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes. Polyxenus came back safe from Troy and begat a son, Amphimachus. This name I think Polyxenus gave his son because of his friendship with Amphimachus, the son of Cteatus, who died at Troy. Amphimachus begat Eleius, and it was while Eleius was king in Elis that the assembly of the Dorian army under the sons of Aristomachus took place, with a view to returning to the Peloponnesus. To their kings was delivered this oracle, that they were to choose the "one with three eyes" to lead them on their return. When they were at a loss as to the meaning of the oracle, they were met by a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye. Cresphontes inferred that this was the man indicated by the oracle, and so the Dorians made him one of themselves. He urged

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* ii. 622.

σφᾶς ναυσὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιέναι  
 μηδὲ στρατῶ πεζῶ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ πειρᾶσθαι.  
 ταῦτά τε δὴ παρήνεσε καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἐς Μολύκριον  
 ἐκ Ναυπάκτου πλοῦν καθηγῆσατο αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ  
 ἀντὶ τούτου δεηθέντι τὴν Ἥλειαν γῆν συνέθεντο  
 αὐτῷ δώσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἦν Ὀξύλος Αἴμονος τοῦ  
 Θόαντος· Θόας δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρέως  
 παισὶν ἀρχὴν συγκαθεῖλε τὴν Πριάμου, γενεαὶ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ Θόαντος ἀνήκουσιν ἐξ ἐς Αἰτωλὸν τὸν  
 7 Ἐνδυμίωνος. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἑρακλεΐδαι συγγενεῖς  
 καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ βασιλεύσι, καὶ ἀδελ-  
 φαὶ Θόαντι τῷ Ἀνδραίμονος καὶ Ὑλλου τοῦ  
 Ἑρακλέους ἦσαν αἱ μητέρες. συνεπεπτώκει δὲ  
 τῷ Ὀξύλῳ φυγάδι ἐξ Αἰτωλίας εἶναι· δισκεύοντα  
 γὰρ φασιν ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι  
 φόνον ἀκούσιον, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 δίσκου τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ὀξύλου Θέρμιον,  
 οἱ δὲ Ἀλκιδόκον τὸν Σκοπίου.

IV. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀξύλῳ  
 τοιόνδε, ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ὑποπτεύσειε τοῦ Ἀριστο-  
 μάχου, μὴ τὴν Ἥλειαν τε ἰδόντες ἀγαθὴν οὔσαν  
 καὶ ἐξειργασμένην διὰ πάσης οὐκ ἐβελήσωσιν ἔτι  
 αὐτῷ δίδοναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα διὰ τῶν  
 Ἀρκάδων καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς Ἥλειας τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν  
 ἠγήσατο. Ὀξύλῳ δὲ σπεύσαντι ἀμαχεῖ λαβεῖν  
 τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀρχὴν Δῖος οὐκ εἶκε, πρόκλησιν δὲ  
 ἐποιεῖτο μὴ σφᾶς παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ διακινδυν-  
 εῦσαι, προκριθῆναι δὲ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων στρατιώτην  
 2 ἓνα ἐς τὴν μάχην· καὶ πῶς συνήρесе ταῦτα  
 ἀμφοτέροις, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔργον προταχθέντες Δέγ-  
 μενός τε Ἥλείος ἦν τοξότης καὶ παρὰ τῶν  
 Αἰτωλῶν Πυραίχμης σφενδόνην δεδιδαγμένος.

them to descend upon the Peloponnesus in ships, and not to attempt to go across the Isthmus with a land army. Such was his advice, and at the same time he led them on the voyage from Naupactus to Molycrium. In return they agreed to give him at his request the land of Elis. The man was Oxylus, son of Haemon, the son of Thoas. This was the Thoas who helped the sons of Atreus to destroy the empire of Priam, and from Thoas to Aetolus the son of Endymion are six generations. There were ties of kindred between the Heracleidae and the kings of Aetolia; in particular the mothers of Thoas, the son of Andraemon, and of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were sisters. It fell to the lot of Oxylus to be an outlaw from Aetolia. The story goes that as he was throwing the quoit he missed the mark and committed unintentional homicide. The man killed by the quoit, according to one account, was Therminus, the brother of Oxylus; according to another it was Alcidocus, the son of Scopius.

IV. The following story is also told of Oxylus. He suspected that, when the sons of Aristomachus saw that the land of Elis was a goodly one, and cultivated throughout, they would be no longer willing to give it to him. He accordingly led the Dorians through Arcadia and not through Elis. Oxylus was anxious to get the kingdom of Elis without a battle, but Dius would not give way; he proposed that, instead of their fighting a pitched battle with all their forces, a single soldier should be chosen from each army to fight as its champion. This proposal chanced to find favour with both sides, and the champions chosen were the Elean Degmenus, an archer, and Pyraechmes, a slinger,

- κρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυραίχμου τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἔσχεν Ὀξύλος καὶ Ἐπειοὺς τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶασεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν μένειν, συνοίκους δὲ σφισι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπεισήγαγε. καὶ Δίῳ τε ἀπένειμε γέρα καὶ ἤρωσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐφύλαξε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ Ἀνγέα τὰ ἐς τὸν ἐναγισμὸν ἔτι καὶ ἐς
- 3 ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ καθεστηκότα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ὅσοι τοῦ τείχους οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστήκεσαν, κατελθεῖν ἐπίσειεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων μείζονα καὶ εὐδαιμονεστέραν ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἥλιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμός, τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεσθαι συνοικιστήν. Ὀξύλος δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναζητῶν εὗρεν Ἀγώριον τὸν Δαμασίου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγωρίῳ μοῖραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο οὐ
- 4 πολλήν. τῷ δὲ Ὀξύλῳ Πιερίαν μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ ὄνομα εἶναι λέγουσι, πέρα δὲ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μνημονεύουσιν. Ὀξύλου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδάς φασιν Αἰτωλὸν καὶ Λαίαν· προαποθανόντος δὲ Αἰτωλοῦ θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ γονεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι τῇ πύλῃ τὸ μνήμα, ἣτις ἐπ' Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄγει τοῦ Διός· ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτω κατὰ μαντείαν, ὡς μήτε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως μήτε ἐντὸς γένοιτο ὁ νεκρός. ἐναγίζει δὲ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, τῷ Αἰτωλῷ.
- 5 Μετὰ δὲ Ὀξύλου Λαίας ἔσχεν ὁ Ὀξύλου τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντας εὕρισκον, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιστάμενος ὁμῶς

to represent the Aetolians. Pyraechmes won and Oxylus got the kingdom. He allowed the old inhabitants, the Epeans, to keep their possessions, except that he introduced among them Aetolian colonists, giving them a share in the land. He assigned privileges to Dius, and kept up after the ancient manner the honours paid to heroes, especially the worship of Augeas, to whom even at the present day hero-sacrifice is offered. He is also said to have induced to come into the city the dwellers in the villages near the wall, and by increasing the number of the inhabitants to have made Elis larger and generally more prosperous. There also came to him an oracle from Delphi, that he should bring in as co-founder "the descendant of Pelops." Oxylus made diligent search, and in his search he discovered Agorius, son of Damasius, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes. He brought Agorius himself from Helice in Achaia, and with him a small body of Achaeans. The wife of Oxylus they say was called Pieria, but beyond this nothing more about her is recorded. Oxylus is said to have had two sons, Aetolus and Laïas. Aetolus died before his parents, who buried him in a tomb which they caused to be made right in the gate leading to Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus. That they buried him thus was due to an oracle forbidding the corpse to be laid either without the city or within it. Right down to our own day the gymnasiarch sacrifices to Aetolus as to a hero every year.

.After Oxylus the kingdom devolved on Laïas, son of Oxylus. His descendants, however, I find did not reign, and so I pass them by, though I know who

- παρίημι· οὐ γάρ τί μοι καταβῆναι τὸν λόγον ἠθέλησα ἐς ἄνδρας ἰδιώτας. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἴφιτος, γένος μὲν ὦν ἀπὸ Ὁξύλου, ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκούργου τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανήγυριν τε Ὀλυμπικὴν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον ὀπόσος δὴ οὗτος ἦν· αἰτίαν δὲ δι' ἣντινα ἐξέλιπε τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοῦ λόγου δηλώσω. τῷ δὲ Ἰφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τότε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίων στάσεων καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπήλθεν αἰτῆσαι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λύσιν τῶν κακῶν· καὶ οἱ προσταχθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς αὐτὸν τε Ἴφιτον δέοι καὶ Ἥλείους τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεώσασθαι. ἔπεισε δὲ Ἥλείους Ἴφιτος καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, τὸ πρὸ τούτου πολέμιόν σφισιν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι νομίζοντας. τὸν δὲ Ἴφιτον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν Αἴμονος παῖδα εἶναι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ Πραξωνίδου καὶ οὐχ Αἴμονος εἶναί φασι· τὰ δὲ Ἥλείων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐς πατέρα ὁμώνυμον ἀνῆγε τὸν Ἴφιτον.
- 7 Ἥλείοις δὲ μέτεστι μὲν πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ, μέτεστι δὲ καὶ ἔργων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μήδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔφοδον. ὑπερβάντων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο κίνδυνοι πρὸς Πισαίους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, συνεσέβαλον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκουσίως ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων, συνέστησαν δὲ μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Μαντινεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργείοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὴν

they were; my narrative must not descend to men of common rank. Later on Iphitus, of the line of Oxylus and contemporary with Lycurgus, who drew up the code of laws for the Lacedaemonians, arranged the games at Olympia and re-established afresh the Olympic festival and truce, after an interruption of uncertain length. The reason for this interruption I will set forth when my narrative deals with Olympia.<sup>1</sup> At this time Greece was grievously worn by internal strife and plague, and it occurred to Iphitus to ask the god at Delphi for deliverance from these evils. The story goes that the Pythian priestess ordained that Iphitus himself and the Eleans must renew the Olympic games. Iphitus also induced the Eleans to sacrifice to Heracles as to a god, whom hitherto they had looked upon as their enemy. The inscription at Olympia calls Iphitus the son of Haemon, but most of the Greeks say that his father was Praxonides and not Haemon, while the ancient records of Elis traced him to a father of the same name.

The Eleans played their part in the Trojan war, and also in the battles of the Persian invasion of Greece. I pass over their struggles with the Pisans and Arcadians for the management of the Olympian games. Against their will they joined the Lacedaemonians in their invasion of Athenian territory, and shortly afterwards they rose up with the Mantineans <sup>420 B.C.</sup> and Argives against the Lacedaemonians, inducing

<sup>1</sup> See chapter VIII of this book.

8 συμμαχίαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄγιδος ἐπιστρατείαν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν τὴν Ξενίου μάχῃ μὲν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν νικῶσιν οἱ Ἡλείοι καὶ τροπὴν ἐργασάμενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς ἐξήλασαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπαύθη σφίσις ὁ πόλεμος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἃς ἐγὼ πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδήλωσα. Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου οὐκ ἐθέλοντος ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἡλείοι στάσει κακωθέντες ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, μαχεσθῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐναντία ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τῆς δὲ ἐφόδου Φιλίππῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετέσχον κατὰ ἔχθος ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπολέμησαν.

V. Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀριστότιμος ὁ Δαμαρέτου τοῦ Ἐτύμονος τυραννίδα ἔσχεν ἐν Ἡλείᾳ, συμπαρασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστότιμον μῆνας τυραννήσαντα ἔξ καταλύουσιν ἐπαναστάντες Χίλων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Λάμπις τε καὶ Κύλων, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτοχειρία τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Κύλων ἐπὶ Διὸς Σωτήρος βωμὸν καταφυγόντα ἰκέτην.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν Ἡλείοις, ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι  
2 ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως· θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἡλείᾳ τὴν τε βύσσον, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐντὸς τῆς χώρας αἱ ἵπποι



Athens too to join the alliance. When Agis invaded the land, and Xenias turned traitor, the Eleans won a battle near Olympia, routed the Lacedaemonians and drove them out of the sacred enclosure; but shortly afterwards the war was concluded by the treaty I have already spoken of in my account of the Lacedaemonians.<sup>1</sup> When Philip the son of Amyntas would not let Greece alone, the Eleans, weakened by civil strife, joined the Macedonian alliance, but they could not bring themselves to fight against the Greeks at Chaeroneia. They joined Philip's attack on the Lacedaemonians because of their old hatred of that people, but on the death of Alexander they fought on the side of the Greeks against Antipater and the Macedonians.

401-399  
B.C.

V. Later on Aristotimus, the son of Damaretus, the son of Etymon, became despot of Elis, being aided in his attempt by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, who was king in Macedonia. After a despotism of six months Aristotimus was deposed, a rising against him having been organised by Chilon, Hellanicus, Lampis and Cylon; Cylon it was who with his own hand killed the despot when he had sought sanctuary at the altar of Zeus the Saviour.

Such were the wars of the Eleans, of which my present enumeration must serve as a summary. The land of Elis contains two marvels. Here, and here only in Greece, does fine flax grow; and secondly, only over the border, and not within it, can the mares

<sup>1</sup> See Book III, chapter VIII.

σφίσιν· ἐκύισκον ἐκ τῶν ὄνων. καὶ τούτου μὲν κατάραν τινὰ ἐλέγετο γενέσθαι τὸ αἴτιον· ἡ δὲ βύσσος ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἑλείᾳ λεπτότητος μὲν ἔνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἑβραίων, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ξανθή.

- 3 Ἴοντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλείας<sup>1</sup> χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθῆκον, ὃ ὀνομάζεται μὲν Σαμικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἢ τε Τριφυλία καλουμένη καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Λέπρεος. ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἑλείων κατήκοοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες· καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν, Ἑλείους ἐκ Λεπρέου σφᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐποίησεν ὡς Λέπρεος εἶη πόλισμα Ἑλείων. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Λέπρεον ἀπὸ μὲν Σαμικοῦ τὸν Ἄνιγρον ποταμὸν ἀφέντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, τρίτη δὲ ἐξ Ἠλίδος· ἡμερήσιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μακροτάτη.
- 4 τεθῆναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομά φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Λεπρέου τοῦ Πυργέως. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὡς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα ἐρίσειεν ὁ Λεπρέος μὴ ἀποδεῖν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐσθίων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκάτερος βούν αὐτῶν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ καιρῷ κατέσφαξε καὶ εὐτρέπισεν ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ ὑφίστατο ὁ Λεπρέος φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀδυνατώτερος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐτόλμησε τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο προκαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ὄπλων αὐτόν. καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε Λεπρέον κρατηθέντα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φιγαλέων ταφῆναι λέγουσιν· οὐ μὲν εἶχόν γε οἱ
- 5 Φιγαλεῖς ἀποφῆναι Λεπρέου μνήμα. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα θυγατρὶ τοῦ Πυργέως Λεπρέα προσποιούντων τὸν οἰκισμὸν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πρῶτον οἰκήσασιν

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Νέδας Beinert.

be impregnated by asses. The cause of this is said to have been a curse. The fine flax of Elis is as fine as that of the Hebrews, but it is not so yellow.

As you go from Elis there is a district stretching down to the sea. It is called Samicum, and above it on the right is what is called Triphylia, in which is the city Lepreüs. The citizens of this city wish to belong to the Arcadians, but it is plain that from the beginning they have been subject to the Eleans. Such of them as have won Olympic victories have been announced by the herald as Eleans from Lepreüs, and Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> in a comedy calls Lepreüs a town of the Eleans. Leaving the river Anigrus on the left there is a road leading to Lepreüs from Samicum; another leads to it from Olympia and a third from Elis. The longest of them is a day's journey. The city got its name, they say, from its founder Lepreüs the son of Pyrgeus. There was also a story that Lepreüs contended with Heracles that he was as good a trencherman. Each killed an ox at the same time and prepared it for the table. It turned out, even as Lepreüs maintained, that he was as powerful a trencherman as Heracles. Afterwards he made bold to challenge him to a duel. Lepreüs, they say, lost, was killed, and was buried in the land of Phigaleia. The Phigalians, however, could not show a tomb of Lepreüs. I have heard some who maintained that Lepreüs was founded by Leprea, the daughter of Pyrgeus. Others say that the first

<sup>1</sup> *Birds*, 149.

- ἐν τῇ γῇ νόσον φασὶν ἐπιγενέσθαι λέπραν καὶ  
 οὕτω τὸ ὄνομα λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκη-  
 τῶρων τῇ συμφορᾷ. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεῦταί  
 σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ναὸν  
 καὶ Λυκούργου τάφον τοῦ Ἀλέου καὶ ἄλλον  
 6 Κεύκωνος· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἄνδρα ἐπεῖναι  
 λύραν ἔχοντα. κατὰ δὲ ἐμὲ οὔτε μνήμα ἐπί-  
 σσημον οὔτε ἱερὸν ἦν θεῶν σφισὶν οὐδενὸς πλὴν γε  
 Δήμητρος· πλίνθου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεποιήτο ὠμῆς  
 καὶ οὐδὲν παρείχετο ἄγαλμα. Λεπρεατῶν δὲ  
 ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Ἀρήνη καλουμένη  
 πηγή, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφαρέως γυναικὸς  
 τεθῆναι λέγουσι τῇ πηγῇ.
- 7 Ἀιαστρέψαντι δὲ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμικὸν καὶ  
 διοδεύοντι τὸ χωρίον, Ἄνιγρος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν  
 ἐς θάλασσαν. τούτου τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 πολλάκις ἀνείργουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι βίαιοι πνέοντες·  
 φοροῦντες γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν τὴν θίνα ἐκ τοῦ  
 πελάγους ἐπέχουσι τοῦ πρόσω τὸ ὕδωρ. ὅποτε  
 οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡ ψάμμος ὑπὸ τε τῆς θαλάσσης  
 καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβροχος γένοιτο,  
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον
- 8 εὐζώνῳ καταδῦναι κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐς αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἄνιγρος οὗτος ἐξ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μὲν κάτεισιν ὄρους  
 Λαπίθου, παρέχεται δὲ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν  
 ὕδωρ οὐκ εὐώδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσοσμον δεινῶς.  
 πρὶν δὲ ἢ καταδέξασθαι τὸν Ἀκίδακτα καλού-  
 μενον δῆλός ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τρέφων ἰχθύς·  
 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐσβαλόντα ὅσοι τῶν ἰχθύων ὁμοῦ  
 τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ κατίασιν ἐς τὸν Ἄνιγρον, οὐ  
 σφᾶς ἔτι ἐδωδίμους ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὰ πρό-  
 τερα, ἦν ἐντὸς ἀλώσι τοῦ Ἀκίδακτος, ἐδωδίμους

dwellers in the land were afflicted with the disease leprosy,<sup>1</sup> and that the city received its name from the misfortune of the inhabitants. The Lepreans told me that in their city once was a temple of Zeus Leucaeus (*Of the White Poplar*), the grave of Lyeurgus, son of Aleüs, and the grave of Caucon, over which was the figure of a man holding a lyre. But as far as I could see they had no tomb of distinction, and no sanctuary of any deity save one of Demeter. Even this was built of unburnt brick, and contained no image. Not far from the city of the Lepreans is a spring called Arene, and they say that it derives its name from the wife of Aphareus.

Returning again to Samicum, and passing through the district, we reach the mouth of the Anigrus. The current of this river is often held back by violent gales, which carry the sand from the open sea against it and stop the onward flow of the water. So whenever the sand has become soaked on both sides, by the sea without and by the river within, beasts and still more travellers on foot are in danger of sinking into it. The Anigrus descends from the mountain Lapithus in Arcadia, and right from its source its water does not smell sweet but actually stinks horribly. Before it receives the tributary Acidas it plainly cannot support fish-life at all. After the rivers unite, the fish that come down into the Anigrus with the water are uneatable, though before, if they are caught in the Acidas, they are

<sup>1</sup> Not our leprosy, but a whitish, rough, scaly, skin-disease, possibly our psoriasis. See Galen XIV. 758.

- 9 ὄντας. ὅτι δὲ τῷ Ἀκίδαντι ὄνομα Ἰάρδανος ἦν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδαμῶθεν συνεβαλόμην, ἀκούσας δὲ ἀνδρὸς Ἐφεσίου λέγω τὸν λόγον. τῷ δὲ Ἀνίγρῳ τὸ ἄτοπον εἶναι τῆς ὀσμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πείθομαι δι' ἧς ἄνειςι τὸ ὕδωρ, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ὕδασι τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον, ὀπόσων ἢ ἀτμῖς ὀλέθριός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ.
- 10 Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ μὲν Χίρωνα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλον Κένταυρον Πυλῆνορα τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ φυγόντα τραυματίαν φασὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἀπολοῦσαι τούτῳ τὸ ἔλκος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕδρας τοῦ ἰοῦ γενέσθαι δυσχερῆ τῷ Ἀνίγρῳ τὴν ὀσμὴν· οἱ δὲ ἐς Μελάμποδα τὸν Ἀμυθίου καὶ ἐς τῶν Προΐτου θυγατέρων τὰ καθάρσια ἐμβληθέντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνάγουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ παθήματος.
- 11 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Σαμικῷ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καλούμενον Ἀνιγρίδων νυμφῶν. ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ἀλφὸν ἢ λεύκην ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσέλθῃ, πρῶτα μὲν ταῖς νύμφαις εὔξασθαι καθέστηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι θυσίαν ὁποῖαν δὴ τινα, μετὰ δὲ ἀποσμήχει τὰ νοσοῦντα τοῦ σώματος· διανηξάμενος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ὄνειδος μὲν ἐκείνο κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ὑγιῆς τε ἄνειςι καὶ ὁμόχρως.

VI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθειᾶν διαβάντι τὸν Ἀνιγρον καὶ ἰόντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἔστιν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον τε ὑψηλὸν καὶ πόλις Σαμία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.<sup>1</sup> ταύτῃ Πολυσπέρ-

<sup>1</sup> After αὐτοῦ the MSS. have Σαμικοῦ, and after ταύτῃ they read τῇ Σαμικῷ. Editors either omit both, or delete Σαμικοῦ and read Σαμία for Σαμικῷ.

eatable. I heard from an Ephesian that the Acidas was called Iardanus in ancient times. I repeat his statement, though I have nowhere found evidence in support of it. I am convinced that the peculiar odour of the Anigrus is due to the earth through which the water springs up, just as those rivers beyond Ionia, the exhalation from which is deadly to man, owe their peculiarity to the same cause. Some Greeks say that Chiron, others that Pylenor, another Centaur, when shot by Heracles fled wounded to this river and washed his hurt in it, and that it was the hydra's poison which gave the Anigrus its nasty smell. Others again attribute the quality of the river to Melampus the son of Amythaon, who threw into it the means he used to purify the daughters of Proetus.

There is in Samicum a cave not far from the river, and called the Cave of the Anigrid Nymphs. Whoever enters it suffering from *alphos* or *leuke*<sup>1</sup> first has to pray to the nymphs and to promise some sacrifice or other, after which he wipes the unhealthy parts of his body. Then, swimming through the river, he leaves his old uncleanness in its water, coming up sound and of one colour.

VI. Crossing the Anigrus and going to Olympia by the straight road, not far away on the right of the road you reach a high district with a city called Samia on it. This they say Polysperchon the

<sup>1</sup> For these skin-diseases see Galen XIV. 758. *Alphos* was probably our vitiligo, and *leuce* our leucodermia.

χοντά φασιν ἄνδρα Αἰτωλὸν ἐπιτειχίσματι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας χρήσασθαι.

- 2 Τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια τὰ Ἀρήνης σαφῶς μὲν οὔτε Μεσσηνίων εἶχεν οὐδείς οὔτε Ἡλείων ἀποφῆναί μοι· διάφορα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτὰ πάρεστι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, πιθανώτατα δὲ ἐφαίνοντό μοι λέγειν οἱ τὸ Σαμικὸν τὰ παλαιότερα ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἠρώων Ἀρήνην καλεῖσθαι νομίζοντες. οὔτοι δὲ καὶ ἔπη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔλεγον·

ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήϊος εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης.

- 3 τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια ταῦτα πλησιαίτατά ἐστι τοῦ Ἀνίγρου. καὶ Ἀρήνην μὲν ἀμφισβητοῖης ἂν μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ Σαμικόν, τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ Ἀνίγρῳ Μινυήϊον τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὠμολογήκασιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ὄρον δὲ Ἡλείοις πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν τῆς Νέδας τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση γενέσθαι τις πείθοιτο ἂν ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδῳ.

- 4 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀνίγρον ὀδεύσαντι ἐπὶ μακρότερον διὰ χωρίου τὰ πλείονα ὑποψάμμου καὶ ἔχοντος δένδρα πίτυς ἀγρίας, ὀπίσω ἐς ἀριστερὰ Σκιλλοῦντος ὄψει ἐρείπια. τῶν μὲν δὴ πόλεων ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ καὶ Σκιλλοῦς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἡλείους ἐπικούροί τε Πισαίων οἱ Σκιλλοῦντιοὶ καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἡλείοι τούτων ἕνεκα ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους.

- 5 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὕστερον Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς Ἡλείας Ξενοφῶντι ἔδωσαν τῷ



Aetolian used as a fortified post against the Arcadians.

As to the ruins of Arene, no Messenian and no Elean could point them out to me with certainty. Those who care to do so may make all sorts of different guesses about it, but the most plausible account seemed to me that of those who held that in the heroic age and even earlier Samicum was called Arene. These quoted too the words of the *Iliad* :—<sup>1</sup>

There is a river Minyeïus flowing into the sea  
Near Arene.

These ruins are very near to the Anigrus; and, although it might be questioned whether Samicum was called Arene, yet the Arcadians are agreed that of old the Anigrus was called the Minyeïus. One might well hold that the Neda near the sea was made the boundary between Elis and Messenia at the time of the return of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnesus.

After the Anigrus, if you travel for a considerable distance through a district that is generally sandy and grows wild pines, you will see behind you on the left the ruins of Scillus. It was one of the cities of Triphylia; but in the war between Pisa and Elis the citizens of Scillus openly helped Pisa against her enemy, and for this reason the Eleans utterly destroyed it. The Lacedaemonians afterwards separated Scillus from Elis and gave it to Xenophon, the son

<sup>1</sup> xi. 722-3.

- Γρύλου, φυγάδι ἤδη γεγονότι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ἐδιώχθη δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν σφίσιν εὖνουν ὄντα στρατείας μετασχὼν Κύρῳ πολεμιωτάτῳ τοῦ δήμου· καθήμενος γὰρ ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὁ Κῦρος Λυσάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρήματα ἀνήλισκεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Ξενοφῶντι ἐγένετο φυγή, κατοικήσας δὲ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τέμενός τε καὶ ἱερόν καὶ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὠκοδομήσατο Ἐφεσία. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ Σκιλλοῦς καὶ ἄγρας θηρίων, ὕων τε ἀγρίων καὶ ἐλάφων· καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκιλλουντίαν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. οἱ δὲ Ἠλείων ἐξηγηταὶ κομίσασθαί τε αὐθις Σκιλλοῦντα Ἠλείους ἔλεγον, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ὅτι ἔλαβε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν γῆν, κριθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ βουλῇ, τυχόντα δὲ παρὰ Ἠλείων συγγνώμης ἀδεῶς ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι οἰκῆσαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ μνημῆμά τε ἐδείκνυτο καὶ τῆς Πεντελῆσίν ἐστι λιθοτομίας εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ξενοφῶντος λέγουσιν οἱ προσοικοῦντες.
- 7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδόν, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἔστιν ὄρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένῳ πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς ἀπότομον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὄρος. κατὰ τούτου τὰς γυναῖκας Ἠλείοις ἐστὶν ὠθεῖν νόμος, ἣν φωραθῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθοῦσαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν ἢ καὶ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις σφίσιν ἡμέραις διαβᾶσαι τὸν Ἀλφειόν. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν, ὅτι μὴ Καλλιπάτειραν μόνην· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιπάτει-
- 8 ραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη προαποθανόντος αὐτῆ τοῦ

of Grylus, when he had been exiled from Athens. The reason for his banishment was that he had taken part in an expedition which Cyrus, the greatest <sup>401 B.C.</sup> enemy of the Athenian people, had organised against their friend, the Persian king. Cyrus, in fact, with his seat at Sardis, had been providing Lysander, the son of Aristocritus, and the Lacedaemonians with money for their fleet. Xenophon, accordingly, was banished; and having made Scillus his home he built in honour of Ephesian Artemis a temple with a sanctuary and a sacred enclosure. Scillus is also a hunting-ground for wild boars and deer, and the land is crossed by a river called the Selinus. The guides of Elis said that the Eleans recovered Scillus again, and that Xenophon was tried by the Olympic Council for accepting the land from the Lacedaemonians, and, obtaining pardon from the Eleans, dwelt securely in Scillus. Moreover, at a little distance from the sanctuary was shown a tomb, and upon the grave is a statue of marble from the Pentelic quarry. The neighbours say that it is the tomb of Xenophon.

As you go from Scillus along the road to Olympia, before you cross the Alpheius, there is a mountain with high, precipitous cliffs. It is called Mount Typaeum. It is a law of Elis to cast down it any women who are caught present at the Olympic games, or even on the other side of the Alpheius, on the days prohibited to women. However, they say that no woman has been caught, except Callipateira only; some, however, give the lady the name of Pherenice and not Callipateira. She, being a widow, disguised

ἀνδρός, ἐξεικάσασα αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα ἀνδρὶ  
 γυμναστῇ, ἤγαγεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν υἱὸν μαχού-  
 μενον· νικῶντος δὲ τοῦ Πεισιρόδου, τὸ ἔρυμα ἐν  
 ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημένους, τοῦτο  
 ὑπερπηδῶσα ἢ Καλλιπίτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. φωρα-  
 θείσης δὲ ὅτι εἶη γυνή, ταύτην ἀφιάσιν ἀζήμιον  
 καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ παιδὶ  
 αἰδῶ νέμοντες—ὑπῆρχον δὴ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς  
 Ὀλυμπικαὶ νίκαι—, ἐποίησαν δὲ νόμον εἰς τὸ  
 ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς γυμνοὺς σφᾶς εἰς τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα ἐσέρχεσθαι.

VII. Ἀφικομένῳ δὲ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνταῦθα  
 ἤδη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ πλήθει τε πολὺ  
 ἰδόντι καὶ ἠδιστον, ἅτε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων καὶ  
 λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίων ἐπτὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ρέοντων.  
 διὰ Μεγάλης μὲν γε πόλεως Ἐλισσῶν ἐρχόμενος  
 ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Βρευθεάτης δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
 Μεγαλοπολιτῶν γῆς, παρὰ δὲ Γόρτυναν ἐνθα  
 ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα Γορτύνιος  
 ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ Μελαινεῶν Βουφάγος τῆς Μεγαλο-  
 πολίτιδος μεταξὺ καὶ Ἡραιίδος χώρας, ἐκ  
 δὲ τῆς Κλειτορίων Λάδων, ἐκ δὲ Ἐρυμάνθου  
 τοῦ ὄρους ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει. οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ  
 Ἀρκαδίας κατῴσιν εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, Κλάδεος  
 δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας συμμίσγει οἱ τὸ  
 ῥεῦμα· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων τῷ Ἀλφειῷ  
 2 καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαί. λέγεται  
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὡς ἀνὴρ  
 εἶη θηρευτής, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀρεθούσης,  
 κυνηγετεῖν δὲ καὶ ταύτην. καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν μὲν  
 οὐκ ἀρεσκομένην γήμασθαι περαιωθῆναί φασιν  
 εἰς νῆσον τὴν κατὰ Συρακούσας, καλουμένην δὲ

herself exactly like a gymnastic trainer, and brought her son to compete at Olympia. Peisirodus, for so her son was called, was victorious, and Callipateira, as she was jumping over the enclosure in which they keep the trainers shut up, bared her person. So her sex was discovered, but they let her go unpunished out of respect for her father, her brothers and her son, all of whom had been victorious at Olympia. But a law was passed that for the future trainers should strip before entering the arena.

VII. By the time you reach Olympia the Alpheius is a large and very pleasant river to see, being fed by several tributaries, including seven very important ones. The Helisson joins the Alpheius passing through Megalopolis; the Brentheates comes out of the territory of that city; past Gortyna, where is a sanctuary of Asclepius, flows the Gortynius; from Melaeneae, between the territories of Megalopolis and Heraea, comes the Buphagus; from the land of the Clitorians the Ladon; from Mount Erymanthus a stream with the same name as the mountain. These come down into the Alpheius from Arcadia; the Cladeüs comes from Elis to join it. The source of the Alpheius itself is in Arcadia, and not in Elis. There is another legend about the Alpheius. They say that there was a hunter called Alpheius, who fell in love with Arethusa, who was herself a huntress. Arethusa, unwilling to marry, crossed, they say, to the island opposite Syracuse called Ortygia, and

Ὀρτυγίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι  
 πηγῆν· συμβῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀλφειῷ  
 3 τὴν ἀλλαγὴν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν. ταῦτα μὲν λόγου  
 τοῦ εἰς Ἀλφειὸν εἰς τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν.<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ  
 διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰόντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνακοινοῦσθαι  
 τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀπι-  
 στήσω, τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστάμενος τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς  
 ὁμολογοῦντά σφισιν, ὃς Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον  
 εἰς τὸν Συρακουσῶν ἀποστέλλων οἰκισμὸν καὶ  
 τάδε εἶπε τὰ ἔπη·

Ὀρτυγίῃ τις κείται ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ.

Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἕν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα  
 βλύζει

μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν εὐρρείτης Ἀρεθούσης,

κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὅτι τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ  
 τὸ ὕδωρ μίσγεται, καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν φήμην  
 4 τῷ ποταμῷ πείθομαι γενέσθαι. ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων  
 ἢ Αἰγυπτίων εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Συήνης καὶ  
 εἰς Μερὸν Αἰθιοπῶν πόλιν ἀναβεβήκασι, λέ-  
 γουσιν οὗτοι τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐσιόντα εἰς λίμνην  
 καὶ δι' αὐτῆς διεξιόντα ὡσπερ ἐκ χέρσου, μετὰ  
 τοῦτο ἤδη δι' Αἰθιοπίας τῆς κάτω καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον  
 ρεύσαντα ἐπὶ Φάρον καὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλασσαν  
 κατέρχεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ γῆ ποταμὸν τῇ Ἑβραίων  
 Ἰάρδανον καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδα λίμνην Τιβεριάδα  
 ὀνομαζομένην διοδοῦντα, εἰς δὲ λίμνην ἑτέραν  
 5 καλουμένην θάλασσαν Νεκράν, εἰς ταύτην ἐσιόντα  
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης αὐτὸν ἀναλούμενον. ἢ δὲ  
 θάλασσα ἢ Νεκρὰ πάσχει παντὶ ὕδατι ἄλλῳ  
 τὰ ἐναντία· ἐν ἧ γε τὰ μὲν ζῶντα πέφυκεν οὐ

<sup>1</sup> ἔστιν οὐχ ὑγιᾶ Beinert.

there turned from a woman to a spring. Alpheius too was changed by his love into the river. This account of Alpheius . . . to Ortygia.<sup>1</sup> But that the Alpheius passes through the sea and mingles his waters with the spring at this place I cannot disbelieve, as I know that the god at Delphi confirms the story. For when he despatched Archias the Corinthian to found Syracuse he uttered this oracle :

An isle, Ortygia, lies on the misty ocean  
 Over against Trinacria, where the mouth of  
 Alpheius bubbles  
 Mingling with the springs of broad Arethusa.

For this reason, therefore, because the water of the Alpheius mingles with the Arethusa, I am convinced that the legend arose of the river's love-affair. Those Greeks or Egyptians who have gone up into Aethiopia beyond Syene as far as the Aethiopian city of Meroë all say that the Nile enters a lake, and passes through it as though it were dry land, and that after this it flows through lower Aethiopia into Egypt before coming down into the sea at Pharos. And in the land of the Hebrews, as I can myself bear witness, the river Jordan passes through a lake called Tiberias, and then, entering another lake called the Dead Sea, it disappears in it. The Dead Sea has the opposite qualities to those of any other water. Living creatures float in it naturally

<sup>1</sup> This sentence, obviously corrupt, seems to show a lacuna after 'Αλφειόν. The meaning probably would be to the effect that the story was an invention, to account for the disappearance of the Alpheius in the sea and its reappearance at Ortygia (ἐς τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν).

νηχόμενα ἐποχεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θνήσκοντα ἐς βυθὸν  
 χωρεῖν. ταύτη ἄκαρπος καὶ ἰχθύων ἢ λίμνη·  
 ἄτε ἀπὸ τοῦ φανερωτάτου κινδύνου ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 ἀναφεύγουσιν ὀπίσω τὸ οἰκείον. τῷ δὲ Ἄλφειῷ  
 τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει καὶ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ· τούτου  
 δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος πηγὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Μυκάλη τῷ  
 ὄρει, διεξελθὼν δὲ θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξὺ ἄνεισιν  
 αὐθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὀνομαζομένῳ  
 Παϊόρμῳ.

- 6 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον· ἐς  
 δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν λέγουσιν Ἡλείων  
 οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες Κρόνον τὴν ἐν  
 οὐρανῷ σχεῖν βασιλείαν πρῶτον καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 ποιηθῆναι Κρόνῳ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων,  
 οἱ ὠνομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος· Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος  
 ἐπιτρέψαι Ῥέαν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς  
 Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλουμένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 τούτοις καὶ Κούρησιν· ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ  
 Ἰδης τῆς Κρητικῆς, Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ  
 7 Ἐπιμήδη καὶ Ἰάσιόν τε καὶ Ἰδαν· τὸν δὲ  
 Ἡρακλέα παίζοντα—εἶναι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν πρεσ-  
 βύτατον ἡλικίᾳ—συμβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐς  
 ἄμιλλαν δρόμου καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 κλάδῳ στεφανῶσαι κοτίνου· παρεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 πολὺν δὴ τι οὕτω τὸν κότινον ὡς τὰ χλωρὰ  
 ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρῶσθαι σφᾶς καθεύδοντας.  
 κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸν  
 κότινόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς Ἑλληνας,  
 εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσι  
 8 τὸν Βορέαν. πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιίαν  
 ἐποίησεν Ὀλλὴν Λύκιος ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιίαν  
 ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων τούτων· ἔπειτα



without swimming; dying creatures sink to the bottom. Hence the lake is barren of fish; their danger stares them in the face, and they flee back to the water which is their native element. The peculiarity of the Alpheius is shared by a river of Ionia. The source of it is on Mount Mycale, and having gone through the intervening sea the river rises again opposite Branchidae at the harbour called Panormus.

These things then are as I have described them. As for the Olympic games, the most learned antiquaries of Elis say that Cronus was the first king of heaven, and that in his honour a temple was built in Olympia by the men of that age, who were named the Golden Race. When Zeus was born, Rhea entrusted the guardianship of her son to the Dactyls of Ida, who are the same as those called Curetes. They came from Cretan Ida—Heracles, Paeonaeus, Epimedes, Iasius and Idas. Heracles, being the eldest, matched his brothers, as a game, in a running-race, and crowned the winner with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such a copious supply that they slept on heaps of its leaves while still green. It is said to have been introduced into Greece by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans, men living beyond the home of the North Wind. Olen the Lycian, in his hymn to Achæia, was the first to say that from these Hyperboreans Achæia came to

δὲ ᾧδῃν Μελάνωπος Κυμαῖος ἐς Ὀπιν καὶ Ἐκαέργην ἦσεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καὶ αὐται πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Ἀχαιίας ἀφίκοντο ἐς  
 9 Δῆλον· Ἀριστέας δὲ ὁ Προκοονήσιος—μνήμην γὰρ ἐποίησατο Ὑπερβορέων καὶ οὗτος—τάχα τι καὶ πλεονὸν περὶ αὐτῶν πεπυσμένος ἂν εἶη παρὰ Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐς οὓς ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. Ἡρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρῶτῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια ὄνομα θέσθαι· διὰ πέμπτου οὖν ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι, ὅτι αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ  
 10 ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμὸν. Δία δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παλαῖσαι καὶ αὐτῷ Κρόνῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ κατειργασμένῳ ἀγωνοθετῆσαι φασιν αὐτόν· νικῆσαι δὲ ἄλλοι τε λέγονται καὶ ὅτι Ἀπόλλων παραδράμοι μὲν ἐρίζοντα Ἑρμῆν, κρατῆσαι δὲ Ἄρεως πυγμῆ. τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ αὐτῆμα Πυθικόν φασι τῷ πηδῆματι ἐπεισαχθῆναι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὐτῆμα ὄν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀνηρημένον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας.

VIII. Τούτων δὲ ὕστερον Κλύμενον τὸν Κάρδου, πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἐπομβρίαν ἐλθόντα ἐκ Κρήτης, γένος ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὄντα τοῦ Ἰδαίου, τὸν τε ἀγῶνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεῖναι καὶ Κούρησι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ προγόνῳ λέγουσιν ἰδρῦσασθαι βωμόν, Παραστάτην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θέμενον. Ἐνδυμίων δὲ ὁ Ἀεθλίου Κλύμενόν τε

Delos. Then Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode to Opis and Hecaërge, declaring that these, even before Achæia, came to Delos from the Hyperboreans. And Aristæas of Proconnesus—for he too made mention of the Hyperboreans—may perhaps have learnt even more about them from the Issedones, to whom he says in his poem that he came. Heracles of Ida, therefore, has the reputation of being the first to have held, on the occasion I mentioned, the games, and to have called them Olympic. So he established the custom of holding them every fifth<sup>1</sup> year, because he and his brothers were five in number. Now some say that Zeus wrestled here with Cronus himself for the throne, while others say that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus. The record of victors include Apollo, who outran Hermes and beat Ares at boxing. It is for this reason, they say, that the Pythian flute-song is played while the competitors in the pentathlon are jumping; for the flute-song is sacred to Apollo, and Apollo won Olympic victories.

VIII. Later on there came (they say) from Crete Clymenus, the son of Cardys, about fifty years after the flood came upon the Greeks in the time of Deucalion. He was descended from Heracles of Ida; he held the games at Olympia and set up an altar in honour of Heracles, his ancestor, and the other Curetes, giving to Heracles the surname of Parastates (*Assistant*). And Endymion, the son of

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the Greek way of counting. Between two Olympic festivals there were only four complete intervening years, but the Greeks included both years in which consecutive festivals were held. Thus, Ol. . . . Ol. . . . Ol. . . . Ol.

- ἔπαυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δρόμου τοῖς υἱοῖς ἄθλα  
 2 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔθηκε. Πέλοψ δὲ  
 ὕστερον γενεᾷ μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνδυμίωνα τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἐποίησεν ἀξιολογώτατα  
 ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν  
 παίδων σκεδασθέντων ἐξ Ἥλιδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν  
 τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, Ἀμυθίων ὁ Κρηθέως  
 Ἐνδυμίῳ ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός—εἶναι γάρ φασι  
 καὶ Ἀέθλιον Αἰόλου, Διὸς δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν—,  
 ἔθηκεν ὁ Ἀμυθίων τὰ Ὀλύμπια, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν  
 3 Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐν κοινῷ. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ  
 Αὐγέας καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐλὼν  
 Ἥλιν ὁπόσους δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν οὗτος νικῶντας,  
 ἔστιν Ἰόλαος ταῖς Ἡρακλέους δραμῶν ἵπποις.  
 ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστηκὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι  
 καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις ἵπποις. Ὅμηρος γοῦν ἐν ἄθλοις  
 τεθεῖσιν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ πεποίηκεν ὡς Μενέλαος  
 Αἴθῃ τῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ χρῆσαιτο  
 4 τῶν ἵππων οἰκείῳ. ἠμιόχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ  
 Ἰόλαος Ἡρακλεῖ τὰς ἵππους· αὐτὸς τε οὖν  
 ἄρματι καὶ Ἰάσιος ἀνὴρ Ἀρκὰς κέλητος ἐνίκησεν  
 ἵππου δρόμῳ, Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν  
 δρόμῳ, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. λέγεται δὲ  
 καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο  
 καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας.  
 5 Μετὰ δὲ Ὄξυλον—διέθηκε γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 καὶ Ὄξυλος—, μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα ἐξέ-  
 λιπεν ἄχρι Ἰφίτου τὰ Ὀλύμπια. Ἰφίτου δὲ  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνανεωσαμένου κατὰ τὰ ἤδη μοι  
 λελεγμένα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔτι ὑπῆρχε τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων λήθη· καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν  
 ἤρχοντο αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅποτε τι ἀναμνησθεῖεν,

Aëthlius, deposed Clymenus, and set his sons a race in Olympia with the kingdom as the prize. And about a generation later than Endymion, Pelops held the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a more splendid manner than any of his predecessors. When the sons of Pelops were scattered from Elis over all the rest of Peloponnesus, Amythaon, the son of Cretheus, and cousin of Endymion on his father's side (for they say that Aëthlius too was the son of Aeolus, though supposed to be a son of Zeus), held the Olympian games, and after him Pelias and Neleus in common. Augeas too held them, and likewise Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, after the conquest of Elis. The victors crowned by Heracles include Iolaüs, who won with the mares of Heracles. So of old a competitor was permitted to compete with mares which were not his own. Homer,<sup>1</sup> at any rate, in the games held in honour of Patroclus, has told how Menelaüs drove a pair, of which one was Aetha, a mare of Agamemnon, while the other was his own horse. Moreover, Iolaüs used to be charioteer to Heracles. So Iolaüs won the chariot-race, and Iasius, an Arcadian, the horse-race; while of the sons of Tyndareus one won the foot-race and Polydeuces the boxing-match. Of Heracles himself it is said that he won victories at wrestling and the pancratium.

After the reign of Oxylyus, who also celebrated the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued until the reign of Iphitus. When Iphitus, as I have already related,<sup>2</sup> renewed the games, men had by this time forgotten the ancient tradition, the memory of which revived bit by bit, and as it revived they

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* xxiii. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter iv. § 5 of this book.

- 6 ἐποιοῦντο τῷ ἀγῶνι προσθήκην. δῆλον δέ· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχές ταῖς μνήμαϊς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστὶ, δρόμου μὲν ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον, καὶ Ἡλείος Κόροιβος ἐνίκα· εἰκὼν μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Κοροίβου, τάφος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασι τῆς Ἡλείας. ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ὕστερον τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη προσετέθη σφίσι δίαυλος· Ὑπηνος δὲ ἀνὴρ Πισαῖος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ τῷ διαύλῳ τὸν κότινον, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δολίχῳ
- 7 Ἀκανθος Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο ἐς μνήμην· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπιδι ὑπήρξεν, Εὐρυβάτῳ δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις. τρίτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῆς ἄθλα ἀπέδοσαν· Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελοῦσης ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἴωνας. πέμπτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι κατεδέξαντο ἵππων τελείων δρόμον, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη Θηβαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἄρματι.
- 8 ὀγδῶν δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδι ἐδέξαντο παγκρατιαστὴν τε ἄνδρα καὶ ἵππον κέλητα· ἵππος μὲν δὴ Κρανωνίου Κραυξίδα παρέφθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Λύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος. τούτῳ πρὸς ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἐστὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις μνήμα· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Θηβαίῳ μέγεθος παρισούτο ὁ Λύγδαμις, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ
- 9 Συρακουσίων ἐστὶ. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐς μὲν τῶν παλαιοτέρων οὐδεμίαν ἦκει μνήμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀρέσαν σφίσι κατεστήσαντο Ἡλείοι. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παισὶν ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος,

made additions to the games. This I can prove: for when the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads began, <sup>776 B.C.</sup> there was first the foot-race, and Coroebus an Elean was victor. There is no statue of Coroebus at Olympia, but his grave is on the borders of Elis. Afterwards, at the fourteenth Festival,<sup>1</sup> the double foot-race was added: Hypenus of Pisa won the prize of wild olive in the double race, and at the next Festival Acanthus of Lacedaemon won in the long course. At the eighteenth Festival they remembered the pentathlon and wrestling. Lampis won the first and Eurybatus the second, these also being Lacedaemonians. At the twenty-third Festival they restored the prizes for boxing, and the victor was Onomastus of Smyrna, which already was a part of Ionia. At the twenty-fifth they recognised the race of full-grown horses, and Pagondas of Thebes was proclaimed "victor in the chariot-race." At the eighth Festival after this they admitted the pancratium for men and the horse-race. The horse-race was won by Crauxidas of Crannon, and Lygdamis of Syracuse overcame all who entered for the pancratium. Lygdamis has his tomb near the quarries at Syracuse, and according to the Syracusans he was as big as Heracles of Thebes, though I cannot vouch for the statement. The contests for boys have no authority in old tradition, but were established by the Eleans themselves because they approved of them. The prizes for running and wrestling open to boys were instituted at the thirty-seventh Festival;

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word *ὀλυμπιάς* can mean either a celebration of the Olympic games or the interval between two consecutive celebrations. I have translated it by "Festival" in the first case and by "Olympiad" in the second.

- καὶ Ἴπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνεί-  
 κης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἡλείος. πρώτη  
 δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας  
 ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιῆν τῶν ἐσελθόντων  
 10 Συβαρίτης Φιλύτας. τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος  
 ἐδοκιμάσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος  
 καὶ ἑξηκοστῆς, μελέτης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα τῆς  
 ἐς τὰ πολεμικά· τοὺς δὲ δραμόντας ἀσπίσιν  
 ὁμοῦ πρῶτος Δαμάρετος ἐκράτησεν Ἡραιεύς.  
 δρόμος δὲ δύο ἵππων τελείων συνωρίς κληθεῖσα  
 τρίτη μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνενηκοντα,  
 Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἡλείος. ἐνάτη δὲ ἤρεσεν  
 Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ πῶλων ἄρμασιν  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι· Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ Συβαριάδης τὸν  
 11 στέφανον τῶν πῶλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἄρματος. προσ-  
 ἔθεσαν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνωρίδα πῶλων καὶ  
 πῶλον κέλητα· ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῇ συνωρίδι Βελι-  
 στίχην ἐκ Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ γυναῖκα,  
 Τληπόλεμον δὲ Λύκιον ἀναγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν  
 ἐπὶ τῷ κέλητι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ  
 τριακοστῆς τε καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς  
 δὲ Βελιστίχης τὴν συνωρίδα Ὀλυμπιάδι πρὸ  
 ταύτης τρίτη. πέμπτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄθλα ἐτέθη παγκρατίου παισὶ, καὶ  
 ἐνίκα Φαίδιμος Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρωάδος.

IX. Κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ ἀγωνίσματα,  
 μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἡλείοις. πέντ-  
 αθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδότης Ὀλυμπιάδος  
 καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον  
 Εὐτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ  
 Ἡλείοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. τῆς  
 δὲ ἀπήνης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, τὸν μὲν



Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon won the prize for wrestling, and that for running was won by Polyneices of Elis. At the forty-first Festival they introduced boxing for boys, and the winner out of those who entered for it was Philytas of Sybaris. The race for men in armour was approved at the sixty-fifth Festival, to provide, I suppose, military training; the first winner of the race with shields was Damaretus of Heraea. The race for two full-grown horses, called *synoris* (chariot and pair), was instituted at the ninety-third Festival, and the winner was Evagoras of Elis. At the ninety-ninth Festival they resolved to hold contests for chariots drawn by foals, and Sybariades of Lacedaemon won the garland with his chariot and foals. Afterwards they added races for chariots and pairs of foals, and for single foals with rider. It is said that the victors proclaimed were: for the chariot and pair, Belistiche, a woman from the seaboard of Macedonia; for the ridden race, Tlepolemus of Lycia. Tlepolemus, they say, won at the hundred and thirty-first Festival, and Belistiche at the third before this. At the hundred and forty-fifth Festival prizes were offered for boys in the pancratium, the victory falling to Phaedimus, an Aeolian from the city Troas.

IX. Certain contests, too, have been dropped at Olympia, the Eleans resolving to discontinue them. The pentathlum for boys was instituted at the thirty-eighth Festival; but after Eutelidas of Lacedaemon had received the wild olive for it, the Eleans disapproved of boys entering for this competition. The races for mule-carts, and the trotting-race, were

- ὀλυμπιάδι νομισθέντα ἑβδομηκοστῇ, τὸν δὲ τῆς κάλπης τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, κήρυγμα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιήσαντο ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς μήτε κάλπης τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἀπῆνης ἔσεσθαι δρόμον. ὅτε δὲ ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Θερσίου μὲν ἀπῆνη Θεσσαλοῦ, Παταίου δὲ
- 2 Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν, καθὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἀναβάται καλούμενοι· διίφορα δὲ τοῖς ἀναβάταις ἐς τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον τά τε σημεία ἐστί καὶ ἄρσενές σφισιν ὄντες οἱ ἵπποι. ἀπῆνη δὲ οὔτε τῷ ἀνευρήματι οὐδὲν ἀρχαῖον οὔτε εὐπρέπεια αὐτῇ προσῆν, ἐπύρατόν τε Ἡλείοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι σφίσις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ ζῶον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἀπῆνη κατὰ τὴν συνωρίδα ἡμίονους ἀντὶ ἵππων ἔχουσα.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὡς θύεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων ὕστερα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρότερα ἀγωνισμάτων, οὗτος κατέστη σφίσις ὁ κόσμος ὀλυμπιάδι ἑβδόμῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα· τὰ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἦγον τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων ἀγῶνα. τότε δὲ προήχθησαν ἐς νύκτα οἱ παγκρατιάζοντες ἅτε οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐσκληθέντες, αἴτιοι δὲ ἐγένοντο οἳ τε ἵπποι καὶ ἐς πλεον ἔτι ἡ τῶν πεντάθλων ἄμιλλα· καὶ ἐκράτει μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας τοὺς παγκρατίαςαντας, ἐμπόδιον δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλε παγκρατίῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ πένταθλον οὐδὲ οἱ ἵπποι γενήσεσθαι.
- 4 Τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ

instituted respectively at the seventieth Festival and the seventy-first, but were both abolished by proclamation at the eighty-fourth. When they were first instituted, Thersius of Thessaly won the race for mule-carts, while Pataecus, an Achaean from Dyme, won the trotting-race. The trotting-race was for mares, and in the last part of the course the riders jumped off and ran beside the mares, holding on to the bridle, just as at the present day those do who are called "mounters." The mounters, however, differ from the riders in the trotting-race by having different badges, and by riding horses instead of mares. The cart-race was neither of venerable antiquity nor yet a graceful performance. Moreover, each cart was drawn by a pair of mules, not horses, and there is an ancient curse on the Eleans if this animal is even born in Elis.

The order of the games in our own day, which places the sacrifices to the god for the pentathlon and chariot-races second, and those for the other competitions first, was fixed at the seventy-seventh Festival. Previously the contests for men and for horses were held on the same day. But at the Festival I mentioned the pancratiasts prolonged their contests till night-fall, because they were not summoned to the arena soon enough. The cause of the delay was partly the chariot-race, but still more the pentathlon. Callias of Athens was champion of the pancratiasts on this occasion, but never afterwards was the pancratium to be interfered with by the pentathlon or the chariots.

The rules for the presidents of the games are not

ἂ καθέστηκότα ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐς αὐ-  
 τούς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἴφίτος μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἴφίτου ἐτίθεσαν  
 ὡσαύτως οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου· πεντηκοστῇ δὲ Ὀλυμ-  
 πιάδι ἀνδράσι δύο ἐξ ἀπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἡλείων  
 ἐπετρέπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον  
 ἀπὸ ἐκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς  
 5 τῶν δύο. πέμπτη δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐννέα Ἑλλανοδίκας κατέστησαν· τρισὶ μὲν δὴ  
 ἐπετέτραπτο ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἵππων,  
 τοσοῦτοις δὲ ἑτέροις ἐπόπταις εἶναι τοῦ πεντάθλου,  
 τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις τὰ λοιπὰ ἔμελε τῶν  
 ἀγωνισμάτων. δευτέρα δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Ὀλυμπιάδι  
 προσετέθη καὶ ὁ δέκατος ἀθλοθέτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς  
 τρίτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς φυλαί τε Ἡλείοις δώδεκα  
 καὶ εἷς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἐγένετο Ἑλλανοδίκης.  
 6 πιεσθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων πολέμῳ μοῖράν τε  
 ἀπέβαλον τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν δήμων ἦσαν ἐν  
 τῇ ἀποτμηθείσῃ χώρᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐς ὀκτώ τε  
 ἀριθμὸν φυλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνεστάλησαν  
 Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς καὶ Ἑλλανοδίκαι  
 σφίσιν ἴσοι ταῖς φυλαῖς ἠρέθησαν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανήλθον αὐθις ἐς ἀνδρῶν  
 δέκα ἀριθμὸν, καὶ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμένηκεν  
 ἐς ἡμᾶς.

X. Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν  
 Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια·  
 μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἑλευσίνοι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι  
 τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπία μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος

Τὸ δὲ ἄλλος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς παραποιήσαντες  
 τὸ ὄνομα Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 Πινδάρῳ ποιήσαντι ἐς ἄνδρα Ὀλυμπιονίκην ἄσμα

the same now as they were at the first institution of the festival. Iphitus acted as sole president, as likewise did the descendants of Oxylus after Iphitus. But at the fiftieth Festival two men, appointed by lot from all the Eleans, were entrusted with the management of the Olympic games, and for a long time after this the number of the presidents continued to be two. But at the ninety-fifth Festival nine umpires were appointed. To three of them were entrusted the chariot-races, another three were to supervise the pentathlon, the rest superintended the remaining contests. At the second Festival after this the tenth umpire was added. At the hundred and third Festival, the Eleans having twelve tribes, one umpire was chosen from each. But they were hard pressed in a war with the Arcadians and lost a portion of their territory, along with all the parishes included in the surrendered district, and so the number of tribes was reduced to eight in the hundred and fourth Olympiad. Thereupon were chosen umpires equal in number to the tribes. At the hundred and eighth Festival they returned again to the number of ten umpires, which has continued unchanged down to the present day.

X. Many are the sights to be seen in Greece, and many are the wonders to be heard; but on nothing does Heaven bestow more care than on the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games.

The sacred grove of Zeus has been called from of old Altis, a corruption of the word *alsos*, which means a grove. Pindar<sup>1</sup> too calls the place Altis in

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* x. 55.

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<sup>1</sup> *καὶ εἰκοστῇ* MSS.; emended by Boeckh.

2 Ἄλτις ἐπωνόμασται τὸ χωρίον. ἐποιήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἠνίκα Πίσαν οἱ Ἥλεῖοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθείλον. Φειδίαν δὲ τὸν ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γεγραμμένον τοῖς ποσὶ·

Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖός μ' ἐποίησε.

τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ Δώριος μὲν ἔστιν ἡ ἐργασία, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς περίστυλός ἐστι· πεποιήται δὲ ἐπιχωρίου  
3 πώρου. ὕψος μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐς τὸν αἰτὸν ἀνήκον, εἰσὶν οἱ ὀκτὼ πόδες καὶ ἐξήκοντα, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐς μῆκος τριάκοντά τε καὶ διακόσιοι· τέκτων δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Λίβων ἐπιχώριος. κέραμος δὲ οὐ γῆς ὀπτῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κεράμου τρόπον λίθος ὁ Πεντελῆσιω εἰργασμένος· τὸ δὲ εὖρημα ἀνδρὸς Ναξίου λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζου, οὗ φασὶν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι·

Νάξιος Εὐεργός με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω παῖς, ὃς πρῶτιστος τεύξε λίθου κέραμον.

ἡλικίαν δὲ ὁ Βύζης οὗτος κατὰ Ἀλυάττην ἦν τὸν Λυδὸν καὶ Ἀστυάγην τὸν Κναξάρου βασιλεύοντα  
4 ἐν Μήδοις. ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπίκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν αἰτὸν, ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὕτη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀσπίς ἀνάκειται χρυσῇ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόνα ἔχουσα ἐπειργασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ

an ode composed for an Olympic victor. The temple and the image were made for Zeus from spoils, when Pisa was crushed in war by the Eleans, and with Pisa such of the subject peoples as conspired together with her. The image itself was wrought by Pheidias, as is testified by an inscription written under the feet of Zeus : *circa*  
570 B.C.

Pheidias, son of Charmides, an Athenian, made me.

The temple is in the Doric style, and the outside has columns all around it. It is built of native stone. Its height up to the pediment is sixty-eight feet, its breadth is ninety-five, its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native. The tiles are not of baked earth, but of Pentelic marble cut into the shape of tiles. The invention is said to be that of Byzes of Naxos, who they say made the images in Naxos on which is the inscription :—

To the offspring of Leto was I dedicated by  
Euergus,  
A Naxian, son of Byzes, who first made tiles of  
stone.

This Byzes lived about the time of Alyattes the Lydian, when Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, reigned over the Medes. At Olympia a gilt caldron stands on each end of the roof, and a Victory, also gilt, is set in about the middle of the pediment. Under the image of Victory has been dedicated a golden shield, with Medusa the Gorgon in relief. The 609-560  
B.C.

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἀσπίδι τούς τε ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·

ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας  
τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν  
δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων,  
τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ.

ταύτης τῆς μάχης μνήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀθίδι ἐποησάμην συγγραφῇ, τὰ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπεξιῶν  
5 μνήματα. τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κίωνων περιθεούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρσοι μία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμὸν, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου κρατήσαντος Ἀχαιῶν πολέμῳ καὶ Κόρινθόν τε ἐλόντος καὶ Κορινθίους τοὺς Δωριέας ποιήσαντος ἀνα-  
6 στάτους. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰετοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἔτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἰετὸν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἀτλαντος· Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κάθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσὶν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσ-  
7 ετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου. πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατὰκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἴπποδάμεια καὶ ὃ τε ἠνίοχός ἐστι τοῦ



inscription on the shield declares who dedicated it and the reason why they did so. It runs thus :—

The temple has a golden shield ; from Tanagra  
 The Lacedaemonians and their allies dedicated it,  
 A gift taken from the Argives, Athenians and  
 Ionians,  
 The tithe offered for victory in war.

This battle I also mentioned in my history of Attica,<sup>1</sup> when I described the tombs that are at Athens. On the outside of the frieze that runs round the temple at Olympia, above the columns, are gilt shields one and twenty in number, an offering made by the Roman general Mummius when he had conquered the Achaeans in war, captured Corinth, and driven out its Dorian inhabitants. To come to the pediments : in the front pediment there is, not yet begun, the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaüs, and preparation for the actual race is being made by both. An image of Zeus has been carved in about the middle of the pediment ; on the right of Zeus is Oenomaüs with a helmet on his head, and by him Sterope his wife, who was one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus too, the charioteer of Oenomaüs, sits in front of the horses, which are four in number. After him are two men. They have no names, but they too must be under orders from Oenomaüs to attend to the horses. At the very edge lies Cladeüs, the river which, in other ways also, the Eleans honour most after the Alpheius. On the left from Zeus are Pelops, Hippodameia, the charioteer

<sup>1</sup> See Book I, ch. xxix.

Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ ἀετὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἄλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἠνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητῆς ἔφασκεν ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν  
 8 εἶναι. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶ Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρακίας, τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένους, ἀνδρὸς ἠλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Λαπιθῶν ἐν τῷ Πειρίθου γάμῳ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἢ μάχη. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀετοῦ τὸ μέσον Πειρίθους ἐστίν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν Εὐρυτίων ἠρπακῶς τὴν γυναῖκά ἐστι τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ ἀμύνων Καινεὺς τῷ Πειρίθῳ, τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους· Κένταυρος δὲ ὁ μὲν παρθένον, ὁ δὲ παῖδα ἠρπακῶς ἐστὶν ὠραῖον. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἄλκαμένης, Πειρίθου τε εἶναι Διὸς ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς Ὀμήρου δεδιδαγμένος καὶ Θησέα ἐπιστάμενος ὡς εἶη τέταρτος ἀπὸ Πέλοπος.

9 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ πεποίηται τῶν θυρῶν ἢ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἄγρα τοῦ υἱὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Διομήδην τὸν Θρᾷκα καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθραίᾳ πρὸς Γηρυόνην, καὶ Ἄτλαντός τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι μέλλων καὶ τῆς κόπρου καθαίρων τὴν γῆν ἐστὶν

of Pelops, horses, and two men, who are apparently grooms of Pelops. Then the pediment narrows again, and in this part of it is represented the Alpheius. The name of the charioteer of Pelops is, according to the account of the Troezenians, Sphaerus, but the guide at Olympia called him Cillas. The sculptures in the front pediment are by Paeonius, who came from Mende in Thrace; those in the back pediment are by Alcamenes,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary of Pheidias, ranking next after him for skill as a sculptor. What he carved on the pediment is the fight between the Lapithae and the Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithoüs. In the centre of the pediment is Peirithoüs.<sup>2</sup> On one side of him is Eurytion, who has seized the wife of Peirithoüs, with Caeneus bringing help to Peirithoüs, and on the other side is Theseus defending himself against the Centaurs with an axe. One Centaur has seized a maid, another a boy in the prime of youth. Alcamenes, I think, carved this scene, because he had learned from Homer's<sup>3</sup> poem that Peirithoüs was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops.

*circa*  
430 B.C.

Most of the labours of Heracles are represented at Olympia. Above the doors of the temple is carved the hunting of the Arcadian boar, his exploit against Diomedes the Thracian, and that against Geryones at Erytheia; he is also about to receive the burden of Atlas, and he cleanses the land from

<sup>1</sup> There are good reasons, chronological and artistic, for thinking that neither Paeonius nor Alcamenes carved the figures on the pediments.

<sup>2</sup> This is supposed to be a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* XIV. 318.

Ἡλείοις· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ζωστήρου τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἐστὶν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον καὶ τὸν ἐν Κνωσσῷ ταῦρον καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφήλῳ καὶ ἐς ὕδραν τε  
 10 καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀργεῖα λέοντα. τὰς θύρας δὲ ἐσιόντι τὰς χαλκᾶς, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρὸ τοῦ κίονος Ἴφιτος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς στεφανούμενος Ἐκχειρίας, ὡς τὸ ἐλεγείον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φησίν. ἐστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοαί τε ἔνδον ὑπερῶοι καὶ πρόσσδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά.

XI. Καθέζεται μὲν δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐν θρόνῳ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐλέφαντος· στέφανος δὲ ἐπίκειταιί οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεμιμημένος ἐλαίας κλῶνας. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρει Νίκην ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον· τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἠνθισμένον, ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καθήμενός ἐστιν ὁ ἀετός. χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον ὡσαύτως ἐστί· τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῳδίῳ τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα.  
 2 ὁ δὲ θρόνος ποικίλος μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθοις, ποικίλος δὲ καὶ ἐβένῳ τε καὶ ἐλέφαντί ἐστι· καὶ ζῳῆ τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν εἰργασμένα. Νίκαι μὲν δὴ τέσσαρες χορευουσῶν παρεχόμεναι σχῆμα κατὰ ἑκάστου τοῦ θρόνου τὸν πόδα, δύο δὲ εἰσιν ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑκάστου πέζῃ ποδός. τῶν ποδῶν δὲ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν παιδῆς τε ἐπικεῖνται Θηβαίων ὑπὸ σφιγγῶν ἠρπασμένοι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς σφίγγας

ding for the Eleans. Above the doors of the rear chamber he is taking the girdle from the Amazon; and there are the affairs of the deer, of the bull at Cnossus, of the Stymphalian birds, of the hydra, and of the Argive lion. As you enter the bronze doors you see on the right, before the pillar, Iphitus being crowned by a woman, Eeccheiria (*Truce*), as the elegiac couplet on the statue says. Within the temple stand pillars, and inside also are porticoes above, with an approach through them to the image. There has also been constructed a winding ascent to the roof.

XI. The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. On his head lies a garland which is a copy of olive shoots. In his right hand he carries a Victory, which, like the statue, is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and—on her head—a garland. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, ornamented with every kind of metal, and the bird sitting on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals also of the god are of gold, as is likewise his robe. On the robe are embroidered figures of animals and the flowers of the lily. The throne is adorned with gold and with jewels, to say nothing of ebony and ivory. Upon it are painted figures and wrought images. There are four Victories, represented as dancing women, one at each foot of the throne, and two others at the base of each foot. On each of the two front feet are set Theban children ravished by sphinxes, while under the sphinxes Apollo and

Νιόβης τοὺς παῖδας Ἀπόλλων κατὰ τοξεύουσι καὶ  
 3 Ἄρτεμις. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου μεταξὺ ποδῶν  
 τέσσαρες κανόνες εἰσίν, ἐκ ποδὸς ἐς πόδα ἕτερον  
 διήκων ἕκαστος. τῷ μὲν δὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς ἐσόδου  
 κανόνι, ἐπτὰ ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὸ γὰρ  
 ὄγδοον ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἴσασι τρόπον ὄντινα ἐγένετο  
 ἀφανές· εἴη δ' ἂν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀρχαίων ταῦτα  
 μιμήματα, οὐ γὰρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ  
 ἡλικίας ἤδη καθειστήκει τῆς Φειδίου. τὸν δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδόμενον εἰκέναι  
 τὸ εἶδος Παντάρκει λέγουσι, μεϊράκιον δὲ Ἥλείου  
 τὸν Παντάρκη παιδικὰ εἶναι τοῦ Φειδίου· ἀνείλετο  
 δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν ὁ Παντάρκης πάλῃς νίκην ὀλυμ-  
 4 πιάδι ἕκτη πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν  
 κανόνων τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁ λόχος ἐστὶν ὁ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ  
 μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας· ἀριθμὸς μὲν δὴ  
 συναμφοτέρων ἐς ἐννέα ἐστὶ καὶ εἴκοσι, τέτακται  
 δὲ καὶ Θεσεὺς ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.  
 ἀνέχουσι δὲ οὐχ οἱ πόδες μόνον τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ κίονες ἴσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἐστηκότες τῶν  
 ποδῶν. ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν  
 θρόνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς  
 τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα· ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα  
 τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ ἀπείργοντά ἐστι.  
 5 τούτων τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν  
 θυρῶν ἐστίν, ἀλήλιπται κυάνῳ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
 αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίου γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς  
 ἐστὶ μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἄτλας ἀνέχων, παρ-  
 ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ ἄχθος

Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe. Between the feet of the throne are four rods, each one stretching from foot to foot. The rod straight opposite the entrance has on it seven images; how the eighth of them disappeared nobody knows. These must be intended to be copies of obsolete contests, since in the time of Pheidias contests for boys had not yet been introduced.<sup>1</sup> The figure of one binding his own head with a ribbon is said to resemble in appearance Pantarces, a stripling of Elis said to have been the love of Pheidias. Pantarces too won the wrestling-bout for boys at the eighty-sixth Festival. On the other rods is the band that with Heracles fights against the Amazons. The number of figures in the two parties is twenty-nine, and Theseus too is ranged among the allies of Heracles. The throne is supported not only by the feet, but also by an equal number of pillars standing between the feet. It is impossible to go under the throne, in the way we enter the inner part of the throne at Amyclae. At Olympia there are screens constructed like walls which keep people out. Of these screens the part opposite the doors is only covered with dark-blue paint; the other parts show pictures by Panaenus. Among them is Atlas, supporting heaven and earth, by whose side stands Heracles ready to

<sup>1</sup> This statement is certainly incorrect; Pausanias himself says that contests for boys were introduced at the thirty-seventh Festival, *i.e.* in 632 B.C. Several suggestions have been made for correcting the text. One of the most attractive is that of C. Robert (see *Hermes* XXIII. [1888], p. 451), who would read ἀγωνιστῶν for ἀγωνισμάτων and transpose οὐ γὰρ (for which he reads ἄρα) πω . . . τῆς Φειδίου to after ὀγδοήκοντα. This would mean: "So P. had not reached the age of boys at the time of Pheidias."

ἐθέλων τοῦ Ἄτλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ  
 Πειρίθους καὶ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Σαλαμὶς ἔχουσα ἐν  
 τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραις ποιούμενον  
 κόσμον, Ἡρακλέους τε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τὸ ἐς  
 τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ τὸ ἐς Κασσάνδραν  
 6 παρανόμημα Αἴαντος, Ἴπποδάμειά τε ἢ Οἰνομάου  
 σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Προμηθεὺς ἔτι ἐχόμενος μὲν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἦρται·  
 λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς  
 ἀποκτείναι μὲν τὸν αἰετὸν ὃς ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ τὸν  
 Προμηθεά ἐλύπει, ἐξέλοιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθεά  
 ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. τελευταῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Πενθε-  
 σίλειά τε ἀφιείσα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ἀνέχων ἐστὶν αὐτήν· καὶ Ἑσπερίδες δύο φέρουσι  
 τὰ μῆλα ὧν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγονται τὴν φρουράν.  
 Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ἀδελφός τε ἦν Φειδίου καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι  
 7 ἔργον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω  
 τοῦ θρόνου πεποίηκεν ὁ Φειδίας ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦτο μὲν Χάριτας, τοῦτο δὲ Ὠρας,  
 τρεῖς ἑκατέρας. εἶναι γὰρ θυγατέρας Διὸς καὶ  
 ταύτας ἐν ἔπεσιν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα· Ὀμηρος δὲ ἐν  
 Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησε τὰς Ὠρας καὶ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν καθάπερ τινὰς φύλακας βασιλέως αὐλῆς.  
 τὸ ὑπόθημα δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καλούμενον θρανίων, λέοντάς τε  
 χρυσοῦς καὶ Θησεῶς ἐπειργασμένην ἔχει μάχην  
 τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας, τὸ Ἀθηναίων πρῶτον ἀν-  
 8 δραγάθημα ἐς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάρθρου  
 τοῦ τὸν θρόνον τε ἀνέχοντος καὶ ὅσος ἄλλος  
 κόσμος περὶ τὸν Δία, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάρθρου  
 χρυσᾶ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπὶ ἄρμα Ἥλιος καὶ  
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receive the load of Atlas, along with Theseus, Peirithoüs, Hellas, and Salamis carrying in her hand the ornament made for the top of a ship's bows; then Heracles' exploit against the Nemean lion, the outrage committed by Ajax on Cassandra, Hippodameia the daughter of Oenomaüs with her mother, and Prometheus still held by his chains, though Heracles has been raised up to him. For among the stories told about Heracles is one that he killed the eagle which tormented Prometheus in the Caucasus, and set free Prometheus himself from his chains. Last in the picture come Penthesileia giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her; two Hesperides are carrying the apples, the keeping of which, legend says, had been entrusted to them. This Panaenus was a brother of Pheidias; he also painted the picture of the battle of Marathon in the Painted Portico at Athens. On the uppermost parts of the throne Pheidias has made, above the head of the image, three Graces on one side and three Seasons on the other. These in epic poetry<sup>1</sup> are included among the daughters of Zeus. Homer too in the *Iliad*<sup>2</sup> says that the Seasons have been entrusted with the sky, just like guards of a king's court. The footstool of Zeus, called by the Athenians *thranion*, has golden lions and, in relief, the fight of Theseus against the Amazons, the first brave deed of the Athenians against foreigners. On the pedestal supporting the throne and Zeus with all his adornments are works in gold: the Sun mounted on a

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony* 901.

<sup>2</sup> V. 749 foll.

Ζεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἡρα, ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστος,<sup>1</sup> παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Χάρις· ταύτης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἔχεται, τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ Ἑστία· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν Ἑρως ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀφροδίτην ἀνιούσαν ὑποδεχόμενος, τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην στεφανοῖ Πειθῶ· ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων σὺν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀθηναῖα τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ βύθρου πρὸς τῷ πέρατι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν Σελήνη τε ἵππου ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐλαύνουσα. τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ἐφ' ἡμιόνου τὴν θεὸν ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ οὐχ ἵππου, καὶ λόγον γέ τινα ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμιόνῳ λέγουσιν εὐήθη.

9 Μέτρα δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἐπιστάμενος γεγραμμένα οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ θήσομαι τοὺς μετρήσαντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα αὐτοῖς μέτρα πολὺ τι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδοῦσι παρέστηκεν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα δόξα, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα ἐς τοῦ Φειδίου τὴν τέχνην γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐκτετελεσμένον ἤδη τὸ ἄγαλμα ἦν, ἠῦξαστο ὁ Φειδίας ἐπισημῆναι τὸν θεὸν εἰ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην· αὐτίκα δ' ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ ἐδάφους κατασκῆψαι κεραυνὸν φασιν, ἔνθα ὑδρία καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπίθημα ἦν ἢ χαλκῆ.

10 Ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῷ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκευάσται τῷ λίθῳ· περιθεῖ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθου Παρίου κρηπίς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον, καὶ ἔλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπείργον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλέφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἐλῶδες τῆς Ἀλτῆως. ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἀθη-

chariot, Zeus and Hera, Hephaestus, and by his side Grace. Close to her comes Hermes, and close to Hermes Hestia. After Hestia is Eros receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Aphrodite is being crowned by Persuasion. There are also reliefs of Apollo with Artemis, of Athena and of Heracles; and near the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, while the Moon is driving what I think is a horse. Some have said that the steed of the goddess is a mule and not a horse, and they tell a silly story about the mule.

I know that the height and breadth of the Olympic Zeus have been measured and recorded; but I shall not praise those who made the measurements, for even their records fall far short of the impression made by a sight of the image. Nay, the god himself according to legend bore witness to the artistic skill of Pheidias. For when the image was quite finished Pheidias prayed the god to show by a sign whether the work was to his liking. Immediately, runs the legend, a thunderbolt fell on that part of the floor where down to the present day the bronze jar stood to cover the place.

All the floor in front of the image is paved, not with white, but with black tiles. In a circle round the black stone runs a raised rim of Parian marble, to keep in the olive oil that is poured out. For olive oil is beneficial to the image at Olympia, and it is olive oil that keeps the ivory from being harmed by the marshiness of the Altis. On the Athenian

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<sup>1</sup> ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστος is not in the MSS., but was added by Brunn.

ναίων τὴν καλουμένην Παρθένον οὐκ ἔλαιον, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὠφελοῦν ἐστίν· ἅτε γὰρ αὐχμηρᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οὔσης διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ὑψηλόν, τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένον ὕδωρ  
 11 καὶ δρόσον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποθεῖ. ἐν Ἐπι-  
 δαύρῳ δὲ ἐρομένου μου καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν οὔτε ὕδωρ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ σφισιν οὔτε ἔλαιόν ἐστιν ἐγχεόμενον, ἐδίδασκόν με οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐπὶ φρέατι εἷη πεποιημένα.

XII. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐλέφασιν ἐξίσχοντα ὀδόντας τῶν θηρίων εἶναι καὶ οὐ κέρατα ἠγνῆται, τούτοις ἐστὶν ἀπιδεῖν μὲν ἐς τὰς ἄλκας, τὸ ἐν Κελτικῇ θηρίον, ἀπιδεῖν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίθιοπικοὺς ταύρους· ἄλκαι μὲν γὰρ κέρατα ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄρρενες, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ οὐ φύει τὸ παράπυν· οἱ δὲ Λίθιοπικοὶ ταῦροι τὰ κέρατα φύουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ρίνι. τίς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαιτο ἔτι ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι διὰ  
 2 στόματος ζῶν κέρατα ἐκφῦναι; πάρεστι δὲ ἀναδιδύσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε ἔτι κέρατα γὰρ κατὰ ἐτῶν περίοδον ἀπογίνεται καὶ αὐθις ἐκβλαστάνει ζῶοις, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλαφοί τε καὶ δορκάδες, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πεπόνθασιν. ὀδοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτῳ δεύτερα παρέσται ζῶῳ τῶν γε ἤδη τελείων· εἰ δὲ ὀδόντες τὰ διὰ στόματος ἐξίσχοντα καὶ μὴ κέρατα ἦσαν, πῶς ἂν καὶ ἀνεφύοντο αὐθις; οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἴκειν πυρὶ ἔχουσιν ὀδόντες φύσιν· κέρατα δὲ καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐς ὀμαλές τε ἐκ περιφεροῦς καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἄγεται σχήματα. ποταμίους γε μὴν ἵπποις καὶ ὑσὶν ἢ κάτωθεν γένυς τοὺς χαυλιόδοιτας φέρει, κέρατα

Acropolis the ivory of the image they call the Maiden is benefited, not by olive oil, but by water. For the Acropolis, owing to its great height, is over-dry, so that the image, being made of ivory, needs water or dampness. When I asked at Epidaurus why they pour neither water nor olive oil on the image of Asclepius, the attendants at the sanctuary informed me that both the image of the god and the throne were built over a cistern.

XII. Those who think that the projections from the mouth of an elephant are not horns but teeth of the animal should consider both the elk, a beast of the Celtic land, and also the Aethiopian bull. Male elks have horns on their brows, but the female does not grow them at all. Ethiopians bulls grow their horns on their noses. Who therefore would be greatly surprised at horns growing out of an animal's mouth? They may also correct their error from the following considerations. Horns drop off animals each year and grow again; the deer and the antelope undergo this experience, and so likewise does the elephant. But a tooth will never be found to grow again, at least after the animal is full-grown. So if the projections through the mouth were teeth and not horns, how could they grow up again? Again, a tooth refuses to yield to fire; but fire turns the horns of oxen and elephants from round to flat, and also into other shapes. However, the hippopotamus and the boar have tusks growing out of the lower

- 3 δὲ ἀναφύομενα οὐχ ὀρώμεν ἐκ γενύων<sup>1</sup> ἐλέφαντι οὖν τὰ κέρατα ἴστω τις διὰ κροτάφων κατερχόμενα ἄνωθεν καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐπιστρέφοντα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκοὴν γράφω, θεασάμενος δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐν γῇ τῇ Καμπανῶν κρανίον ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῶ· σταδίους δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα Καπύης τὸ ἱερόν, αὕτη δὲ ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστίν ἢ Καπύη τῶν Καμπανῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐλέφας παρὰ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἐκφυσιν παρέχεται τῶν κεράτων, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶδος οὐδὲν εἰκότα ἑτέρῳ θηρίῳ· φιλότιμοι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μοι καὶ ἐς θεῶν τιμῆν οὐ φειδωλοὶ χρημάτων γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἷς γε παρὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤγετο καὶ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἐλέφας ἐς ποιήσιν ἀγαλμάτων.
- 4 Ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπία παραπέτασμα ἐρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῇ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀντίοχος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ αἰγίς ἢ χρυσῇ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἢ Γοργῷ ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα. τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ παραπέτασμα πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ὥσπερ γε ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἀνέλκουσι, καλωδίους δὲ ἐπιχαλῶντες καθιᾶσιν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος. ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἔνδον ἢ ἐν τῷ προνώῳ κείται, θρόνος ἐστὶν Ἀριμνήστου βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Τυρσηνοῖς, ὃς πρῶτος βαρβάρων ἀναθήματι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπία Δία ἐδώρησατο, καὶ ἵπποι Κυνίσκας χαλκοῖ, σημεῖα Ὀλυμπικῆς νίκης· οὗτοι μέγεθος μὲν ἀποδέουσιν ἵππων, ἐστήκασιν δὲ ἐν τῷ προνώῳ τοῖς ἐσιούσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. κείται δὲ καὶ τρίπους
- 5

<sup>1</sup> Some editors think that the passage *ποταμίους* to *γενύων* is an interpolation.

jaw, but we do not see horns growing out of jaws. So be assured that an elephant's horns descend through the temples from above, and so bend outwards. My statement is not hearsay; I once saw an elephant's skull in the sanctuary of Artemis in Campania. The sanctuary is about thirty stades from Capua, which is the capital of Campania. So the elephant differs from all other animals in the way its horns grow, just as its size and shape are peculiar to itself. And the Greeks in my opinion showed an unsurpassed zeal and generosity in honouring the gods, in that they imported ivory from India and Aethiopia to make images.

In Olympia there is a woollen curtain, adorned with Assyrian weaving and Phoenician purple, which was dedicated by Antiochus,<sup>1</sup> who also gave as offerings the golden aegis with the Gorgon on it above the theatre at Athens. This curtain is not drawn upwards to the roof as is that in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but it is let down to the ground by cords. The offerings inside, or in the fore-temple, include: a throne of Arimnestus, king of Etruria, who was the first foreigner to present an offering to the Olympic Zeus, and bronze horses of Cynisca, tokens of an Olympic victory. These are not as large as real horses, and stand in the fore-temple on the right as you enter. There is also a tripod, plated

<sup>1</sup> Probably Antiochus Epiphanes, who was king of Syria 175-164 B.C.

ἐπίχαλκος, ἐφ' οὐ πρὶν ἢ τὴν τράπεζαν ποιηθῆναι  
 6 προετίθεντο τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. βασιλέων  
 δὲ ἀνδριάντας, Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν αἰ ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν  
 τελοῦσαι πόλεις ἀνέθεσαν Παρίου λίθου, Τραϊανοῦ  
 δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνας. οὗτος προσεκλήσατο ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θράκης Ὀσρόη τε τῷ  
 ἀπογόνῳ τῷ Ἀρσάκου καὶ Πάρθοις ἐπολέμησεν·  
 ὅποσα δὲ ἐς ἔργων ἔχει οἱ κατασκευὴν, ἀξιολογώ-  
 τατά ἐστι λουτρὰ ἐπώνυμα αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον  
 μέγα κυκλωτερὸν πανταχόθεν καὶ οἰκοδόμημα ἐς  
 ἵππων δρόμους προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μῆκος,  
 καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰ κόσμου τε ἕνεκα τοῦ λοιποῦ  
 θέας ἀξία καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦ πε-  
 7 ποιημένοι. αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες αἱ τοῖς κατασκευάσμασι  
 τοῖς περιφερέσιν ἐγκείμεναι, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἡλέκτρον  
 βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν Αὐγούστου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ  
 ἐλέφαντος βασιλέως Νικομήδους ἐλέγετο εἶναι  
 Βιθυνῶν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἐν  
 Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεων μετεβλήθη τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀστακῶ  
 τὰ πρὸ τούτου καλουμένη· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ  
 Ζυποίτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστῆς, Θραξ γένος εἰκάζοντί  
 γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος. τὸ δὲ ἡλεκτρον τοῦτο οὐ  
 τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πεποιήνται τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅσον μὲν  
 αὐτόματον ἐν τοῦ Ἡριδανοῦ ταῖς ψάμμοις εὐρί-  
 σκεται, σπανίζεται τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
 τίμιον πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἕνεκα· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡλεκτρον  
 8 ἀναμεμιγμένον ἐστὶν ἀργύρῳ χρυσός. ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναῶ Νέρωνος ἀναθήματα τρεῖς μὲν ἐς  
 κοτίνου φύλλα στέφανοι, τέταρτος δὲ ἐς δρυὸς  
 ἐστὶ μεμιμημένος· κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀσπίδες  
 χαλκαὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς ὀπλιτεύουσιν εἶναι  
 φορήματα ἐς τὸν δρόμον. στήλαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε  
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with bronze, upon which, before the table was made, were displayed the crowns for the victors. There are statues of emperors: Hadrian, of Parian marble, dedicated by the cities of the Achaean confederacy, and Trajan, dedicated by all the Greeks. This emperor subdued the Getae beyond Thrace, and made war on Osroës the descendant of Arsaces and on the Parthians. Of his architectural achievements the most remarkable are baths called after him, a large circular theatre, a building for horse-races which is actually two stades long, and the Forum at Rome, worth seeing not only for its general beauty but especially for its roof made of bronze. Of the statues set up in the round buildings, the amber one represents Augustus the Roman emperor, the ivory one they told me was a portrait of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. After him the greatest city in Bithynia <sup>264 B.C.</sup> was renamed Nicomedeia; before him it was called Astacus, and its first founder was Zypoetes, a Thracian by birth to judge from his name. This amber of which the statue of Augustus is made, when found native in the sand of the Eridanus, is very rare and precious to men for many reasons; the other "amber" is an alloy of gold and silver. In the temple at Olympia are four offerings of Nero—three crowns representing wild-olive leaves, and one representing oak leaves. Here too are laid twenty-five bronze shields, which are for the armed men to carry in the race. Tablets too are set up, including one on which

ἐστήκασι καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους  
τε καὶ Μαντινέας ἔχουσα ὄρκον παρὰ Ἡλείων ἐς  
συμμαχίαν ἐτῶν ἑκατόν.

XIII. Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτewς καὶ Πέλοπι  
ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος· ἡρώων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμ-  
πία τοσοῦτον προτετιμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ  
Ἡλείων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔστιν οὖν  
τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς  
ἄνεμον Βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ  
ναοῦ τοσοῦτον ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ  
ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακεῖσθαι, παρήκει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ  
τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον  
τοῦ ναοῦ· καὶ λίθων τε θριγκῶ περιέχεται καὶ  
δένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν  
2 ἀνακείμενοι, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν  
ἐστὶν ἡλίου. τοῦτο ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρα-  
κλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ  
ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ καὶ  
ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι. θύουσι δὲ  
αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες·  
τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ  
γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ  
μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῷ ὀνομα-  
3 ζομένῳ ξυλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ  
Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας  
ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν  
καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ  
ἄλλον δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός· ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν  
Ἡλείων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Πέλοπι ἱερείου  
φάγη τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν  
Δία. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περιγᾶμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ  
ποταμοῦ Καΐκου πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Τηλέφῳ

is written the oath sworn by the Eleans to the Athenians, the Argives and the Mantineans, that they would be their allies for a hundred years. 420 B.C.

XIII. Within the Altis there is also a sacred enclosure consecrated to Pelops, whom the Eleans as much prefer in honour above the heroes of Olympia as they prefer Zeus over the other gods. To the right of the entrance of the temple of Zeus, on the north side, lies the Pelopium. It is far enough removed from the temple for statues and other offerings to stand in the intervening space, and beginning at about the middle of the temple it extends as far as the rear chamber. It is surrounded by a stone fence, within which trees grow and statues have been dedicated. The entrance is on the west. The sanctuary is said to have been set apart to Pelops by Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Heracles too was a great-grandson of Pelops, and he is also said to have sacrificed to him into the pit. Right down to the present day the magistrates of the year sacrifice to him, and the victim is a black ram. No portion of this sacrifice goes to the soothsayer, only the neck of the ram it is usual to give to the "woodman," as he is called. The woodman is one of the servants of Zeus, and the task assigned to him is to supply cities and private individuals with wood for sacrifices at a fixed rate, wood of the white poplar, but of no other tree, being allowed. If anybody, whether Elean or stranger, eat of the meat of the victim sacrificed to Pelops, he may not enter the temple of Zeus. The same rule applies to those who sacrifice to Telephus at Pergamus on

θύοντες· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀναβῆναι πρὸ  
 4 λουτροῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ  
 τοιοῦτον· μηκνομένον τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιφ πολέμου  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, προαγορευῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς μάντις  
 ὡς αἰρήσουσιν οὐ πρότερον τὴν πόλιν, πρὶν ἢ  
 τὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα καὶ ὄστούν ἐπαγάγονται  
 Πέλοπος. οὕτω δὴ μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν Φιλο-  
 κτήτην φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀχθῆναι  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀστέων ὠμοπλάτην σφίσιν ἐκ Πίσσης  
 τῶν Πέλοπος· ὡς δὲ οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο, ἀπόλλυ-  
 ται περὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ ἡ ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ  
 5 τὸ ὄστούν φέρουσα τὸ Πέλοπος. ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστε-  
 ρον πολλοῖς μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου Δαμάρμενον  
 ἀλιέα ἐξ Ἐρετρίας ἀφέντα δίκτυον ἐς θάλασσαν  
 τὸ ὄστούν ἐλκύσαι, θαυμάσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ  
 μέγεθος ἔχειν ἀποκρύψαντα ὑπὸ τὴν ψάμμον.  
 τέλος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Δελφούς, ὅτου  
 τε ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὄστούν εἶη καὶ ὅ τι χρηστέον αὐτῷ  
 6 διδαχθῆναι δεησόμενον. καὶ πῶς κατὰ πρόνοιαν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα πρεσβεῖα παρῆν Ἡλείων  
 ἐπανόρθωμα αἰτούντων νόσου λοιμώδους· ἀνείπεν  
 οὖν σφίσιν ἡ Πυθία, τοῖς μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι  
 Πέλοπος τὰ ὀστά, Δαμαρμένῳ δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ  
 εὐρημένα αὐτῷ Ἡλείοις. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι  
 ἄλλα τε ἀντέδωσαν Ἡλείοι καὶ Δαμάρμενόν τε  
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἐκείνου φύλακας σφᾶς  
 εἶναι τοῦ ὀστοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὠμοπλάτη τοῦ Πέλοπος  
 ἠφάνιστο ἤδη κατ' ἐμέ, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκέκρυπτο  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ  
 προσέκαμνεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.  
 7 Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταυτάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοι-  
 κήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε λείπεται, Ταυτάλου

the river Caicus; these too may not go up to the temple of Asclepius before they have bathed. The following tale too is told. When the war of the Greeks against Troy was prolonged, the soothsayers prophesied to them that they would not take the city until they had fetched the bow and arrows of Heracles and a bone of Pelops. So it is said that they sent for Philoctetes to the camp, and from Pisa was brought to them a bone of Pelops—a shoulder-blade. As they were returning home, the ship carrying the bone of Pelops was wrecked off Euboea in the storm. Many years later than the capture of Troy, Damarmenus, a fisherman from Eretria, cast a net into the sea and drew up the bone. Marvelling at its size he kept it hidden in the sand. At last he went to Delphi, to inquire whose the bone was, and what he ought to do with it. It happened that by the providence of Heaven there was then at Delphi an Elean embassy praying for deliverance from a pestilence. So the Pythian priestess ordered the Eleans to recover the bones of Pelops, and Damarmenus to give back to the Eleans what he had found. He did so, and the Eleans repaid him by appointing him and his descendants to be guardians of the bone. The shoulder-blade of Pelops had disappeared by my time, because, I suppose, it had been hidden in the depths so long, and besides its age it was greatly decayed through the salt water. That Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in my country there have remained signs right down to the present day. There is a lake

μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανῆς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἑρμον ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμη, προΐλασκόμενόν τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἴπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον.

- 8 Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμὸς ἴσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπέχων, προκείμενος μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων· κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἡρώων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενεαῖς δύο ὕστερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· πεποιήται δὲ ἱερείων τῶν θυομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ· τέφρας γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ καὶ τῆ Ἥρα τῇ Σαμία βωμὸς οὐδέν τι ἐπιφανέστερος ἢ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἃς αὐτοσχεδίας Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἐσχάρας. τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπίδος μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προθύσεως καλουμένης, πόδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ περίοδος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει περίμετρος ἐπακτοῦ πόδες δύο καὶ τριῖκοντα· τὸ δὲ ὕψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνήκει πόδας. αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν μέρει τῷ κάτω, τῇ προθύσει, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς θύειν· τοὺς μηρούς δὲ ἀναφέροντες ἐς τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ ὑψηλέστατον καθαγίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα. ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν πρόθυσιν ἀνάγουσιν ἕξ ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς λίθου πεποιημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προθύσεως ἐς
- 10

called after Tantalus and a famous grave, and on a peak of Mount Sipylus there is a throne of Pelops beyond the sanctuary of Plastene the Mother. If you cross the river Hermus you see an image of Aphrodite in Temnus made of a living myrtle-tree. It is a tradition among us that it was dedicated by Pelops when he was propitiating the goddess and asking for Hippodameia to be his bride.

[The altar of Olympic Zeus is about equally distant from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera, but it is in front of both. Some say that it was built by Idaean Heracles, others by the local heroes two generations later than Heracles. It has been made from the ash of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus, as is also the altar at Pergamus.] There is an ashen altar of Samian Hera not a bit grander than what in Attica the Athenians call "improvised hearths." [The first stage of the altar at Olympia, called *prothysis*, has a circumference of one hundred and twenty-five feet; the circumference of the stage on the *prothysis* is thirty-two feet; the total height of the altar reaches to twenty-two feet. The victims themselves it is the custom to sacrifice on the lower stage, the *prothysis*. But the thighs they carry up to the highest part of the altar and burn them there. The steps that lead up to the *prothysis* from either side are made of stone, but those leading from the *prothysis* to the upper part

τὸ ἄνω τοῦ βωμοῦ τέφρας παρέχεται καὶ ἀναβασ-  
 μούς. ἄχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς προθύσεως ἔστιν ἀναβῆναι  
 καὶ παρθένοις καὶ ὡσαύτως γυναιξίν, ἐπειδὴν τῆς  
 Ὀλυμπίας μὴ ἐξείρωνται· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 ἄνωτάτω τοῦ βωμοῦ μόνοις ἔστιν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελ-  
 θεῖν. θύεται δὲ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πανηγύρεως  
 11 Ἑλείων. κατ' ἔτος δὲ ἕκαστον φυλάξαντες οἱ  
 μάντις τὴν ἐνάτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἐλαφίου μηνὸς  
 κομίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τὴν τέφραν, φυ-  
 ράσαντες δὲ τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ κοιῶσιν  
 οὕτω τὸν βωμόν. ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν τέφραν  
 ὕδατος ποιηθῆναι πηλὸν οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐγγένηται·  
 καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα ὁ Ἀλφειὸς νενόμισται τῷ Ὀλυμ-  
 πίῳ Διὶ ποταμῶν δὴ μάλιστα εἶναι φίλος. ἔστι  
 δὲ καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις τῶν Μιλησίων βωμός, ἐποιήθη  
 δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Θηβαίου, καθὰ οἱ  
 Μιλήσιοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων τοῦ αἵματος·  
 ἐς δὲ τὰ ὕστερα τὸ αἶμα τῶν θυμάτων οὐκ ἐς  
 ὑπέρογκον ἠϋξήκεν αὐτὸν μέγεθος.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βωμὸς παρέχεται καὶ  
 ἄλλο τοιόνδε ἐς θαῦμα· οἱ γὰρ ἰκτίνες πεφυκότες  
 ἀρπάξουσιν μάλιστα ὀρνίθων ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐν  
 Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς θύοντας· ἦν δὲ ἀρπάσις ποτὲ  
 ἰκτίνος ἥτοι σπλάγχνα ἢ τῶν κρεῶν, νενόμισται  
 τῷ θύοντι οὐκ αἴσιον εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον. φασὶ δὲ  
 Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης θύοντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δι'  
 ὄχλου μάλιστα γενέσθαι τὰς μυίας· ἐξευρόντα  
 οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου διδαχθέντα Ἀπομυίῳ



of the altar are, like the altar itself, composed of ashes. The ascent to the *prothysis* may be made by maidens, and likewise by women, when they are not shut out from Olympia, but men only can ascend from the *prothysis* to the highest part of the altar. Even when the festival is not being held, sacrifice is offered to Zeus by private individuals and daily<sup>1</sup> by the Eleans. Every year the soothsayers, keeping carefully to the nineteenth day of the month *Elaphius*,<sup>2</sup> bring the ash from the town-hall, and making it into a paste with the water of the Alpheius they daub the altar therewith. But never may the ash be made into paste with other water, and for this reason the Alpheius is thought to be of all rivers the dearest to Olympic Zeus. There is also an altar at Didyma of the Milesians, which Heracles the Theban is said by the Milesians to have made from the blood of the victims. But in later times the blood of the sacrifices has not made the altar excessively large.

XIV. The altar at Olympia shows another strange peculiarity, which is this. The kite, the bird of prey with the most rapacious nature, never harms those who are sacrificing at Olympia. Should ever a kite seize the entrails or some of the flesh, it is regarded as an unfavourable sign for the sacrificer. There is a story that when Heracles the son of Alcmena was sacrificing at Olympia he was much worried by the flies. So either on his own initiative or at somebody's suggestion he sacrificed to Zeus

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that *ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν* must be understood in the first clause from the second; "daily by individuals and by the Eleans."

<sup>2</sup> End of March and the beginning of April.

θῦσαι Δί, καὶ οὕτως ὑποτραπήναι τὰς μυίας  
 πέραν τοῦ Ἄλφειοῦ. λέγονται δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα  
 καὶ Ἡλείοι θύειν τῷ Ἀπομυίῳ Δί, ἐξελαύνοντες  
 τῆς Ὀλυμπίας τὰς μυίας.

2 Τῆς δὲ λεύκης μόνης τοῖς ξύλοις ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τὰς  
 θυσίας καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς δένδρου τῶν ἄλλων οἱ  
 Ἡλείοι χρῆσθαι νομίζουσι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν  
 προτιμῶντες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν λεύκην, ὅτι δὲ  
 Ἡρακλῆς ἐκόμισεν αὐτὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας ἐκ τῆς  
 Θεσπρωτίδος χώρας. καὶ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ  
 Ἡρακλῆς ἐφαίνεται, ἠνίκα τῷ Δί ἔθνευ ἐν Ὀλυμ-  
 πία, τῶν ἱερείων τὰ μηρία ἐπὶ λεύκης καῦσαι  
 ξύλων· τὴν δὲ λεύκην ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πεφυκυῖαν  
 παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα εὔρε τὸν ἐν Θεσπρωτία  
 ποταμόν, καὶ τοῦδε ἐνεκά φασιν αὐτὴν Ἀχερωίδα

3 ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου καλεῖσθαι. εἶχον δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔχουσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ  
 αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεῖως πρὸς γένεσιν πώας τε καὶ δέν-  
 δρων· ἀλλὰ πλείσται μὲν ὑπὸ Μαιάνδρου  
 μυρῖκαι καὶ μάλιστα αὔξονται, Ἀσωπὸς δὲ ὁ  
 Βοιωτίος βαθυτάτας πέφυκεν ἐκτρέφειν τὰς σχοί-  
 νους, τὸ δένδρον δὲ ἢ περσεία μόνου χαίρει τοῦ  
 Νείλου τῷ ὕδατι. οὕτω καὶ τὴν λεύκην θαῦμα  
 οὐδὲν καὶ αὔγειρόν τε καὶ κότινον, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ  
 Ἀχέροντι ἀναφῦναι πρώτῳ, κότινον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 Ἄλφειῳ, τὴν δὲ αὔγειρον γῆς τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ  
 Ἡριδανοῦ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ θρέμμα εἶναι.

4 Φέρε δὴ, ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου  
 μνήμην, ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμ-  
 πία τοὺς βωμούς· ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι  
 τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἣντινα Ἡλείοι θύειν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι. θύουσι δὲ Ἐστία μὲν

Averter of Flies, and thus the flies were diverted to the other side of the Alpheius. It is said that in the same way the Eleans too sacrifice to Zeus Averter of Flies, to drive<sup>1</sup> the flies out of Olympia.

The Eleans are wont to use for the sacrifices to Zeus the wood of the white poplar and of no other tree, preferring the white poplar, I think, simply and solely because Heracles brought it into Greece from Thesprotia. And it is my opinion that when Heracles sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia he himself burned the thigh bones of the victims upon wood of the white poplar. Heracles found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia, and for this reason Homer<sup>2</sup> calls it "Acheroid." So from the first down to the present all rivers have not been equally suited for the growth of plants and trees. Tamarisks grow best and in the greatest numbers by the Maeander; the Boeotian Asopus can produce the tallest reeds; the *persea* tree flourishes only in the water of the Nile. So it is no wonder that the white poplar grew first by the Acheron and the wild olive by the Alpheius, and that the dark poplar is a nursling of the Celtic land of the Celtic Eridanus.

Now that I have finished my account of the greatest altar, let me proceed to describe all the altars in Olympia. My narrative will follow in dealing with them the order in which the Eleans are wont to sacrifice on the altars. They sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> I take ἐξελαύνοντες to be a conative present participle; Frazer takes it as an ordinary temporal participle; "when they drive out."

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* XIII. 389, and XVI. 482.

πρώτη; δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἰόντες ἐπὶ  
 τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, τρίτα δὲ Λαοίτα  
 Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτα.<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ καὶ  
 αὕτη καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία. τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα  
 5 Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Ληίτιδι Ἀθηναῖ, ἕκτα  
 Ἐργάνῃ· ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι  
 Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ  
 Ἡλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν  
 προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα  
 πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται. ἔστι  
 δὲ Ἀθηναῖς καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ,  
 καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρ' αὐτὸν τετράγωνος ἀνήκων  
 6 ἡρέμα ἐς ὕψος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατειλεγμένους  
 Ἀλφειῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ·  
 τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου παρεδήλωσεν μὲν που καὶ  
 Πίνδαρος ἐν ᾧδῃ, γράφομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς  
 λόγοις τοῖς Λετριναίοις. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καὶ  
 ἄλλος τῷ Ἀλφειῷ βωμὸς πεποιήται, παρὰ δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου· τοῦ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὸν  
 βωμὸν εἰσιν Ἡλείων οἱ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου  
 Διὸς· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύοι τῷ Ἀρείῳ Διί, ὅποτε  
 τῶν Ἴπποδαμείας μνηστήρων καθίστασθαι μέλ-  
 7 λοι τινὲς ἐς ἵππων ἄμιλλαν. μετὰ τούτου πεποιή-  
 ται μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ βωμὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Παραστάτῃ,  
 πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς  
 Ἐπιμήδει καὶ Ἴδα καὶ Παιωναίῳ τε καὶ Ἰάσω·  
 τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἴδα βωμὸν Ἀκεσίδα ὑπὸ ἐτέρων οἶδα  
 καλούμενον. ἐνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμελίᾳ ἔστι  
 τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθ' εἰσι βωμοί, Διὸς τε

<sup>1</sup> The words Λαοίτα . . . Λαοίτα were added by  
 Buttmann.

to Hestia first, secondly to Olympic Zeus, going to the altar within the temple, thirdly to Zeus Laoetas and to Poseidon Laoetas. This sacrifice too it is usual to offer on one altar. Fourthly and fifthly they sacrifice to Artemis and to Athena, Goddess of Booty, sixthly to the Worker Goddess. The descendants of Pheidias, called Cleansers, have received from the Eleans the privilege of cleaning the image of Zeus from the dirt that settles on it, and they sacrifice to the Worker Goddess before they begin to polish the image. There is another altar of Athena near the temple, and by it a square altar of Artemis rising gently to a height. After the altars I have enumerated there is one on which they sacrifice to Alpheius and Artemis together. The cause of this Pindar,<sup>1</sup> I think, intimates in an ode, and I give it<sup>2</sup> in my account of Letrini. Not far from it stands another altar of Alpheius, and by it one of Hephaestus. This altar of Hephaestus some Eleans call the altar of Warlike Zeus. These same Eleans also say that Oenomaüs used to sacrifice to Warlike Zeus on this altar whenever he was about to begin a chariot-race with one of the suitors of Hippodameia. After this stands an altar of Heracles surnamed Parastates (*Assistant*); there are also altars of the brothers of Heracles—Epimedes, Idas, Paeonaeüs, and Iasus; I am aware, however, that the altar of Idas is called by others the altar of Acesidas. At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaüs stand two altars: one

<sup>1</sup> *Nemeans* I.<sup>2</sup> Book VI, ch. xxii.

Ἐρκείου—τοῦτον ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐφαίνετο αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσασθαι—, τῷ δὲ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ὕστερον ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν βωμόν, ὅτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου  
 8 τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνός. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν μέγαν βωμόν ὀλίγῳ μὲν τι ἡμῖν πρότερόν ἐστιν εἰρημένα, καλεῖται δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διός· πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἐστιν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαρσίου Διὸς καὶ Νίκης καὶ αὐθις Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων βωμοὶ καὶ Ἴηρας ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας, πεποιημένος τέφρας καὶ οὗτος· Κλυμένου δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ, διότι Ἑρμῆν λύρας, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ εὐρέτην εἶναι κιθάρας Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος. ἐφεξῆς δὲ  
 9 Ὀμονοίας βωμός καὶ αὐθις Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δὲ Μητρὸς θεῶν. τῆς ἐσόδου δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιόν εἰσιν ἐγγύτατα βωμοὶ δύο· τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Ἑρμοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἐναγωνίου, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Καιροῦ. Ἴωνι δὲ οἶδα τῷ Χίῳ καὶ ὕμνον πεποιημένον Καιροῦ· γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ νεώτατον παίδων Διὸς Καιρὸν εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Σικυωνίων θησαυροῦ ἦτοι Κουρήτων ἢ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἁμ-  
 10 φότερα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ, βωμός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γῆς, τέφρας καὶ οὗτος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Στομίου Θέμιδι ὁ βωμός πεποιήται. τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. μεμνήσθω δὲ τις οὐ κατὰ  
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is of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaüs appears to have had built himself, and the other of Zeus of the Thunderbolt, which I believe they built later, when the thunderbolt had struck the house of Oenomaüs. An account of the great altar I gave a little way back; it is called the altar of Olympian Zeus. By it is an altar of Unknown Gods, and after this an altar of Zeus Purifier, one of Victory, and another of Zeus—this time surnamed Underground. There are also altars of all gods, and of Hera surnamed Olympian, this too being made of ashes. They say that it was dedicated by Clymenus. After this comes an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common, because the Greeks have a story about them that Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the lute. Next come an altar of Concord, another of Athena, and the altar of the Mother of the gods. Quite close to the entrance to the stadium are two altars; one they call the altar of Hermes of the Games, the other the altar of Opportunity. I know that a hymn to Opportunity is one of the poems of Ion of Chios; in the hymn Opportunity is made out to be the youngest child of Zeus. Near the treasury of the Sicyonians is an altar of Heracles, either one of the Curetes or the son of Alcmena, for both accounts are given. On what is called the Gaeum (sanctuary of Earth) is an altar of Earth; it too is of ashes. In more ancient days they say that there was an oracle also of Earth in this place. On what is called the Stomium (Mouth) the altar to Themis has been built. All round the altar of Zeus Descender runs a fence; this altar is near the great altar made of the ashes. The reader must remember that the altars have not been enumerated in

στοίχον τῆς ἰδρύσεως ἀριθμουμένους τοὺς βωμούς, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῇ Ἑλείων ἐς τὰς θυσίας συμπεριροστοῦντα ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διονύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῷ, μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῶν Μουσῶν καὶ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ βωμός.

- XV. Ἔστι δὲ οἶκημα ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως, καλεῖται δὲ ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, καὶ ὁ Φειδίας καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζεται· ἔστιν οὖν βωμός ἐν τῷ οἰκῆματι θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ. ὀπίσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι αὐθις ἐς τὴν
- 2 Ἄλτιν ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου—τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Λεωνίδαίου, τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποιήται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν, ἣ μόνη τοῖς πομπεύουσιν ἐστὶν ὁδός· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Λεωνίδου, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐσφκίζοντο οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες· διέστηκε δὲ ἀγνίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς, ωτοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενω-
- 3 πούς ἀγνίαν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἑλεῖοι—ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου περᾶν μέλλοντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν Ἀφροδίτης βωμός καὶ Ὠρῶν μετ' αὐτόν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκὼς κότινος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία Καλλιστέφανος, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια καθέστηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς δίδοσθαι τοὺς στεφάνους. τούτου πλησίον τοῦ κοτίνου πεποιήται Νύμφαις βωμός· Καλλιστεφάνους ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ταύτας.
- 4 ἔστι δὲ ἐκτὸς<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἄλτεως μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγοραίας βωμός, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίνας—τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἦντινα



the order in which they stand, but the order followed by my narrative is that followed by the Eleans in their sacrifices. By the sacred enclosure of Pelops is an altar of Dionysus and the Graces in common; between them is an altar of the Muses, and next to these an altar of the Nymphs.

XV. Outside the Altis there is a building called the workshop of Pheidias, where he wrought the image of Zeus piece by piece. In the building is an altar to all the gods in common. Now return back again to the Altis opposite the Leonidaeum. The Leonidaeum is outside the sacred enclosure, but at the processional entrance to the Altis, which is the only way open to those who take part in the processions. It was dedicated by Leonidas, a native, but in my time the Roman governors of Greece used it as their lodging. Between the processional entrance and the Leonidaeum is a street, for the Eleans call streets what the Athenians call lanes. Well, there is in the Altis, when you are about to pass to the left of the Leonidaeum, an altar of Aphrodite, and after it one of the Seasons. About opposite the rear chamber a wild olive is growing on the right. It is called the olive of the Beautiful Crown, and from its leaves are made the crowns which it is customary to give to winners of Olympic contests. Near this wild olive stands an altar of Nymphs; these too are styled Nymphs of the Beautiful Crowns. Outside the Altis, but on the right of the Leonidaeum, is an altar of Artemis of the Market, and one has also been built

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have ἐντός.

ὀνομάζουσι Δέσποιναν διδάξει μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ  
 ἐς Ἀρκάδας—, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτόν ἐστιν Ἀγοραίου  
 Διὸς βωμός, πρὸ δὲ τῆς καλουμένης Προεδρίας  
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπωνυμίαν Πυθίου καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν  
 Διονύσου· τοῦτον οὔτε πάλαι τὸν βῶμόν καὶ ὑπὸ  
 5 ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι λέγουσιν. ἰόντι δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεισιν τῶν ἵππων ἐστὶ βωμός, ἐπί-  
 γραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δῆλα οὖν ἐστὶν  
 ἐπὶ κλησιν εἶναι Διὸς ὃς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα  
 διδοάσιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωταί σφισι.  
 πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης,  
 μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς  
 Ὑψίστου· ἐν δὲ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἀφέσει ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 ὑπαίθρῳ, τῆς ἀφέσεως κατὰ μέσον που μάλιστα,  
 Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἦρας εἰσὶν Ἰππίας  
 6 βωμοί, πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι Διοσκούρων. τῆς δὲ  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἑμβολὸν καλούμενον ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν  
 Ἄρεως Ἰππίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας βωμός, ἐς  
 δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἑμβολὸν ἐσελθόντων Τύχης ἐστὶν  
 Ἀγαθῆς βωμός καὶ Πανός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης,  
 ἐνδοτάτῳ δὲ τοῦ Ἑμβόλου Νυμφῶν ἅς Ἀκμηνᾶς  
 καλοῦσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ἣν οἱ Ἡλείοι κα-  
 λοῦσιν Ἀγνάπτου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες  
 τῷ οἰκοδομήματι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπανιόντι ἐστὶν  
 7 ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμός Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὐθις  
 διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν, εἰσὶν ὄπισθεν  
 τοῦ Ἡραίου Κλαδέου τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέ-  
 μιδος βωμοί, ὃ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, τέταρ-  
 τος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Κοκκώκας, καὶ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος Θερμίου. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ  
 Ἡλείοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκά-

for Mistresses, and in my account of Arcadia<sup>1</sup> I will tell you about the goddess they call Mistress. After this is an altar of Zeus of the Market, and before what is called the Front Seats stands an altar of Apollo surnamed Pythian, and after it one of Dionysus. The last altar is said to be not old, and to have been dedicated by private individuals. As you go to the starting-point for the chariot-race there is an altar with an inscription "to the Bringer of Fate." This is plainly a surname of Zeus, who knows the affairs of men, all that the Fates give them, and all that is not destined for them. Near there is also an oblong altar of Fates, after it one of Hermes, and the next two are of Zeus Most High. At the starting-point for the chariot-race, just about opposite the middle of it, there are in the open altars of Poseidon Horse-god and Hera Horse-goddess, and near the pillar an altar of the Dioscuri. At the entrance to what is called the Wedge there is on one side an altar of Ares Horse-god, on the other one of Athena Horse-goddess. On entering the Wedge itself you see altars of Good Luck, Pan and Aphrodite; at the innermost part of the Wedge an altar of the Nymphs called Blooming. An altar of Artemis stands on the right as you return from the Portico that the Eleans call the Portico of Agnaptus, giving to the building the name of its architect. After re-entering the Altis by the processional gate there are behind the Heraeum altars of the river Cladeüs and of Artemis; the one after them is Apollo's, the fourth is of Artemis surnamed Coccoca, and the fifth is of Apollo Thermius. As to the Elean surname Thermius, the

<sup>1</sup> Book VIII, ch. xxxvii, § 9.

- ζειν ὡς κατὰ Ἀθίδα γλῶσσαν εἴη θέσμιος· ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπονομάζουσι Κοκκώκαν, οὐχ  
 8 οἶά τε ἦν μοι διδαχθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Θεηκολεῶνος οἴκημα· τούτου δὲ ἐν γωιία τοῦ οἰκήματος Πανὸς ἴδρυται βωμός. τὸ πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἠλείοις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντός, πεποιήται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἢ ἐστὶ τοῦ γυμνασίου πέραν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἷ τε δρόμοι τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσὶν αἱ παλαιστραι.
- 9 ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανείῳ παριόντων ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, ἔνθα σφίσιν ἢ ἐστία, Πανὸς ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμός. ἔστι δὲ ἢ ἐστία τέφρας καὶ αὕτη πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὡσαύτως καίεται· ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐστίας τὴν τέφραν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἤδη μοι κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμόν, καὶ οὐχ ἠκιστα ἐς μέγεθος συντελεῖ τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας ἐπιφορούμενον.
- 10 Ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνὸς θύουσιν ἐπὶ πάντων Ἠλείοι τῶν κατειλεγμένων βωμῶν. θύουσι δὲ ἀρχαῖον τινα τρόπον· λιβανωτὸν γὰρ ὁμοῦ πυροῖς μεμαγμένοις μέλιτι θυμιῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, τιθέασιν δὲ καὶ κλῶνας ἐλαίας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἶνω χρῶνται σπονδῇ. μόναις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποίαις σπένδειν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. μέλει δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας θεηκόλῳ τε, ὃς ἐπὶ μηνὶ ἐκάστῳ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει, καὶ μίντεσι καὶ σπονδοφόροις, ἔτι δὲ ἐξηγητῇ τε καὶ αὐλητῇ καὶ
- 11 τῷ ξυλεῖ· ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς λέγειν

conjecture occurred to me that in the Attic dialect it would be *thesmios* (god of laws), but why Artemis is surnamed Coccoea I could not discover. Before what is called Theëcoleon is a building, in a corner of which has been set up an altar of Pan. The Town Hall of the Eleans is within the Altis, and it has been built beside the exit beyond the gymnasium. In this gymnasium are the running-tracks and the wrestling-grounds for the athletes. In front of the door of the Town Hall is an altar of Artemis Huntress. In the Town Hall itself, on the right as you enter the room where they have the hearth, is an altar of Pan. This hearth too is made of ashes, and on it fire burns every day and likewise every night. The ashes from this hearth, according to the account I have already given, they bring to the altar of Olympian Zeus, and what is brought from the hearth contributes a great deal to the size of the altar.

Each month the Eleans sacrifice once on all the altars I have enumerated. They sacrifice in an ancient manner; for they burn on the altars incense with wheat which has been kneaded with honey, placing also on the altars twigs of olive, and using wine for a libation. Only to the Nymphs and the Mistresses are they not wont to pour wine in libation, nor do they pour it on the altar common to all the gods. The care of the sacrifices is given to a priest, holding office for one month, to soothsayers and libation-bearers, and also to a guide, a flute-player and the woodman. The traditional words

σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καθέστηκεν, ἣ καὶ ὕμνους ὁποίους ᾄδουσιν, οὐ μετὰ ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπεισαγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν λόγον. θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσι καὶ Ἡρα τε Ἀμμωνία καὶ Παράμμωνι. Ἐρμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ κλησίς ἐστιν ὁ Παράμμων. φαίνονται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἡλείων ἐν Ἀμμωνός εἰσι βωμοί. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἡλείοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμωνα ἦλθον ἐξ Ἡλίδος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμμωνος. Ἡλείοι δὲ καὶ ἥρωσι καὶ γυναιξὶ σπένδουσιν ἡρώων, ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἡλείᾳ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν. ὅποσα δὲ ᾄδουσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, φωνὴ μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ Δώριος, ὅστις δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἦν τὰ ᾄσματα, οὐ λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐστιατόριον Ἡλείοις. καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ πρυτανείου, τοῦ οἰκήματος τοῦ τῆς ἐστίας ἀπαντικρῆ, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νικῶντας ἐστιῶσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι.

XVI. Λέγεται δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς τε Ἡρας ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρέποντα εἰς συγγραφὴν. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ὡς Σκιλλούντιοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ πόλεων εἰσιν οἱ κατασκευασάμενοι τὸν ναὸν ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ἐν Ἡλιδι ἐκτήσατο Ὀξύλος. ἐργασία μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ Δώριος, κίονες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρυὸς ὁ ἕτερος τῶν κίωνων ἐστὶ. μῆκος δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες ἑννέα

spoken by them in the Town Hall at the libations, and the hymns which they sing, it were not right for me to introduce into my narrative. They pour libations, not only to the Greek gods, but also to the god in Libya, to Hera Ammonia and to Parammon, which is a surname of Hermes. From very early times it is plain that they used the oracle in Libya, and in the temple of Ammon are altars which the Eleans dedicated. On them are engraved the questions of the Eleans, the replies of the god, and the names of the men who came to Ammon from Elis. These are in the temple of Ammon. The Eleans also pour libations to all heroes and wives of heroes who are honoured either in Elis or among the Aetolians. The songs sung in the Town Hall are in the Doric dialect, but they do not say who it was that composed them. The Eleans also have a banqueting room. This too is in the Town Hall, opposite the chamber where stands the hearth. In this room they entertain the winners in the Olympic games.

XVI. [It remains after this for me to describe the temple of Hera and the noteworthy objects contained in it.] The Elean account says that it was the people of Scillus, one of the cities in Triphylia, who built the temple about eight years after Oxylus came to the throne of Elis. [The style of the temple is Doric, and pillars stand all round it. In the rear chamber one of the two pillars is of oak. The length of the temple is one hundred and sixty-nine

καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ<sup>1</sup> τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῶν πεντήκοντα<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἀποδεῖ· τὸν δὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα ὅστις ἐγένετο οὐ  
 2 μνημονεύουσι. διὰ πέμπτου δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἡρᾷ πέπλον αἰ ἕξ καὶ δέκα γυναῖκες· αἰ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασιν καὶ ἀγῶνα Ἡραῖα. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν ἄμιλλα δρόμου παρθένοις· οὔτι πον πᾶσαι ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶται μὲν αἰ νεώταται, μετὰ ταύτας δὲ αἰ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ δεύτεραι, τελευταῖαι δὲ θέουσι ὅσαι πρεσβύταται τῶν παρθένων εἰσί.  
 3 θέουσι δὲ οὕτω· καθεῖται σφισιν ἡ κόμη, χιτῶν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ γόνατος καθήκει, τὸν ὦμον ἄχρι τοῦ στήθους φαίνουσι τὸν δεξιόν. ἀποδεδειγμένον μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνά ἐστι καὶ ταύταις τὸ Ὀλυμπικὸν στάδιον, ἀφαιροῦσι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐς τὸν δρόμον τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ἕκτον μάλιστα· ταῖς δὲ νικώσαις ἐλαίας τε διδόασιν στεφάνους καὶ βοδὸς μοῖραν τεθυμένης τῇ Ἡρᾷ, καὶ δὴ ἀναθεῖναι σφισιν ἔστι γραψαμέναις εἰκόνας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἰ διακονούμεναι ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς  
 4 ἀγωνοθετούσαις γυναῖκες. ἐπανάγουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Ἴπποδάμειαν τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῶν γάμων τῶν Πέλοπος ἐκτίνουσαν χάριν τὰς τε ἑκκαίδεκα ἀθροῖσαι γυναῖκας λέγοντες καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς διαθεῖναι πρώτην τὰ Ἡραῖα· μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅτι Χλῶρις νικήσειεν Ἀμφίονος θυγάτηρ μόνη λειψθεῖσα τοῦ οἴκου. σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἓνα περιγενέσθαι φασὶ τῶν ἀρσένων· ἃ δὲ ἐς τοὺς Νιόβης παῖδας παρίστατο αὐτῷ μοι γινώσκειν, ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐς

<sup>1</sup> From ἐννέα to δὲ is not in the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> From τὸ δὲ to πεντήκοντα is not in the MSS.



feet, the breadth sixty-three feet, the height not short of fifty feet. Who the architect was they do not relate. Every fourth year there is woven for Hera a robe by the Sixteen women, and the same also hold games called Heraea. The games consist of foot-races for maidens. These are not all of the same age. The first to run are the youngest; after them come the next in age, and the last to run are the oldest of the maidens. They run in the following way: their hair hangs down, a tunic reaches to a little above the knee, and they bare the right shoulder as far as the breast. These too have the Olympic stadium reserved for their games, but the course of the stadium is shortened for them by about one-sixth of its length. To the winning maidens they give crowns of olive and a portion of the cow sacrificed to Hera. They may also dedicate statues with their names inscribed upon them. Those who administer to the Sixteen are, like the presidents of the games, married women. The games of the maidens too are traced back to ancient times; they say that, out of gratitude to Hera for her marriage with Pelops, Hippodameia assembled the Sixteen Women, and with them inaugurated the Heraea. They relate too that a victory was won by Chloris, the only surviving daughter of the house of Amphion, though with her they say survived one of her brothers. As to the children of Niobe, what I myself chanced to learn about them I have set forth in my account of

5 Ἄργείους ἐδήλωσα. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖ-  
 κας καὶ ἄλλον τοιόνδε λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ  
 λόγον. Δαμοφῶντά φασι τυραννοῦντα ἐν Πίσῃ  
 πολλά τε ἐργάσασθαι καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἑλείους ὡς  
 δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Δαμοφῶν—οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἱ Πισαῖοι  
 συνεχῶρον μετέχειν δημοσίᾳ τοῦ τυράννου τῶν  
 ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ πῶς ἄρεστά καὶ Ἑλείοις  
 ἐγένετο καταλύεσθαι τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα—,  
 οὕτως ἑκκαίδεκα οἰκουμένων τηνικαῦτα ἔτι ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑλείᾳ πόλεων γυναῖκα ἀφ' ἐκάστης εἴλοντο δια-  
 λύειν τὰ διάφορά σφισιν, ἧτις ἡλικία τε ἦν  
 πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἀξιώματι καὶ δόξῃ τῶν γυναι-  
 6 κῶν προεῖχεν. αἱ πόλεις δὲ ἀφ' ὧν τὰς γυναῖκας  
 εἴλοντο, ἦσαν Ἑλις \* \* \*<sup>1</sup>. ἀπὸ τούτων μὲν αἱ  
 γυναῖκες οὔσαι τῶν πόλεων Πισαίοις διαλλαγὰς  
 πρὸς Ἑλείους ἐποίησαν ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα ἐπετράπησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὰ Ἑραῖα  
 καὶ ὑφήνασθαι τῇ Ἑρα τὸν πέπλον. αἱ δὲ  
 ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες καὶ χοροὺς δύο ἰστᾶσι καὶ  
 τὸν μὲν Φυσκόας τῶν χορῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἴπποδαμείας  
 καλοῦσι τὴν Φυσκόαν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἑλιδος τῆς Κοίλης, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἔνθα ᾤκησεν  
 7 ὄνομα Ὀρθίαν εἶναι. ταύτῃ τῇ Φυσκόᾳ Διόνυσον  
 συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι, Φυσκόαν δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου  
 τεκεῖν παῖδα Ναρκαῖον τοῦτον, ὡς ἠϋξήθη, πολε-  
 μεῖν τοῖς προσοίκοις καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα  
 ἀρθῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν  
 Ναρκαίας αὐτὸν ἰδρύσασθαι Διονύσω τε τιμὰς  
 λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ναρκαίου καὶ Φυσκόας δοθῆναι  
 πρώτων. Φυσκόας μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ  
 χορὸς ἐπώνυμος παρὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα γυναικῶν,  
 φυλασσοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν Ἑλείοι καὶ τᾶλλα

Argos.<sup>1</sup> Besides the account already given they tell another story about the Sixteen Women as follows. Damophon, it is said, when tyrant of Pisa did much grievous harm to the Eleans. But when he died, since the people of Pisa refused to participate as a people in their tyrant's sins, and the Eleans too became quite ready to lay aside their grievances, they chose a woman from each of the sixteen cities of Elis still inhabited at that time to settle their differences, this woman to be the oldest, the most noble, and the most esteemed of all the women. The cities from which they chose the women were Elis, . . . The women from these cities made peace between Pisa and Elis. Later on they were entrusted with the management of the Heraean games, and with the weaving of the robe for Hera. The Sixteen Women also arrange two choral dances, one called that of Physcoa and the other that of Hippodameia. This Physcoa they say came from Elis in the Hollow, and the name of the parish where she lived was Orthia. She mated they say with Dionysus, and bore him a son called Narcaeus. When he grew up he made war against the neighbouring folk, and rose to great power, setting up moreover a sanctuary of Athena surnamed Narcaea. They say too that Narcaeus and Physcoa were the first to pay worship to Dionysus. So various honours are paid to Physcoa, especially that of the choral dance, named after her and managed by the Sixteen Women. The Eleans still adhere to the other

<sup>1</sup> See Book II, ch. xxi., § 9.

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<sup>1</sup> Here there is a gap in the text.

καταλυθεισῶν<sup>1</sup> ὅμως τῶν πόλεων' νενεμημένοι  
 γὰρ ἐς ὀκτὼ φυλὰς ἀφ' ἐκάστης αἰροῦνται γυναι-  
 8 κας δύο. ὅποσα δὲ ἢ ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα γυναιξίν  
 ἢ τοῖς ἔλλανοδικοῦσιν Ἡλείων δρᾶν καθέστηκεν,  
 οὐ πρότερον δρῶσι πρὶν ἢ χοίρω τε ἐπιτηδεῖω  
 πρὸς καθαρμὸν καὶ ὕδατι ἀποκαθήρωνται. γίνε-  
 ται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ Πιέρα τὰ καθάρσια· ἐκ  
 δὲ Ὀλυμπίας τὴν πεδιάδα ἐς Ἡλιν ἐρχομένῳ  
 πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Πιέραν ἔστι.

XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει κατὰ τὰ προειρη-  
 μένα· τῆς Ἡρας δὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Διός, τὸ δὲ  
 Ἡρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ· παρ-  
 ἔστηκε δὲ γένειά τε ἔχων καὶ ἐπικείμενος κυνῆν  
 ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔργα δὲ ἔστιν ὑπλᾶ. τὰς δὲ  
 ἐφεξῆς τούτων καθήμενας ἐπὶ θρόνων Ὠρας  
 ἐποίησεν Αἰγινήτης Σμίλις. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὰς  
 Θέμιδος ἄτε μητρὸς τῶν Ὠρῶν ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε  
 Δορυκλείδου τέχνη, γένος μὲν Λακεδαιμονίου,  
 2 μαθητοῦ δὲ Διποίου καὶ Σκύλλιδος. τὰς δὲ  
 Ἐσπερίδας πέντε ἄριθμὸν Θεοκλῆς ἐποίησε,  
 Λακεδαιμόνιος μὲν καὶ οὗτος, πατὴρ Ἡγύ-  
 λου, φοιτῆσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Σκύλλιν  
 καὶ Δίποινον λέγεται. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κράνος  
 ἐπικειμένην καὶ δόρυ καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίου λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι Μέδοντος, τούτου  
 3 δὲ ἀδελφόν τε εἶναι Δορυκλείδου καὶ παρὰ ἄν-  
 δρασι διδαχθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Κόρη δὲ καὶ  
 Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις, αἱ μὲν  
 ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμεναι, Ἀπόλλων

<sup>1</sup> καταλυθεισῶν is not in the MSS. It is added by O. Müller. Some such word as *τινων* or *ἐνίων* seems also to have dropped out.

ancient customs, even though some of the cities have been destroyed. For they are now divided into eight tribes, and they choose two women from each. Whatever ritual it is the duty of either the Sixteen Women or the Elean umpires to perform, they do not perform before they have purified themselves with a pig meet for purification and with water. Their purification takes place at the spring Piera. You reach this spring as you go along the flat road from Olympia to Elis.

XVII. These things, then, are as I have already described. In the temple of Hera is an image of Zeus, and the image of Hera is sitting on a throne with Zeus standing by her, bearded and with a helmet on his head. They are crude works of art. The figures of Seasons next to them, seated upon thrones, were made by the Aeginetan Smilis. Beside them stands an image of Themis, as being mother of the Seasons. It is the work of Dorycleidas, a Lacedaemonian by birth and a disciple of Dipoenus and Scyllis. The Hesperides, five in number, were made by Theocles, who like Dorycleidas was a Lacedaemonian, the son of Hegylus; he too, they say, was a student under Scyllis and Dipoenus. The Athena wearing a helmet and carrying a spear and shield is, it is said, a work of Medon, a Lacedaemonian, brother of Dorycleidas and a pupil of the same masters. Then the Maid and Demeter sit opposite each other, while Apollo and

*circa*  
580-540  
B.C.

δὲ ἐναντίος ἐστῶση τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἕστηκεν. ἀνά-  
 κειται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Λητώ Τύχη τε καὶ Διόνυσος  
 καὶ ἔχουσα Νίκη πτερά· τοὺς δὲ εἰργασμένους  
 αὐτὰ οὐκ ἔχω δηλῶσαι, φαίνεται δὲ εἶναί μοι καὶ  
 ταῦτα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατει-  
 λεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, χρόνῳ δὲ  
 ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον·  
 Ἐρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δὲ  
 ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλους, καὶ Ἀφροδίτη χαλκῇ Κλέωνος  
 4 ἔργον Σικυωνίου. τούτου δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ  
 Κλέωνος, ὄνομα Ἀντιφάνης, ἐκ φοιτήσεως Περι-  
 κλύτου, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητῆς  
 ὁ Περικλυτος. παιδίον δὲ ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται  
 γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· Βοηθὸς δὲ ἐτόρευσε  
 αὐτὸ Καλχηδόnius. μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ  
 ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Φιλιππείου, χρυσοῦ καὶ  
 ταῦτα καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Εὐρυδίκη τε ἢ Ἀριδαίου  
 γυνὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάς ἢ<sup>1</sup> Φιλίππου.

5 Λάρναξ δὲ κέδρου μὲν πεποιήται, ζώδια δὲ  
 ἐλέφαντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ  
 αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρου· ἐς ταύτην  
 τὴν λάρνακα Κύψελον τὸν Κορίνθου τυραννήσαντα  
 ἀπέκρυσεν ἢ μήτηρ, ἠνίκα τεχθέντα ἀνευρεῖν  
 αὐτὸν σπουδῆν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ Βακχίδαι. τῆς μὲν  
 δὴ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος  
 οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμ-  
 πίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν  
 Κορίνθιοι κυψέλας· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα  
 6 Κύψελον τῷ παιδί θέσθαι λέγουσι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι,  
 γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα· καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα τῶν γραμμά-  
 478

Artemis stand opposite each other. Here too have been dedicated Leto, Fortune, Dionysus and a winged Victory. I cannot say who the artists were, but these figures too are in my opinion very ancient. The figures I have enumerated are of ivory and gold, but at a later date other images were dedicated in the Heraeum, including a marble Hermes carrying the baby Dionysus, a work of Praxiteles, and a bronze Aphrodite made by Cleon of Sicyon. The master of this Cleon, called Antiphanes, was a pupil of Periclytus, who himself was a pupil of Polycleitus of Argos. A nude gilded child is seated before Aphrodite, a work fashioned by Boëthus of Calchedon. There were also brought hither from what is called the Philippeum other images of gold and ivory, Eurydice the wife of Aridaeus and Olympias the wife of Philip.

*circa*  
388 B.C.

There is also a chest made of cedar, with figures on it, some of ivory, some of gold, others carved out of the cedar-wood itself. It was in this chest that Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth, was hidden by his mother when the Bacchidae were anxious to discover him after his birth. In gratitude for the saving of Cypselus, his descendants, Cypselids as they are called, dedicated the chest at Olympia. The Corinthians of that age called chests *kypselai*, and from this word, they say, the child received his name of Cypselus. On most of the figures on the chest there are inscriptions, written in the ancient characters. In some cases the letters read straight on, but in others the form of the writing is what the

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<sup>1</sup> From 'Αριδαίου to ἦ is not in the MSS. The words were added by Buttmann.

των βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνας. τὸ δέ ἐστι τοιούδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὡσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς. ἀρξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ

7 τῆς λάρνακος ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα. Οἰνόμαος διώκων Πέλοπά ἐστιν ἔχοντα Ἴπποδάμειαν ἑκατέρῳ μὲν δὴ δύο αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἵπποι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπός ἐστι πεφυκότα καὶ πτερά. ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου τε ἡ οἰκία πεποιήται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νήπιον πρεσβύτις ἡτις δὴ πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ Δημόνασσα,

8 καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνός. Ἄσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι. Βάτων δέ, ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ, τὰς τε ἡνίας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἑτέρα λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιβέβηκεν ἤδη τοῦ ἄρματος, τὸ ξίφος δὲ ἔχει γυμνὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἐστὶν ἐπεστραμμένος ἐξαγόμενός τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὡς

9 μόλις ἐκείνης ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς. πεποιήται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος καὶ ὄπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἄπεστιν ἡτις ἐστί, Φρυγίοις δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἕλλητικοῖς αὐλοῖς. ἡνιοχοῦντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πίσός ἐστιν ὁ Περιήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἀδμητος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς



Greeks call *bustrophedon*.<sup>1</sup> It is like this: at the end of the line the second line turns back, as runners do when running the double race. Moreover the inscriptions on the chest are written in winding characters difficult to decipher. Beginning our survey at the bottom we see in the first space of the chest the following scenes. Oenomaüs is chasing Pelops, who is holding Hippodameia. Each of them has two horses, but those of Pelops have wings. Next is wrought the house of Amphiaraüs, and baby Amphilocheus is being carried by some old woman or other. In front of the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace, and by her are her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa, and the boy Alcmaeon naked. Asiaticus in his poem makes out Alcmena also to be a daughter of Amphiaraüs and Eriphyle. Baton is driving the chariot of Amphiaraüs, holding the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraüs already has one foot on the chariot and his sword drawn; he is turned towards Eriphyle in such a transport of anger that he can scarcely refrain from striking her. After the house of Amphiaraüs come the games at the funeral of Pelias, with the spectators looking at the competitors. Heracles is seated on a throne, and behind him is a woman. There is no inscription saying who the woman is, but she is playing on a Phrygian, not a Greek, flute. Driving chariots drawn by pairs of horses are Pisis, son of Perieres, and Asterion, son of Cometas (Asterion is said to have been one of the Argonauts), Polydeuces, Admetus and Euphemus. The poets declare that

<sup>1</sup> That is, "as oxen turn when ploughing." The writing went from left to right and from right to left alternately.

Εὐφημος, Ποσειδῶνός τε ὦν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον καὶ Ἰάσουι ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσχηκῶς· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικῶν ἐστίν.  
 10 οἱ δὲ ἀποτετολμηκότες πυκτεύειν Ἄδμητος καὶ Μόψος ἐστίν ὁ Ἄμπυκος· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἐστηκῶς ἐπαυλεῖ, καθότι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλματι αὐλεῖν τῶν πεντάθλων νομίζουσιν. Ἰάσουι δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς πάλης ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκε. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβώτας ἀφιεῖς δίσκον, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δίσκῳ φήμην ἔχων. οἱ δ' ἐς ἄμιλλαν δρόμον καθεστηκότες Μελανίων ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθεὺς καὶ Φαλαρεὺς, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἰφικλος πέμπτος· τούτῳ δὲ νικῶντι ὀρέγει τὸν στέφανον ὁ Ἀκαστος· εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ Πρωτεσιλάου πατὴρ τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐς  
 11 Ἴλιον. κείνται δὲ καὶ τρίποδες, ἄθλα δὴ τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσὶν αἱ Πελίου· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλκήστιδι γέγραπται μόνη. Ἰόλαος δέ, ὃς ἐθελοντῆς μετείχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἔργων, ἐστὶν ἵππων ἄρματι ἀνηρημένος νίκηη. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀγὼν μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία πέπαιται, τὴν ὕδραν δέ, τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Ἀμυμώνη θηρίον, Ἡρακλεῖ τοξεύοντι Ἀθηνᾶ παρέστηκεν· ἄτε δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄντος οὐκ ἀγνώστου τοῦ τε ἄθλου χάριν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι, τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον. Φινεύς τε ὁ Θραῆξ ἐστί, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Βορέου τὰς Ἀρπυίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώκουσιν.

XVIII. Τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς περιόδου, πεποιήται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρί, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα  
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the last was a son of Poseidon and a companion of Jason on his voyage to Colchis. He it is who is winning the chariot-race. Those who have boldly ventured to box are Admetus and Mopsus, the son of Ampyx. Between them stands a man playing the flute, as in our day they are accustomed to play the flute when the competitors in the pentathlum are jumping. The wrestling-bout between Jason and Peleus is an even one. Eurybotas is shown throwing the quoit; he must be some famous quoit-thrower. Those engaged in a running-race are Melanion, Neotheus and Phalareus; the fourth runner is Argeius, and the fifth is Iphiclus. Iphiclus is the winner, and Acastus is holding out the crown to him. He is probably the father of the Protesilaüs who joined in the war against Troy. Tripods too are set here, prizes of course for the winners; and there are the daughters of Pelias, though the only one with her name inscribed is Alcestis. Iolaüs, who voluntarily helped Heracles in his labours, is shown as a victor in the chariot-race. At this point the funeral games of Pelias come to an end, and Heracles, with Athena standing beside him, is shooting at the hydra, the beast in the river Amymone. Heracles can be easily recognised by his exploit and his attitude, so his name is not inscribed by him. There is also Phineus the Thracian, and the sons of Boreas are chasing the harpies away from him.

XVIII. Now I come to the second space on the chest, and in going round it I had better begin from the left. There is a figure of a woman holding on her right arm a white child asleep, and on her left

μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα καθεύδοντι ἑοικότα, ἀμφοτέ-  
 ρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. δηλοῖ μὲν δὴ  
 καὶ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν  
 ἐπιγραμμμάτων ἔστι Θάνατόν τε εἶναι σφᾶς καὶ  
 "Υπνον καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφόν.  
 2 γυνὴ δὲ εὐειδῆς γυναῖκα αἰσχρὰν κολάζουσα καὶ  
 τῇ μὲν ἀπάγχουσα αὐτήν, τῇ δὲ ῥάβδῳ παίουσα,  
 Δίκη ταῦτα Ἀδικίαν δρῶσά ἐστι· δύο δὲ ἄλλας  
 γυναῖκας ἐς ὄλμους καθικνουμένας ὑπέροις, φάρ-  
 μακα εἰδέναί σφᾶς νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε  
 οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτάς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν  
 ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα ἐπομένην αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπη  
 δηλοῖ τὰ ἐξάμετρα· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως·

"Ἰδας Μάρπησσαν καλλίσφυρον, ἂν οἱ Ἀπόλ-  
 λων

ἄρπασε, τὰν Εὐανοῦ ἄγει πάλιν οὐκ ἀέκου-  
 σαν.

3 χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνδεδυκὼς ἄνῆρ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κύλικα,  
 τῇ δὲ ἔχων ἐστὶν ὄρμον, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῶν  
 Ἀλκμήνῃ· πεποιήται δὲ ἐς τὸν λόγον τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ὡς συγγένοιτο Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφι-  
 τρύωνι εἰκασθεῖς. Μενέλαος δὲ θώρακά τε  
 ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ ἔχων ξίφος ἔπεισιν Ἑλένην  
 ἀποκτεῖναι, δῆλα ὡς ἀλισκομένης Ἰλίου. Μη-  
 δείας δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου καθημένης Ἰάσων ἐν δεξιᾷ,  
 τῇ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέστηκε· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ  
 ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·

Μήδειαν Ἰάσων γαμέει, κέλεται δ' Ἀφροδίτα.

4 πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ἄδουσαι Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων

she has a black child like one who is asleep. Each has his feet turned different ways. The inscriptions declare, as one could infer without inscriptions, that the figures are Death and Sleep, with Night the nurse of both. A beautiful woman is punishing an ugly one, choking her with one hand and with the other striking her with a staff. It is Justice who thus treats Injustice. Two other women are pounding in mortars with pestles; they are supposed to be wise in medicine-lore, though there is no inscription to them. Who the man is who is followed by a woman is made plain by the hexameter verses, which run thus:—

Idas brings back, not against her will,  
Fair-ankled Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, whom  
Apollo carried off.

A man wearing a tunic is holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left a necklace; Alcmena is taking hold of them. This scene represents the Greek story how Zeus in the likeness of Amphitryon had intercourse with Alcmena. Menelaüs, wearing a breastplate and carrying a sword, is advancing to kill Helen, so it is plain that Troy has been captured. Medeia is seated upon a throne, while Jason stands on her right and Aphrodite on her left. On them is an inscription:—

Jason weds Medeia, as Aphrodite bids.

There are also figures of Muses singing, with Apollo

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς, καὶ σφισιν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται

Λατοΐδας οὗτος τάχ' <sup>1</sup> ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων

Μοῦσαι δ' ἄμφ' αὐτόν, χαρίεις χορός, αἴσι  
κατάρχει.

Ἄτλας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὤμων κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐρανὸν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπερίδων μῆλα. ὅστις δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔχων τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄτλαντα ἐρχόμενος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οὐδέν, δῆλα δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις

Ἄτλας οὐρανὸν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα  
μεθήσει.

5 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης ὄπλα ἐνδεδυκώς, Ἀφροδίτην ἄγων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ἐνυάλιός ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλεύς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θέτιδος ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλέα ἐστὶν ὀρμών. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδούσης ἔχουσαι πτερὰ πετόμενον Περσέα εἰσὶ διώκουσαι· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῷ Περσεῖ γέγραπται μόνῳ.

6 Στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος· τὸ μὲν πολὺ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἵππεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔστιν εἰκάζειν συιέναι μὲν σφᾶς ἐς μάχην, συιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασομένους τε καὶ ἀναγνωριούντας ἀλλήλους. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμφότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τοῖς

leading the song; these too have an inscription:—

This is Leto's son, prince Apollo, far-shooting;  
Around him are the Muses, a graceful choir, whom  
he is leading.

Atlas too is supporting, just as the story has it,  
heaven and earth upon his shoulders; he is also  
carrying the apples of the Hesperides. A man  
holding a sword is coming towards Atlas. This  
everybody can see is Heracles, though he is not  
mentioned specially in the inscription, which reads:—

Here is Atlas holding heaven, but he will let go  
the apples.

There is also Ares clad in armour and leading  
Aphrodite. The inscription by him is "Enyalios."  
There is also a figure of Thetis as a maid: Peleus is  
taking hold of her, and from the hand of Thetis a  
snake is darting at Peleus. The sisters of Medusa,  
with wings, are chasing Perseus, who is flying.  
Only Perseus has his name inscribed on him.

On the third space of the chest are military  
scenes. The greater number of the figures are on  
foot, though there are some knights in two-horse  
chariots. About the soldiers one may infer that  
they are advancing to battle, but that they will  
recognise and greet each other. Two different  
accounts of them are given by the guides. Some

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<sup>1</sup> This *τάχα* is meaningless. Probably, as Haupt suggests, the inscription had here *οὐτός γὰρ Φάναξ*, which Pausanias misread.

μέν ἐστιν εἰρημένον Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς μετὰ Ὀξύλου  
 καὶ Ἡλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχαίους, ἀπαντᾶν δὲ  
 σφᾶς γένους τε μνήμη τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐνοίαν  
 ἐνδεικνυμένους ἐς ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ συνιέναι φασὶν  
 ἐς ἀγῶνα τὰ στρατιωτικά, Πυλίου δὲ εἶναι καὶ  
 Ἄρκάδας παρά τε Φειᾶν πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν  
 7 μαχουμένους Ἰάρδανον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ  
 ἀρχὴν ἀποδέξαιτο ἄν τις, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Κυψέλου  
 πρόγονος Κορινθίος τε ὦν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὐτῷ  
 ποιούμενος κτήμα, ὅποσα μὲν Κορινθίοις ἦν ἐπι-  
 χῶρια, ἐκὼν ὑπερέβαιεν, ἃ δὲ ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ  
 ἄλλως ἦκοντα ἐς δόξαν, ἐτεχνᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι·  
 αὐτῷ μέντοι παρίστατο ἐμοὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν.  
 Κυψέλω καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἐκ Γονούσσης ἦν  
 γένος ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυῶνος, καὶ πρόγονός  
 8 σφισιν ἦν Μέλας ὁ Ἀντάσου· Μέλανα δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα  
 μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ οὐκ ἤθελεν  
 Ἀλήτης συνοίκους δέξασθαι, γεγονός οἱ μάν-  
 τευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ὑφορώμενος, ἐς ὃ θεραπεία τε  
 τῇ πάσῃ χρώμενον Μέλανα καὶ ὅποτε ἀπελα-  
 σθείη σὺν δεήσει ἐπανιόντα αὐθις ἐδέξατο καὶ  
 ἄκων Ἀλήτης. τοῦτο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τεκμαί-  
 ροιτο ἄν τις τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι εἰργασμένους  
 εἶναι.

XIX. Τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς  
 περιούντι Βορέας ἐστὶν ἥρπакὼς Ὠρείθιαν—  
 οὐραὶ δὲ ὄφρων ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ—καὶ  
 Ἡρακλέους ὁ πρὸς Γηρυόνην ἀγών· τρεῖς δὲ  
 ἄνδρες Γηρυόνης εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι.  
 Θησεὺς δὲ ἔχων λύραν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀριάδνη  
 κατέχουσά ἐστι στέφανον. Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ καὶ  
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have said that they are the Aetolians with Oxyllus and the ancient Eleans, and that they are meeting in remembrance of their original descent and as a sign of their mutual good will. Others declare that the soldiers are meeting in battle, and that they are Pylians and Arcadians about to fight by the city Pheia and the river Iardanus. But it cannot for a moment be admitted that the ancestor of Cypselus, a Corinthian, having the chest made as a possession for himself, of his own accord passed over all Corinthian story, and had carved on the chest foreign events which were not famous. The following interpretation suggested itself to me. Cypselus and his ancestors came originally from Gonussa above Sicyon, and one of their ancestors was Melas, the son of Antasus. But, as I have already related in my account of Corinth,<sup>1</sup> Aletes refused to admit as settlers Melas and the host with him, being nervous about an oracle which had been given him from Delphi; but at last Melas, using every art of winning favours, and returning with entreaties every time he was driven away, persuaded Aletes however reluctantly to receive them. One might infer that this army is represented by the figures wrought upon the chest.

XIX. In the fourth space on the chest as you go round from the left is Boreas, who has carried off Oreithyia; instead of feet he has serpents' tails. Then comes the combat between Heracles and Geryones, who is represented as three men joined to one another. There is Theseus holding a lyre, and by his side is Ariadne gripping a crown.

<sup>1</sup> See Book II, ch. iv.

Μέμνονι μαχομένοις παρεστήκασιν αἱ μητέρες·  
 2 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μελανίων καὶ Ἀταλάντη παρ' αὐτὸν  
 ἔχουσα ἐλάφου ιεβρόν. μονομαχοῦντος δὲ Αἴαντι  
 Ἔκτορος κατὰ τὴν πρόκλησιν, μεταξὺ ἔστηκεν  
 αὐτῶν Ἔρις αἰσχίστη τὸ εἶδος ἔοικυῖα· πρὸς δὲ  
 ταύτῃ καὶ Καλλιφῶν Σάμιος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ  
 τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐποίησεν Ἔριν, τὴν μάχην γράψας  
 τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια,  
 3 μέση δὲ αὐτῶν Ἑλένη· Αἶθρα δὲ ἡ Πιθθέως ὑπὸ  
 τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς ἔδαφος καταβεβλημένη  
 μέλαιναν ἔχουσα ἔστιν ἐσθῆτα, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε ἐξάμετρον καὶ ὀνόματός ἐστιν  
 ἐνὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαμέτρῳ προσθήκη·

† Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἶθραν δ' ἔλκετον  
 Ἀθάναθεν.†

4 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔπος οὕτω πεποιήται· Ἴφιδά-  
 μαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κειμένου μαχόμενος  
 πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κόων ἐστί· Φόβος  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἔπεστιν,  
 ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπιγράμματα δὲ  
 ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἴφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ,

Ἴφιδάμας, οὗτός τε Κόων περιμάρναται αὐτοῦ·

τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι,

5 Οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὁ δ' ἔχων  
 Ἀγαμέμνων.

Achilles and Memnon are fighting; their mothers stand by their side. There is also Melanion, by whom is Atalanta holding a young deer. Ajax is fighting a duel with Hector, according to the challenge,<sup>1</sup> and between the pair stands Strife in the form of a most repulsive woman. Another figure of Strife is in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis; Calliphon of Samos included it in his picture of the battle at the ships of the Greeks. On the chest are also the Dioscuri, one of them a beardless youth, and between them is Helen. Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, lies thrown to the ground under the feet at Helen. She is clothed in black, and the inscription upon the group is an hexameter line with the addition of a single word:

The sons of Tyndareus are carrying off Helen,  
and are dragging Aethra  
From Athens.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the way this line is constructed. Iphidamas, the son of Antenor, is lying, and Coön is fighting for him against Agamemnon. On the shield of Agamemnon is Fear, whose head is a lion's. The inscription above the corpse of Iphidamas runs:

Iphidamas, and this is Coön fighting for him.

The inscription on the shield of Agamemnon runs:

This is the Fear of mortals: he who holds him  
is Agamemnon.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* VII. 225 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Various attempts have been made to emend this inscription, which is obviously corrupt. None of them is satisfactory.

ἄγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου  
τὰς θεὰς κριθησομένας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ  
ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τούτοις·

Ἑρμείας ὄδ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δείκνυσι διαιτῆν  
τοῦ εἶδους Ἦραν καὶ Ἀθήναν καὶ Ἀφροδίταν.

Ἄρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας  
ἔχουσα ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ  
κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα.  
πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδραν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος  
Αἴας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλκων, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἐπί-  
γραμμά ἐστιν·

Αἴας Κασσάνδραν ὑπ' Ἀθαναίας Λοκρὸς ἔλκει.

6 τῶν δὲ Οἰδίποδος παίδων Πολυνεΐκει πεπτωκότε  
ἐς γόνυ ἔπεισιν Ἐτεοκλῆς. τοῦ Πολυνεΐκου δὲ  
ὄπισθεν γυνὴ ἔστηκεν ὀδόντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν  
ἡμερωτέρους θηρίου καὶ οἱ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσὶν  
ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ ὄνυχες· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναί  
φησι Κῆρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπρωμένου τὸν  
Πολυνεΐκην ἀπαχθέντα, Ἐτεοκλεῖ δὲ γενομένης  
καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς τελευταίας. Διόνυσος δὲ  
ἐν ἄντρῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα  
χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδυκὼς ἔστι ποδήρη χιτῶνα· δένδρα  
δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ μηλέαι τέ εἰσι καὶ  
ῥόαι.

7 Ἡ δὲ ἄνωτάτω χώρα—πέντε γὰρ ἀριθμὸν εἰσι  
—παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, λείπεται δὲ  
εἰκάζειν ἐς τὰ ἐπειργασμένα. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν  
σπηλαίῳ γυνὴ καθεύδουσα σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃ,  
καὶ σφᾶς Ὀδυσσεά εἶναι καὶ Κίρκην ἐδοξάζομεν  
ἀριθμῷ τε τῶν θεραπειῶν, αἷ εἰσι πρὸ τοῦ

There is also Hermes bringing to Alexander the son of Priam the goddesses of whose beauty he is to judge, the inscription on them being :

Here is Hermes, who is showing to Alexander,  
that he may arbitrate  
Concerning their beauty, Hera, Athena and  
Aphrodite.

On what account Artemis has wings on her shoulders I do not know ; in her right hand she grips a leopard, in her left a lion. Ajax too is represented dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena, and by him is also an inscription :

Ajax of Locri is dragging Cassandra from Athena.

Polyneices, the son of Oedipus, has fallen on his knee, and Eteocles, the other son of Oedipus, is rushing on him. Behind Polyneices stands a woman with teeth as cruel as those of a beast, and her fingernails are bent like talons. An inscription by her calls her Doom, implying that Polyneices has been carried off by fate, and that Eteocles fully deserved his end. Dionysus is lying down in a cave, a bearded figure holding a golden cup, and clad in a tunic reaching to the feet. Around him are vines, apple-trees and pomegranate-trees.

The highest space—the spaces are five in number—shows no inscription, so that we can only conjecture what the reliefs mean. Well, there is a grotto and in it a woman sleeping with a man upon a couch. I was of opinion that they were Odysseus and Circe, basing my view upon the number of the handmaidens

- σπηλαίου, καὶ τοῖς ποιουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν· τέσσαρές τε γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐργάζονται τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὀμηρος εἶρηκε. Κένταυρος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας, τοὺς
- 8 δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνδρὸς ἐστίν. ἐξῆς καὶ ἵππων συνωρίδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἰσὶν ἐστῶσαι· πτερὰ δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις χρυσᾶ ἐστί, καὶ ἀνὴρ δίδωσιν ὄπλα μᾶ τῶν γυναικῶν. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πατρόκλου τελευτὴν ἔχειν τεκμαίρονται· Νηρηίδας τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἶναι καὶ Θέτιν τὰ ὄπλα λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ τὰ ὄπλα διδοὺς οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐστὶν ἐρρωμένος καὶ
- 9 ὄπισθεν οἰκέτης ἔπεται· οἱ πυράγραν ἔχων· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Κένταυρον ὡς Χίρων, ἀπηλλαγμένος ἤδη παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἠξιωμένος εἶναι σύνοικος θεοῖς, ῥαστώνην τινὰ ἠκοι τοῦ πένθους Ἀχιλλεῖ παρασκευάσων. παρθένους δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμίονων τὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν τὰς ἡνίας, τὴν δὲ ἐπικειμένην κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, Ναυσικᾶν τε νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν, ἐλανούσας ἐπὶ τοὺς πλυνοὺς. τοξεύοντα δὲ ἄνδρα Κενταύρους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτονότα ἐξ αὐτῶν, δῆλα Ἡρακλέα τε τὸν τοξεύοντα καὶ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι τὸ ἔργον.
- 10 Τὸν μὲν δὴ τὴν λάρνακα εἰργασμένον ὅστις ἦν, οὐδαμῶς ἡμῖν δυνατὰ ἦν συμβαλέσθαι· τὰ ἐπιγράμματα δὲ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάχῃ μὲν που καὶ ἄλλος τις ἂν εἴη πεποιηκώς, τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Εὐμηλον τὸν Κορίνθιου εἶχεν ἡμῖν, ἄλλων τε ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον.

in front of the grotto and upon what they are doing. For the women are four, and they are engaged on the tasks which Homer mentions in his poetry.<sup>1</sup> There is a Centaur with only two of his legs those of a horse; his forelegs are human. Next come two-horse chariots with women standing in them. The horses have golden wings, and a man is giving armour to one of the women. I conjecture that this scene refers to the death of Patroclus; the women in the chariots, I take it, are Nereïds, and Thetis is receiving the armour from Hephaestus. And moreover, he who is giving the armour is not strong upon his feet, and a slave follows him behind, holding a pair of fire-tongs. An account also is given of the Centaur, that he is Chiron, freed by this time from human affairs and held worthy to share the home of the gods, who has come to assuage the grief of Achilles. Two maidens in a mule-cart, one holding the reins and the other wearing a veil upon her head, are thought to be Nausicaä, the daughter of Alcinoüs, and her handmaiden, driving to the washing-pits. The man shooting at Centaurs, some of which he has killed, is plainly Heracles, and the exploit is one of his.

As to the maker of the chest, I found it impossible to form any conjecture. But the inscriptions upon it, though possibly composed by some other poet, are, as I was on the whole inclined to hold, the work of Eumelus of Corinth.<sup>2</sup> My main reason for this view is the processional hymn he wrote for Delos.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* X. 348 foll.

<sup>2</sup> An Epic poet of the eighth century B.C. See Pausanias II. 1.

- XX. Ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, κλίνη τε μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, τὰ πολλὰ ἐλέφαντι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος καὶ τράπεζα ἐφ' ἧς προτίθενται τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ἴπποδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι παίγνιον· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἡλείοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα περίεισιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα.
- 2 ἢ τράπεζα δὲ ἐλέφαντος μὲν πεποιήται καὶ χρυσοῦ, Κωλώτου δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργον· εἶναι δέ φασιν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τὸν Κωλώτην, οἱ δὲ πολυπραγμονήσαντες σπουδῇ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πλάστας Πάριον ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα αὐτόν, μαθητὴν Πασιτέλους, Πασιτέλη δὲ αὐτὸν διδαχθῆναι \* \*. καὶ Ἡρατε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ θεῶν μήτηρ καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἀπόλλων μετὰ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποιήται· ὀπισθε
- 3 δὲ ἢ διάθεσις ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ ἀγῶνος. κατὰ δὲ ἑκατέραν πλευρὰν τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ τῶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ θυγατέρων Ὑγεία ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἄρης καὶ Ἄγων παρ' αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Πλούτων καὶ Διόνυσος Περσεφόνη τε καὶ Νύμφαι, σφαῖραν αὐτῶν ἢ ἑτέρα φέρουσα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κλειδί—ἔχει γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλούτων κλεῖν—, λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν καλούμενον Ἄιδην κεκλεισθαί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐπάνεισιν οὐδεὶς αὐθις ἐξ αὐτοῦ.
- 4 Λόγον δέ, ὃν Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεγεν ὁ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐξηγητῆς, οὗ με εἰκὸς ἦν παριδεῖν ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔφη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ Ἡραίου πεπονηκότα ἐπανορθουμένων Ἡλείων ὀπλίτου νεκρὸν τραύματα ἔχοντα μεταξὺ ἀμ-



XX. There are here other offerings also: a couch of no great size and for the most part adorned with ivory; the quoit of Iphitus; a table on which are set out the crowns for the victors. The couch is said to have been a toy of Hippodameia. The quoit of Iphitus has inscribed upon it the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festivals; the inscription is not written in a straight line, but the letters run in a circle round the quoit. The table is made of ivory and gold, and is the work of Colotes.<sup>1</sup> Colotes is said to have been a native of Heracleia, but specialists in the history of sculpture maintain that he was a Parian, a pupil of Pasiteles, who himself was a pupil of . . . There are figures of Hera, Zeus, the Mother of the gods, Hermes, and Apollo with Artemis. Behind is the disposition of the games. On one side are Asclepius and Health, one of his daughters; Ares too and Contest by his side; on the other are Pluto, Dionysus, Persephone and nymphs, one of them carrying a ball. As to the key (Pluto holds a key) they say that what is called Hades has been locked up by Pluto, and that nobody will return back again therefrom.

I must not omit the story told by Aristarchus, the guide to the sights at Olympia. He said that in his day the roof of the Heraeum had fallen into decay. When the Eleans were repairing it, the corpse of a foot-soldier with wounds was discovered

<sup>1</sup> A pupil of Pheidias.

φοτέρων εύρεθῆναι, τῆς τε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν στέγης  
καὶ τῆς ἀνεχούσης τὸν κέραμον· τοῦτον τὸν  
ἄνδρα μαχέσασθαι τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλτewς  
5 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους Ἡλείων. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν  
θεῶν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἐπανα-  
βαίνοντες ἡμύνοντο οἱ Ἡλείοι. οὗτος δ' οὖν ὁ  
ἄνῆρ ἐφαίνετο ἡμῖν ὑποδύναι μὲν ἐνταῦθα λιπο-  
ψυχήσας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων· ὡς δὲ ἀφήκε τὴν  
ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄρα οὔτε πνίγος θέρους οὔτε  
ἐν χειμῶνι κρυμὸς ἔσεσθαι τῷ νεκρῷ βλάβος ἅτε  
ἐν σκέπη πάσῃ κειμένῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τότε ἔτι ὁ  
Ἄρισταρχος, ὡς ἐκκομίσαιντο ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς  
Ἄλτewς τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὄπλοις γῆ  
κρύψαιεν.

6 Ἦν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου κίονα οἱ Ἡλείοι,  
ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
μεγάλου βωμοῦ· τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ  
κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος, πεποιήνται δὲ  
ἔρυμα εἶναι ξυλίνῳ κίονι πεπονηκότι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
χρόνου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένῳ.  
οὗτος ὁ κίων ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, καθὰ  
λέγουσιν, εἰστήκει· κεραυνῶσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ  
τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο  
7 δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἀπάσης μόνον. πινάκιον δὲ  
πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦν ἐλεγεία ἔχει γεγραμμένα·

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κλεινῶν εἴμ', ὦ ξένε, λείψανον οἴκων,  
στυλῖς ἐν Οἰνομάου πρὶν ποτ' εἴουσα δόμοις·  
νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κροϊίδην κείμει τάδ' ἔχουσα τὰ  
δεσμὰ

τίμιος· οὐδ' ὀλοὴ δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός.

8 συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο κατ' ἐμὲ τοιόνδε. ἄνῆρ βου-  
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between the roof supporting the tiles and the ornamented ceiling. This soldier took part in the battle in the Altis between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians. The Eleans in fact climbed to defend themselves on to all high places alike, including the sanctuaries of the gods. At any rate this soldier seemed to us to have crept under here after growing faint with his wounds, and so died. Lying in a completely sheltered spot the corpse would suffer harm neither from the heat of summer nor from the frost of winter. Aristarchus said further that they carried the corpse outside the Altis and buried him in the earth along with his armour.

*circa*  
400 B.C.

What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaïis is in the direction of the sanctuary of Zeus as you go from the great altar. On the left are four pillars with a roof on them, the whole constructed to protect a wooden pillar which has decayed through age, being for the most part held together by bands. This pillar, so runs the tale, stood in the house of Oenomaïis. Struck by lightning the rest of the house was destroyed by the fire; of all the building only this pillar was left. A bronze tablet in front of it has the following elegiac inscription:—

Stranger, I am a remnant of a famous house,  
 I, who once was a pillar in the house of  
 Oenomaïis;  
 Now by Cronus' son I lie with these bands upon  
 me,  
 A precious thing, and the baleful flame of fire  
 consumed me not.

In my time another incident took place, which I

λῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην· ἐθέλων δὲ ὑπολιπέσθαι τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημα χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σὺν ἐπιγράμματι, ὠρυσσειν ἐς ποίησιν βάθρου· καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἐγγύτατα τὸ ὄρυγμα αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Οἰνομάου κίονος, ἐνταῦθα εὔρισκον οἱ ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χαλινῶν καὶ ψαλίων θραύματα.

- 9 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς ἐώρων ὀρυσσόμενα· ναὸν δὲ μεγέθει οὐ<sup>1</sup> μέγαν καὶ ἐργασίᾳ Δώριον Μητρῶον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καλοῦσιν ἔτι, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ διασφύζοντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον· κεῖται δὲ οὐκ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῶν μητρός, βασιλέων δὲ ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες Ῥωμαίων. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτews τό τε<sup>2</sup> Μητρῶον καὶ οἴκημα περιφερὲς ὄνομαζόμενον Φιλιππέιον· ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δὲ ἐστι τοῦ Φιλιππέιου μήκων χαλκῆ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς.
- 10 τοῦτο τὸ οἴκημά ἐστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, πεποίηται δὲ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου, κίονες δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστήκασιν· Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν· κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φίλιππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ· ἔργα δὲ ἐστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες.

XXI. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἐς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. ἀναμίξαι δὲ οὐκ ἀρεστὰ ἦν μοι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῆ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὅποσα ἄλλα, τὰ

<sup>1</sup> οὐ is not in the MSS., but was added by Flasch.

<sup>2</sup> τε is not in the MSS., but was added by Bekker.

will relate. A Roman senator won an Olympic victory. Wishing to leave behind, as a memorial of his victory, a bronze statue with an inscription, he proceeded to dig, so as to make a foundation. When his excavation came very close to the pillar of Oenomaüs, the diggers found there fragments of armour, bridles and curbs.

These I saw myself as they were being dug out. A temple of no great size in the Doric style they have called down to the present day Metroüm,<sup>1</sup> keeping its ancient name. No image lies in it of the Mother of the gods, but there stand in it statues of Roman emperors. The Metroüm is within the Altis, and so is a round building called the Philippeüm. On the roof of the Philippeüm is a bronze poppy which binds the beams together. This building is on the left of the exit over against the Town Hall. It is made of burnt brick and is surrounded by columns. It was built by Philip after the fall of Greece at Chaeroneia. Here are set statues of Philip and Alexander, and with them is Amyntas, Philip's father. These works too are by Leochares, and are of ivory and gold, as are the statues of Olympias and Eurydice.

XXI. From this point my account will proceed to a description of the statues and votive offerings; but I think that it would be wrong to mix up the accounts of them. For whereas on the Athenian Acropolis statues are votive offerings like everything

<sup>1</sup> "Temple of the Mother."

πάντα ἔστιν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικῶντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἀνδριάντων ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις.

- 2 Ἴόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρῴου, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρηπὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς· πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπίδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾷ. ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται
- 3 δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ἔστησαν καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος· Εὐπῶλος γὰρ Θεσσαλὸς χρήμασι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν πυκτῶν, Ἀγήτορα Ἀρκάδα καὶ Πρύτανιν Κυζικηνόν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φορμίωνα Ἀλικαρνασσέα μὲν γένος, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης κρατήσαντα. τοῦτο ἕξ ἀθλητῶν ἀδίκημα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ πρῶτοι χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων Εὐπῶλος καὶ οἱ δεξάμενοι δῶρα παρὰ Εὐπῶλου. δύο μὲν δὴ ἕξ αὐτῶν ἔργα Κλέωνος Σικυωνίου· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρα ὅστις ἐποίησεν,
- 4 οὐκ ἴσμεν. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τούτων παρέντι τρίτον τε ἕξ αὐτῶν καὶ τέταρτον, γεγραμμένα ἐλεγείᾳ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεγείων δηλοῦν ὡς οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ ὠκύτητι τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος σώματος Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔστιν εὐρέσθαι νίκην, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ

else, in the Altis some things only are dedicated in honour of the gods, and statues are merely part of the prizes awarded to the victors. The statues I will mention later; I will turn first to the votive offerings, and go over the most noteworthy of them.

As you go to the stadium along the road from the Metroöum, there is on the left at the bottom of Mount Cronius a platform of stone, right by the very mountain, with steps through it. By the platform have been set up bronze images of Zeus. These have been made from the fines inflicted on athletes who have wantonly broken the rules of the contests, and they are called Zanes (*figures of Zeus*) by the natives. The first, six in number, were set up in the ninety-eighth Olympiad. For Eupolus of Thes-saly bribed the boxers who entered the competition, Agenor the Arcadian and Prytanis of Cyzicus, and with them also Phormio of Halicarnassus, who had won at the preceding Festival. This is said to have been the first time that an athlete violated the rules of the games, and the first to be fined by the Eleans were Eupolus and those who accepted bribes from Eupolus. Two of these images are the work of Cleon of Sicyon; who made the next four I do not know. Except the third and the fourth these images have elegiac inscriptions on them. The first of the inscriptions is intended to make plain that an Olympic victory is to be won, not by money, but by swiftness of foot and strength of body. The

δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὡς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε τιμῇ τε τῆ  
 ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας τῆς Ἑλλείων καὶ  
 ἀθληταῖς παρανομοῦσιν εἶναι δέος· πέμπτῳ δὲ  
 καὶ ἕκτῳ, τῷ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος  
 γνώμη τά τε ἄλλα ἐς ἔπαινον Ἑλλείων καὶ οὐχ  
 ἠκίστα ἐπὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ τῶν πυκτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ  
 ὑπολοίπῳ διδασκαλίαν πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι τὰ  
 ἀγάλματα μηδένα ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπικῇ νίκῃ διδόναι  
 χρήματα.

- 5 Εὐπώλου δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν Ἀθηναῖον Κάλλιπ-  
 πον ἀθλήσαντα πένταθλον ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς  
 ἀνταγωνιούμενους χρήμασι, δευτέραν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 δέκα τε καὶ ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι ταύτην.  
 ἐπιβληθείσης δὲ τῷ Καλλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνταγω-  
 υσαμένοις ζημίας ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων, ἀποστέλλουσιν  
 Ὑπερείδην Ἀθηναῖοι πείσοντα Ἑλλείους ἀφείναι  
 σφισι τὴν ζημίαν· ἀπειπόντων δὲ Ἑλλείων τὴν  
 χάριν, ἐχρῶντο ὑπεροψία τοιαῦδε ἐς αὐτοὺς οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε ἀποδιδόντες τὰ χρήματα καὶ  
 Ὀλυμπίων εἰργόμενοι, πρὶν ἢ σφισιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐν Δελφοῖς οὐ πρότερον ἔφησεν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς  
 χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ζημίαν ἀποδοῖεν Ἑλλείοις.
- 6 οὕτω δὲ ἀποδόντων ἐποιήθη τῷ Διὶ ἀγάλματα,  
 ἕξ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 ἐλεγεία οὐδέν τι δεξιώτερα ἐς ποίησιν ἢ τὰ ἔχοντα  
 τὴν ζημίαν τὴν Εὐπώλου. γινώμαι δὲ εἰσι τῶν  
 ἐπιγραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνατεθῆναι τὰ ἀγάλ-  
 ματα μαντεία τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσαντος τὰ ἐς τοὺς  
 πεντάθλους δόξαντα Ἑλλείοις, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 δευτέρῳ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ Ἑλλείους
- 7 ἐπαινοῦντά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν πεντάθλων τῇ ζημίᾳ· τὸ  
 τέταρτον δὲ ἐθέλει λέγειν τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα



inscription on the second image declares that the image stands to the glory of the deity, through the piety of the Eleans, and to be a terror to law-breaking athletes. The purport of the inscription on the fifth image is praise of the Eleans, especially for their fining the boxers; that of the sixth and last is that the images are a warning to all the Greeks not to give bribes to obtain an Olympic victory.

Next after Eupolus they say that Callippus of Athens, who had entered for the pentathlon, bought off his fellow-competitors by bribes, and that this offence occurred at the hundred and twelfth Festival. 332 B.C. When the fine had been imposed by the Eleans on Callippus and his antagonists, the Athenians commissioned Hypereides to persuade the Eleans to remit them the fine. The Eleans refused this favour, and the Athenians were disdainful enough not to pay the money and to boycott the Olympic games, until finally the god at Delphi declared that he would deliver no oracle on any matter to the Athenians before they had paid the Eleans the fine. So when it was paid, images, also six in number, were made in honour of Zeus; on them are inscribed elegiac verses not a whit more elegant than those relating the fine of Eupolus. The gist of the first inscription is that the images were dedicated because the god by an oracle expressed his approval of the Elean decision against the pentathletes; on the second image and likewise on the third are praises of the Eleans for their fining the competitors in the pentathlon. The fourth purports to say that the contest at

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<sup>1</sup>  $\delta$  was added by Dindorf.

ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ οὐ χρημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἕκτῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν δηλοῖ καθ' ἡντινα αἰτίαν ἀνετέθη τὰ ἀγάλματα, τὸ δὲ ἀναμνησκει τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν.

- 8 Τῶν δὲ κατειλεγμένων τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸν, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐπιτεθείσης παλαισταῖς ἀνδράσι ζημίας· οἵτινες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, ἐμέ γε ἢ τοὺς Ἡλείων λέληθεν ἐξηγητάς. ἐπιγράμματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔπεστι, λέγει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὡς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ Ῥόδιοι χρήματα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας ἐκτίσαιεν παλαιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δώροις παλαισάντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβλη-
- 9 θέντων χρημάτων αὐτοῖς γένοιτο τὸ ἄγαλμα. τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τούτους οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἡλείων, ὀγδόη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι, λαβεῖν δὲ Εὐδήλον παρὰ Φιλοστράτου χρήματα, τούτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Φιλόστρατον Ῥόδιον. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα ὄντα εὔρισκον τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τούτοις Στράτωνα Ἀλεξανδρέα ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδόῃ μετὰ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἀνελέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης νίκη. Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Κανωβικῷ τοῦ Νείλου στόματι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οἰκιστῆς ἐγένετο ὁ Φιλίππου, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι πόλισμα Αἰγυπτίων ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγα
- 10 εἶναι Ῥακῶτιν· Στράτωνος δὲ τούτου τρεῖς μὲν ἡλικία πρότερον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσι δῆλοι τὸν κότινον παγκρατίου τε ἄθλα

Olympia is one of merit and not of wealth; the inscription on the fifth declares the reason for dedicating the images, while that on the sixth commemorates the oracle given to the Athenians by Delphi.

The images next to those I have enumerated are two in number, and they were dedicated from a fine imposed on wrestlers. As to their names, neither I nor the guides of the Eleans knew them. On these images too are inscriptions; one says that the Rhodians paid money to Olympian Zeus for the wrong-doing of a wrestler; the other that certain men wrestled for bribes and that the image was made from the fines imposed upon them. The rest of the information about these athletes comes from the guides of the Eleans, who say that it was at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival that Eudelus accepted a bribe from Philostratus, and that this Philostratus was a Rhodian. This account I found was at variance with the Elean record of Olympic victories. In this record it is stated that Strato of Alexandria at the hundred and seventy-eighth Festival won on the same day the victory in the pancratium and the victory at wrestling. Alexandria on the Canopic mouth of the Nile was founded by Alexander the son of Philip, but it is said that previously there was on the site a small Egyptian town called Racotis. Three competitors before the time of this Strato, and three others after him, are known to have received the wild-olive for winning the pancratium and the

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<sup>1</sup> τὰ added by Bekker.

- εἰληφότες καὶ πάλης, Κάπρος μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἑλιδος, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν πέραν Αἰγαίου Ῥοδίου τε Ἀριστομένης καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληθαίῳ Πρωτοφάνης. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Στράτωνος Μαρίων τε πόλεως ἐκείνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Στρατονικεὺς Ἀριστέας—τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἢ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσαορίς—, ἑβδομος δὲ Νικόστρατος ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Κιλικῶν, οὐδὲν τοῖς Κίλιξι ἀυτοῦ μετὸν εἰ μὴ ὅσα τῷ
- 11 λόγῳ. τοῦτον τὸν Νικόστρατον νῆπιον παῖδα ἔτι ἐκ Πρυμνησοῦ λησταὶ τῆς Φρυγῶν ἤρπασαν, οἰκίας ὄντα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς· κομισθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγέας ὠνήσατο ὅστις δὴ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ ὄνειρον γίνεται· λέοντος δὲ ἔδοξεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκίμποδι κατακεῖσθαι σκύμνον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν ὁ Νικόστρατος. Νικοστράτῳ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ηὔξῃθη, καὶ ἄλλαι νῖκαι καὶ<sup>1</sup> Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐγένοντο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης.
- 12 Χρήμασι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἕτεροὶ τε ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐζημιώθη πύκτης Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς διακοσίαις ὀγδόῃ τε καὶ δεκάτῃ. ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ζημιωθέντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπὶ κλήσις δὲ ἦν Ῥάντης· καὶ πῶς καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐστίν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων κατεγνώσθη πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων· κατεγνώσθη δὲ οὐ δοῦναι χρήματα ἢ λαβεῖν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε ἄλλο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξυβρίσαι. ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων πειθόμενον τῷ νόμῳ ἐλείπετο τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἶργεσθαι· τὴν γάρ οἱ πρόφασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κατείχετο ἐναντίων, Ἡρακλείδης γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξαν-
- 508

wrestling: Caprus from Elis itself, and of the Greeks on the other side of the Aegean, Aristomenes of Rhodes and Protophanes of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, were earlier than Strato; after him came Marion his compatriot, Aristeas of Stratoniceia (anciently both land and city were called Chrysaoris), and the seventh was Nicostratus, from Cilicia on the coast, though he was in no way a Cilician except in name. This Nicostratus while still a baby was stolen from Prynnessus in Phrygia by robbers, being a child of a noble family. Conveyed to Aegeae he was bought by somebody or other, who some time afterwards dreamed a dream. He thought that a lion's whelp lay beneath the pallet-bed on which Nicostratus was sleeping. Now Nicostratus, when he grew up, won other victories elsewhere, besides in the pancratium and wrestling at Olympia.

Afterwards others were fined by the Eleans, among whom was an Alexandrian boxer at the two hundred and eighteenth Festival. The name of the man fined was Apollonius, with the surname of Rhantes—it is a sort of national characteristic for Alexandrians to have a surname. This man was the first Egyptian to be convicted by the Eleans of a misdemeanour. It was not for giving or taking a bribe that he was condemned, but for the following outrageous conduct in connection with the games. He did not arrive by the prescribed time, and the Eleans, if they followed their rule, had no option but to exclude him from the games. For his excuse, that he had been kept back among the Cyclades islands by contrary winds, was proved to be an untruth by Heracleides, himself an Alexandrian by

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<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Siebelis.

δρεὺς ἤλεγχεν ἀπάτην οὖσαν· ὑστερήσαι γὰρ  
 χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγῶνων αὐτὸν ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἐν  
 14 Ἰωυία. οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ εἰ δὴ  
 τις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν,  
 τούτους μὲν οἱ Ἡλείοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπελαύνουσι,  
 τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ τὸν στέφανον παριᾶσιν ἀκονιτί·  
 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατεσκευάσατό τε τοῖς  
 ἱμάσιω ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρα-  
 κλείδην ἤπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἤδη τὸν κότινον  
 καὶ καταπεφευγότος ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας. τούτῳ  
 μὲν δὴ ἔμελλε τὸ κοῦφον τοῦ νοῦ βλάβος μέγα  
 15 ἔσεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δύο τέχνης τῆς ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶν ἀγάλματα· ἕκτη γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ  
 διακοσίαις Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἄνδρας, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
 μαχομένους τῆς νίκης, ἐφώρασαν συνθεμένους  
 ὑπὲρ λήμματος. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν ἐγένετο ζημία·  
 ποιηθέντων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων Διὸς τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀρι-  
 στεράῃ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐσόδου, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον  
 αὐτῶν ἔστηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ. τοῖς δὲ πύκταις τούτοις  
 Δίδας τε ὄνομα ἦν καὶ τῷ τὰ χρήματα δόντι  
 αὐτῶν Σαραπάμμων· νομοῦ δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ,  
 νεωτάτου τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καλουμένου δὲ Ἀρσι-  
 16 νοῖτου. θαῦμα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν οὐδενὸς  
 λόγῳ τὸν θεὸν θέσθαι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ  
 δέξασθαι τινα ἢ δοῦναι δῶρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι· μεί-  
 ζονος δὲ ἔτι θαύματος, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησεν  
 ἤδη τις Ἡλείων. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Δαμόνικος  
 τολμήσειεν Ἡλείος δευτέρα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 ἐνενήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι· συνεστηκέναι μὲν γὰρ  
 παλαίοντας ἐπὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τὸν τε τοῦ Δαμονίκου  
 παῖδα Πολύκτορα καὶ Σώσανδρον γένος Σμυρ-  
 ναίου, ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρί· Δαμόνικον δέ, ἅτε

birth. He showed that Apollonius was late because he had been picking up some money at the Ionian games. In these circumstances the Eleans shut out from the games Apollonius with any other boxer who came after the prescribed time, and let the crown go to Heracleides without a contest. Whereupon Apollonius put on his gloves for a fight, rushed at Heracleides, and began to pummel him, though he had already put the wild-olive on his head and had taken refuge with the umpires. For this light-headed folly he was to pay dearly. There are also two other images of modern workmanship. For at the two hundred and twenty-sixth Festival they detected that two boxing men, in a fight for victory only, had agreed about the issue for a sum of money. For this misconduct a fine was inflicted, and of the images of Zeus that were made, one stands on the left of the entrance to the stadium and the other on the right. Of the boxers, the one bribed was called Didas, and the briber was Sarapammon. They were from the same district, the newest in Egypt, called Arsinoïtes. It is a wonder in any case if a man has so little respect for the god of Olympia as to take or give a bribe in the contests: it is an even greater wonder that one of the Eleans themselves has fallen so low. But it is said that the Elean Damonicus did so fall at the hundred and ninety-second Festival. They say that collusion occurred between Polycctor the son of Damonicus and Sosander of Smyrna, of the same name as his father; these were competitors for the wrestling prize of wild-olive. Damonicus, it is alleged, being exceedingly

περισσῶς ἐπιθυμούντα γενέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν  
 νίκην, δοῦναι τοῦ Σωσάνδρου τῷ πατρὶ χρήματα.  
 17 ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πραχθέντα ἔκπυστα, ἐπιβάλλουσι οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι ζημίαν, ἐπιβάλλουσι δὲ  
 οὐ τοῖς παισίν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς πατέρας ἔτρεψαν  
 τὴν ὀργήν· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἠδίκουν. ἀπὸ  
 ταύτης τῆς ζημίας ἀγάλματα ἐποιήθη· καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἡλείων ἀνάκειται γυμνασίῳ, τὸ δὲ  
 τῆς Ἀλτεως πρὸ τῆς Ποικίλης στοᾶς καλουμένης,  
 ὅτι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γραφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.  
 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν στοᾶν ταύτην καὶ Ἡχοῦς ὀνο-  
 μάζουσι· βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἐπτάκις ὑπὸ τῆς  
 ἠχοῦς ἢ φωνῆ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἀπο-  
 δίδονται.

18 Παγκρατιαστὴν δὲ φασιν Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὄνομα  
 δὲ εἶναι οἱ Σαραπίωνα, τοῦτον ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ  
 πρώτη μετὰ τὰς διακοσίας ἐς τοσοῦτο δεῖσαι  
 τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὥστε ἡμέρα μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ  
 ἐσκληθήσεσθαι τὸ παγκράτιον ἔμελλεν ἀπο-  
 δράντα οἴχεσθαι. τοῦτον ζημιωθέντα ἐπὶ δειλία  
 μόνον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν μνη-  
 μονεύουσιν Αἰγυπτίων.

XXII. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατειλεγμένα ἐπὶ αἰτίαις  
 τοιαῖσδε ποιηθέντα εὔρισκον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλ-  
 ματα Διὸς δημοσία τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα  
 ιδιωτῶν. ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀλτει τῆς ἐσόδου  
 πλησίον τῆς ἀγούσης ἐς τὸ στάδιον· ἐπὶ τούτου  
 θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ θύουσιν Ἡλείοι, σαλπυγκταῖς δὲ  
 ἐφεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι  
 καθέστηκε. παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν βωμὸν βάθρον τε  
 πεποίηται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Διός,  
 μέγεθος μὲν ὅσον ἕξ πήχεις, κεραυνὸν δὲ ἐν



ambitious that his son should win, bribed the father of Sosander. When the transaction became known, the umpires imposed a fine, but instead of imposing it on the sons they directed their anger against the fathers, for that they were the real sinners. From this fine images were made. One is set up in the Elean gymnasium; the other is in the Altis in front of what is called the Painted Portico, because anciently there were pictures on the walls. Some call this Portico the Echo Portico, because when a man has shouted his voice is repeated by the echo seven or even more times.

They say that a pancratiast of Alexandria, by name Sarapion, at the two hundred and first Festival, was so afraid of his antagonists that on the day before the pancratium was to be called on he ran away. This is the only occasion on record when any man, not to say a man of Egypt, was fined for cowardice.

XXII. These were the causes for which I found that these images were made. There are also images of Zeus dedicated by States and by individuals. There is in the Altis an altar near the entrance leading to the stadium. On it the Eleans do not sacrifice to any of the gods, but it is customary for the trumpeters and heralds to stand upon it when they compete. By the side of this altar has been built a pedestal of bronze, and on it is an image of Zeus, about six cubits in height, with

ἐκατέρα τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ αὐτὸ Κυναι-  
 θαεῖς. ὁ δὲ περικείμενός τε τὸν ὄρμον καὶ ἡλικίαν  
 παῖς ἔτι ἀνάθημα ἀνδρός ἐστὶ Φλιασίου Κλεόλα.  
 2 Παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἴπποδιμίον καλούμενον λίθου τε  
 βάθρον ἐστὶ κύκλος ἡμισυς καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ Ζεὺς καὶ Θέτις τε καὶ Ἡμέρα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν τέκνων ἱκετεύουσαι. ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῷ  
 βάθρῳ· οἱ δὲ ἤδη σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων ὅ τε  
 Ἀχιλλεὺς παρέχεται καὶ ὁ Μέμνων ἐπὶ ἐκατέρῳ  
 τοῦ βάθρου τῷ πέρατι ἐκότερος. ἀνθεστήκασι  
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀνὴρ βύρβαρος  
 ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι, Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν Ἑλένῳ, ὅτι οὔτοι  
 μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφία δόξαν ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύ-  
 ματι εἰλήφεσαν, Μενελάῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀλέξανδρος, Διομήδει δὲ Αἰνεΐας καὶ  
 3 τῷ Ἐλαμῶνος Λῆαντι Δηΐφοβος. ταῦτά ἐστιν  
 ἔργα μὲν Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιάται  
 δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἴονίῳ· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλεγείων  
 γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς  
 ποσὶ·

μνύματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
 Ἴονίῳ Φοῖβος ὄκισ' ἀκερσεκόμας·  
 οἱ γὰρ τέρμαθ' ἐλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα  
 ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρονίου δεκάταν.

ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντις καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλις ἐν  
 αὐτῇ Θρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν ἡπέιρου κατὰ  
 4 ὄρη τὰ Κεραῦνια. σκεδασθεισῶν γὰρ Ἑλλησιν,  
 ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῶν νεῶν, Λοκροὶ τε ἐκ  
 Θρονίου τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ Ἀβαντες  
 ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας ναυσὶν ὀκτῶ συναμφοτέροι πρὸς τὰ

a thunderbolt in either hand. It was dedicated by the people of Cynaetha. The figure of Zeus as a boy wearing the necklace is the votive offering of Cleolas, a Phliasian.

By the side of what is called the Hippodamium is a semicircular stone pedestal, and on it are Zeus, Thetis, and Day entreating Zeus on behalf of her children. These are on the middle of the pedestal. There are Achilles and Memnon, one at either edge of the pedestal, representing a pair of combatants in position. There are other pairs similarly opposed, foreigner against Greek: Odysseus opposed to Helenus, reputed to be the cleverest men in the respective armies; Alexander and Menelaüs, in virtue of their ancient feud; Aeneas and Diomedes, and Deïphobus and Ajax son of Telamon. These are the work of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the people of Apollonia on the Ionian sea. There are also elegiac verses written in ancient characters under the feet of Zeus.

As memorials of Apollonia have we been dedi-  
cated, which on the Ionian sea

Phoebus founded, he of the unshorn locks.

The Apollonians, after taking the land of Abantis,  
set up here

These images with heaven's help, tithe from  
Thronium.

The land called Abantis and the town of Thronium in it were a part of the Thesprotian mainland over against the Ceraunian mountains. When the Greek fleet was scattered on the voyage home from Troy, Locrians from Thronium, a city on the river Boagrius, and Abantes from Euboea, with eight ships alto-

ὄρη κατηνέχθησαν τὰ Κεραύνια. οἰκήσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαντες Θρόνιον, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνέμοντο Ἀβαντίδος ὄνομα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου θέμενοι, ἐκπίπτουσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν ὁμόρων κρατηθέντες πολέμῳ. ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναί φασιν ἀποικίαν,<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ Κορινθίους αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι λαφύρων.

5 Προελθόντι δὲ ὀλίγον Ζεὺς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένος τὸν ἥλιον, ἀετὸν ἔχων τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν κεραυνόν· ἐπίκειται δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἄνθη τὰ ἡρινά.<sup>2</sup> Μεταπουτίνων δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα, Αἰγινήτου δὲ ἔργον Ἀριστόνου· τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόνου τούτου διδάσκαλον, ἢ καθ' ὄντινα χρόνον ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἴσμεν. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Φλιύσιοι Δία καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς Ἀσωποῦ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀσωπόν, διακεκόσμηται δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. Νεμέα μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ζεὺς λαμβανόμενός ἐστὶν Αἰγίνης, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰγίαν ἐστήκεν Ἄρπινα—ταύτη τῷ Ἡλείων καὶ Φλιασίων λόγῳ συνεγένετο Ἄρης, καὶ Οἰνομάῳ δὲ μήτηρ τῷ περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν βασιλεύσαντί ἐστὶν Ἄρπινα—, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Κόρκυρά τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Θήβη, τελευταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀσωπός. λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν Κόρκυραν ὡς μυχθείη Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα ἦσε Πίνδαρος ἐς Θήβην τε καὶ ἐς Δία.

7 Ἰδία δὲ ἄνδρες Λεοντῖνοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Δία ἀνέστησαν· μέγεθος μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος πήχεις

<sup>1</sup> τὴν δὲ . . . ἀποικίαν, added by Spiro.

<sup>2</sup> κρίνα ("lilies") has been suggested.

gether, were driven on the Ceraunian mountains. Settling here and founding the city of Thronium, by common agreement they gave the name of Abantis to the land as far as they occupied it. Afterwards, however, they were conquered in war and expelled by the people of Apollonia, their neighbours. Apollonia was a colony of Corcyra, they say, and Corcyra of Corinth, and the Corinthians had their share of the spoils.

A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun; he holds an eagle in one hand and in the other a thunderbolt. On him are set spring flowers, with a crown of them on his head.<sup>1</sup> It is an offering of the people of Metapontum. The artist was Aristonus of Aegina, but we do not know when he lived nor who his teacher was. The Phliasians also dedicated a Zeus, the daughters of Asopus, and Asopus himself. Their images have been ordered thus: Nemea is the first of the sisters, and after her comes Zeus seizing Aegina; by Aegina stands Harpina, who, according to the tradition of the Eleans and Phliasians, mated with Ares and was the mother of Oenomaüs, king around Pisa; after her is Corcyra, with Thebe next; last of all comes Aesopus. There is a legend about Corcyra that she mated with Poseidon, and the same thing is said by Pindar of Thebe and Zeus.<sup>2</sup>

Men of Leontini have set up a Zeus, not at public expense but out of their private purse. The

<sup>1</sup> Such is the only meaning of the Greek. Frazer's translation, which omits *αὐτῷ καὶ* altogether, is impossible. On the other hand *αὐτῷ καὶ* makes poor sense, and may be an interpolation. The emendation *κρίνα* is attractive.

<sup>2</sup> *Fr.* 290.

είσιν ἑπτὰ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν ἄετός τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ βέλος τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν λόγους. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἴππαγόρας τε καὶ Φρύνων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος, ὃν ἄλλον πού τινα Αἰνεσίδημον δοκῶ καὶ οὐ τὸν τυραννήσαντα εἶναι Λεοντίνων.

XXIII. Παρεξιώντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔσοδον Ζεὺς τε ἔστηκεν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων οὐδὲν καὶ αὐθις ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέψαντι ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διός· τοῦτο τέτραπται μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Πλαταιῶσιν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Μαρδονίου τε καὶ Μήδων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγραμμένοι κατὰ τοῦ βᾶθρου τὰ δεξιὰ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις τοῦ ἔργου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, τρίτοι δὲ γεγραμμένοι καὶ τέταρτοι  
 2 Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι, πέμπτοι δὲ Αἰγινῆται, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτας Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Τεγεᾶται τε καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσοι Φλιούντα καὶ Τροίζηνα καὶ Ἐρμιόνα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐκ δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀργείας Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιεῖς δὲ μόνοι Βοιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀργείων οἱ Μυκήνας ἔχοντες, νησιῶται δὲ Κεῖοι καὶ Μήλιοι, Ἀμβρακιῶται δὲ ἐξ ἠπείρου τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, Τήνιοί τε καὶ Λεπρεᾶται, Λεπρεᾶται μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας μόνοι, ἐκ δὲ Αἰγαίου καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐ Τήνιοι μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ Νάξιοι καὶ Κύθιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας Στυρεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Ποτιδαῖται καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι, τελευ-  
 3 ταῖοι δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ. τούτων τῶν πόλεων τοσαῖδε ἦσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι· Μυκηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Τιρύνθιοι τῶν Μηδικῶν ὕστε-  
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height of the image is seven cubits, and in its hands are an eagle and the bolt of Zeus, in accordance with the poets' tales. It was dedicated by Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Aenesidemus, who in my opinion was some other Aenesidemus and not the tyrant of Leontini.

XXIII. As you pass by the entrance to the Council Chamber you see an image of Zeus standing with no inscription on it, and then on turning to the north another image of Zeus. This is turned towards the rising sun, and was dedicated by those Greeks who at Plataea fought against the Persians under Mar-<sup>479 B.C.</sup> donius. On the right of the pedestal are inscribed the cities which took part in the engagement: first the Lacedaemonians, after them the Athenians, third the Corinthians, fourth the Sicyonians, fifth the Aeginetans; after the Aeginetans, the Megarians and Epidaurians, of the Arcadians the people of Tegea and Orchomenus, after them the dwellers in Phlius, Troezen and Hermion, the Tirynthians from the Argolid, the Plataeans alone of the Boeotians, the Argives of Mycenae, the islanders of Ceos and Melos, Ambraciots of the Thesprotian mainland, the Tenians and the Lepreans, who were the only people from Triphylia, but from the Aegean and the Cyclades there came not only the Tenians but also the Naxians and Cythnians, Styrians too from Euboea, after them Eleans, Potidaeans, Anactorians, and lastly the Chalcidians on the Euripus. Of these cities the following are at the present day uninhabited: Mycenae and Tiryns were destroyed by

ρον ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἀνάστατοι· Ἀμβρακιώτας δὲ καὶ Ἀνακτορίου ἀποίκους Κορινθίων ὄντας ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐς Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ· Ποτιδαιίτας δὲ δις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τε γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος κατήγαγε μὲν Ποτιδαιίτας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὄνομα δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῇ πόλει, Κασσάνδρεια δὲ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπία τὸ ἀνατεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν Ἀναξαγόρας Αἰγινήτης· τοῦτον οἱ συγγράψαντες τὰ ἐς Πλαταιὰς<sup>1</sup> παριᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

- 4 Ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου στήλη χαλκῆ, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνθήκας ἔχουσα εἰρήνης ἐς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν. ταύτας ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ δεύτερον Εὐβοίαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τρίτης πρὸς τὰς ὀγδοήκοντα<sup>2</sup> Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Κρίσων Ἴμεραῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τόδε εἰρημένον, εἰρήνης μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ Ἀργείων μὴ μετεῖναι πόλει, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. αὐται μὲν
- 5 λέγουσι τοιαῦτα αἱ συνθήκαι, Διὸς δὲ ἄλλο ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα ἀνάκειται τὸ Κλεοσθένους· τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ἔσται μνήμη, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Μεγαρέων μὲν ἔστιν ἀνάθημα, ἀδελφοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ Ψύλακός τε καὶ Ὀναιθος καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τούτων εἰργάσαντο· ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἢ πατρίδα ἢ παρ' ᾧτινι ἐδι-



the Argives after the Persian wars. The Ambraciots and Anactorians, colonists of Corinth, were taken away by the Roman emperor<sup>1</sup> to help to found Nicopolis near Actium. The Potidaeans twice suffered removal from their city, once at the hands of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and once before this at the hands of the Athenians. Afterwards, however, Cassander restored the Potidaeans to their homes, but the name of the city was changed from Potidaea to Cassandreia after the name of its founder. The image at Olympia dedicated by the Greeks was made by Anaxagoras of Aegina. The name of this artist is omitted by the historians of Plataea.

In front of this Zeus there is a bronze slab, on which are the terms of the Thirty-years Peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. The Athenians made this peace after they had reduced Euboea for the second time, in the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad, when Crison of Himera won the foot-race. One of the articles of the treaty is to the effect that although Argos has no part in the treaty between Athens and Sparta, yet the Athenians and the Argives may privately, if they wish, be at peace with each other. Such are the terms of this treaty. There is yet another image of Zeus dedicated beside the chariot of Cleosthenes. This chariot I will describe later; the image of Zeus was dedicated by the Megarians, and made by the brothers Psylacus and Onaethus with the help of their sons. About their date, their nation and

<sup>1</sup> Augustus.

<sup>1</sup> *πλάστας* (sculptors) has been suggested.

<sup>2</sup> *τρίτης . . . ὀγδοήκοντα* added by Wesseling.

6 δάχθησαν, οὐκ ἔχω δηλώσαι. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἄρματι τῷ Γέλωνος Ζεὺς ἔστηκεν ἀρχαῖος ἔχων σκῆπτρον, Ὑβλαίων δὲ φασιν εἶναι ἀνάθημα· αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὑβλαι, ἡ μὲν Γερεᾶτις ἐπὶ κλησιν, τὴν δέ—ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν—ἐκάλουν Μείζονα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔρημος ἐς ἅπαν, ἡ δὲ κώμη τε Καταναίων ἢ Γερεᾶτις καὶ ἱερόν σφισιν Ὑβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμάς. παρὰ τούτων δὲ κομισθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἠγοῦμαι· τεράτων γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ ἐνυπνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησὶν ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβείᾳ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βαρβύρων προσκεῖσθαι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ὑβλαίων ἀναθήματος βᾶθρον τε πεποίηται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς· τοῦτον ὀκτῶ μάλιστα εἶναι ποδῶν καὶ δέκα εἰκάζομεν. οἵτινες δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὄντινῶν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἐλεγείῳ γεγραμμένον σημαίνει·

Κλειτόριοι τόδ' ἄγαλμα θεῷ δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν,  
πολλᾶν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.  
καιμετρεῖτ' Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας<sup>1</sup>  
αὐτοκασίγνητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν.

τούτους οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἂν τέ καὶ Ἡλείοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, καὶ πλέονα ἔτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε ὄντων.

<sup>1</sup> No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

their master, I can tell you nothing. By the chariot of Gelon stands an ancient Zeus holding a sceptre, which is said to be an offering of the Hyblaeans. There were two cities in Sicily called Hybla, one surnamed Gereatis and the other Greater, it being in fact the greater of the two. They still retain their old names, and are in the district of Catana. Greater Hybla is entirely uninhabited, but Gereatis is a village of Catana, with a sanctuary of the goddess Hyblaea which is held in honour by the Sicilians. The people of Gereatis, I think, brought the image to Olympia. For Philistus, the son of Archomenides, says that they were interpreters of portents and dreams, and more given to devotions than any other foreigners in Sicily. Near the offering of the Hyblaeans has been made a pedestal of bronze with a Zeus upon it, which I conjecture to be about eighteen feet high. The donors and sculptors are set forth in elegiac verse:—

The Cleitorians dedicated this image to the god,  
a title

From many cities that they had reduced by  
force.

The sculptors were Aristo and Telestas,  
Own brothers and Laconians.<sup>1</sup>

I do not think that these Laconians were famous all over Greece, for had they been so the Eleans would have had something to say about them, and the Lacedaemonians more still, seeing that they were their fellow-citizens.

<sup>1</sup> The last two verses are corrupt in all our MSS. No emendation has been proposed which can be considered satisfactory, and I will not venture on one of my own. But the general sense must be such as I have indicated.

- XXIV. Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Λαοίτα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Λαοίτα παρὰ τούτων τὸν βωμὸν Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ βάθρου δῶρον μὲν τοῦ Κορινθίων δήμου, Μούσου δὲ ἐστὶ ποίημα, ὅστις δὴ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μοῦσος. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐρχομένῳ τὸν μέγαν ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Διὸς, ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ οἶα δὴ ἄνθεσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κεραυνὸς πεποίηται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀσκάρου τέχνη Θηβαίου, διδαχθέντος παρὰ τῷ Σικυωνίῳ Κανάχῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου Φωκέων<sup>1</sup> καὶ Θεσσαλῶν φησὶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ Φωκεῦσιν ἐς πόλεμόν τινα οὗτοι κατέστησαν καὶ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Φωκέων αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ἂν ὅ γε<sup>2</sup> ἱερός καλούμενος εἴη πόλεμος, ὃν δὲ πρότερον ἔτι ἐπολέμησαν πρὶν ἢ Μήδους καὶ Βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβῆναι. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ζεὺς ἐστὶν, ὄντινα ἀναθεῖναι Ψωφιδίους ἐπὶ πολέμου κατορθώματι τὸ ἔπος τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον δηλοῖ.
- 3 Τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζεὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου, μέγεθος μὲν δυόδεκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἠνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δεύτερα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν· ἔπεστι δὲ καὶ ἔλεγείον ἐπ' αὐτῷ,

Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα  
 ἰλάω θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

- 4 Ῥωμαίων δὲ οὔτε ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οὔτε ὀπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς οὐδένα Μομμίου πρότερον ἀνάθημα

XXIV. By the side of the altar of Zeus Laoetas and Poseidon Laoetas is a Zeus on a bronze pedestal. The people of Corinth gave it and Musus made it, whoever this Musus may have been. As you go from the Council Chamber to the great temple there stands on the left an image of Zeus, crowned as it were with flowers, and with a thunderbolt set in his right hand. It is the work of Ascarus of Thebes, a pupil of Canachus of Sicyon. The inscription on it says that it is a tithe from the war between Phocis and Thessaly. If the Thessalians went to war with Phocis and dedicated the offering from Phocian plunder, this could not have been the so-called "Sacred War," but must have been a war between the two States previous to the invasion of Greece by the Persians under their king. Not far from this is a Zeus, which, as is declared by the verse inscribed on it, was dedicated by the Psophidians for a success in war.

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On the right of the great temple is a Zeus facing the rising of the sun, twelve feet high and dedicated, they say, by the Lacedaemonians, when they entered on a war with the Messenians after their second revolt. On it is an elegiac couplet :

Accept, king, son of Cronus, Olympian Zeus, a  
lovely image,  
And have a heart propitious to the Lacedae-  
monians.

We know of no Roman, either commoner or senator, who gave a votive offering to a Greek

<sup>1</sup> *Κανάχῳ το Φωκέων* is not in the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *ὃ γέ* (not in the MSS.) was added by Bekker.

ἴσμεν ἐς ἱερόν ἀναθέντα Ἑλληνικόν, Μόμμιος δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν· οὗτος ἕστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναθήματος, παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον ταύτη τοῦ ναοῦ κίονα. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει μέγιστον τῶν χαλκῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Διός, ἀνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἡλείων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πολέμου, μέγεθος δὲ 5 ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν ἐστί. παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πελοπίῳ κίων τε οὐχ ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μικρόν, τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν προτεῖνον. τούτου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, ὡς δὲ αὐτως Διὸς καὶ Γανυμήδους ἀγάλματα· ἐστὶ δὲ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ὡς ἀρπασθείη τε ὑπὸ θεῶν Γανυμήδης οἴνοχοεῖν Δίι καὶ ὡς Τρωὶ δῶρα ἵπποι δοθεῖεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. τούτο ἀνέθηκε μὲν Γυᾶθις Θεσσαλός, ἐποίησε δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς μαθητὴς τε καὶ υἱὸς 6 Κλεοῖτα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῖς Μίκυθου. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μίκυθον, γένος τε ὅποῖον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν, ὁ ἐφεξῆς μοι λόγος δηλώσει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ εἰρημένου προελθόντι ὀλίγον κατ' εὐθείαν ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διὸς οὐκ ἔχον γένεια οὐδὲ αὐτό, Ἐλαϊτῶν δὲ ἀνάθημα, οἱ καταβάντι ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου ἐς θάλασσαν πρῶτοι ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι 7 οἰκοῦσι. τούτου δὲ αὖθις ἄλλο ἄγαλμα ἔχεται Διός, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν Κνίδῳ Χερρονησίους ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀναθεῖναι πολεμίων φησίν· ἀνέθεσαν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὸν Δία Πέλοπά τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποταμον.

sanctuary before Mummius, and he dedicated at Olympia a bronze Zeus from the spoils of Achaia. It stands on the left of the offering of the Lacedaemonians, by the side of the first pillar on this side of the temple. The largest of the bronze images of Zeus in the Altis is twenty-seven feet high, and was dedicated by the Eleans themselves from the plunder of the war with the Arcadians. Beside the Pelopium is a pillar of no great height with a small image of Zeus on it; one hand is outstretched. Opposite this are other offerings in a row, and likewise images of Zeus and Ganymedes. Homer's poem<sup>1</sup> tells how Ganymedes was carried off by the gods to be wine-bearer to Zeus, and how horses were given to Tros in exchange for him. This offering was dedicated by the Thessalian Gnathis and made by Aristocles, pupil and son of Cleoetas.<sup>2</sup> There is also another Zeus represented as a beardless youth, which is among offerings of Micythus. The history of Micythus, his family, and why he dedicated so many offerings at Olympia, my narrative will presently set forth.<sup>3</sup> A little farther on in a straight line from the image I have mentioned is another beardless image of Zeus. It was dedicated by the people of Elaea, who live in the first city of Aeolis you reach on descending from the plain of the Caicus to the sea. Yet another image of Zeus comes next, and the inscription on it says that it was dedicated by the Chersonesians of Cnidus from enemy spoils. On either side of the image of Zeus they have dedicated images of Pelops

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* V. 265 foll. and XX. 231 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Cleoetas probably flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. xxvi. § 2 of this book.

Κνιδίοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἐν τῇ  
 ἠπείρῳ πεπόλισται τῇ Καρικῇ, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ  
 λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ καλου-  
 μένη Χερρόνησός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἠπείρῳ κειμένη  
 8 νῆσος γεφύρα διαβατὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς· καὶ τὰ ἀνα-  
 θήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Διὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα  
 οἰκοῦντες, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως οἱ ἔχοντες  
 τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κόρησον ἀνάθημα φαίεν ἰδίᾳ  
 τι ἀναθεῖναι τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινού. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῆς Ἄλτews Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἡλίου  
 τετραμμένος δυσμᾶς, ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν παρ-  
 εχόμενος· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ οὗτος Μομμίου τε καὶ  
 9 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι πολέμου. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ  
 βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὅποσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς  
 μάλιστα ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποιήται·  
 ἐπὶ κλησις μὲν Ὀρκιός ἐστιν αὐτῷ, ἔχει δὲ ἐν  
 ἑκατέρᾳ κεραυτὸν χειρὶ. παρὰ τούτῳ καθέστηκε  
 τοῖς ἀθληταῖς καὶ πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς,  
 ἔτι δὲ γυμνασταῖς ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμνυσθαι τομί-  
 ων, μηδὲν ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα ἔσεσθαι παρ'  
 αὐτῶν κακούργημα. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀθληταὶ  
 καὶ τότε ἔτι προσκατόμνυνται, δέκα ἐφεξῆς  
 10 μηνῶν ἀπηκριβῶσθαι σφισι τὰ πάντα ἐς ἄσ-  
 κησιν. ὀμνύουσι δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ<sup>1</sup>  
 τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πῶλους  
 κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἄνευ δῶρων ποιεῖσθαι  
 κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενόν τε καὶ μῆ,  
 φυλάξειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. τῷ κάπρῳ δὲ  
 ὅ τι χρῆσθαι σφισι μετὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸν ὄρκον  
 καθέστηκεν, οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα ἐπερέεσθαι, ἐπεὶ  
 τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις ἐπὶ ἱερεῖα ἦν καθεστηκός,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ τις ὄρκον ἐποιήσατο, μηδὲ ἐδώδιμον εἶναι



and of the river Alpheius respectively. The greater part of the city of Cnidus is built on the Carian mainland, where are their most noteworthy possessions, but what is called Chersonnesus is an island lying near the mainland, to which it is joined by a bridge. It is the inhabitants of this quarter who dedicated to Zeus the offerings at Olympia, just as if Ephesians living in what is called Coresus were to say that they had dedicated an offering independently of the Ephesians as a body. There is also by the wall of the Altis a Zeus turned towards the setting of the sun; it bears no inscription, but is said to be another offering of Mummius made from the plunder of the Achæan war. But the Zeus in the Council Chamber is of all the images of Zeus the one most likely to strike terror into the hearts of sinners. He is surnamed Oath-god, and in each hand he holds a thunderbolt. Beside this image it is the custom for athletes, their fathers and their brothers, as well as their trainers, to swear an oath upon slices of boar's flesh that in nothing will they sin against the Olympic games. The athletes take this further oath also, that for ten successive months they have strictly followed the regulations for training. An oath is also taken by those who examine the boys, or the foals entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not. I forgot to inquire what it is customary to do with the boar after the oath of the athletes, though the ancient custom about victims was that no human being might eat of that on which an oath

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer suggests *καί* for *ἤ*.

11 τοῦτο ἔτι ἀνθρώπων. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ Ὀμηρος· τὸν γοῦν κάπρον καθ' ὅτου τῶν τομιῶν Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπώμοσεν ἢ μὴν εἶναι τὴν Βρισηίδα ἑαυτοῦ τῆς εὐνῆς ἀπείρατον, τοῦτον τὸν κάπρον ἀφιέμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐποίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν·

ἢ, καὶ ἀπὸ σφάραγον κάπρου τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ. τὸν μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἐς μέγα λαῖτμα ῥίψ' ἐπιδινήσας, βόσιν ἰχθύσιν.

οὕτω μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνόμιζον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Ὀρκίου πινάκιον χαλκοῦν, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, δεῖμα ἐθέλοντα τοῖς ἐπιορκοῦσι παριστάται.

XXV. Τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτews ἀγάλματα εἶναι Διὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον. τὸ ἀνάθημα γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Κορινθίου τεθέν, Κορινθίων δὲ οὐ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν εἰληφότες τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάθημα Ἀλέξανδρος ἔστιν ὁ Φιλίππου, Διὶ εἰκασμένος δῆθεν. ὅποσα δὲ ἀλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἔστι Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων· εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, τῇ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάριτι ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λόγῳ σφᾶς τῷ ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν.

2 Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κατὰ ἔθος δῆ τι ἀρχαῖον πέμποντας ἐς Ῥήγιον χορὸν παίδων πέντε ἀριθμὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ διδάσκαλόν τε ὁμοῦ τῷ χορῷ καὶ ἄνδρα ἀυλητὴν ἐς ἑορτὴν τινα ἐπιχώριον Ῥηγίωνων, κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ποτε συμφορὰ, μηδένα ὀπίσω τῶν ἀποσταλέντων

had been sworn. Homer proves this point clearly. For the boar, on the slices of which Agamemnon swore that verily Briseïs had not lain with him, Homer says was thrown by the herald into the sea.

He spake, and cut the boar's throat with ruthless  
bronze;

And the boar Talthybius swung and cast into the  
great depth

Of the grey sea, to feed the fishes.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the ancient custom. Before the feet of the Oath-god is a bronze plate, with elegiac verses inscribed upon it, the object of which is to strike fear into those who forswear themselves.

XXV. I have enumerated the images of Zeus within the Altis with the greatest accuracy. For the offering near the great temple, though supposed to be a likeness of Zeus, is really Alexander, the son of Philip. It was set up by a Corinthian, not one of the old Corinthians, but one of those settlers whom the Emperor planted in the city. I shall also mention those offerings which are of a different kind, and not representations of Zeus. The statues which have been set up, not to honour a deity,<sup>2</sup> but to reward mere men, I shall include in my account of the athletes.

The Messenians on the Strait in accordance with an old custom used to send to Rhegium a chorus of thirty-five boys, and with it a trainer and a flautist, to a local festival of Rhegium. On one occasion a disaster befell them; for not one of those sent out returned

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* XIX. 266-268.

<sup>2</sup> I translate the articles in τὸ θεῖον and τοὺς ἀνθρώπους as generic articles.

- σφίσιν ἰποσωθῆναι· ἀλλὰ ἡ ναῦς ἡ ἄγουσα τοὺς  
 παῖδας ἠφανίσθη σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ.
- 3 ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον θάλασσα τὸν πορθμὸν  
 θαλάσσης χειμεριωτάτη πίσης· οἳ τε γὰρ ἄνε-  
 μοι ταράσσουσιν αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸ κῦμα  
 ἐπάγοντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου πελάγους  
 ὃ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν, ἣν τε καὶ ἀνέμων ἀπῆ πνεύ-  
 ματα, ὃ δὲ καὶ τηρικαῦτα ὁ πορθμὸς κίνησιν  
 βιαιοτάτην αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρὰς παρέχεται  
 παλιρροίας· θηρία τε τοσαῦτα ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ  
 ἀθροιζόμενά ἐστιν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀναπίμπλασθαι τῶν θηρίων  
 τῆς ὕσμῆς, ὡς σωτηρίας γε ἐκ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μηδὲ  
 ἐλπίδος τι ὑπολείπεσθαι ναυαγῶ. εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
 συνέπεσε καὶ Ὀδυσσεῖ διαφθαρῆναι τὴν ναῦν,  
 ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἂν τις πείθοιτο ἐκνήξασθαι ζῶντα  
 ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές
- 4 ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐργάζεται ραστώνη. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν παίδων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι πένθος ἤγον,  
 καὶ ἄλλα τέ σφίσιν ἐς τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἐξευρέθη καὶ  
 εἰκόνας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν χαλκᾶς, σὺν δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν.  
 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδήλου τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναθή-  
 ματα εἶναι τῶν ἐν πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων· χρόνῳ δὲ  
 ὕστερον Ἰππίας ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων γενέ-  
 σθαι σοφὸς τὰ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν. ἔργα  
 δὲ εἰσιν Ἥλείου Κάλλωνος αἱ εἰκόνες.
- 5 Ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμ-  
 μένην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ Νῆτου, καλουμένην δὲ  
 Πάχυνον, Μοτύη πόλις· οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβυες ἐν  
 αὐτῇ καὶ Φοῖνικες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρ-  
 βάριοις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον καὶ

home alive, but the ship with the boys on board went to the bottom. The sea in fact at this strait is the stormiest of seas; it is made rough by winds bringing waves from both sides, from the Adriatic and the other sea, which is called the Tyrrhenian, and even if there be no gale blowing, even then the strait of itself produces a very violent swell and strong currents. So many monsters swarm in the water that even the air over the sea is infected with their stench. Accordingly a shipwrecked man has not even a hope left of getting out of the strait alive. If it was here that disaster overtook the ship of Odysseus, nobody could believe that he swam out alive to Italy, were it not that the benevolence of the gods makes all things easy. On this occasion the Messenians mourned for the loss of the boys, and one of the honours bestowed upon them was the dedication of bronze statues at Olympia, the group including the trainer of the chorus and the flautist. The old inscription declared that the offerings were those of the Messenians at the strait; but afterwards Hippias, called "a sage" by the Greeks, composed the elegiac verses on them. The artist of the statues was Callon<sup>1</sup> of Elis.

At the headland of Sicily that looks towards Libya and the south, called Pachynum, there stands the city Motye, inhabited by Libyans and Phoenicians. Against these foreigners of Motye war was waged by the Agrigentines, who, having taken from

<sup>1</sup> This artist seems to have flourished between 494 and 436 B.C.

*fl.*  
436 B.C.

λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς χαλκοῦς, προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ. κείνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἄλτews· Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς ἔργα ἐγὼ τε εἴκαζον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

6 Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσαύδε οἰκεῖ, Σικανοὶ τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβεβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρωάδος· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καὶ Λίβνες στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν νῆσον κοινῶ καὶ ἄποικοι Καρχηδονίων εἰσὶ. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βύρβαρα· Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἔχουσιν αὐτήν καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλή.

7 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τείχους τά τε Ἀκραγαντίνων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, παῖδες ἠλικίαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοξεύοντι ἔοικε λέοντα. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν λέοντα Ταραντίνος ἀνέθηκεν Ἰπποτίων, Νικοδάμου δὲ ἐστὶ Μαιναλίου τέχνη· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἕτερον Ἀναξίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Μενδαίου, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ Ἡλείων· τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι, ἣ ἄγει μὲν ἐξ Ἡλιδος ἐς

8 Ὀλυμπίαν, καλεῖται δὲ Ἱερά. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, ὅσοι προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Ἐκτορος ἐς μονομαχίαν ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα τὸν κλῆρον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπέμειναν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐστήκασιν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πλησίον, δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὠπλισμένοι· ἀπαν-

them plunder and spoils, dedicated at Olympia the bronze boys, who are stretching out their right hands in an attitude of prayer to the god. They are placed on the wall of the Altis, and I conjectured that the artist was Calamis, a conjecture in accordance with the tradition about them. Sicily is inhabited <sup>circa</sup> 500-460 <sup>B.C.</sup> by the following races: Sicanians, Sicels, and Phrygians; the first two crossed into it from Italy, while the Phrygians came from the river Scamander and the land of the Troad. The Phoenicians and Libyans came to the island on a joint expedition, and are settlers from Carthage. Such are the foreign races in Sicily. The Greeks settled there include Dorians and Ionians, with a small proportion of Phocians and of Attics.

On the same wall as the offerings of the Agrigen-  
tines are two nude statues of Heracles as a boy. One represents him shooting the lion at Nemea. This Heracles and the lion with him were dedicated by Hippotion of Tarentum, the artist being Nicodamus of Maenalus. The other image was dedicated by Anaxippus of Mende, and was transferred to this place by the Eleans. Previously it stood at the end of the road that leads from Elis to Olympia, called the Sacred Road. There are also offerings dedicated by the whole Achaean race in common; they represent those who, when Hector challenged any Greek to meet him in single combat, dared to cast lots to choose the champion. They stand, armed with spears and shields, near the great temple.

- τικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτέρου βύθρου πεποιήται Νέστωρ,  
 τὸν ἑκάστου κλῆρον ἐσβεβληκῶς ἐς τὴν κυνήν.  
 τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑκτορι κληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν  
 ὄντων ὀκτώ—τὸν γὰρ ἕνατον αὐτῶν, τὴν τοῦ  
 Ὀδυσσεύς εἰκόνα, Νέρωνα κομίσαι λέγουσιν ἐς  
 9 Ῥώμην—, τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ τούτων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ  
 Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· γέ-  
 γραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν.  
 ὅτου δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐστὶν ἐπίθημα<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἀσπίδι,  
 Ἰδομενεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπόγονος Μίνω· τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεῖ  
 γένος ἀπὸ Ἡλίου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάης, Ἡλίου  
 δὲ ἱερόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀγγέλλειν  
 10 ἀνιέναι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ  
 ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βύθρῳ·

τῷ Διὶ τὰχαιοὶ τὰγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν,  
 ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδα Πέλοπος.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον· ὁ δὲ  
 ἀγαματοποιὸς ὅστις ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδομενεύς  
 γέγραπται τῇ ἀσπίδι·

πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τόδ'  
 Ὀνάτα

Αἰγινήτεω, τὸν γείνατο παῖδα Μίκων.

- 11 Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναθήματος καὶ  
 Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζωστήρος μαχόμενος  
 πρὸς τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἔφιππον γυναῖκα· τοῦτον  
 Εὐαγόρας μὲν γένος Ζαγκλαῖος ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησε  
 δὲ Κυδωνιάτης Ἀριστοκλῆς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα  
 ἀρχαίοις καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα  
 ἐστὶ καὶ σαφῶς μὲν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἔχει τις ἂν  
 εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ, δῆλα δὲ ὡς πρότερον ἔτι ἐγένετο  
 536



Right opposite, on a second pedestal, is a figure of Nestor, who has thrown the lot of each into the helmet. The number of those casting lots to meet Hector is now only eight, for the ninth, the statue of Odysseus, they say that Nero carried to Rome, but Agamemnon's statue is the only one of the eight to have his name inscribed upon it; the writing is from right to left. The figure with the cock emblazoned on the shield is Idomeneus the descendant of Minos. The story goes that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, the father of Pasiphaë, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and proclaims when he is about to rise. An inscription too is written on the pedestal:—

To Zeus these images were dedicated by the  
 Achaeans,  
 Descendants of Pelops the godlike scion of  
 Tantalus.

Such is the inscription on the pedestal, but the name of the artist is written on the shield of Idomeneus:—

This is one of the many works of clever Onatas,  
 The Aeginetan, whose sire was Micon.

Not far from the offering of the Achaeans there is also a Heracles fighting with the Amazon, a woman on horseback, for her girdle. It was dedicated by Evagoras, a Zanclaeon by descent, and made by Aristocles of Cydonia. Aristocles should be included amongst the most ancient sculptors, and though his

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer suggests ἐπίσημα for ἐπίθημα.

πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσήνην.

- 12 Θάσιοι δέ, Φοίνικες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες καὶ ἐκ Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοῦ Θάσῳ τῷ Ἀγήγορος κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐκπλεύσαντες τὴν Εὐρώπης, ἀνέθεσαν Ἡρακλέα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, τὸ βῆθρον χαλκοῦν ὁμοίως τῷ ἀγάλματι· μέγεθος μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀγάλματός εἰσι πήχεις δέκα, ῥόπαλον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἔχει τόξον. ἤκουσα δὲ ἐν Θάσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν σφᾶς Ἡρακλέα ὄν καὶ Τύριοι σέβεσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἤδη τελοῦντας ἐς Ἑλληνας νομίσει καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ
- 13 Ἀμφιτρύωνος νέμειν τιμάς. τῷ δὲ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Θασίων ἔπεστιν ἐλεγείον·

υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσεν  
αὐτὸς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δώματα ναιετάων.

τὸν δὲ Ὀνάταν τοῦτον ὁμῶς, καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄντα Αἰγιναιάς, οὐδενὸς ὕστερον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

XXVI. Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναυπακτὸν ποτε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν· τοῦτό ἐστιν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποιήται δὲ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων, ὅτε Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Οἰνιάδαις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπολέμησαν. Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πραχθέντος εἶναι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολεμίων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεῖ-

date is uncertain, he was clearly born before Zancle took its present name of Messene.

The Thasians, who are Phoenicians by descent, and sailed from Tyre, and from Phoenicia generally, together with Thasus, the son of Agenor, in search of Europa, dedicated at Olympia a Heracles, the pedestal as well as the image being of bronze. The height of the image is ten cubits, and he holds a club in his right hand and a bow in his left. They told me in Thasos that they used to worship the same Heracles as the Tyrians, but that afterwards, when they were included among the Greeks, they adopted the worship of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. On the offering of the Thasians at Olympia there is an elegiac couplet:—

Onatas, son of Micon, fashioned me,  
He who has his dwelling in Aegina.

*circa*  
470 B.C.

This Onatas, though belonging to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, I shall place after none of the successors of Daedalus or of the Attic school.

XXVI. The Dorian Messenians who received Naupactus from the Athenians dedicated at Olympia the image of Victory upon the pillar. It is the work of Paeonius of Mende, and was made from the proceeds of enemy spoils, I think from the war with the Arcarnanians and Oeniadae. The Messenians themselves declare that their offering came from their exploit with the Athenians in the island of Sphacteria, and that the name of their enemy was omitted through dread of the Lacedaemonians; for,

*circa*  
430 B.C.

425 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> *πραχθέντος εἶναι* added by Spiro.

ματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰνιαδῶν γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον.

- 2 Τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα Μικύθου πολλά τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ὄντα εὔρισκον, ἀλλὰ Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ Ἥλειου καὶ Ἐκεχειρίας στεφανούσης τὸν Ἰφίτον, τούτων μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων ἔχεται τοςάδε ἀναθήματα τῶν Μικύθου, Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἑστία· Γλαῦκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖος. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευρὰν ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα, Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Γανυμήδην τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, ποιητῶν δὲ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον, καὶ
- 3 θεοὺς αὖθις Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγείαν. Ἀγῶν τε ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Μικύθου φέρων ἀλτῆρας, οἱ δὲ ἀλτῆρες οὗτοι παρέχονται σχῆμα τοιούδε· κύκλου παραμηκεστέρου καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιφεροῦς εἰσὶν ἥμισυ, πεποιήται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν διεναὶ καθάπερ δι' ὀχάνων ἀσπίδος. τούτων μὲν δὴ σχῆμά ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγῶνος τὴν εἰκόνα Διόνυσος καὶ ὁ Θραῶξ ἐστὶν Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἄγαλμα Δίος, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. ταῦτα ἔργα ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖου Διονυσίου· τεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μικύθου καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῦ τούτοις λέγουσι, Νέρωνα δὲ ἀφελέσθαι φασὶ
- 4 καὶ ταῦτα. τοῖς δὲ ἐργασαμένοις αὐτά, γένος οὖσιν Ἀργεῖοις, Διονυσίῳ τε καὶ Γλαύκῳ, διδάσκαλόν σφισιν οὐδένα ἐπιλέγουσιν· ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰ ἔργα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεὶς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Μίκυθος. τὸν γὰρ δὴ Μίκυθον τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἔφη ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δούλος

they say, they are not in the least afraid of Oeniadae and the Acarnanians.

The offerings of Micythus I found were numerous and not together. Next after Iphitus of Elis, and Echecheiria crowning Iphitus, come the following offerings of Micythus: Amphitrite, Poseidon and Hestia; the artist was Glaucus the Argive. Along the left side of the great temple Micythus dedicated other offerings: the Maid, daughter of Demeter, Aphrodite, Ganymedes and Artemis, the poets Homer and Hesiod, then again deities, Asclepius and Health. Among the offerings of Micythus is Struggle carrying jumping-weights, the shape of which is as follows. They are half of a circle, not an exact circle but elliptical, and made so that the fingers pass through as they do through the handle of a shield. Such are the fashion of them. By the statue of Struggle are Dionysus, Orpheus the Thracian, and an image of Zeus which I mentioned just now.<sup>1</sup> They are the works of Dionysius of Argos. They say that Micythus set up other offerings also in addition to these, and that they formed part of the treasures—<sup>circa 460 B.C.</sup> taken away by Nero. The artists are said to have been Dionysius and Glaucus, who were Argives by birth, but the name of their teacher is not recorded. Their date is fixed by that of Micythus, who dedicated the works of art at Olympia. For Herodotus in his history<sup>2</sup> says that this Micythus, when Anaxilas was despot of Rhegium, became his slave and

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxiv. § 6 of this book.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus VII. 170.

- καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων ὕστερον  
 τούτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέα τελευτήσαντος  
 5 Ἀναξίλα. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι ἐπιγράμ-  
 ματα καὶ πατέρα Μικύθῳ Χοῖρον καὶ Ἑλληνίδας  
 αὐτῷ πόλεις Ῥήγιόν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν· οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέα φησὶν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἀναθή-  
 ματα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχὴν τινα ἐκτελῶν  
 ἐπὶ σωτηρία παιδὸς νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινάδα.
- 6 Πλησίον δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀναθημάτων Μι-  
 κύθου, τέχνης δὲ τοῦ Ἀργείου Γλαύκου, Ἀθηνᾶς  
 ἄγαλμα ἕστηκε κράνος ἐπικειμένη καὶ αἰγίδα  
 ἐνδεδυκνῖα· Νικόδαμος μὲν εἰργάσατο ὁ Μαι-  
 νάλιος, Ἡλείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. παρὰ δὲ  
 τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν πεποιήται Νίκη· ταύτην Μαντινεῖς  
 ἀνέθεσαν, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δηλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ  
 ἐπιγράμματι· Κάλαμις δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσαν πτερὰ  
 ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομιμούμενος τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς
- 7 Ἀπτέρου καλουμένης ξόανον. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς  
 ἐλάχισσι ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Μικύθου, ποιηθεῖσι  
 δὲ ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, πρὸς τούτοις Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ  
 τῶν ἔργων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ καὶ  
 ὕδραν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἰλίου καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ  
 Ἐρμύμανθῳ ποταμῷ κάπρον· ἐκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὰ  
 ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἡρακλεῶται Μαριανδυνῶν ὁμόρων  
 βαρβάρων καταδραμόντες τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ  
 Ἡράκλεια πεπόλισται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ,  
 ἀποκίσθη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ  
 Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ.

XXVII. Τούτων δὲ ἀντικρῦ τῶν κατειλεγμέ-  
 νων ἐστὶν ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχῳ, τετραμ-  
 μένα μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τοῦ τεμένου δὲ

steward of his property ; afterwards, on the death of Anaxilas, he went away to Tegea. The inscriptions on the offerings give Choerus as the father of Micythus, and as his fatherland the Greek cities of Rhegium and Messene on the Strait. The inscriptions say that he lived at Tegea, and he dedicated the offerings at Olympia in fulfilment of a vow made for the recovery of a son, who fell ill of a wasting disease.

Near to the greater offerings of Micythus, which were made by the Argive Glaucus, stands an image of Athena with a helmet on her head and clad in an aegis. Nicodamus of Maenalus was the artist, but it was dedicated by the Eleans. Beside the Athena has been set up a Victory. The Mantineans dedicated it, but they do not mention the war in the inscription. Calamis is said to have made it without wings in imitation of the wooden image at Athens called Wingless Victory. By the smaller offerings of Micythus, that were made by Dionysius, are some of the exploits of Heracles, including what he did to the Nemean lion, the hydra, the Hound of Hell, and the boar by the river Erymanthus. These were brought to Olympia by the people of Heracleia when they had overrun the land of the Mariandynians, their foreign neighbours. Heracleia is a city built on the Euxine sea, a colony of Megara, though the people of Tanagra in Boeotia joined in the settlement.

XXVII. Opposite the offerings I have enumerated are others in a row ; they face towards the south, and are very near to that part of the precinct

ἐγγύτατα ὁ τῷ Πέλοπι ἀνεῖται. ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιναλίου  
 Φόρμιδος, ὃς ἐκ Μαινάλου διαβὰς ἐς Σικελίαν  
 παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένους καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε  
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰέρωνι ὕστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλωνος  
 ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀποδεικνύμενος λαμπρὰ ἔργα  
 ἐς τοσοῦτο προήλθεν εὐδαιμονίας, ὡς ἀναθεῖναι  
 μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῷ  
 2 Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα ἐς Δελφούς. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμ-  
 πίαν δύο τέ εἰσιν ἵπποι καὶ ἡνίοχοι δύο, ἑκατέρῳ  
 τῶν ἵππων παρεστὼς ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος· ὁ μὲν δὴ  
 πρότερος τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ Διονυσίου τοῦ  
 Ἀργείου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἔργα ἐστὶν Λίγινῆτος  
 Σίμωνος. τῷ προτέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἐπίγραμμα  
 ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ σὺν μέτρῳ·  
 λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·

Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν

Ἄρκας Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

3 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἵππος ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἵππομανὲς λόγῳ  
 τῷ Ἡλείων ἔγκειται· δῆλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐστὶν  
 ἀνδρὸς μάγου σοφία γενέσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα  
 τῷ ἵππῳ. μέγεθος μὲν ἢ εἶδος ἵππων ἀποδεῖ  
 πολλῶ, ὅσοι τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντὸς ἐστήκασιν, πρὸς  
 δὲ ἀποκέκοπται τε τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 τοιῷδε ἔτι αἰσχίων· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ἄρσενες οὔτι  
 4 αὐτὸν ὀργῶσιν ἡμέραν. καὶ γὰρ ἐσθέουσιν ἐς  
 τὴν Ἄλτιν ἀπορρηγνύοντες τὰ δεσμὰ ἢ καὶ  
 ἐκφεύγοντες τοὺς ἄγοντας καὶ ἐπιπηδῶσιν αὐτῷ  
 πολλῶ δὴ τι ἐμμανέστερον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν καλλίστην  
 ἵππον ζῶσάν τε καὶ ἠθάδα ἀναβαίνεσθαι· ἀπ-



which is sacred to Pelops. Among them are those dedicated by the Maenalian Phormis. He crossed to Sicily from Maenalus to serve Gelon the son of Deinomenes. Distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Gelon and afterwards of his brother Hieron, he reached such a pitch of prosperity that he dedicated not only these offerings at Olympia, but also others dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. The offerings at Olympia are two horses and two charioteers, a charioteer standing by the side of each of the horses. The first horse and man are by Dionysius of Argos, the second are the work of Simon of Aegina. On the side of the first of the horses is an inscription, the first part of which is not metrical. It runs thus:—

453-400  
B.C.

Phormis dedicated me,  
An Arcadian of Maenalus, now of Syracuse.

This is the horse in which is, say the Eleans, the hippomanes (*what maddens horses*). It is plain to all that the quality of the horse is the result of magic skill. It is much inferior in size and beauty to all the horses standing within the Altis. Moreover, its tail has been cut off, which makes the figure uglier still. But male horses, not only in spring but on any day, are at heat towards it. In fact they rush into the Altis, breaking their tethers or escaping from their grooms, and they leap upon it much more madly than upon a living brood mare, even the most beautiful of them. Their hoofs slip off,

- ολισθάνουσί τε δὴ αὐτοῖς αἱ ὄπλαϊ καὶ ὅμως οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσι χρεμετίζοντές τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιπηδῶντες μετὰ βιαιοτέρας τῆς ὀρμῆς, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ μαστίγων καὶ ἀνάγκης ἰσχυρᾶς ἀφελκυσθῶσι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγή σφισιν  
 5 οὐδεμία ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Λυδία θεασάμενος οἶδα διάφορον μὲν θαῦμα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Φόρμιδος, μίγων μέντοι σοφίας οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπηλλαγμένον. ἔστι γὰρ Λυδοῖς ἐπὶ κλησιν Περσικοῖς ἱερά ἐν τε Ἱεροκαισαρεία καλουμένη πόλει καὶ ἐν Ἰπταίοις, ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν οἴκημά τε καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκηματί ἐστιν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τέφρα· χροᾶ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τέφραν ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄλλην.  
 6 ἔσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα ἐπιφορήσας αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν πρῶτα μὲν τῖαν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπάδει βύρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ Ἐλλησιν· ἐπάδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου· ἄνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα καὶ περιφανῆ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι.  
 7 Ἰάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φόρμις ἀνδρὶ ἀνθεστηκῶς πολεμίῳ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ γε αὐθις μάχεται. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν στρατιώτην μὲν τὸν μαχόμενον Φόρμιν εἶναι τὸν Μαινάλιον, τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Συρακόσιον Λυκόρταν· δῆλα δὲ ὡς οὗτος ὁ Λυκόρτας κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναθείη τοῦ Φόρμιδος. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα  
 8 Ἐλλήνων. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὁ τὸν κριδὸν φέρων ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυνῆν καὶ χιτῶνά τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκῶς οὐ τῶν  
 546

but nevertheless they keep on neighing more and more, and leap with a yet more violent passion, until they are driven away by whips and sheer force. In no other way can they be separated from the bronze horse. There is another marvel I know of, having seen it in Lydia; it is different from the horse of Phormis, but like it not innocent of the magic art. The Lydians surnamed Persian have sanctuaries in the city named Hierocaesareia and at Hypaepa. In each sanctuary is a chamber, and in the chamber are ashes upon an altar. But the colour of these ashes is not the usual colour of ashes. Entering the chamber a magician piles dry wood upon the altar; he first places a tiara upon his head and then sings to some god or other an invocation in a foreign tongue unintelligible to Greeks, reciting the invocation from a book. So it is without fire that the wood must catch, and bright flames dart from it.

So much for this subject. Among these offerings is Phormis himself opposed to an enemy, and next are figures of him fighting a second and again a third. On them it is written that the soldier fighting is Phormis of Maenalus, and that he who dedicated the offerings was Lycortas of Syracuse. Clearly this Lycortas dedicated them out of friendship for Phormis. These offerings of Lycortas are also called by the Greeks offerings of Phormis. The Hermes carrying the ram under his arm, with a helmet on his head, and clad in tunic and cloak, is not one of the

- Φόρμιδος ἔτι ἀναθημάτων ἐστίν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Φενεοῦ δέδοται τῷ θεῷ. Ὀνάταν δὲ τὸν Αἰγινήτην, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλην ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, δοκεῖν δέ μοι τοῦ Ὀνάτα μαθητῆς ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φενεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ῥηγίνου, ποιῆσαι δὲ
- 9 Κάλλωνα Ἥλειον. βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἑρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἑρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου· καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου μὲν οἱ Κορκυραῖοι τὸν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ ἕτερον βοῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπιάσιν αὐτῶν ἀναθή-
- 10 ματι συμβῆναι τοιόνδε ἤκουσα. παῖς μικρὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καθήμενος τῷ βοῖ ἐς τὸ κάτω νενευκῶς ἔπαιξεν· ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἐξαίφνης τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεΐγη τε αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέθανεν οὐ πολλαῖς. Ἥλαιοι μὲν δὲ τὸν βοῦν ἅτε αἵματι ἔνοχον ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσαι τῆς Ἄλτews· ὁ δὲ σφᾶς θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἔαν<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἀνάθημα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους, ὅποσα Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ νομίζουσιν.
- 11 Ἔστι δὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πλατάνοις κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα πού τὸν περίβολον τρόπαιον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἥλείους ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναστῆσαι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπέλαβεν ἐκεῖνον ἀφείναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὃς τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς ὀροφῆς κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνασκευαζομένης ἐνταῦθα ὁμοῦ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> χώ, α' ἔαν was added by Bekker.

offerings of Phormis, but has been given to the god by the Arcadians of Pheneüs. The inscription says that the artist was Onatas of Aegina helped by Calliteles, who I think was a pupil or son of Onatas. Not far from the offering of the Pheneatians is another image, Hermes with a herald's wand. An inscription on it says that Glaucias, a Rhegian by descent, dedicated it, and Callon of Elis made it. Of the bronze oxen one was dedicated by the Corcyraeans and the other by the Eretrians. Philesius of Eretria was the artist. Why the Corcyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another at Delphi will be explained in my account of Phocis.<sup>1</sup> About the offering at Olympia I heard the following story. Sitting under this ox a little boy was playing with his head bent towards the ground. Suddenly lifting his head he broke it against the bronze, and died a few days later from the wound. So the Eleans were purposing to remove the ox from out the Altis as being guilty of bloodshed. But the god at Delphi gave an oracle that they were to let the offering stay where it was, after performing upon it the purificatory rites that are customary among the Greeks for unintentional shedding of blood.

Under the plane trees in the Altis, just about in the centre of the enclosure, there is a bronze trophy, with an inscription upon the shield of the trophy, to the effect that the Eleans raised it as a sign that they had beaten the Lacedaemonians. It was in this battle that the warrior lost his life who was found lying in his armour when the roof of the

<sup>1</sup> Book X, ch. IX, § 3.

12 ὄπλοις εὐρέθη κείμενος. τῶν δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἰπατῆσαι με ὡς ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν εἶη πεντάθλου· καὶ κείται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἥλειον Ἀναυχίδα, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους. ἐλεγείον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ·

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν  
Μενδαῖοι, Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

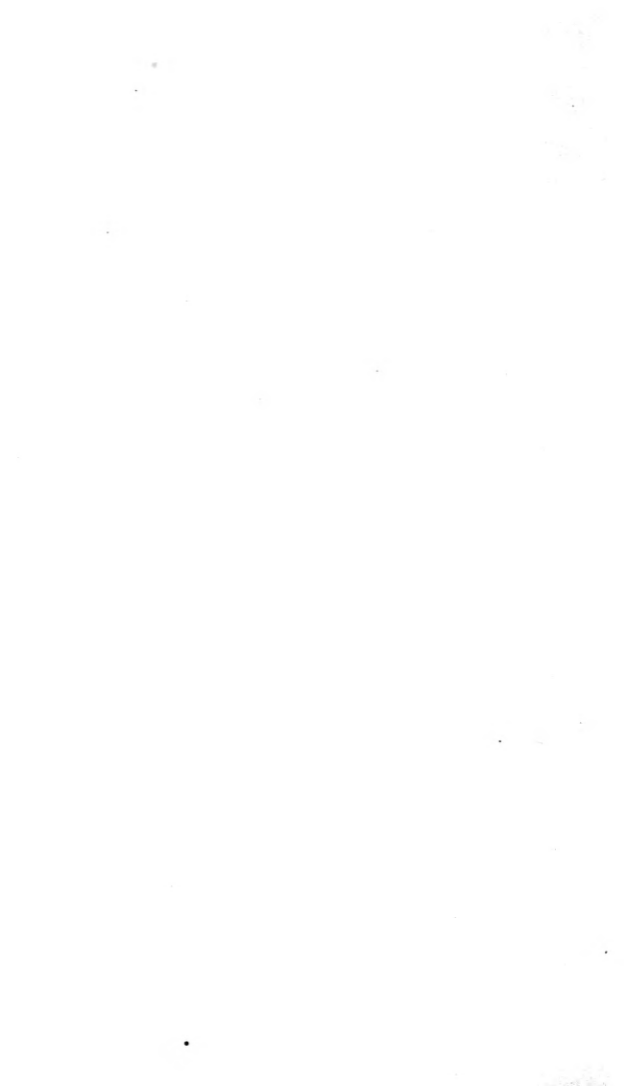
τὸ μὲν δὴ Θράκιόν τι εἶναι τείχος καὶ πόλις ἔοικεν ἢ Σίπτη· Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει.

Heraeum was being repaired in my time. The offering of the Mendeans in Thrace came very near to beguiling me into the belief that it was a representation of a competitor in the pentathlon. It stands by the side of Anauchidas of Elis, and it holds ancient jumping-weights. An elegiac couplet is written on its thigh:—

To Zeus, king of the gods, as first-fruits was I  
placed here

By the Mendeans, who reduced Sipte by might  
of hand.

Sipte seems to be a Thracian fortress and city. The Mendeans themselves are of Greek descent, coming from Ionia, and they live inland at some distance from the sea that is by the city of Aenus.









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