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PAUSANIAS
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

I. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς ἔστιν ἥδη Λακωνικὴ
tὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρας. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
λέγουσι, Δέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὃν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος
ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο Δέλεγες δὲν ἦρχεν
ὁμομάσθησαν. Δέλεγες δὲ γίνεται Μύλης καὶ
νεότερος Πολυκάων. Πολυκάων μὲν δὴ ὤποι καὶ
δὲ ἥπτυνα αἰτίαν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐτέρωθι δηλώσω.
Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς
Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτως τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διώρυγι κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν,
ἀπορρυνότος δὲ—ἡν γὰρ δὴ τὸ ὕπόλοιπον ποταμὸν
2 ῥεύμα—ὁμόμασεν Εὐρώταν. ἄτε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων
αὐτῷ παῖδων ἁρρέων βασιλεύειν καταλείπει
Λακεδαιμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταυγήτης ὄντα, ἄφ'
ὅς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὄνωμάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα
ἀνήκουτα κατὰ τὴν φήμην συνόκει δὲ ὁ Λακε-
δαιμων Σπάρτη θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. τότε δὲ
ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτα μὲν τῷ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς
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BOOK III

LACONIA

I. After the figures of Hermes we reach Laconia on the west. According to the tradition of the Laedaeemonians 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 Polycœon. Polycœon 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.¹ Having no male issue, he left the kingdom to Lacedæmon, whose mother was Taygete, after whom the mountain was named, while according to report his father was none other than Zeus. Lacedæmon 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

¹ Eurotas = the fair-flowing.
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ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἂφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄνοματα, μετὰ δὲ τούτο οἵκισε τε καὶ ὄνομασεν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός πόλιν, ἡ Σπάρτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς. Ἄμυκλας δὲ ὁ Δακεδαίμονος, βουλόμενος ὑπολιπέσθαι τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μνήμην, πόλισμα ἐκτίσεν ἐν τῇ Δακωνικῇ. γενομένων δὲ οἱ παίδων Ὁμήρου μὲν νεώτατον ὄντα καὶ τὸ ἐδὸς κάλλιστον κατέλαβεν ἢ πεπρωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρός, καὶ 'Τακίνθου μνήμα ἦστιν ἐν Ἄμυκλᾳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἄμυκλα ἐς Ἀργαλον τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἄμυκλα παίδων καὶ ύστερον ἐς Κυνόρταν Ἀργάλου τελευτήσαντος ἀφίκετο ἢ ἀρχή. Κυνόρτα δὲ ἐγένετο Οἰβαλος, οὗτος Γοργοφόνη τε τῆς Περσέως γυναίκα ἔσχεν εἰς Ἄργοις καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδάρεως, ὑπὲρ τῆς Βασιλείας Ἰπποκόπων ἡμιφιλοβητει καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔσχεν ἧξιον τὴν ἀρχήν. προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ πολὺ τε ὑπερβαλέτο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων καὶ ἡμάγκασεν ἀποχωρήσας δεισάντα, ὡς μὲν Δακεδαμύνοιο φασίν, ἐς Πελλάναν, Μεσσηνίαν δὲ ἦστιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων φεύγοντα ἐλθεῖν ὡς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἶναι τε Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρους ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεως πρῶς μντρός· καὶ οἰκήσας τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηνίας φασίν ἐν Θαλάμαις καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα 5 οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον κατήλθε τε ὑπὸ Ἰρακλέους Τυνδάρεως καὶ ἀνεσώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐβασίλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Τυνδάρεως παῖδες καὶ Μενέλαος ὁ Ἀτρέως Τυνδάρεως γαμβρὸς ὁν Ὀρέστης τε Ἐρμούνῃ τῇ Μενελάου συνοικοῖ. κατελθόντων δὲ Ἰρακλειδῶν ἔπι
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 Icarius 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
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Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὁρέστου βασιλεύοντος, Μεσσήνη μὲν καὶ Ἦρης ἐκατέρα μοῖρα Τήμενον, ἢ δὲ Κρεσφόντιν ἐσχεν ἄρχοντας· ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δὲ ὄντων διδύμων τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδων οίκιας δύο βασίλειαι γίνονται· συναρέσα τῇ Πυθίᾳ 6 φασίν. Ἀριστοδήμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὴν τελευτήν συμβαίνει λέγοντιν ἐν Δελφοῖς προὶ Ἡ Δωρίας κατελθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀποσεμίνουντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν τοξευθῆραι λέγοντιν Ἀριστοδήμου ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι σὺν ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐνυχόντος οἱ πρότερον πύθοιτο ὅς ἐς Πελοπόννησον Δωρίεσσι γεννησται ἢ ἡ κάθοδος· ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ἀνεψιόυς ὄντας Τισαμενῷ τῷ 7 Ὁρέστου, φονεύσαι τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου. ὁνόματα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παισίν αὐτοῦ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἐτέθη, δίδυμοι δὲ ὄντες διάφοροι τὰ μάλιστα ὄναν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπεχθείας ὦν ἐν κοινῷ Θῆρᾳ τῷ Λυτεσίϊων, ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὅπιν Ἀργείας, ἐπιτροπέσαντε δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν. τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν ὁ Θῆρας ἐστελλέν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν τότε ὀιομαξομενὴν Καλλιστῆν, τοὺς ἀπογόνους οἱ τοῦ Μεμβλαῦρον παραχωρήσεσθαι τῆς 8 βασιλείας ἐλπίζουν ἐκόντας, ὅπερ ὄντι καὶ ἐποίησαν λαβόντες λογίσμον ὧν Θῆρας μὲν ἐς αὐτῶν ἀνῆκε Κάδμον τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλαῦρον· Μεμβλαῦρον δὲ ἀνδρὰ ὄντα τοῦ δήμου Κάδμος ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ κατέλυπεν ἤγερον εἶναι τῶν ἐποίκων. καὶ Θῆρας μὲν τῇ τε νῆσῳ μετέβαλεν ἀφ’ ἕαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν 6
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,¹ 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

¹ That is, "Fairest."
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ἐτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστή. Προκλεὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθένει μέχρι μὲν τῆς προ-
θυμίας τῆς ἐς τὸν Θήραν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνήλθον
αἰ γνώμαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διειστήκει σφίσιν ἐτὶ
9 παντὶ τὰ βουλεύματα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὀμονο-
ησάντων τοὺς ἀπογόνους αὐτῶν ἐς κοινὸν κατά-
λογον ὑπάξειν ἄν ἐμελλοῦν ὡς γὰρ τά πάντα
ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνεληφθαίσιν ἡλικίας, ὡς ἄνεψιόν
τε ἄνεψιόν καὶ ἄνεψιόν παῖδας, ὡσάντως δὲ καὶ
touς κατωτέρω κατὰ ἄριθμον τυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις
γεγονότας τὸν ἴσον. ἐκατέραν σὺν τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐπέζησι αὐτῶν ἴδιως καὶ οὐκ ἀμφότερας ἄμα ἐς
τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναμίξας.

II. Εὐρυσθένει πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου
παῖδων ὄντι ἡλικίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν νῦν
'Αγιὼν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τὰ ἔτος τὸ Εὐρυσθένους
καλοῦσιν 'Αγιώδας. ἐπὶ τοῦτον Πατρεῖ τῷ
Πρευγένους κτίζοντι ἐν 'Αχαια πόλιν, ἡμίνα
Πάτρας καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρέως
tοῦτον, συνεπελάβοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ὀἰκ-
σμοῦ. συνήραντο δὲ καὶ Γρά τῷ 'Εχέλα τοῦ
Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου στελλομένω ναυσίν ἐς
ἀποικίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ
Μυσῶν, καλομείνην ἀπὸ Λιολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθ-
έξειν ἐμελλεν. ὃ δὲ οἱ πρόγονοι Πενθίλος Δέσβων
τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης νῆσου εἰλεν ἐτὶ
2 πρότερον. ἐπὶ δὲ 'Εχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγιῶδος βασι-
λεύοντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνουρέας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστότους, αἰτίαν ἐπι-
ενεγκόντες ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφισιν
ὀντων 'Αργείων λησταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνουριακῆς
κακουργοῦειν καὶ αὐτοὶ καταδρομᾶς 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 Preugenes 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
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rhoi pioivto eis tis gyn. legonntai de ois Kynou-
reis 'Argeiou to anekadenv einai, kal oikisthyn
fasin auton Kynouron genevthe twn Persewos.
3 etesin de ustereon ou pollois Dabwntas o 'Exe-
straton tis arkhyn eschexen en Sparyth. touton
ton Dabwntan 'Hr rodos en taw logow tw es Kro-
sou upo Luko'Ergou tou themenou tous vnomous
fisin epitropheubhina paiada onta. Deowbesthyn
dei ois tithetai to onoma kai ou Dabwntan. Laked-
daimonious dei prwtou tote edozen arasvai pro
'Argeious polemon. epoioiunto de es autous egkly-
mata tis te Kynourikith elonton auton apote-
menethai touis 'Argeious kai touis periokous sfow
upheous onta wphistai. tote mev de para
oudeteron polemhsaiton omous mhwmis a'xiou
praXhthnai fasin ovdewn touis de efexh sym-
leusanantas tis oikias taunths Dorysson ton
Dabwnta kai 'Agisilaou Dorysson di' olignon
sfw tis xewon epelabhen amfoterous. ethke de
ekai Luko'Ergos Lakedaimonious touis vnomous epti
tis 'Agisilaou basileias. theinai de auton
leghousin ois mev parax tis Puthias didaxhentata
upw artwon, ois de wos Kritika ontas vnomima
epahxvontos. toutous de ois Kritites touis vnomous
tethnai sfisiv upo Minow leghousai, bouleusasvai
de upw twv vnomov onk anewn theov ton Minow.
ynxato de kai 'Omphros eimoi dokeiv peri tou
Minow tis vnomothesias en toisde tois etepesv:

thsi de eiv Kynossos, megali polis, entha te
Minwos
enveoros basileue Diw megalou darioth.
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. Homer1 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.”

1 Odyssey, xix. 178.
5 Λυκούργου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπείτα τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι μνήμην Ἄγγειλάου δὲ παῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος. ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες πόλιν τῶν περιοικίδων ἡμιραπόδισαντο Λίγυν, ὑποπτεύσαντες ὡς οἱ Λίγυται φρονοῦσι τὰ Αρκάδων. Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἷκιας βασιλεύς συνεξείλε μὲν καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν Λίγυν, ὁπόσα δὲ καὶ ἱδία Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶς ἔδρασεν ἡγούμενος, μνήμην καὶ τῶν ποιησόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγωι μεταβάντι ἐς τοὺς Εὐρυπωνίδας καλουμένους. Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ ἦν Τήλεκλος; ἐπὶ τούτου πολείς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν περιοικίδων πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἐξείλον Ἀμύκλας καὶ Φάριν καὶ Γεράνθρας, ἠχόντων ἐπὶ Ἀχαϊῶν. τούτων Φαρίται καὶ Γεραυθράται τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν Δωρίων καταπλαγέντες ἀπέλθειν ἐκ Πελοπονήσου συγχωροῦνται ὑπόστουνδοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀμυκλαίες οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐκβάλλοντοι, ἀλλὰ ἀντισχόντας τα ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἐργα οὐκ ἀδοξα ἐπιδειξαμένους. ἔθλοσιν δὲ καὶ οἱ Δωρίες τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμυκλαίεσσι ἀναστήσαντες, ώς ἐν τῷ τότε λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον τοῦτο ὑπάρξαν σφίσιν. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον τούτων ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλεκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τούτο ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τῆς Δακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας

6 Τῆλεκλος δὲ ἀποδανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἔσχεν ὁ Τῆλεκλος τὴν ἄρχήν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Κρήτην Χαρμίδαν τὸν Εὐθυνόσ, ἀνδρὰ ἐν Σπάρτη τῶν δοκίμων, στάσεις τε καταπαύσοντα τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ τὰ πολύματα, 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 Achaean tribes. 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, ταύτα μὲν τοὺς Κρήτας πείσοντα ἐκλιπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τοῦ παράπλου συνοικιοῦντα ἀντὶ αὐτῶν. ἀνεστησαν δὲ καὶ Ἁλὸς εἰς θαλάσση πόλισμα Ἀχαίων ἐχόντων καὶ Ἁργείους τοὺς εἰλώσιν ἀμύναντας μᾶχῃ νικῶσιν.

ΠΙ. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλκαμένους Πολύδωρος τὴν Βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀλκαμένος, καὶ ἀποκιάν τε ἐς Ἰταλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἐς Κρότωνα ἐστειλαν καὶ ἐς Δοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς ἄκρα Σεφυρίω, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ καλούμενος Μεσσηνι-ακός Πολύδωρον βασιλεύοντος μάλιστα ἐς ἀκμὴν προῆλθε. λέγουσι δὲ οὖ τὰς αὐτὰς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε αἰτίας καὶ Μεσσήνιοι τοῦ πολέμου. τὰ οὖν λεγόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅποιον ὁ πό- λεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος πέρας, τοῦ λόγου μοι τὰ ἔφεξης δηλώσεις τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνημονεύμαθα αὐτῶν, τὰ πολλὰ ἡγήσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πρὸς Μεσσήνιους πολέμῳ Θεόπομπον τὸν Ἡνίκανδρον, βασιλέα οὗτα τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας. διαπεπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμου καὶ ἴδῃ Λακε- δαιμονίοις δομικίπτη τῆς Μεσσήνιας οὐσίας, Πολύδωρον εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα οὖντα τῷ δήμῳ—οὔτε γὰρ ἔργον βίαιον οὔτε υβριστὴν λόγον παρεῖχετο ἐς οὐδένα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεις τὰ δίκαια 3 ἐφύλασσεν οὐκ ἀνευ φιλανθρωπίας, ἐχούσος δὲ ἴδῃ Πολύδωρον λαμπρὸν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τήν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολέμαρχος οἰκίας ἐν Λακεδαίμοιο ἀνήρ οὐκ ἄδοξον, 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
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΔΕΔΟΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ἈΞΙΟΛΟΓΑ ΕΣ ΤΙΜΗΝ. ἘΣΤΙ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΝΗΜΑ ἘΝ ΣΠΆΡΤΗ, ΕΙΤΕ ἩΓΑΘΟΥ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑ ΆΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΣΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΡῪΦΑ ΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΘΑΠΤΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ.

4 ἘΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΔΟΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΣΟΗΝΙΟΙ ΤΕ ἩΝΕΙΧΟΝΤΟ ὝΠΗΚΟΙ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ὉΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΣΦΙΣΩΝ ἈΠΗΝΤΗΣΕ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ἘΠΙ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΧΑΙΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ—ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΧΡΕΩΝ ῾ΗΔΗ ΜΕΣΟΗΝΙΟΥΣ ἩΛΑΝΝΕΝ ΕΚΤΟΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ ΠΑΣΗΣ—ἈΦΙΣΤΑΝΤΑΙ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΣΟΗΝΙΟΙ. ΚΑΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ἈΝΤΕΣΧΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΝΤΕΣ ὩΠΟΣΠΟΝ- ΔΟΙ ΔΕ ὩΣ ΕΚΡΑΤΙΘΕΣΑΝ ἈΠΗΣΑΝ ΕΚ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ἘΓΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΦΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΗΥ ΛΑΚΕ- ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ἘΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΟΙΚΕΤΑΙ ΠΛΗΝ ΟΙ ΤΑ ἘΤΙ ΤΗ 

5 ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ ΠΟΛΙΣΜΑΤΑ ἘΧΟΝΤΕΣ. ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ἘΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΣΥΜΒΙΝΤΑ, ὋΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΣΟΗΝΙΟΙ ΛΑΚΕ- ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ ἘΠΟΛΕΜΗΣΑΝ, ΟΥ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ᾽ΗΝ ἘΝ ΤΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΔΗΛΩΣΑΙ. ἈΝΑΧΑΙΝΔΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΥΙΟΣ ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ, ΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΝΤΕΡΟΥ ΛΕΩΝ. ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΠΤΑΙΟΝ ἔΝ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ ΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑ. ἘΤΙ ΔΕ ἈΝΑΧΑΙΝΔΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΣΤΕΡΟΥ ΤΕΓΕΑ- ΤΩΝ ΓΙΝΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ ΚΙΝΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΤΩΣ. ἈΝΗΡ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ ΔΙΧΑΣ ὌΝΟΜΑ ΑΦΙΚΕΤΟ ἘΣ ΤΕΓΕΑΝ ΤΗΝΙΚΑΙΤΑ ΔΕ ΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΑΓΟΝΣΑΙ ΣΠΟΝΔΑΣ ἘΤΥΧΟΥ. ΑΦΙΚΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΧΑ 'ΟΡΕΣΤΟΥ ΤΑ ὍΣΤΑ ΑΝΕΧΗΤΟΥΝ ΑΝΕΧΗΤΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑ ΕΚ ΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΙΟΥ ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΑΙ. ΣΥΝΗΚΕΙΝ ΌΥΝ Ὅ ΔΙΧΑΣ ὩΣ ἘΣΤΙ ΚΑΤΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΕΝ ΟΙΚΙΑ ΧΑΛΚΕΩΣ, ΣΥΝΗΚΕ ΔΕ ΟΥΤΩΣ.
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 Euryerates, 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 Euryerates—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 Euryerates, and this second Euryerates 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
οπόσα εν τῇ τοῦ χαλκέως ἔώρα, παρέβαλεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα, ἀνέμοισ μὲν τοῦ χαλκέως εἰκάζουν τὰς φύσας, ὅτι καὶ αὐταὶ βίαιοι πνεῦμα ἂφίεσαν, τύπων δὲ τῆς σφήνας καὶ τῶν ἀκμονῶν αὐτίτυπων ταῦτη, πῆμα δὲ εἰκότως ἀνθρώπω τὸν σίδηρον, ὅτι ἔχρωντο ἐς τὰς μάχας ἡδη τῷ σιδηρῷ. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱρών καλομένων ἀν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπω πῆμα εἶναι τοῦ χαλκῶν.

7 τῷ χρησμῷ δὲ τῷ γενομένῳ Λακεδαιμονίως ἐς τοῦ Ὄρεστον τὰ ὀστᾶ καὶ Ἀθηναίως ύστερον έεικότα ἐχρήσθη κατάγουσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Σκύρου Θησέα, ἀλλως δὲ οὐκ εἶναι σφίσιν ἐλεῖν Σκύρον. ἀνεύρε δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Θησέως Κύμων ὁ Μιλτιάδος, σοφία χρησάμενος καὶ οὕτως, καὶ μετ᾽ οὗ πολὺ εἶλε τὴν Σκύρον. ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱρών τὰ ὀπλα ὁμοίως χαλκὰ ἡν πάντα, μαρτυρεῖ μοι καὶ Ὁμήρου τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ ἔς τε ἀξίνην ἤχοντα τὴν Πεισαίνδρου καὶ ἐς τοῦ Μηριόνος τὸν ὀστόν. βεβαιοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μοι τὸν λόγον ἐν Φασίλιδι ἀνακείμενον εν Ἀθηνᾶς ἴερῷ τὸ δόρυ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Νικομηδεύσιν εν Ἀσκληπιίῳ ναῷ máχαιρα ὁ Μέμνονος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἴ τε αἴχυμα καὶ ὁ σαυρωτήρ, ἡ máχαιρα δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης χαλκοῦ πεποίηται.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσμεν ἤχοντα οὕτως. Ἀναξαν-δρίδης δὲ ὁ Δέοντος Λακεδαιμονίως μόνος γυναίκας τε δύο ἀμα ἔσχε καὶ οἰκίας δύο ἀμα ὕκησε. τὴν γὰρ οἱ πρότερον συνοικούσαν ἁριστή τὴν τὰ ἄλλα οὐσαν συνεβαίνειν οὐ τίκτειν ἀποπέμψασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κελεύων τῶν ἐφόρων τούτο μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται, τοσοῦτον δὲ σφισιν εἰκεν γυναίκα ἐτέραν λαβεῖν πρὸς ταύτη. καὶ ἴ 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\(^1\) 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 Laconian 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;

\(^1\) Iliad, xiii. 611 foll. and 650.
καὶ ἡ προτέρα τέως οὐ σχούσα ἐν γαστρὶ ἐπὶ γεγονότι ἢδη Κλεομένει τίκτει Δωρεά καὶ αὖθις
10 Δεωνίδαν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Κλεόμβροτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανεν 'Ἀναξανδρίδης, Δακεδαιμόνιοι Δωρεά καὶ γνώμην Κλεομένους καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἀμεί-
νονα εἶναι νομίζοντες τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο ἀκοιντεῖ, Κλεομένει δὲ διδόασιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβεία τὴν ἀρχὴν.

IV. Δωρεάν μὲν δὴ—οὐ γὰρ ἠνεῖχετο ὑπα-
kουν Ἐλεύθεροι δέ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι σύν ὑπελογίζων, ο Κλεο-
μένης ἐνίκα τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ—ἂν γὰρ πλησίον ἄλσος ἔρεθι Ἀργοῦ τοῦ Νίοβης—καταφεύγοντο ὡς ἐτράποντο ὅσον τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ Ἀργείων ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. Κλεομένης δὲ—ἐξώρμμε γὰρ ὧν πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ—κελεύει καὶ τὸτε ἐνείναι πῦρ τοῖς ἐδωρείς ἐς τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ τὸ τε ἄλσος ἐς τὸτε ἐπέλαβεν ἀπαίν καὶ ὅμως τῷ ἄλσει καιο-
2 μένῳ συγκατακαύθησαν οἱ ἱκέται. ἔστρατευμον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρότερον Ἀθηναίοις τε ἔλευθερίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παῖδων καὶ αὐτῶ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι δόξαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐλ-
λησιον ἀγαθὴν κτῶμενος, ὑστερον δὲ Ἀθηναίοιο χάριτι ἀνδρὸς Ἰσαγόρου τυραννίδα οἱ συγ-
kατεργασάμενοι Ἀθηνῶν. ὡς δὲ ἡμίτονε γῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐμαχέσαντο ἐρρωμένοις, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλεομένης ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐδησὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς καλομένης Ὀργάδος θεῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱερᾶς, 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 Lac- daemon 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
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tau'ths temeiv fasiv auton. afikeo de kai 'es Aigianan, kai Aigniteton tov dunaton svne-
lambanev osou mhdismoi te auton metegov kai bavilei Daperi to Tostaspou gin dounai kai
3 'udor tov politas epeisavan. diatrpibountos de en Aigynh Klemenvous Dhmаратos o tis oikias
basilevs tis eteras dievalle auton es ton Lakedaimovon to plithos. Klemvnes de ois
ane斯特peve ex Aignyn, eprraseven opws Dhmara
ton pausieie basileuvonta, kai tihn te en
Delfois prmauntw avnastato, Lakedaimovious
autin oposa autos edidaskev es Dhmaratov
xhisa, kai Dewtuxidh evnra tov basilikov
gevous kai oikias Dhmara'tw tis auths epirhe
4 amphiobhteiw uper tis arxh. eixeto de Dew-
tuxidh Nogou os 'Aristow pothe es Dhmaratov
texthevta exevalen upo amabias onx autov pai
dva einai phi'sas. tote de oj men es to xhrsthi
oi Lakedaimovoi to en Delfois, osper kai ta
alla eiwteasan, anagousi kai to amphiobhtima
to uper Dhmara'tou' he de sfisiv exhe'sen he
prmauntis oposa hnu Klemenei kata gnwmhn.
5 Dhmara'tos men de kata ekhos to Klemenvous
kai ou sun tov dikaiov basileias epau'hi, Klem-
mevnu de soteron toiton epeleabhen h telev'ti
maevta' ws gar de elaibeto eifous, etiprwskev
autos auton kai diezhe to soun apan kopton
te kai lymainomevos. 'Argeioi men de tois ik-
etais tov.'Arghou didovta auton dikin telos tov
bion fasiv euvrethai toio'ton, 'Athevai de oti
edhose tihn 'Oryida, Delfoi de tov dorphon
eneke ou tihn prromantidi edwkev, anapei'sas ephevo-
22
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 Dareius, 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
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6 μένα εἰπεῖν ἐς Δημάρατον. εὖς δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ μηνίματα ἐκ τε ἦρων ὅμοι καὶ θεῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Κλεομένει συνεληλυθότα, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ Πρωτεσίλαος ἐν Ἐλαιούντι οὔδεν ἢρως 'Αργοῦ φανερότερος ἄνθρα Πέρσην ἐτιμωρήσατο Ἀρταύκτην καὶ Μεγαρέυσιν οὔ ποτε θεῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι οὖν ἤγεγένετο ἰλάσσασθαι τὸ μήνιμα γῆν ἐπεργασαμένοις τήν ἱερὰν. τὰ δε ἐς τοῦ μαντείου τὴν διάπειραν οὔδε τὸ παράπαν ἄλλων γε οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ μόνον Κλεομένην τολμήσαντα ἴσον.

7 Κλεομένει δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ἀρρένων παῖδων ἐς Λεωνίδαν τῶν Ἀναξανδρίδου, Δωριέως δὲ ἀπ᾿ ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφῶν, κατέβαινεν ἤ ἄρχη. καὶ Ἐρέξης τε τὴνικαῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν καὶ Λεωνίδας τριακοσίως ὁμοί Λακενδο- μονίων ἀπήντησεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας. γεγόνασι μὲν δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ Ἐλλήνων πολλοί καὶ ἐς ἀλλή- λους βαρβάρους, εὐαρίθμητοι δὲ ὀπόσους ἄνδρος ἐνὸς μάλιστα ἀρετὴ προῆγαγεν ἐς πλέον δόξης, ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς τε τὸν πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πόλεμον καὶ Μιλτιάδης τὸ Μαραθῶν ἔργον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεωνίδου κατόρθωμα ὑπερβάλετο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τά τε ἀνὰ χρόνον συμβάντα καὶ τὰ ἔτι πρῶτον.

8 Ἐρέξη γὰρ Βασιλέως, ὡπόσοι Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐγένοντο ύστεροι, παρασχομένω μέγιστον φρόνη- μα καὶ ὑποδεικαμένω λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Λεωνίδας σὺν ὀλέγοις, οὐς ἡγάγετο ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐγένετο ἄν ἐμποδῶν μὴ δὲ ψηλὴ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναιῶν ποτὲ ἐμ- πρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἴ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἄτραπον τὴν διὰ τῆς Οἴκης τείνουσαν περιαγαγών τὴν μετὰ

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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 180 B.C.
Τὸ δόρυνο στρατιάν ὁ Τραχύνος κυκλώσασθαι σφισά τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρέσχε καὶ οὐτοὶ κατεργασθέντος Λεωνίδου παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ βάρβαροι.

9 Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομπρότοι βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖκ ἐγένετο· ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ Πλείσταρχον τὸν Λεωνίδον καταλειψθέντα ἐτὶ παῖδα ἐς Πλάταιαν τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἠγαγε καὶ ὅστερον ναυσίν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. Παυσανίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἔτι τὴν Κώναν γυναίκα ἐν ἑπαίνῳ τίθεμα μάλιστα, ἦντινα ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἀδόξου παρὰ Κώνοις θυγατέρα οὖν Ἱγνητορίδου τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου Φαρανδάτης ἦν Τεάσπιδος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, παλλακὴν εἶχεν ἀκούσαν· ἔπει δὲ Πλαταιαῖσι Μαρδόνοις τε ἐπέσευν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἀπόλοντοι οἱ βάρβαροι, τὴν γυναίκα οἱ Παυσανίας ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Κών κόσμουν τε ὡς ἐποίησατο ὁ Πέρσης αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγομένην κατασκευήν. Μαρδόνιοι τε οὖν ἠθέλησεν οἱ Παυσανίας αἰσχύναι τὸν νεκρὸν κατὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν τοῦ Αἰγινητοῦ Δάμπωνος.

10 Ὁ Πλεῖσταρχος μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφὼς ἐτελεύτησε, Πλεῖστοιαν δὲ ἐσχὲ τὴν ἄρχῃν ὁ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλαταιῶνι ἡγησαμένου. Πλεῖστοιανάκτος δὲ ἐγένετο Παυσανίας. οὕτως ὡς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Παυσανίας Ὁρασβούλῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιοι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν ἐπιτραπεῖσιν ὑπὸ Δυσάνδρου καταστησόμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐν βεβαιῶ. καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἡχοῦς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα οὶ τὸν στρατὸ ἀπάγειν οἴκας ἡρέμε μηδὲ άνοιξίους ἄνδρων τυραννίδα αὐξοντα ἐπιπτάσσασθαι.
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.

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-
2 τῇ Σπάρτῇ τὸ αὐστριστὸν τῶν ὀνειδῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐπανήλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μαχεσάμενος ἀπρακτον μάχην, ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν οἱ ἐχθροί. Βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳς δικαστήριον ἐκά-θιζον οἱ τὸ ὄνομαζόμενοι γέροντες, ὅκτω καὶ ἑκάστοις ὄντες ἀριθμῶν, καὶ ἦ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἑτέρας. τέσσαρες μὲν δὴ καὶ δεκα τῶν γέροντων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Παυσανίας κατέγραψαν· τὸ δὲ ἀλλο
3 ἀπέγραμφο δικαστήριον. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίων συλλεγόντων ἐπὶ Θῆβας στρατιάν—αιτία δὲ ἦτος ἐγένετο προσέσται τῷ ἐς Ἀγησίλαον λόγῳ—τότε δὲ Λύσανδρος μὲν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀνάλαβὼν πανδημεί τοὺς Φωκέας οὔδένα ἐτί ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ἐς τε Βοιωτίαν ἐληλύθει καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο ἐς τὸ Ἀλιαρτίων τεῖχος οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐσελήνυθεν δὲ ὡς καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς κρύφα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως ἐπεξελθόντων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τεῖχους ταξιμένων ἄλλοι τε ἑνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λύσανδρος ἐπέσε. Παυσανίας δὲ ὑστέρησε μὲν τοῦ ἀγώνος παρὰ Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τῆς ἀλλης ἀθροι-ξιὸς δύναμις ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν τε ἡτταν τῶν ὀμοῦ Λυσανδρῷ καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυσανδρῷ τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπῆρη δὲ ὄμως ἐπὶ τὰς Θῆβας τὸν στρατὸν καὶ διενοίητο ὡς μάχης ἀρξον. ἑνταῦθα οἱ τοῦ Θηβαιοῦ ἑναντία ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Ἐρασύβουλος ἀπέχειν οὐ πολὺ ἀπηγγέλλετο ἄγων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀνέμενε δὲ ἀρξαί Λακεδαιμονίους μάχης, ἀρξασί 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
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5 ήδη κατὰ νότου σφίσιν ἐμελλεν ἐπικείσεσθαι. ο Ἐδεισεν οὖν ὁ Παυσανίας διπλοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεταξὺ ἀποληφθήναι, καὶ οὕτω σπουδᾶς τε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥηβαίους ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀλιαρτίων τείχει πεσόντας ἀνεῖλετο. τοῦτο Δακεδαίμονίοις μὲν ἐγένετο οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ τούδε ἐνεκα τὸ βούλευμα· ἀτε γὰρ εὐδὼς ο Παυσανίας ὡς τὰ σφάλματα αἰεὶ Δακεδαίμονίων γίνονται ἐν μέσῳ πολεμίων ἀποληφθείσι, τὸ τε ἐν Θερμοπυλῶι καὶ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νόσῳ δείμα ἐποιήσατο μὴ σφισι καὶ 6 αὐτὸς τρίτον γένηται κακοῦ πρόφασις. τὸτε δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ ποιουμένων τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν βραδυτήτα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς Βοιωτίαν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἐσεθεῖν ἐς δικαστήριον, Τεγεάται δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἱκέτην ἐδέξαυτο τῆς Ἀλέας. ὡς δὲ ἄρα τὸ ἱερὸν τούτο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πελοποννησίων πᾶσιν αἰδέσημον καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἱκετεύουσιν ἀσφάλειαν μάλιστα παρεῖχετο· ἐδῆλωσαν δὲ οἳ τε Δακεδαίμονίοι τὸν Παυσανίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πρότερον τοῦτον Δεοτυχίδην καὶ Ἀργείοι Χρυσίδα, καθεξομένους ἐνταῦθα ἱκέτας, οὐδὲ ἄρχην ἐξαιτῆσαι θελήσαντες.

7 Παυσανίου δὲ φυγόντος οἱ μὲν παίδες Ἀγησίπολις καὶ Κλεόμβροτος νέοι παντάπασιν ἔτι ἦσαν, Ἀριστόδρημος δὲ ἐπετρόπευσεν αὐτοὺς γένους ἐγγύτατα ὅν· καὶ τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Δακεδαίμονίων κατόρθωμα Ἀριστοδήμου σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡγοῦ- 8 μένου. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν αὐξηθεῖς, Πελοποννησίων πρῶτοι ἐπολέμησεν Ἀργείοις. ώς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Τεγεάτων ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἤγαγε τὸν στρατόν, πέμπουσι κήρυκα οἱ Ἀργείοι σπεισόμενον πρὸς Ἀγησίπολιν σφισὶ.
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
ПАУСАНИАС: ОПИСАНИЕ ГРЕЦИИ

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: ΠΙΣΤΟΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ, ΚΑΘΕΣΤΩΣ ΖΩΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΩΡΙΕΥΣΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ, Ο ΔΕ ΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΚΗΡΥΧΟΥ ΕΣΠΕΙΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΙΩΝ ΌΜΟΥ ΤΗΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΥΓΙΝΗ ΕΦΘΕΙΕΝ, ΕΣΕΙΣΕ ΤΕ ΔΗ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο "ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΤΩ ΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΗΝ ΑΠΑΞΕΙΝ ΕΜΕΛΛΕ, ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΈΛΛΗΝΩΝ—ΩΣ ΑΥΤΩΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ—ΔΕΙΜΑ ΑΙ ΔΙΟΣΗΜΕΙΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΧΩΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΕΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΟ ΤΕΙΧΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΕΥΕΤΟ ΉΔΗ ΤΟ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΠΑΡΙΕΙ ΣΕΙΩΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΩΛΟΝΤΟ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΦΡΟΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΑΙ ΒΡΟΝΤΑΙ, ΟΥΤΩ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΓΟΛΙΔΟΣ ΑΝΕΞΕΩΒΕΝ ΆΚΩΝ, ΕΠΙ ΔΕ ΈΛΟΥΝΘΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙΤΟ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ, ΚΡΑΤΟΥΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟ ΚΑΙ ΉΡΗΚΟΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΆΛΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΛΠΙΖΟΝΤΑ ΑΙΡΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ "ΟΛΥΜΠΟΝ ΨΟΣ ΤΕ ΕΞΑΙΦΝΗΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΠΕΛΑΒΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ." ΒΙ. "ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΑΙΔΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΣ ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΗΛΘΕΝ Ή ΆΡΧΗ, ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΉΓΕΜΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΉΓΕΜΟΗ ΑΝΕ ΛΕΥΚΤΡΟΙΣ; ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΆΡΧΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΕΤΙ ΕΠΕΣΕ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΧΗΣ. ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΩΣ ΕΠΙ ΠΤΑΙΣΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΘΕΛΕΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΑΦΑΙΡΕΙΤΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΉΓΕΜΟΝΑ Ο ΔΑΙΜΟΝ, ΚΑΘΑ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΗΓΕΝ ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΡΙΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΔΗΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΩΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑ ΛΕΩΣΘΕΝΩΝ. 2. ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΔΕ Ο ΜΕΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ 'ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΕΣΧΕΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΣ ΜΗΜΗΝ, ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΔΕ Ο ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΆΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΣΧΕ ΤΗΝ ΆΡΧΗΝ. ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ 32
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.

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 Ariphron, who commanded at Delium, and later on Leosthenes in Thessaly.

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
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αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀκροτάτου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Κλεωνύμου κατήγαγε τὸ χρεών Ἀκροτάτου ἑτὶ πρῶτῃ ἢ αὐτὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ ὡς Κλεομένης ἀπέθανεν ύστερον, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας Κλεώνυμος τε ὁ Κλεομένους καὶ Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου. δικαίωσιν οὖν ὁ γέροντες Ἀρεῖ τῷ Ἀκροτάτου καὶ οὐχὶ Κλεωνύμῳ πατρίδων

3 εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν. Κλεωνύμῳ δὲ ἅπελαθέντι τῆς βασιλείας περισσῶς δὴ τι ὁ θυμὸς ὤδει, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ ἐφοροὶ καὶ ἄλλοις γέρασι ψυχαγωγοῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφιστάντες ἀρχοντα τοῖς ποτε πολέμου γενέσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τέλος δὲ ὁ μὲν πολλά τε καὶ ἔχθρα ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐτόλμησε καὶ Πύρρον τὸν Ἁλακίδον σφίσιν ἔπη-

4 γάγετο ἐς τὴν χώραν. Ἀρέως δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦ Ἀκροτάτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου πεζῶ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Ἀθηνᾶς στρατεύει. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀμυνοῦντες ἀφίκοντο μὲν ὁ Ἀγνυπτίων ὅμων Πατρόκλω στόλος, ἐξίσασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεί, τὸν βασιλέα ἧγεῖσθαι σφίσιν Ἀρέα ἐπιτάξαντες. περικαθή-

5 μένου δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχικά εἰρ-
γοντος, Πάτροκλος ἀποστέλλων ἀγγέλους προ-
έτρεπε Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀρέα ἄρχειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχης, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀρξάντων οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ νότον τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐφασκεν ἐπικείσεσθαι πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ικός εἶναι σφὰς Ἀγνυπτίων τε ὑντας καὶ ναυτας Μακεδόσιν ἐπιέναι πεζῆ. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν δὴ παρακι-

νυεύειν ὀρμηντο Ἀθηναίων τε εὐνοία καὶ τι καὶ ἀξίων μνήμης ἐς τοὺς ἐπειτα ἐργάσασθαι

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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 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
6 προθυμούμενοι. ἢ Αρεύς δὲ, ὡς σφισι τὰ ἑπταύηδεια ἐξαινήλωτο, ἀπήγγει ὁπίσω τὴν στρατιάν. ταμεῦσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἥξιον καὶ μὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐπὶ ἅλλοτριός ἀναρρίψαι. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀντισχοῦσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐποιήσατο Ἀντίγονος εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ὅ τε σφισιν ἐπαγάγη φρουράν ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκουσίως τὴν φρουράν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, Ἀρέως δὲ ἐγένετο νῦν Ἀκρότατος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρεύς, ὃς ὁκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτη γεγονὼς 7 τελευτᾷ νόσῳ. καὶ ἐλείπετο γὰρ τῆς Εὐρυ-σθένους οἰκίας γένος τὸ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμοι, παντάπασιν ἥδι γέρων· τούτω δὴ διδόσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχήν. τῷ δὲ Λεωνίδα διάφορος ἐτύγχανεν ὅτι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Λύσανδρος, ἀπόγονος Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρισ-τοκρῆτον. ὦστος προσποιεῖται Κλεόμβροτον θυγατέρα ἔχοντα Λεωνίδου· τούτων δὲ οἰκειοσα-μενος ἐπὴγε Λεωνίδα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα καὶ ὁρκουν αὐτὸν Κλεωνύμῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὀμόσαι παῖδα 8 ὅντα ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Ἐπάρτης, ἔπαυσθη τε δὴ Λεωνίδας βασιλείας καὶ ἀντ', αὐτοῦ Κλεόμβροτος ἐσχε τὴν τιμήν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ὁ Λεωνίδας ἔπετρεψε τῷ θυμῷ καὶ Δημαράτῳ τῷ Ἀριστόνως κατὰ ταύτα ἀπεχώρησεν ἢτοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλεύοντα ἢ τῶν Λυγύπτιων, ὁ δὲ καὶ μεταγώνοντων ἂν Ἐπαρτητῶν ὅνατο ὧδεν· νῦν δὲ ἐπιβαλόντων οἱ φυγὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφίκετο ἡ Ἀρκαδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπεσιν ύστερον οὐ πολλοῖς κατάγονστι τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὖθις 9 βασιλεά ἐποιήσαντο. Κλεομένει δὲ τὸ Λεωνίδου τὰ τε ἄλλα ὁποῖα ἐς τόλμαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρείαν 36
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 Macedon 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,
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υπήρξε καὶ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο ἐξ ἐκείνου Σπαρτιάται βασιλεύομενοι, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσε μοι τὰ ἐσ τοῦ Σικυώνιου Ἀρατοῦ: προσεπελάβετο δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι καὶ τρόπον ὄντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Κλεομένης ἐτελεύτησεν.

VII. Γένους μὲν δὴ τοῦ Εὐρυσθένους, καλουμένων δὲ Ἀγιαδῶν, Κλεομένης ὁ Δεωνίδου βασιλεὺς ὑστάτος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ: τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁικίαν τὴν ἐτέραν τοιῶδε ἤκουσα εἰναι. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῶν παιδὶ όνομα τίθεται Σῶν. Εὐρυτῶντα δὲ τὸν Σῶνον φασίν ἐς τοιούτων ἀφικέσθαι δόξης ὡς καὶ τὴν ὁικίαν ταύτην Εὐρυπωντίδας ὀνομα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλείδας

2 ἐς ἐκείνου καλουμένους. Εὐρυτῶντος δὲ νῦὸς γίνεται Πρύτανις. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυτῶντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Δακεδαιμονίους ἦρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργείους καὶ ἔτι τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον Κυνουρεύσιν ἐπολέμησαν τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτη γενεάς, Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλεύσατον, ἐν εἰρήνῃ

3 διετέλεσεν οὖσα ἡ Σπάρτη. Χάριλλος δὲ ὁ Πολυδέκτου τῆς τε γῆς ἐδήλωσε Ἀργείους—οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλὼν—καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ύστερον ὕπο ἡγεμόνι Χαρίλλῳ γίνεται καὶ ἡ Σπαρτιάτων ἐπὶ Τεγέατας ἔξοδος, ὥστε οἱ Δακεδαιμονίων Τεγέατας αἴρησεν ἤλπισαν καὶ ἀποτεμείσθαι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸ Τεγεατῶν πεδίον, ὑπούλῳ μαντεύοματι ἐπελθόντες.

4 Μετὰ δὲ Χαρίλλου τελευτήσαντα Νίκανδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὰ Μεσ-σηνίων ὡς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἐτέρας βασιλέα οἰκίας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Διμνίδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ 38
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.
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Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύοντος. ἑσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νικάνδρος στρατιᾷ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας· μετασχόντες δὲ Ἀσιναῖοι Λακεδαίμονιοι τοῦ ἔργου δίκην μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀργείως ἀπέδοσαν σὺν μεγάλῳ πατρίδος τε ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φυγῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ. Θεόπομποι δὲ τὸν Νικάνδρον βασιλεύσαντα μετὰ Νικάνδρου μέλλει καὶ αὐθίς ὁ λόγος μοι προσθῆσει προ- ελθόντι ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν συγγραφήν. Θεόπομ- ποι δὲ ἔτι ἔχοντο τὴν ἄρχην ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος καλουμένης χώρας Λακεδαίμονιοι ἄγων πρὸς Ἀργείους, Θεόπομποι δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἐργοῦ γῆρα καὶ ύπὸ λύπης τὸ πλέον Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεόπομποι

6 ξόντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεόν. οὐ μὴν ἀπαῖς ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπο- λιπὼν υἱῶν. Ζευξίδαμοι δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἄρχην· ἔτι τοῦτον Μεσσηνίους φεύγονσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολέμω τὸ δεύτερον κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. Ἀναξίδαμοι δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχίδαμοι δὲ Ἀγη- σικῆς· καὶ σφίσιν ὑπῆρξεν ἀμφοτέρους τὸν βίον διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἱσυχίᾳ καὶ πολέμων οὖσιν ἐκτός.

7 Ἀρίστωνι δὲ τῷ Ἀγησικλέους ἀγαγομένῳ γυναικα ἦπτινα παρθένου μὲν τῶν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι εἶναι φασίν αἰσχρῆτον, γυναικῶν δὲ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην ὑπὸ Ἐλένης γενέσθαι, ταύτην ἀγα- γομένῳ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι ἐγένετο υἱὸς Δημάρατος ἐν μόνοις μησὶν ἐπτά· καὶ αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων καθημένῳ τηνικάυτα ἐν βουλῇ ἦλθεν οἰκέτης ἀπαγγέλλων τετέχθαί οἱ παῖδα. Ἀρίστωνι 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
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επών τῶν ἐν Ἡλιαδί ἐς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως γένεσιν πεποιημένος λήθην ἢ μηδὲ ἀρχὴν συνείς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη τῶν μηνῶν ἕνεκα αὐτοῦ τὸν παίδα εἶναι.

8 τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων μετάνοια ἔλαβεν ὑστερον. Δημάρατος δὲ βασιλεύοντα καὶ τα τε ἄλλα εὑδοκιμοῦντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατίδων Κλεομένει κυνελευθερώσαντα Ἀθηναίους ἢ τε Ἀρίστωνος ἀγνωμοσύνη καὶ τὸ ἐχθὸς τὸ Κλεομένους ἐποίησεν ἰδιώτην. καὶ τοῦ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐλθόντος ἐς Πέρσας ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρόνον διαμείναν τοὺς ἀπογόνους φασί. Λεωτυχίδης δὲ ἀντὶ Δημαράτου γενόμενος βασιλεύς μετέσχε μὲν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων τῷ στρατηγῷ Καισάριππῳ τῷ Ἀριστόφρονος τοῦ ἑργοῦ τοῦ πρὸς Μυκάλη, ἐσπάτευσε δὲ ὑστερον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλευάδας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν καὶ οἱ καταστρέψασθαι Θεσσαλίαν πᾶσαν ἔχον ἀτε ἀεὶ νικῶντι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, δῶρα ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευάδων. ὑπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν Δακεδαίμοις ἐς δίκην ἔφυγεν ἐθελοῦντι ἐς Τεγέαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸθε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Ἀλέαν ἤκέτευεν, Λεωτυχίδου δὲ ὁ μὲν παῖς Ζευξίδαμος ξώντος ἐτί Λεωτυχίδου καὶ οὐ πεφευγότος πώ τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ Ζευξίδαμος μετὰ Λεωτυχίδην ἀπελθόντα ἐς Τεγέαν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. οὕτως Ἀρχίδαμος Ἀθηναίοις μᾶλιστα ἐκάκωσε τὴν χώραν στρατῷ τε ἐσβάλλων ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ὅπως ἐσβάλει διὰ πάσης ἐπεξεργάζεται θείρων καὶ Πλαταίεων Ἀθηναίων ὁμών

11 εὐνῶν πολιορκίᾳ τὸ ἄστυ εἶλεν. οὐ μὴν τῶν πόλεμον γε τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι συνέσπευσεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐς ὅσον δυνά-
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 Dareius 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 supplicant 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
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μεως ἣκε, διαμεῖναι σφυσιν ἔπρασσε τὰς σπονδάς. Ὁθενελαίδας δὲ ἐς τε ἄλλα ὅν οὐκ ἀδύνατος εὖ Ῥακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐφορεύων ἐν τῷ τότε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα ἐγένετο αὖτις καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὕτος εὖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔτι βεβηκύναν διέσεισεν ἐκ βάρθρων, καὶ ὕστερον Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου σαβρὰν ἥδη καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ὀγὴν προσκατήρεισεν αὐτὴν.

VIII. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ὡς ἐτελευτᾷ καταλπόντος παῖδας Ἀγίς τε πρεσβύτερος ἦν ἠλικία καὶ παρέλαβεν ἀντί Ἀγησελάου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμῳ καὶ θυγάτηρ, ὅνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν καὶ πρώτῃ τε ἐπιποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικήν πρώτῃ. Κυνίσκας δὲ ὕστερον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐκ Ῥακεδαίμονος ἐγένοναι Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ὅπου ἐπιφανεστέρα ἐς τὰς νῖκας οὐδεμία ἔστιν

2 αὐτῆς. δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιάται μοι ποίησιν καὶ ἐπαύνων τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἡκιστα ἀνθρώπων ἀνυμάσαι ὅτι ἄρ μὴ τῇ Κυνίσκα τὸ ἔπηγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δῇ, καὶ ἔτι πρῶτην Παυσανία τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀνατεθέντι ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἀλλὰ ὡς παρὰ ἁυδῶς ποιητοῦ Ῥακεδαίμονῶν τοῖς βασιλεύσιν οὐδέν ἔστιν ἐς μνήμην.

3 Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀγίδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Ῥακεδαίμονίοις ἄλλα τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἡλείους ἐγκλήματα καὶ τοῦ ἀγώνος τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰργόμενοι μάλιστα ἡχθοῦτο. ἀποστελλοῦσιν οὖν κήρυκα

1 Added by Spengel.
utmost of his power tried to keep the truce between them unbroken. It was Sthenelaidas, 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
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έπιταγμα φέροντα Ἡλείοις Δεσπατάς τε αυτοιό-

μος ἀφιέναι καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων ἄλλοι σφί-

σιν ἤσαν ὑπήκοοι. ἀποκριμαμένων δὲ Ἡλείων

ός ἐπειδὰν τὰς περιοικίδιας τής Σπάρτης πόλεις

ὕδωσιν ἑλευθέρας, οὔτε αὐτοὶ μελλήσουσιν ἐτι

ἀφιέναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν, οὔτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ

βασιλεὺς Ἄγις ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν.

4 τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος ὁπίσω τὸ στρα-

τευμα ἀπεχώρησεν ἀχρὶ Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τοῦ

Ἀλφειοῦ προελθόντες. τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει τὴν

τε χώραν ἐδήσωσεν ὁ Ἅγις καὶ ἠλᾶσε τῆς λείας

τήν πολλὴν. Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἁλφεῖος Ἁγιδῖ τε

ίδια ξένοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενοι

ἐπανέστη τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσιν

πρὶν δὲ ὁ Ἁγιὸς καὶ τῶν στρατῶν ἀφείχθαι σφισιν

ἀμύνοντας, Ἐρασυδαίος προεστήκως τότε τοῦ

Ἡλείων δήμου μάχῃ Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ

5 κρατήσας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἅγις δὲ

ὡς ἀπῆγαγεν ὁπίσω τῆς στρατιὰς, Λυσίστρατον

Σπαρτιάτην καὶ μοῖραν τε τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ

Ἡλείων καταλέιπει τοὺς φυγάδας, κακουργεῖν

σφᾶς ὡμοῦ Δεσπατάς τῆς χώραν. τρίτῳ δὲ

ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἅγις

παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τότε

ἐσβάλοντες. οἱ δὲ Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἐρασυδαῖοι—

κεκακωμένοι γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἐσχατον ἦσαν—συγ-

χωροῦσι μήτε τῶν περιοίκων ἑτὶ ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ

ἀστεως κατερείσαι τὸ τείχος, Λακεδαιμόνιος

τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα

46
Laconia, VIII. 3-5

herald commanding the people of Elis to grant home-rule to Lepreum and to any other of their neighbours that were subject to them. The people of Elis replied that, when they saw the cities free that were neighbours 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 Alpheus; 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 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

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

2 Proxenos; that is, he represented Spartan interests in Elis.
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6 εξείναι σφισιν άγωνίζεσθαι, ἐνέβαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν συνεχῶς ὁ Ἀγις στρατιὰ καὶ ἐπετείχεις φρούριον Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἐν Δεκελείᾳ· καταλυθέντος δὲ ἐν Λιγός ποταμοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικοῦ Λύσανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου καὶ Ἀγις ὅρκους μὲν θεὸν ὑπερέβησαν, οὕς ὀμόσαν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν κοινῷ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὗ μετὰ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ βούλευμα ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἠξίωσεν ἐκκόψαι

7 προρρίζους τὰς Ἀθηναῖς· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς πόλεμον μάλιστα ἐπίσημα οἰκούσα ὑπήρχε τῷ Ἀγιδί προπέτειαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριστωνος ἐς Δημάρατον καὶ Ἀγις ἐς τὸν παῖς ἐσχε Δεσπυρίῳ, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τινα οὖν ἄγαθον δαίμονα ἐσήλθεν ἐς ἐπήκουν τῶν ἑφόρων εἰπεῖν ὅς οὖχ αὐτοῦ νομίζουσι Δεσπυρίῳ. ἐπέλαβε μέντοι καὶ Ἀγις μετάνοια ὕστερον, καὶ —ἐφερον γὰρ την καθάτα οίκαδε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα— ὡς ἐγίνετο ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος μάρτυρας ἐποιεῖτο ἡ μὴν Δεσπυρίῳ ἐαυτὸν παῖς ἠγεῖσθαι καὶ σφιεῖ σὺν ἰκεσίᾳ τε καὶ δακρύσις ἐπέσκηπτε πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους ταύτα ἀπαγγέλλειν.

8 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀγις ὑποθανόντα ἀπίλαυνεν Ἀγησίλαος τῆς Βασιλείας Δεσπυρίῳ, ἐς μνήμην ἄγων Δακεδαιμονίους τὰ ὕπο Ἀγιδός ποτὲ λεχθέντα ἐς τὸν Δεσπυρίῳ. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ἡραίας Ἀρκαδές καὶ ἱσαν τὸ Δεσπυρίῳ μάρτυρες ὑπὸ σα Ἀγιδός τελευτῶντους ἦκουσαν.

9 τῷ δὲ Ἀγησιλάῳ καὶ Δεσπυρίῳ παρέσχεν ἐς πλέοι τὸ μάντευμα ἀντιλογίαν τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἱερονος μὲν ἔκει, ἔχον δὲ οὕτων.
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:—

413 B.C.

405 B.C.
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φράζει δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος έοῦσα, μὴ σέθεν ἄρτιποδός βλάστη χωλῆ βασιλεία. ἄηδον γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι φθερσιβρότον τ' ἐπὶ κύμα κυκώμενον πολέμοιον.

10 τότε οὖν Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ἐς Ἀγησίλαον ταύτα ἐφασκεν εἰρήσθαι, τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἔτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπετῆρωτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐς Λεωτυχίδην αὐτὰ ἐτρεπεν οὐ γνησίων ὡντα Ἀγίδος. Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ, καίπερ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὡν, οὐκ ἐπανήγαγον τὸ ἁμφίσβητημα ἐς Δελφοῦς· αἰτιος δ’ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Λύσανδρος ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀρσ-τοκρίτου Ἀγησιλάω συσπεύδων ἐξ ἀπαντος τὴν βασιλείαν γενέσθαι.

IX. Βασιλεύει τε δὴ Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως ἰσρες διαβήναι ναυσίν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρείου αἰρή-σοντας· ἐδιδάσκοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τὲ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου μὴ τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην σφίσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις πολέμῳ, Κύδου δὲ εἶναι τὸν τὰ χρήματα διδόντα ἐς τὰς ναῦς. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ—ἀπεδείχθη γὰρ ἀπεβιβάσατο τε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυνάμεως ἱγμοι τῆς πεζῆς—περιέπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον πλὴν Ἀργοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας τοὺς ἑκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, συμμαχεῖν σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἑχοντες προθύμως μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, κατακαυθέντος σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ναοῦ Δίως ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίοιο, ποιησάμενοι ποηροῦ οἴων καταμένουσιν ἄκοντες. Ἀθη-
LACONIA, viii. 9–ix. 2

"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 Dareius. 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.
ναίοις δὲ ἦν μὲν ἡ πρόφασις ἐκ τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ ἐκ νόσου τῆς λουμώδους ἐπανήκειν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὴν πρότερον ποτε ὄψαν ευδαιμονίαν. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ δι᾽ ἀγγέλου ὡς Κόνων οἱ Τιμοθέου παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβεβηκός εἶτη, κατὰ τούτῳ ἦσύχαζον μάλιστα. ἀπεστάλη δὲ καὶ Ἡβίας πρεσβεύειν Ἀριστομηλίδας, μητρὸς μὲν τῆς Ἀγησίλαον πατήρ, Ήβιαίοις δὲ εἰχεν ἐπιτηδείως καὶ ἑγεγόνει τῶν δικαστῶν, οἱ Πλαταιεύσιν ἀλώντος τοῦ τέχους ἀποδανέων τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐγνωσαν. Ήβιαίου μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπείπαντο, οἱ φάμενοι βοηθήσειν Ἀγησίλαος δὲ, ὡς αὐτῶ τὰ τε οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ στρατευμα ἠθροιστο καὶ ἀμα αἱ νῆς εὐτρεπείς ἦσαν, ἀφίκετο ἐς Αὐλίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδοι θύσιν, ὅτι καὶ Ἁγαμέμνον ἐνταῦθα ἰλασάμενος τῆς θεοῦ τῶν ἔτσ Τροίαν στόλον ἦγαγεν. ἦξιον δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πολεώς τε ευδαιμονεστέρας ἡ Ἀγαμέμνων βασιλεύς εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς Ἕλλαδος πάσης ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, τὸ τε κατόρθωμα ἐπιφανέστερον ἐσεσθαί βασιλέα κρατήσαντα Ἀρταξέρξην ευδαιμονίαν κτήσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἡ ἀρχήν καθελεϊν τῆς Πρωσίου. θύσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἡβιαίοι σὺν ὑπλοῖς ἐπέλθοντες τῶν τε ἱερείων καίομενα ἤδη τὰ μηρία ἀπορρίπτονσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Ἀγησίλαον δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν ἡ θυσία μὴ τελεσθείσα, διέβαινε δὲ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἠλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις· ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς κάτω μέγιστον μέρος τηνικαύτα ἡ Αὐνία, καὶ αἱ Σάρδεις πλοῦτῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ προείχον, 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
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ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τούτῳ ὁικητήριον ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ

6 θάπτερ γε αὐτῷ βασίλει τὰ Σοῦσα. γενομένης δὲ πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην σατράπην τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίαν μάχης ἐν" Ἑρμοῦ πεδίῳ τὴν τῇ ἱππον τῶν Περσῶν ἐνίκησεν ὁ 'Αγησίλαος καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τότε πλεῖστον ἄθροισθέν μετά γε τῶν Ἑρέξου καὶ πρότερον ἐτὶ ἔτι Σκύθας Δαρείου καὶ ἔτι Ἀθηνᾶς στρατόν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀγασθέντες τὸ ἐς τὰ πράγματα τοῦ 'Αγησίλαον πρόθυμον διδόσαι ἀρχοντα εἶναι καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ. δὲ ταῖς μὲν τριήρεσιν ἐπέστησεν ἡγεμόνα Πεισάνδρον—τοῦ Πεισάνδρου δὲ ἐτύγχανε συνοικῶν ἀδελφή—τῷ πολέμῳ

7 δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ γῆν προσείχεκεν ἐρρωμένως. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ τις ἐβάζοντες μὴ ἀγαγεῦ τὰ Βουλεύματα ἐς τέλος. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπύθετο Λεονταῖος ἀριθμὸς τε ὁς ἐνίκησεν Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὃς ἐς τὸ πρόσω χειρούμενος τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πρόεικαν ὧν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, Τισσαφέρνην μὲν καίπερ τὰ πρότερα ἐνεργήτην ὑντα ξημιοὶ θανάτῳ, Τιθραυστὴν δὲ κατέπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, φρονήσας τῇ ἐναγωνισμῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠχοντα δυσ-

8 νοίας. οὖτος ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, αὐτίκα ἐπενόει τρόπου ὧ τιν ἀναγκάσει Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνακαλέσασθαι στρατιάν. ἀνδρὰς ἐν 'Ρόδιον Τιμοκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα πέμπει χρήματα ἀγοντα, ἐνετελάμενος πόλεμον ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἐργάσασθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων μεταλαβόντες Ἀργεῖων μὲν Κύκλων τε ἐναὶ λέγονται καὶ Σωδάμασ, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ Ἀνδροκλείδης καὶ Ἰσμηνίας καὶ Ἀμφιδήμος μετέσχε δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίος Κέφαλος καὶ Ἐπικράτης καὶ ὅσοι Κορινθίων ἐφρόνουν τὰ Ἀργεῖων 54
LACONIA, ix. 5-8

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 Epierates, with the Corinthians who had Argive
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9 Πολυάνθης τε καὶ Τιμόλαος. οἱ δὲ ἐσ τὸ φανερὸν τοῦ πολέμου παρασχόντες τὴν ἄρχην ἐγένοντο οἱ ἔξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροῖ. τοῖς γὰρ δὴ Λοκροῖς γῆς πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐτύγχανεν οὕτω ἀμφι-
σβητήσιμος· ἐκ ταύτης ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπαρθένες τῶν περὶ Ἰσμηνίαν τὸν τε σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἔτεμον καὶ ἦλασαν λειαν ἄγοντες· ἐνέβαλον δὲ πανδημεῖν καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐς τὴν Λακρίδα καὶ

10 ἐδήσαν τὴν χώραν. ἐπηγάγοντο οὐν οἱ Λοκροῖ συμμάχους Θηβαίους καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐπόρ-
θησαν· ἐς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαιμονικά έλθόντες οἱ Φωκεῖς τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπέκειντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον σιὰ ἐπετόνθεσαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμονικῶς δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔδοξεν ἄρασθαι· ἐποι-
οῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτῶς καὶ ἀλλὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὴν ἐν Λυλίδι αὐτῶν ὑβριν ἐς τὴν Ἀγεσιλάου

11 θυσίαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν Λακε-
δαιμονίων προπετυσμένου πέμπουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ Θῆβας δεόμενοι μῇ κυνῆσαι, δίκη 
δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι διακρίνεσθαι· Λακε-
δαιμονίοι δὲ πρὸς ἀργὴν ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν πρες-
βείαν. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐς τε τὴν Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἔξοδου καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Λυσαιδρὸν τελευτήν

12 ἐδηλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Παυσανίαν καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἐς πλέον ἄει 
προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρξάμενοι ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἔξοδου. κατὰ ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν 
ανώγκην ὁπίςῳ τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπῆγεν Ἀγησίλαος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἀβύδου περαι-
ωθεὶς ναυσὶν ἐς Σηστῶν καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν Ἐφά-
κην ἀφίκετο ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσσαλοί 
χάριτι τῇ ἐς Θηβαίους τοῦ πρόσω τὸν Ἀγησίλαου
56
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 beggimg 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.\(^1\) 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;

\(^1\) See chap. v. §§ 3 foll.
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13 καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αθηναίων. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ Θεσσαλίαν τε διεξήλθε τρεφόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ αὐθίς διὰ Βοιωτῶν διώδευσε Θηβαίους ἐν Κορωνείᾳ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νικήσας συμμαχικόν. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ Βοιωτοί, καταφέυγοντι ἀνδρεῖς ἐς αὐτῶν ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπικλήσει Ἰτωνίας. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἶχε μὲν τραύμα ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἰκέτας παρενόμησεν οὖδ᾽ ὀυτῶς.

Χ. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον τὸν ἀγώνα ἑθηκαν τῶν Ἱσθμίων οἱ ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγοντες Κορίνθιοι. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε μὲν τῷ Ἀγησιλάου δείματι ἥσύχαζον ἀναζεύζαντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, οὔτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Ἀργείων τὰ Ἰσθμία ἄγονουν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ αὐθίς ἐπὶ Κόρινθον στρατιᾶ καὶ—ἐπήει γὰρ Τακίνθια—ἀφίησε τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίες οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας τὰ καθεστηκότα τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Τακίνθῳ δρᾶσαι. ταῦτην τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιθέμενοι καθ᾽ ὀδὸν ἀρχαῖοι καὶ Ἰφικράτης διέφθειραν. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καὶ ἔς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπικουρῆσον ἀφικετο Ἀἰτωλοῖς ὑπὸ Ακαρνάνων πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις, καὶ Ακαρνάνας ἤναγκασε καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον οὖ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας Καλυδώνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Αἰτωλῶν πολίσματα ἢρηκέναι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον ἐπλευσε καὶ ἐς Αἰγυπτον, ἀφεστηκότων ἀπὸ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθήσων καὶ ἐστὶν Ἀγησιλάω πολλά τε εἰργασμένα καὶ μνήμης ᾧ ζω ἐν Αἰγυπτω. καὶ—ἡν γὰρ δὴ ἡ ῥεόν—τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐπέλαβεν ἡ μοῖρα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐκομίσθη σφίσων ὁ νεκρός, θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέως τιμήσαντες μάλιστα. 58
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.
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3 'Αρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ 'Αγγειλάου βασιλεύοντος κατέλαβον τὸ ἱερὸν Φωκείς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Θηβαίοις μὲν δὴ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Φωκεύσιν ἀφίκετο μὲν καὶ ἵδια συμμαχικά ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ κοινῷ λόγῳ Δακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ 'Αθηναῖοί σφισιν ἥμυνον, οἱ μὲν ἀρχαίαν δὴ τινα ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων μνημονεύοντες εὐεργεσίαι, Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προφάσει μὲν καὶ οὕτωι φιλίας, κατὰ ἔθος δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ Θηβαῖον. Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ Δαμασιστράτου τὸν τε Ἀρχιδαμον μετασχείν τῶν χρημάτων αὐτῶν καὶ ἔτι Δεινίχαν τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου γυναίκα παρὰ τῶν δυναστεύοντων ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἐφη λαμβάνουσαν δωρεὰν ἔτοιμοτερον ποιεῖν σφισιν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν Ἀρχιδαμον.

4 τὸ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ἱερὰ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀμύναι μαντείων πορθήσασι τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον οὐκ ἐς ἐπαινον τίθεμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ οἱ πρόσεστιν ἐς ἐπαινον Δελφῶν γὰρ τοὺς τε ἡβῶντας ἀποκτεiναί καὶ γυναίκας καὶ τέκνα ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι, καταβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἑδαφὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμων οἱ Φωκείς· ταῦτα οὖν μὴ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων αὐτῶν παρητήσατο Ἀρχιδαμος.

5 διέβη δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὑστερον Ταραντίνοις βαρβάρων πόλεμον συνδιοίσσον σφισιν ὁμόρων καὶ ἀπέθανε τε αὐτόθι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀμαρτεῖν τάφον τὸ μήμιμα ἐγένετο ἐμποδῶν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου τοῦ μὲν πρεσβύτερου παῖδα Ὄλυμπον κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Μακεδόνιον ἑναντία καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μαχεσάμενον, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Δακεδαιμόνιος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀγοισιν εἰρήνην. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ὄλυμπον τὸν Εὐδαμίδον 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
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Εὐρυδαμίδας τὸν Ἀγίδος ὡς ἔσχεν, ἦδη μοι καὶ τάδε ἡ Σικυωνία συγγραφῇ διεξῆι.

6 Ἰούσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐρμῶν ἔστιν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἄπας δρυῶν πλήρης· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν οὐ τὸ συνεχές τῶν δείδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἔστιν εἰς ἀριστερῶς τῆς ὄδος δεκα μάλιστα ποὺ σταδίᾳ ἐκτραπομένους ἑρῶν Σκοτίτα Διός. ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐντεύθεν προελθοῦσιν ὅλγον καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὕθις εἰς ἀριστερὰν ἀγαλμα ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τρόπαιον· ἀναστήσαι δὲ ἑλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνας Ἰπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. τρίτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολή κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἀγεὶ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἔστιν αἱ Κάρυαι καὶ ἀγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Δακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἱστάσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὀρχησι. ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἑώτι ἔρεισια Σελλασίας ἐστὶ· ταύτην, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἐγραψα, ἤνδραποδισαντὸ Ἀχαιοὶ Δακε- δαιμονίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Κλεομένην τὸν

7 Λεωνίδον μάχη νικήσαντες. ἐν δὲ Ἐόρναικι—ἐς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀφίξῃ προϊῶν—ἀγαλμά ἐστὶ Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὸ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένοις· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὅποιον ἔστιν, ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνω γράψῳ. Δακεδαιμονίους γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύκλαιον, ὡστε καὶ τὸν χρυσόν, ὅν Κροίσος ὁ Λυδός τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεί, τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.

8
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 Carvae (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.
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XI. Ἀπὸ δὲ Θόρνακος προελθόντι ἐστιν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη μὲν ὄρομασθεῖσα εξ ἀρχῆς, προσλαβοῦσα δὲ ἄνα χρόνων καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἡ αὐτὴ καλεῖσθαι. τέως δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τούτο ἐκείτο τῇ γῆ. ο δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτηίδε ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα μὲ ἐφεξῆς, τὰ δὲ μάλιστα άξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὑρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἡ Σπαρτίας· ἔμοι γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησαν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὸκ άξιῶν ἠφηγήσεως, ὃν ἐκαστοὶ παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρίναι τὰ ἀξιολογοῦτα. ὡς οὖν εὐ βεβουλευμένος οὐκ ἐστιν ὁπον παραβήσομαι.

2 Λακεδαίμονίων τοῖς Σπάρτην ἔχουσιν ἐστιν ἀγορὰ θέας άξια, καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ νομοφυλάκων καὶ καλουμένων Βιδιαίων ἀρχεῖ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἢ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαίμονίων κυριότατον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἀρχαντες· τοῖς δὲ ἐφόροις καὶ Βιδιαίοις πέντε ἀριθμῶν ἐκατέροις οὐσὶ, τοῖς μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Πλατανιστῇ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐφύρων ἀγώνας τιθέναι καθέστηκεν, ἐφοροὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἅλλα διοικοῦσι τὰ στουδής μάλιστα άξια καὶ παρεχοῦσι τῶν ἑπώνυμων, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἔθναιοις τῶν καλουμένων ἐννέα ἑπώνυμος ἐστιν εἰς ἄρχουν.

3 ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἦν στοὰν Περσικὴν ὄνομαζοσιν ἀπὸ λαφύρων ποιηθεῖσαν τῶν Μηδικῶν· ἀνὰ χρόνων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς μέγεθος τὸ νῦν καὶ ἐς κόσμον τὸν παρόντα μεταβεβλήκασιν. εἰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύνου. 64
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.
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πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμίσια, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀνγιάμιδος, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Ἀλκαρνασσοῦ·
tαύτην φασίν ἕκουσίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συσ-
τρατεύσαι Ξέρξη καὶ ἔργα ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ
4 Σαλαμίνα ἡποδείξασθαι. ναοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς Καύσαρος, ὁς μοιραχιάς πρώτος ἐν
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν καθεστηκὼν
πρώτος ἐκτήσατο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγούστω πεποίηται
παιδὶ ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ τῆς βασιλείας βεβαιωσαμένῳ
μᾶλλον καὶ ἄξιοματος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐς πλέον ἢ
ὁ πατὴρ οἱ προειθότι τὸ δὲ ὅνυμα ἤν τούτῳ
Ἀγούστω, ὁ κατὰ γλώσσαν δύναται τὴν Ἑλ-
λήνων σεβαστός.

5 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀγούστου δεικνύοσι πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ
χαλκῆς εἰκόνα Ἀγίων. τούτον τῶν Ἀγίων μαντευ-
σάμενόν φασὶν Λυσάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἔλειν
ναυτικῶν περὶ Λιγόσ ποταμοῦ πλὴν τριήρων
δέκα· αὐτὰ δὲ ἀποφεύγοσιν ἐς Κύπρον, τὰς
δὲ ἄλλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τοὺς
ἀνδράς αἱροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγίας Ἀγελόχοι παῖς
6 ἦν τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ. Τισαμενὸς δὲ ὄντι Ἡλεῖω τῶν
Ἰαμίδων λόγιον ἐγένετο ἁγώνας ἀναιρήσεσθαι
πέντε ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν. οὕτω πένταθλον
Ὀλυμπιάδες ἀσκήσας ἀπῆλθεν ἥττηθείς, καὶ τοῖς
tὰ δύο γε ἦν πρῶτος· καὶ γὰρ δρόμῳ τε ἐκράτει
cαὶ πηδήματι Ἰερώνυμον τῶν Ἀνδρίων. κατα-
παλασθείς δὲ ὑπ' ᾿αυτὸν καὶ ἀμαρτῶν τῆς νίκης
συνήσῃ τοῦ χρησμοῦ, διδόναι οἱ τὸν θεὸν μαντευ-
7 σμένω πέντε ἁγώνας πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι. Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι δὲ—οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἀνηκόως ὁ Τισαμενὸς
προεῖπεν ἡ Πυθία—πείθουσι μετοικήσαντα ἐξ
᾿Ηλίδος μαντεύσεσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τῷ κοινῷ· καὶ
66
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 marketplace 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. 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 lamidae 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.
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σφισιν ο Τισαμενός ἀγώνας πολέμου πέντε ἐνίκησε, πρῶτον μὲν Πλαταίαδισι ἐναντία Περσῶν, δεύτερον δὲ ἐν Τεγέα πρὸς Τεγεάτας καὶ Ἀργείους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίων συνεστώσης, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἐν Διπαιέσιν Ἀρκάδων πάντων πλήν Μαντινέων ἀντιπεταγμένων, οἱ δὲ Διπαιεῖς ἐν τῇ 8 Μαυνάλια πόλισιμα Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν. τέταρτον δὲ ἠγωνίσατο πρὸς τοὺς ἔξ ἵσθμον ἢ 'Ιθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν εἰλῶτων ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἀπαντείς οἱ εἰλωτεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰλώτων ἀποσχισθέντες· καὶ μοι καὶ τάδε ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐπέξεις. τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἴσαναν Τισαμενῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι· τελευταίον δὲ ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἐμαντεύσατο ἐν Ταυάγρᾳ σφίσι πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους γινομένης συμβολῆς.

9 'Τὰ μὲν Τισαμενοῦ τοιαῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην ὅταν' Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις—ἐορτή δὲ εἶ τις ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσίν—ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἐφηβοὶ χοροῦς ἵστασι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. τούτων δὲ οὖ πόρρω Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Δίως ἐστίν Ἀγοραίον, τὸ δὲ 'Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀγοραίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὑπὸ ἐπονομάξουσιν Ἀσφαλίον, 10 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος αὕτης καὶ Ἡρας· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Δήμου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀνδριὰς μεγέθει μέγας. καὶ Μοιρῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστίν ἱερὸν, Ὁρέστου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πρὸς αὐτῶν τάφος· κομισθέντα γὰρ ἐκ Τεγέας τοῦ Ὁρέστου τὰ ὅστα
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 Dipae, 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.

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 μαντεῖαν θάπτουσιν ἑνταῦθα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὄρεστου τὸν τάφον ἔστιν εἰκῶν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένου, ὅν βασιλέων ἐς τὸ σοῦτο τιμῆς προήχασιν ὡστε οἱ τὰς ἄρχας ἔχοντες, ὅποσα δὲι σημαίνεσθαι, τοῦ Πολυδώρου σημαίνονται τῇ 11 εἰκόνι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὄμην Ἀγοραῖος Διόνυσον ἄρειν παῖδα, καὶ τὰ ἄργαια καλούμενα Ἑφορεία, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κριτῶς μνήμα καὶ Ἀφαρέως τοῦ Περίρους· καὶ τὰ γέ ἐς Ἐπιμενίδην Λακεδαιμονίους δοξάζω μᾶλλον Ἀργείων λέγειν εἰκότα. ἑνταῦθα, ἐνθα δὲ Μοῖραι, καὶ Ἑστία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστι καὶ Ζεὺς Ξέινος καὶ Ἁθηνᾶ Ξεινία.

XII. Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὴν ὅδον ἤν Ἀφεταίδα ὄνομαζον, τὰ καλούμενα Βοῶντα ἔστι· καὶ μὲ ὁ λόγος ἀπαίτει πρότερα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τῆς ὅδος. τοῖς μεν Ἐπιμενίῳ Ἰκάριον τῆς Πηνελόπης φασίν ἄγνων προθείναι δρόμου καὶ ὅτι μὲν Ὄδυσσεὺς ἐκβάλε, δὴλὰ ἔστι, ἄφεθηαι δὲ αὐτοῖς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον 2 διὰ τῆς ὅδος τῆς Ἀφεταίδος. δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοὶ δρόμου Ἰκάριος τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐποίησε μιμούμενος Δαναόν. Δαναὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατρίσιν εὐρέθη, καὶ ὡς γναῖκα οὐδὲς ἦθελεν ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μίας ἄγαγεταί, εἰσεπεμπε δὴ ὁ Δαναὸς ἐδωκὼν ἄνευ δῶσειν ἢ ἀν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ κάλλος ἀρέσκεται· αὐθικομένοις δὲ ἀνδρᾶσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἄγονα δρόμου κατέστησε, καὶ πρῶτοι θεὶ ἐλθόντι ἐγένετο ἐλέσθαι πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μετ' ἑκείνον τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἱδῆ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἄχρι τοῦ τελευταίου· τὰς δὲ ὑπολειφθεῖσας μένειν

70
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 Aphetaid Road, you come to the so-called Boöneta. But my narrative must first explain why the road has this name. It is said that Icarius 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 Aphetaid Road. In my opinion, Icarius 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

1 That is, Office of the Ox-buyers.
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έφοδον ἀλλην μνηστήρων ἔδει καὶ ἀγώνα ἄλλων

3 δρόμου. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ταύτην ἔστιν, ὡς ἢδη λέεκται μοι, τὰ ὄνομαζόμενα Βοώητα, Πολυδόρου ποτὲ οἰκία τοῦ βασιλέως· ἀποθανόντος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυδόρου τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπρίαντο ἀντιδόντες βοῦς. ἀργύρου γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πω τότε οὔδε χρυσόν νόμισμα, κατὰ τρόπον δὲ ἔτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀντείδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἀνδράποδα

4 καὶ ἀργόν τὸν ἀργύρον καὶ χρυσόν· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐσπλέοντες φορτίων φασὶν Ἑλληνικῶν τοὺς Ἰνδους ἀργόγιμα ἄλλα ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι, νόμισμα δὲ οὔκ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χρυσοῦ τε ἀφθόνου καὶ χαλκοῦ παρόντος σφίσι.

Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Βιδιαίων ἀρχείου πέραν ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ιερὸν· Ὄδυσσεὺς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγεται καὶ ὄνομάσαι Κελεύθειαν, τοὺς Ηηνελόπης μνηστήρας τῷ δρόμῳ νικήσας. ἰδρύσατο δὲ τῆς Κελευθείας ιερὰ ἄριθμῳ τρία διεστη-

5 κότα ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων. προϊόντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφεταίδα ἡρῴα ἔστιν Ὁιπὸς τε κατὰ Δέλεα ἡ Μύλητα γενέοθαι δοκοῦντο καὶ Ἀμφιαράος τοῦ Ὀικλέους· τοῦτο δὲ τῶν Τινδάρεω παιδάς νομίζουσιν ἀτε ἀνεψιδ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ ποιήσαι καὶ αὐτοῦ Δέλεγος ἔστιν ἢρῶν, τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω τέμενος Ποσειδῶνος—Ταίνάριον δὲ ἐπονομαζοῦσιν—οὐ μακρὰν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ὁ τοὺς ἐς

6 ᾿Ιταλίαν τε καὶ Τάραντα ἀποκισθέντας ἀναθεῖναι λέγοντι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὁ καλοῦσιν ᾿Ελλήνων ἔστιν εἰρημένον ὡς οἱ τῶν ᾿Ελλήνων Ξέρξην διαβάλοντα ἐς τὴν Ἐυφρότην παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνοῦμενοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον βουλευσάμενοι τρόπον ὄντων ἀνθέζουσιν. ο δὲ ἔτερος τῶν
suitors arrived and competed in another foot-race. On this road the Lacedaemonians have, as I have already said, what is called the Boömeta, 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 Aphytaid Road are hero-shrines, of Iops, who is supposed to have been born in the time of Lelex or Myles, and of Amphiarus the son of Oicles. The last they think was made by the sons of Tyndareus, for that Amphiarus 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
PAUSANIAS
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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 Achaean 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 Acritis, and a sanctuary, surnamed Gasepton, of Earth. Above it is set up Maleatian Apollo. At the end of the Aphetaid 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 Tropaean (He who turns to flight) was made by the Dorians, when they had conquered in war the Amy-
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te ἀλλος Ἀχαίοις, οἵ γῆν τὴν Δακωνικὴν
tηνικάτα ἐίχουν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς κρατή-
sαντες. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Μεγάλης μητρὸς τιμᾶται
περισσῶς δὴ τι. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἠρώτα Ἰππολύτου
tὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Θησέως καὶ Λυλῶνος Αρκάδος, νῦν
δὲ Θησιμένους. Θησιμένην δὲ Παρθενοπαίων
tοῦ Μελανώνος ἀδελφόν, οἱ δὲ παῖδα εἶναι
λέγουσιν.

10 Ἔστερα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἑξοδος, καθ’ ἑν
πεποίηται σφίσιν ἡ καλουμένη Σκιάς, ἐνθα καὶ
νῦν ἐτὶ ἐκκλησιάζουσι. ταύτην τὴν Σκιάδα
Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου φασίν εἶναι ποίημα, ὥς
πρῶτος διαχέας σίδηρον εὑρε καὶ ἁγάλματα ἀπ’
αὐτοῦ πλάσαι. ἐνταῦθα ἐκρέμασαν οἱ Δακε-
dαιμόνιοι τὴν Τιμοθέου τοῦ Μιλησίου κιθάραν,
καταγνώτες ὅτι χορδαῖς ἐπτὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις

11 ἐφεύρεν ἐν τῇ κιθαρωδίᾳ τέσσαρας χορδάς. πρὸς
δὲ τῇ Σκιάδι οἰκοδόμημα ἐστὶν περιφερές, ἐν δὲ
αὐτὸ Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἁγάλματα ἐπικλησιν
Ολυμπίων τοῦτο Ἐπιμενίδην κατασκευάσας
λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὀμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀργεῖ-
νοὺς, ὅποι μηδὲ πολεμήσασι φασὶ πρὸς Κυνοςίους.
XIII. Πλησίον δὲ ἔστι μὲν Κυνόρτου τοῦ
Ἀμύκλα τάφος, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Κάστορος μνῆμα,
ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἱερὸν πεποίηται τεσσαρακοστῶ
γάρ ύστερον ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἰδαν καὶ
Λυγκέα θεοὺς τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας καὶ οὐ
πρῶτον νομισθήμαι φασὶ· δεῖκνυται δὲ πρὸς
tῇ Σκιάδι καὶ Ἰδα καὶ Λυγκέως τάφος. κατὰ
μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκός ἐτάφησαν ἐν τῇ Μεσ-
2 σημία καὶ οὐ ταύτη. Μεσημίων δὲ αἱ συμφόραι
καὶ ὁ χρόνος, ὅσον ἔφυγον ἐκ Πελοποννήσου,
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laecaeans, 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
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πολλά τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατελθοὺσιν ἐποίησεν ἄγνωστα, ἀτε δὲ ἐκεῖνων οὐκ εἰδότων ἐστιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Δακεδαῖμονίοις δὲ ἀπαντικρὸ τῆς 'Ολυμπίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ νὰὸς Κόρης Σωτείρας· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν Ἐράκα Ὁρφέα λέγουσιν, οῖ δὲ 'Αβαριν

3 ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ἡπερβορέων. ὁ δὲ Καρνεῖος, ὅν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμᾶς ἐχεῖν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἵδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κριοῦ τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Κριοῦ γεμιζοῦσῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ὕδωρ συνυχώντες κατάσκοποι τῶν Δωριέων αὐτῇ τε ἀφικοντο ἐς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κριοῦ ἐλθόντες

4 διδάσκονται τὴν ἀλώσιν τῆς Σπάρτης. Κάρνειον δὲ 'Ἀπόλλωνα Δωριέας μὲν τοῖς πάσι σέβεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἀπὸ Κάρνου γένος ἐξ 'Ακαρναίας, μαντευμένον δὲ ἐξ 'Ἀπόλλωνος· τούτοις ἱρὸ τὸν Κάρνον ἀποκτείναντος Ἡπότου τοῦ Φύλαντος ἔνεπεσεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς Δωριέαις μήμιμα 'Ἄπολλωνος, καὶ Ἡπότης τε ἐφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ Δωριέας ἀπὸ τοῦτον τῶν 'Ακαρνάνα μάντων καθέστηκεν ἰλάσκεσθαι. ἄλλα γὰρ Δακεδαῖμονίοις οὐχ οὕτος ὁ Οἰκέτας ἐστὶ Καρνεῖος, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῦ μάντεως Κριοῦ τιμῶμενος 'Ἄχαιον ἔτι

5 ἔχοντων τὴν Σπάρτην. Πραξίλλη μὲν δὴ πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὡς Ἐυρώπης εἶη καὶ Διὸς ὁ Κάρνειος καὶ αὐτόν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἀπόλλων καὶ Λητώ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι, ἐν τῇ Ἰδη τῇ Τρωικῇ κρανείας ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλοσει πεφυκυίας τοῖς 'Ελληνας ἐκτεμεῖν ἐς τοῦ Ἡπποῦ τοῦ δουρείου τὴν ποίησιν μαθόντες δὲ ὀργὴν σφισὺν 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. Carneus, 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 Carneus 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 Carneus 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 Carneus 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 Carneus from the cornel-
λωνα δομαξουσι Κάρνειον ἀπὸ τῶν κρανειῶν, ὑπερθέντες τὸ ῥό ἑταὶ ἀρχαῖον.
6 Τοῦ Καρνείου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καλούμενον ἐστὶν ἀγαλμα ’Αφεταίου τοῖς δὲ Πηνελόπης μνηστήροι φασιν ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὶ χωρίον ἔχου στοαῖς ἐν τετραγώνῳ τῷ σχῆματι, ἐναμα σφίσιν ἐπιπράσκετο ὁ ῥόπος τὸ ἀρχαῖον πρὸς τοῦτο Δίως ’Αμβουλίου καὶ ’Αθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ’Αμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκοῦρων
7 καὶ τούτων ’Αμβουλίων. ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἦ τε ὁνομαζομένῃ Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναὸς, πρὸς αὐτὸ δὲ τέμενος ἐστιν ἠρως, δι’ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασὶ γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα· τὸ δὲ ἠρωὶ τοῦτῳ πρὶν ἡ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ ἀἱ Δενκιπτίδες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐνδεκα διὸ καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὁνομάζουσι, ταύτας δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἄγωνα δράν
8 δὲ οὕτω σφίσιν ἠλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Δἰὸς ιερὸν ἐστιν Εὐανέμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἢρων. γεγονασὶ δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος. Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Δήδας πατέρα ’Ασιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἑπεσιν ’Αγιόνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος. τοῦ δὲ ἢρωο μέθος ἐστίν οὐ πόρρω καὶ ’Ηρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ Εὐρυδίκην φασὶ Λάκεδαιμονος θυγατέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ ’Ακρισίου τοῦ ’Αβαντος. ’Ηρας δὲ ἱερὸν ἦπερχερίας κατὰ μαντείαν ἐποιήθη, τοῦ Εὐρώτα πολὺ τῆς γῆς σφίσιν ἐπικλύσσετο.
9 ξόανον δὲ ἀρχαῖον καλοῦσιν ’Αφροδίτης ’Ηρας· ἐπὶ δὲ θυγατρὶ γαμούμενη νεομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. τοῦ λόφου δὲ κατὰ τὴν
tree (crania), a custom prevalent in the olden time making them transpose the r and the a.

Not far from Carneius 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
ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐς δεξιὰν ὅδὸν Ἐτοιμοκλέους ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τῷ δὲ Ἐτοιμοκλέι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰπποσθένει τῷ πατρὶ πάλις ἔστὶν Ὀλυμπικάλ νῦκαι, συναμφοτέρους μὲν μία τε καὶ δέκα, τῷ δὲ Ἰπποσθένει μιᾷ νῖκῃ τὸν νῦν παρελθεὶν ὑπῆρξεν.

ΧΙＶ. Ἕκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρὸς ἥλιον ἱόντι δυόμενον τάφος κενὸς Βρασίδα τῷ Τέλλιδος πεποίηται: ἀπέχει δὲ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τάφου τὸ θέατρον, λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας ἄξιόν. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρύ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλαταϊᾶς ἡγησαμένου μνήμα ἔστι, τὸ δὲ έτερον Λεωνίδο—καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἐτος ἐκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἁγώνα, ἐν ηὗ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀλλῷ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἁγωνίζεσθαι—τὰ ὅστα τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἀνελομένον ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ οἰνόματα ἐχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μηδοὺς τὸν ἐν Θερμοπυλῶι ἁγώνα ὑπέ-2 μειναν. καλεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Θεομηλίδα χωρίον. κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως τάφοι τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν βασιλέων εἰσὶ καὶ πλησίουν ὀνομαζομένη λέσχη Κροτανῶν εἰσί δὲ οἱ Κροτανοὶ Πιτανατῶν μοῦρα. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς λέσχης ἔστιν ἱερόν, ἐν Ἀγιαδῶν καλούμενον. προελθοῦσι δὲ Ταῖναρου μνήμα ἔστι, καὶ τὴν ἅκραν τὴν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐσέχυσαν ἀπὸ τοῦτο φασίν ὀνομασθήμαι: θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰς Ποσειδῶν ἐστὶν Ἰπποκουρίον καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγυναίας. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ὑπίσω πρὸς τὴν λέσχην ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰσσωρίας ἱερόν: ἐπονομάξουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Αἰμναίαν, οὐσαν οὐκ Ἀρτέμιν, Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν Κρητῶν τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Αἰγυναῖος ἔχει μοι 82
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-lending) and of Artemis Aiginae (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
3 λόγος. ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τῶν μνημάτων ᾧ τοὺς 'Αγιάδας πεποίηται στήλην ὤψει, γεγραμμέναι δὲ εἰσιν ἃς Χίονις ἀνήρ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὅρμου νίκας ἀνείλετο ἄλλας τε καὶ Ὁλυμπίασιν ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπτα ἐγένοντο οἱ νίκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου, διαύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαί· τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀστίδι ὅρμου ἐπὶ ἄγωνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινεν εἰναι πο. Χίονιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ Ὄηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Διβύου καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους

4 λέγουσιν τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος κατασκευασθήναι φασιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὶς τοιαύτῃ πολεμεῖν μὲν πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀφεστηκότας, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα σφῶν 'Αναξάνδρου ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν λαβεῖν αἰχμαλώτους γυναίκας, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι Κλεώ, Θέτιδος δὲ αὐτὴν ἱέρειαν εἶναι. ταύτην ἢ τοῦ 'Αναξάνδρου γυνὴ τὴν Κλεώ παρὰ τοῦ 'Αναξάνδρου αἰτεῖ, καὶ τὸ τε ξόανον τῆς Θέτιδος ἀνεύρεν ἔχουσαν καὶ νάδον μετ᾽ αὐτῆς ἱδρύσατο τῇ θεῷ ἐποίει δὲ ταύτα ἡ Λεανδρίς

5 κατὰ ὅψιν ὑνείρατος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξόανον τῆς Θέτιδος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάσσονσιν. Δήμητρα δὲ Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ παραδόντως σφίσιν 'Ορφέως, δόξῃ δὲ ἐμὴ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐρμίονη κατέστη καὶ τούτοις Χθονίαι νομίζειν Δήμητρα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σαράπιδος νεώτατον τοῦτο Σπαρτιάταις ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν Ὁλυμπίου.

6 Καλοῦσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δρόμον, ἐνθα τοῖς 84
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 Olympic victories were seven, four in the single-stade⁠¹ race and three in the double-stade⁠¹ 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 ² 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.

The Lacedaemonians give the name Running

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⁠¹ 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.
⁠² See Pausanias ii. xxxv. §§ 4–8.
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νέοις καὶ ἑφ’ ἡμῶν ἔτι δρόμου μελέτη καθέστηκεν. ἔσ τούτον τὸν Δρόμου ἴδουτι ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τῶν Ἀγιαδῶν ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερὰ μνήμα Εὐμήδους, Ἰπποκόωντος δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἢν ὁ Εὐμήδης. ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαίον Ἡρακλέους, ὃ θύσιν οἱ Σφαιρεῖς; οἱ δὲ εἶσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἄρχόμενοι συντελεῖν. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια ἐν τῷ Δρόμῳ, τὸ ἔτερον Εὐρυκλέους ἀνάθημα ἄνδρος Σπαρτιάτου τοῦ Δρόμου δὲ ἐκτὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔστιν οἰκία τά ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἱδιῶτοι, Μενελάου τὸ ἀρχαῖον. προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν καὶ Χαρίτων, τὸ δὲ Εἰλεθύνιας ἐστίν Ἀπόλλωνος τε 7 Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἡγεμόνης τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνίτα πεποίηται μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Δρόμου, Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἔστιν ἐπίκλησις ὁ Ἀγνίτας, οὗ ἢν ἄγνου τῷ θεῷ ξόαιν ἢ δὲ ἄγνος λύγος καὶ αὐτῇ κατὰ ταυτὰ ἔστι τῇ ράμμῳ. τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τρόπαιον ἐστήκει, Πολυδεύκην δὲ ἀναστήσαρ φαιν ἐπὶ Λυγκεί καὶ μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀποφαίνει τὸν λόγον εἰκότα, οὐ ταφῆναι τοὺς Ἀφαρέως παύδας ἐν Σπάρτῃ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Δρόμου τῇ ἄρχῃ Διοσκούροι τε εἰσὶν Ἀφετήριοι καὶ ὅλιγον προελθόντι ἤρθον ὉΛκωνος τὸν δὲ ὉΛκωνα λέγοντι Ἰπποκόωντας πάιδα εἶναι.

Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ὉΛκωνος τῷ ἤρῳ Ποσειδῶν ὅς ἐστὶν ἱερῶν, Δωματίτην δὲ ἐποιομάζουσιν. καὶ χωρίων Πλατανιστάς ἐστίν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, αἱ δὴ ύψηλαι καὶ συνεχεῖς περὶ αὐτὸ αἱ πλάτανοι πεφύκασιν. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ἐνθα τοῖς ἐφήβωις μάχεσθαι καθήκηκε, κύκλῳ μὲν εὐρύττοις περέχει κατὰ ταύτα καὶ εἰ νήσου θάλασσα, ἐφοδοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ 86
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 Hippocoon—and also an old image of Heracles, to whom sacrifice is paid by the Sphaereis. 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 Carneius, 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 Hippocoon.

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.
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gεφυρών εἰσι. γεφυρών δὲ ἐφ’ ἕκατέρα τῇ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, τῇ δὲ εἰκών Λυκούργου. νόμους δὲ ἐς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ ἐς τὴν 9 μάχην τῶν ἐφήβων ἔδηκεν ὁ Λυκούργος. καὶ τάδε ἄλλα τοῖς ἐφήβοις δρώμενα ἔστιν θύουσι πρὸ τῇς μάχης ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ· τὸ δὲ Φοιβαῖον ἐστίν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως, Θεράπτυς οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκός. ἐνταῦθα ἐκατέρα μοῖρα τῶν ἐφήβων σκύλακα κυνὸς τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσι, θεῶν τῷ ἀλκιμωτάτῳ κρίνοντες ἱερεῖον κατὰ γνώμην εἰναι τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον ἄγον τῶν ἁμέρων. κυνὸς δὲ σκύλακας οὐδένας ἄλλους οἶδα Ἐλλήνων νομί- ξοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίους θύουσι γὰρ καὶ Κολοφώνιοι μέλαιναν τῇ Ἐνοδίῳ σκύλακα. νυκτεριναὶ δὲ ἦ τε Κολοφωνίων θυσία καὶ τῶν 10 ἐν Δακεδαίμον ἐφήβων καθεστήκασιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ θυσία κάπροις ἠθάδας οἱ ἐφηβοὶ συμβάλλουσι μαχουμένους· ὅποτέρων δ’ ἂν ὁ κάπρος τύχῃ νικών, ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ κρατήσαι τούτους ὡς τὰ πλεῖω συμβαίνει. τοσάδε μὲν δρῶσιν ἐν τῷ Φοιβαίῳ· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὀλίγον πρὸ μεσούσης ἡμέρας ἐσίασι κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐσοδον, καθ’ ἧν ἐσελθεὶν δεύρο ἐστιν ἐκατέραν τάξιν, προεδήλωσε κλήρος σφισιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ· μάχονται δὲ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐμπηδόντες λάξη, διάκονει τε καὶ τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς ἀντορύσσουσιν. ἀνὴρ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον μάχεται· ἀθρόοι δὲ ἐμπτύπτουσι βιαιως καὶ ἐς τὸ ύδωρ ὀθονίσαι ἄλληλους.

XV. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καὶ Κυνίσκας ἐστιν ἰρών, θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύσοντος

1 ἐκατέρα, emended by Buttmann.
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 hero-shrine of Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus king of
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Σπαρτιατῶν πρώτη δὲ ἑπταρθοφησε γυναικῶν καὶ Ὁλυμπίασι πρώτη νίκην ἀνείλετο ἄρματι. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοάς, ἦ γαρ τῶν Πλατανιστῶν πεποίηται, ταύτης ὀπίσθεν ἠρώδα, τὸ μὲν Ἀλκίμου, τὸ δὲ Ἐναραιφόρου καὶ ἀφεστήκος οὐ πολὺ Δορκέως, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Σεβρου παῖδας δὲ.

2 Ἡπποκόωντος εἰσίν λέγουσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δορκέως κρήνη τὴν πλησίον τοῦ ἱρώου Δορκείαν, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ Σεβριον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβροῦ. τοῦ Σεβρίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξίᾳ μοίρᾳ Ἀλκμάνος, ὁ ποίησαντι ἄσματα οὐδὲν ἐσ ἠδοχήν αὐτῶν ἐλυμήνατο τὸν Δακώνων ἡ γλώσσα, ἥκιστα παρε-χομένη τὸ εὐφωνον. Ἐλένης δὲ ἤερα καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμάνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὀπλισμένον τοῦ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλέων ἡμῖν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρξαι τὸν Ἡπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτον θάνατον καθαρσίων ἕνεκα ἑλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν

3 Ἐλένης δὲ ἤερα καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμάνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὀπλισμένον τοῦ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλέων ἡμῖν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρξαι τὸν Ἡπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτον θάνατον καθαρσίων ἕνεκα ἑλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν

4 Ἐλένης δὲ ἤερα καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμάνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὀπλισμένον τοῦ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μάχην γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὸ δὲ ἔχθος Ἡρακλέων ἡμῖν ἐς οἶκον ὑπάρξαι τὸν Ἡπποκόωντος, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτον θάνατον καθαρσίων ἕνεκα ἑλθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν

5 τυπτοτες κατεργάζονται τὸν Οἰωνὸν. τοῦτο
LACONIA, xv. 1–5

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 Alcinus, 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 spoilt 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
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'Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα ἐξηγρώσεν ἐς 'Επτοκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· αὐτίκα δὲ ὅς ὅργης εἰχε χωρεῖ σφισιν ἐς μάχην. τότε μὲν δὴ τιτρώσκεται καὶ λαθὼν ἀπεχώρησεν ὑστερον δὲ ἐξεγένετο οἱ στρατεύσαντι ἐς Σπάρτην τιμωρήσασθαι μὲν Ἰπτοκόωντα, τιμωρήσασθαί δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Ὀἰωνοῦ φόνου. τὸ δὲ μνήμα τῷ Ὀἰωνῷ πεποίηται παρὰ τὸ 'Ἡρακλέον.

6 Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δρόμου πρὸς ἀνύσχοντα ἥλιον ἀτραπός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀξιοποίου καλουμένης ιερὸν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἄμυνομενος Ἡρακλῆς Ἰπτοκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετῆλθε κατ᾽ ἄξιαν ὅν προοπῆρξεν, ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱδρύεται, Ἀξιοποίου δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτι τὰς τιμωρίας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄνομαζον ποινᾶς. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ιερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Ιοντὶ ἐτέραν ὅδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου. Θήραν δὲ ἀναθείναι τὸν Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου φασίν, ἡνίκα ἀποκίαν ἐστελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἣ νῦν ἀπὸ Θήρα τοῦτο τὸ ὅνομα ἐσχήκε, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον

7 ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλίστη. πλησίον δὲ ἐστιν Ἰπποσθένους ναὸς, ὁ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῖκαι πάλης· σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντήματος τὸν Ἰπποσθένην ἄτε Ποσειδώνι τιμᾶς νέμοντε. τοῦ ναὸν δὲ ἀπαντικρᾶ πέδας ἐστὶν ἐχὼν Ἐυνάλιος, ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. γνώμη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἐς τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Ἀππερον καλομένην Νίκην, τῶν μὲν οὐποτε τὸν Ἐυνάλιον φεύγοντα οἰχήσεσθαι σφισιν ἐνεχόμενον ταῖς πέδαις, Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν Νίκην αὐτόθι ἂεί μενεῖν οὐκ ὄντων πτερῶν.
LACONIA, xv. 5-7

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 Requital 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 poïnai. 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 Enyalius 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 Enyalius 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.
Τόνδε μὲν εἴσιν αἱ πόλεις αὑτὰς τὰ ξόανα τῶν τρόπον ἱδρυμέναι καὶ ἐπὶ δόξη τοιαύτης ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ λέσχῃ τέ ἐστι καλουμένη Ποικίλη καὶ ἥρα πρὸς αὐτῇ Κάδμου τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τῶν τε ἀπογόνων, Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θῆρα καὶ Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου. ποιήσαι δὲ τὰ ἥρα λέγουσι Μαῖσιν καὶ Λαίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰραίου παίδας τοῦ Αἰγέως. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τὸ ἥρων, ὅτι σφίσαν ὁ πρόγονος Τισαμενὸς μητρὸς ἤν Δημοκράτης, ἀδελφῆς Ἀμφιλόχου.

Μόνοις δὲ Ἐλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίων καθέστηκεν Ἡραν ἐπονομάζειν Ἀγωφάγον καὶ αἰγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν. Ἡρακλέα δὲ λέγουσιν ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αἰγας θυσιν πρότων, ὅτι μαχομένων ὁ πρὸς Ἰπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παίδας οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἡρας ἀπήνυτεν ἐμπόδιον, ὡσπερ γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδοξάζειν ἐναντιοῦσθαι οἱ τὴν θέων αἰγας δὲ αὐτὸν θυσιν φασίν ἱερείων ἀπορύσαντα ἀλλοίων. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Ποσειδώνος τε ἱερὸν ἔστι Γενεθλίου καὶ ἥρωα Κλεοδαίου του Ἡλλου καὶ Οἰβάλου. τῶν δὲ Ἀσκληπιείων τὸ ἐπίφανεστατον πεποίηται σφίσι πρὸς τοῖς Βωμητοῖς, ἐν ἀριστερὰ δὲ ἥρων Τιθέκλου τούτου δὲ καὶ ὑστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ συγγραφή. προελθοῦσι δὲ οὗ πολὺ λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶν νὰδος ἀρχαῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον ὀπλισμένης. ναὸν δὲ ὁν οἶδα μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερῴον ἄλλο ἐπωκοδόμηται Μορφός ἱερὸν. ἐπίκλησις μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἡ Μορφώ, κάθηται δὲ καλύττριε τε ἔχουσα καὶ πέδας περὶ τοῖς ποσὶ· περιθεῖναι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεων 94
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 Amphiloctus too his hero-shrine, because their ancestor Tisamenus had for his mother Demonassa, the sister of Amphiloctus.

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 Boōneta, and on the left is the hero-shrine of Teleclus. I shall mention him again later in my history of Messenia.¹

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

¹ See iv. iv. § 2, and xxxi. § 3.
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tὰς πέδας φασὶν ἀφομοιοῦντα τοῖς δεσμοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας τῶν γυναικῶν βέβαιον. τῶν γὰρ δὴ ἐτερον λόγον, ὡς τὴν θέου πέδαις ἐτιμωρεῖτο ὁ Τυνδάρεως, γενέσθαι ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης ἡγούμενος τὰ ὀνείδη, τούτων οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν προσίειμαι· ἦν γὰρ δὴ πατὰπασίν εὐθῆς κέδρον ποιησάμενον ξύδιον καὶ ὄνομα Ἀφροδίτην θέμενον ἐλπίζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν θεὸν.

XVI. Πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνος φησίν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἐτερωταί σφισὶ παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὐτὰς Δευκιτπίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Δευκιτπίδοις ἐπεκοσμησθεῖσι, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαῖον ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τέχνης· τὸ δὲ ἐτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπεν ὅνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρτηται φῶν τοῦ ὄροφον κατελημένων ταινίαις· εἶναι δὲ φασιν φῶν ἑκείνῳ ὁ τεκείν 2 Δήδαν ἔχει λόγος. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἰμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ ὄικημα ἐνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὄνομαζονυιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποίηται πλησίον· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασιν αὐτὴν ὀἰκίσσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεας παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπετερον ἐκτίσσατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἄφικεντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ἔννοις ἀνδρασίν ἐοικότες· ἵθειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φίλαντρος καταχθύνα τε ἥξιον παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ὀικία ἤτοι εἶναι ὁ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἵνα μετα ἀνθρώπων ἔσαι. 3 ο δὲ οἰκίας μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἐνθα ἐν ἐθέλωσιν οἰκήσαι, τὸ δὲ οἰκίμα οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἔφη δόσειν ἥνεκν ἐκείνην γὰρ ἔτυχεν οἱ παρθένοι ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ 96
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).¹ 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

¹ i. xviii. § 1; iii. xiii. § 7 and xvii. § 3.
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diaitaan. ἕς δὲ τὴν ύστεραίαν παρθένος μὲν ἐκεῖνη καὶ θεραπεία πάσα ἡ περὶ τὴν παίδα ἡφάνιστο, Διοσκούρων δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι εὐρέθη καὶ τράπεζα τε καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ’ αὐτῇ.

4 Τάδε μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ιόντι δὲ ός ἕπι τάς πύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτώνος Χήλωνός ἐστιν ἤρων τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Ἄθηναδώρου τῶν ὤμοι Δωρεί τῷ Ἀναξαγόρδιου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν. ἐστάλησαν δὲ τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν νομίζοντες τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. Ἡρακλέα γὰρ ἔχει λόγος παλαισάι πρὸς Ἐρυκα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἰρημένοις, ἣν μὲν Ἡρακλῆς νικήσῃ, γῆν τὴν Ἐρυκος Ἡρακλέους εἶναι, κρατηθέντος δὲ τῇ

5 πάλη βοῦς τὰς Γηρυόνου—ταύτας γὰρ τότε ἡλανεν Ἡρακλῆς, διαφυγαμένος δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν κατὰ τὸν ἐλαιον1 τοῦ κυφοῦ ἀνευρίσκων ἐπιδιέβη—τὰς οὖν βοῦς ἐδει κρατηθέντος Ἡρακλέους τὸν Ἐρυκα ἄγοντα οἳ χεσθαι. τὸ δὲ εὔμενες ἐκ τῶν θεοῦ ὡς κατὰ ταύτα Ἡρακλεὶ καὶ ύστερον Δωρεὶ τῷ Ἀναξαγόρδιῳ παρεγενέτο, ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἀποκτίνωσιν Ἐρυκα, Δωρεία δὲ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειραν τὸ πολὺ Ἐγεσταίοι.

6 Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀικούργῳ τῷ θεμένῳ τοὺς νόμους οἰα δὴ θεὸ πεποιήκασι καὶ τούτῳ ἱερόν. τάφος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁπισθε μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ Ἀικούργῳ παιδὶ Ἐυκόσμῳ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ βωμῷ Λαθρίας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρδας αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἱ Ἀριστοδήμου παιδεῖς ἀτε ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι λαμβάνουσι, θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμηδία, 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-

1 ἔλεος, emended by Meineke.
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λευντος μὲν Κλεωναίων, τεταρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἦρακλέους. τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἀπαντικράν μνήμα Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τοῦ δὲ Εὐρυβιάδου Λακεδαιμονίων τριήρεσιν ἐπ’ Ἀρτέμισι καὶ Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχήσαντος πρὸς Μῆδους, πλησίον δὲ Ἀστραβάκου καλούμενον ἔστιν ἧρων.

7 Τὸ δὲ χαριῶν τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὄρθλας ιερὸν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ ξύανον δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι λέγουσιν ὁ ποτε Ὅρεστης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλέπτουσιν ἐς δὲ τὴν σφετέραν Λακεδαιμονίων κομισθηναί φασίν Ὅρεστον καὶ ἐνταῖθα βασιλεύσαντος, καὶ μοι εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον τι δοκοῦσιν ἡ Ἀθηναιώ. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ λόγω κατέλυσαν ἂν ἐν Βραυρώνῳ Ἰφιγένειᾳ τὸ ἀγαλμα; ἤ πῶς, ἢνικὰ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο, οὐκ ἐσέθεντο καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναύς; καίτοι διαμεμένηκεν ἐτί καὶ νῦν τηλικοῦτο ὀνόμα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεῷ, ὡστε ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν Καππαδόκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνου οἰκούντες τὸ ἀγαλμα εἶναι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἷς ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ιερὸν Ἀναίτιδος. Ἀθηναῖς δὲ ἄρα παρώφθη γενόμενον λάβυρον τῷ Μήδῳ, τὸ γάρ ἐκ Βραυρώνου ἐκκομίσθη τε ἐς Σύοῦσα καὶ ύστερον Σελεύκου

8 δόντος Σύροι Λασιδικεῖς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐχοῦσι, μαρτύρια δὲ μοι καὶ τάδε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὅρθλαιν τὸ ἐκ τῶν μαρβάρων εἶναι ξύανον τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστραβάκος καὶ Ἀλῶπεκος οἱ Ἰρβοὺν τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἀγιδός τὸ ἀγαλμα εὑρόντες αὐτὰκα παρεφρονησαν τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Λιμνάται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ 

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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 Limnatians,

1 Κλειστωναίων, emended by Kuhn.
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οἱ ἐκ Μεσόας τε καὶ Πιτάνης θύουτες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς διαφόραν, ἀπὸ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς φόνους προή- χθησαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ πολλῶν νόσος ἐφθειρε τοὺς λοιπούς. καὶ σφυσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γίνεται λόγιον αἴματι ἀνθρώπων τῶν βωμῶν αἰμασσεῖν· θυμομένων δὲ ὄντινα ὁ κλήρος ἐπελάμβανε, Δυκοῦργος μετέβαλεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάστιγας, ἐμπύλπαται τε οὖν ἀνθρώπων αἴματι ὁ βωμός. ἦ δὲ ίερεία τὸ ξύανον ἐχονύσα σφυσιν ἐφέστηκε· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλως μὲν κούφον ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἦν δὲ οἱ μαστίγοιντες ποτε ὑποφειδόμενοι παύσαν νατὰ ἐφῆβου κάλλος ἢ ἄξιωμα, τότε ἤδη τῇ γυναικὶ τὸ ξύανον γίνεται βαρὺ καὶ οὐκέτι εὐφορον, ἦ δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ τοὺς μαστίγοιντας ποιεῖται καὶ πιέζεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πησιν. οὖτω τῷ ἀγάλματι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ θυσίῳ ἐμμεμένηκεν ἀνθρώπων αἴματι ἤδεσθαι· καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὐρέθη, περιειλθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἀγαλμα ὀρθῶν. XVII. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἐστὶν Εἰλειδύιας ἱερόν· οἰκοδομήσας δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ καὶ Εἰλειδύιαν νομίζει ἃ δεδουλεύειν σφύσιν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεύματος.

Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὑψὸς περι- φανεῖς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἔστι, καθὰ δὴ Ἐθνουρις τε ἡ Καδμεία καὶ ἡ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις· ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐσ 2 μετέωρον ἀνήκου ὁμομάξουσιν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποίηται Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιδίκου τῆς αὐτῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς κατασκευῆς Τυνδάρεως καθὰ λέγουσιν ἢρξατο'
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
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ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου δεύτερα οἱ παίδες ἐξεργάσασθαι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ἤθελον, ἀφορμὴ δὲ σφισιν ἐμελλε τὰ ἐξ Ἀφιδναίων ἔσεσθαι λάφυρα. προαπολιπόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, Δακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν ύστερον τὸν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν. Γιτιάδας δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνήρ ἐπιχώριος. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἁσματα Δώρια ὦ Γιτιάδας ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ὕμνον 3 ἐς τὴν θεόν. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὅν ἐθελοντῆς κατώρθωσε, Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ἢ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἀρπαγή· καὶ Ἡφαιστός τὴν μητέρα ἐστίν ἀπολύων τῶν δεσμῶν. ἐδήλωσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅποια λέγεται, πρὸτερον ἐτί ἐν τῇ Ἀττίδι συγγραφῇ. Περσεῖ δ' ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὀρμημένω διδοῦσα νῦμφαι δώρα εἰσὶ κυνῆν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα, ὡς ὁν οἰσθήσεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐμελλεν. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν καὶ Ἁμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ 4 μάλιστα ἡν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν θέας ἀξία. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτερον αὐτῷ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἕραγάνης ἱερῶν. ἐς δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἱόντι στοάν Κοσμητὰ τε ἐπίκλησιν Δίος ναὸς καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνήμα ἐστίν· ἢ δὲ πρὸς δυσμάς ἐχει τῶν στοῶν ἀετοῦς τε δύο τοὺς ὄρνθας καὶ ἵσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Νίκας, Λυσάνδρου μείν ἄναθημα, τῶν δὲ ἔργων ὑπόμυνμα ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε περὶ Ἕφεσον, ὅτε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου κυβερνήτην καὶ Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ύστερον ἐν Λιγός ποταμοῖς καθεῖλεν 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 Leueippus 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\(^1\) 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.

\(^1\) See i. xx. § 3.
5 Ἐν ἀριστερὰ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου Μουσῶν ἰδρύσαντο ἑρων, ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἔξοδους ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας οὐ μετὰ σαλπίγγων ἔποιοῦντο ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε ἀυλῶν μέλη καὶ ὑπὸ λύρας καὶ κιθάρας κρούσμασιν. ὅπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναὸς ἐστὶν 'Αφροδίτης 'Ἀρείας· τὰ δὲ ξύσανα ἄρχαία εἶπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἠλλησιν. τῆς Χαλκιοίκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Δίως ἄγαλμα 'Πάτου πεποίηται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὅποσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ δι᾽ ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰργασμένον, ἐλήλουσίν δὲ ἱδία τῶν μερῶν καθ᾽ αὐτὸ ἐκάστου συνήμοσται τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἱλοι συνέχοσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἄνδρα Ῥηγίον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, ὅν Διπόινου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασίν εἶναι μαθητήν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ Σκηνώματι ὁμομαζόμενοι γυναικὸς ἐστὶν εἰκόν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἑυρυλεωνίδα λέγοσιν εἶναι· νίκην δὲ ἵππων συνωρίδι ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικόν.

7 Παρὰ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου τῶν βωμῶν ἐστήκασι δύο εἰκόνες Παυσανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν ἱγμασμένου. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτοῦ ὅποια ἐγένετο εἰδόσιν οὐ διηγήσομαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πρότεροι συγγραφέαντα ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβῆς ἀποχρῶντα ἤν ἐπεξελθεῖν δὲ σφισιν ἀρκέσομαι. ἤκουσα δὲ ἄνδρὸς Βυζαντίου Παυσανίου φωραθῆναι τε ἐφ᾽ οίς ἠξουλεύετο καὶ μοῖρον τῶν ἱκτεσιάτων τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἀμαρτεῖν ἄδειας καὶ ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδείν, φόνου δὲ ἄγος ἐκείψασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντα. ὡς γὰρ ἐδίετριβε περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον υποί τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, παρθένου Βυζαντίας ἐπεθύμησε· καὶ αὐτίκα 106
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 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

1 See II. xv. § 1 and xxii. § 5.
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νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης τὴν Κλεονίκην—τοῦτο γὰρ ὁμοιὰ ἦν τῇ κόρῃ—κομίζοντων οἷς ἑπετέτακτο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὑπνομένου τὸν Παυσανίαν ἐπήγειρεν ὁ ψόφος· ίδονα γὰρ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καίομενον λύχνον κατέβαλεν ἀκοῦσα. ἂτε δὲ ὁ Παυσανίας συνειδῶς αὐτῷ προδίδοντι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ δὴ αὐτὸ ἐχόμενος παραχῇ τε ἀεὶ καὶ δείματι, ἐξέστη 9 καὶ τότε καὶ τῇ παιδα τῷ ἀκινάκη παίει. τούτῳ τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἔξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Παυσανία, καθάρσια παντοῦ καὶ Ἰκεσίας δεξαμενός Διὸς Φυξίου καὶ δὴ ἦς Φιγαλίαν ἐλθόντι τὴν Ἀρκάδων παρὰ τοὺς ψυχαγωγούς· δίκην δὲ ἦν εἰκὸς ἦν Κλεονίκη τῇ ἀπέδοκε καὶ τῷ θεῷ. Δακεδαι-μόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦσι πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὰς τε εἰκόνας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην, τὸ ἐπὶ Παυσανία τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μὴν ὁμοία ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τούτων.

XVIII. Τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων τοῦ Παυσανίου πλησίον ἦστιν Ἀμβολογήρας Ἀφροδίτης ἁγάλμα ἰδρυμένον κατὰ μαντείαν, ἀλλὰ δὲ "Ὑπνοῦ καὶ Θανάτου" καὶ σφᾶς ἄδελφους εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ἔπη 2 τὰ ἐν Ἰλιάδὶ ἠγάνηται. ιόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλπίου καλούμενον ναὸς ἦστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀφθαλμίτειδος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Λυκοὺργον λέγοντι ἐκκοπέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἔτερον ὑπὸ Ἀλκάνδρου, διότι οὐς ἔθηκε νόμους οὐκ ἄρεστος συνεβαίνει εἶναι τῷ Ἀλκάνδρῳ, διαφυγὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον Δακεδαιμονίων ἀμυνάντων μὴ προσαπολέσθαι οἱ καὶ τὸν λειπόμενον ὀφθαλμόν, οὕτω ναῦν 3 Ὀφθαλμίτειδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίησε. προελθόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἱερῶν ἦστιν Ἀμμωνος· φαίνονται δὲ ἀπ' 108
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
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αρχής Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλιστα Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρο
πολιορκοῦντι Ἀφιτιν τὴν ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ νύκτιορ ἐπιφανέντα  Ἀμμωνα προαγορεύειν ὡς ἀμείνον ἐκείνῳ τε ἐσοιτο καὶ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολέμου πρὸς Ἀφιταιοὺς παυσαμένοις καὶ οὕτω τῇ πολιορκίαν διέλυσεν οὐ Λυσάνδρος καὶ Λακεδαι-
μονίους τὸν θεον σέβειν προῆγαγεν ἐς πλέον, Ἀφιταιοὶ δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀμμωνα οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἦν οἱ Ἀμμώνιοι Λιβύων.

4 Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Κναγίαν Ἀρτεμίν ἐστιν οὕτω λεγόμενα: Κναγέα άνδρα ἐπιχώριον στρατεύσαι
φασίν ἐς Ἀφίδναν ὦ οἰς Δισκούροις, λειψθέντα δὲ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πραθέντα ἐς
Κρήτην δουλεύειν ἐνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τοῖς Κρήτη
ἰερόν, ἀνὰ χρόνων δὲ αὐτὸν τε ἀποδραναί καὶ
παρθένον τὴν ἰερωμένην ἔχοντα οἴχεσθαι τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀγομένην. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν

5 ὄνομάζειν Κναγίαν Ἀρτεμίν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὕτος ὁ
Κναγεύς ἄλλων ἀφικέσθαι πὼς ἐς Κρήτην φαί-
νεται καὶ οὕς ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φασίν, ἐπεὶ
μηδὲ γενέσθαι δοκῶ πρὸς Ἀφίδνην ἵππων Ἐθήσεως
tε ἐν Θεσπρωτοῖς ἑχομένοι καὶ Αθηναίων οὐχ
ὄμονούστων ἄλλα ἡ Μενεσθεὰ ῥεπόντων μᾶλλον
τάς εὐνοίας. οὐ μὴν οὕδε ἄγωνος συμβάςτος
πεῖθοι τὸν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι παρὰ
τῶν κρατησάντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ
gενομένης τῆς νίκης, ὡστε ἄλωνε καὶ αὐτὴν
Ἀφιδναν.

6 Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐξήτασθοι· ἐς Ἀμύκλας
δὲ κατιούσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ποταμός ἔστι Τίασα-
θυγατέρα δὲ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τῆν
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, Thesus 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
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Τίσαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ Χαρίτων ἐστίν ἱερὸν Φαέννας καὶ Κλητᾶς, καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμάν ἐποίησεν. ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνων Χάρισιν ἐνηαύθα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέσθαι τὰ ὅνυματα ἦγινητα. 7 τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις θέας ἄξια ἀνὴρ πένταθλὸς ἐστιν ἐπὶ στήλης ὀνόμα Λύνητος: τοῦτῳ νικήσαντι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἔτι στεφανουμένῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτήν λέγουσι. τούτου τε οὖν ἐστιν εἰκῶν καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ: τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιοτέρους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου
8 φασὶν εἶναι. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρῶτῳ τρίποδι Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμα ἐστήκει, Ἀρτέμις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ, Γιτιάδα καὶ αὐτοῖς τέχνη καὶ τὰ ἐπειργασμένα, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐστίν Λιγνιντόν Κάλλωνος: ὑπὸ τούτῳ δὲ ἀγαλμα Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστήκεν. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ Πάριος καὶ Πολύκλειτος Ἀργείος ὁ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐποίησεν ἔχουσαν λύραν, Σπάρτην δὴθεν, Πολύκλειτος δὲ Ἀφροδίτης παρὰ Ἀμύκλαιῶν καλομένην. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τρίποδες μεγέθει τε ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης τῆς ἐν
9 Ἀγάς ποταμοῖς ἀνετέθησαν. Βαθυκλέους δὲ Μάγνητος, ὃς τὸν θρόνον ἐποίησε τοῦ Ἀμύκλαιον, ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ ἐξειργασμένῳ τῷ θρόνῳ Χάριτες καὶ ἀγαλμα καὶ Λευκοφρυῆς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. ὅτου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Βαθυκλῆς μαθητὴς ἐγενότει καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐφ᾽ ὅτου βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποίησε, τάδε μὲν παρίσμη, τὸν θρόνον δὲ εἰδὸν τε καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ὅποια ἦν γράψω. ἀνέχουσιν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, κατὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ὅπίσω, Χάριτες τε δύο καὶ "Ὠραι δύο· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ "Εχθένα ἐστήκε καὶ Τυφώς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Τρίτωνες.
Eurotas, and by it is a sanctuary of Graces, Phaëonna and Cleta, 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,¹ named Aeinetus, 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 Amyclaean.” 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 Amyclaean, 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

¹ See i. xxix. § 5.
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tα δε ἐπειργασμένα καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐπ' ἁκριβεῖς
dιελθεῖν ὅχλον τοῖς ἐπιλεξομένοις παρέξειν
ἐμελλέν· ὡς δὲ δηλώσαι συλλαβῶντι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ
ἀγνωστα τὰ πολλὰ ἤν, Ταῦγέτην θυγατέρα Ἀτλαντος καὶ ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀλκυόνην 
φέρουσι Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ζεὺς. ἐπείργασαι δὲ καὶ Ἀτλας 
cαὶ Ἡρακλέους μονομαχία πρὸς Κύκνου καὶ ἦ
παρὰ Φῶλφ τῶν Κενταύρων μάχη. τὸν δὲ Μίνω
καλοῦμενον Ταῦρον οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθὸς οὖν πεποίηκε
Βαθυκλῆς δεδεμένον τε καὶ ἄγομενον ὡς Ὁμήρως
ξώντα· καὶ Φαιάκων χορὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ θρόνο
καὶ ἄδων ὁ Δημόδοκος· Περσέως τε τὸ ἐργὸν
πεποίηται τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν. παρέντε Ἡρακλέους
μάχην πρὸς Θεσπρωτῆς τῶν γιγάντων καὶ Τυνδάρεω
πρὸς Εὐρυτοῦν, ἐστὶν ἀρπαγὴ τῶν Λευκόππου
θυγατέρων· Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν
παῖδα ἐτὶ ὄντα ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστὶν Ἐρμής 
θέρμων, Ἀθηῆς δὲ ἄγουσα Ἡρακλέα συνοικίσοντα ἀπὸ
τούτοις θεοῖς. παραδίδωσι δὲ καὶ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέα
τραφήρῳ μενον παρὰ Χώρων, δές καὶ διδάξαι
λέγεται. Κέφαλος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἕνεκα ὑπὸ
Ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡρπασμένος, καὶ ἐς τὸν γαμὸν τῶν
Ἀρμονίας δώρα κομίζοντων οἱ θεοὶ. καὶ Ἀχιλλέως
μονομαχία πρὸς Μέμνονα ἐπιείργασται, Διομήδην
τε Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Θράκα καὶ ἐπὶ Εὐήνῳ τὸ ποταμὸ
Νέσσον τιμορούμενος. Ἐρμῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
κριθησόμενας ἢγεί τὰς θεὰς, Ἀδραστος
δὲ καὶ Τυδεὺς Ἀμφιάραου καὶ Λυκόργου τῶν
Πρώμακτος μάχης καταπάυσας. Ἡρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ
πρὸς ίδίων Ἰνάχου βοῶν οὐσαν ἢδη, καὶ Ἀθηῆς
διώκοιτα ἀποφεύγουσα ἐστὶν Ἡφαιστον. ἐπὶ
dὲ τούτοις Ἡρακλέους πεποίηται 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 Alcyone. 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 Lyceurgus 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
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ἐς τὴν ὕδραν καὶ ὥς ἀνήγαγε τοῦ "Αἰδον τὸν κύνα. Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνων, τούτων μὲν ἐφ’ ὕππον καθήμενός ἐστιν ἐκάτερος, Μεγαπένθην δὲ τὸν Μενελάον καὶ Νικόλατον ὕππος εἰς φέρων ἐστὶν. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ Βελλεροφόντης τὸ ἐν Λυκία θηρίον, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Γηρύνου βοῖς ἐλαύνει. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἀνω πέρασιν ἐφ’ ὕππων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰσιν οἱ Τυνδάρεως παῖδες· καὶ σφίγγες τε εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς ὕπποις καὶ θηρία ἀνω θέουτα, τῇ μὲν πάρδαλις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πολυδεύκην λέαινα. ἀνωτάτῳ δὲ χορὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ πεποίηται, Μάγνητες οἱ συνειργασμένοι

14 Βαθυκλεῖ τοῦ θρόνου. ὑπελθόντι δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τὰ ἐίδον ἀπὸ τῶν Τριτῶν ἕστι θῆρα τοῦ Καλυδονίου καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνου τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς "Ακτορος, Κάλαις δὲ καὶ Ζήτης τὰς Ἀρτεμίας Φινέως ἀπελαύνουσιν. Πειρίθους τε καὶ Θησεύς ἠρπακότες εἰσιν 'Ελένην καὶ ἄγχων Ἡρακλῆς τὸν λέοντα, Τιτυνὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει

15 καὶ Ἀρτέμις. Ἡρακλέους τε πρὸς Ὀρεινὸν Κένταυρον μάχη πεποίηται καὶ Θησέως πρὸς Ταῦρον τὸν Μίνω. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἢ πρὸς Ἀχελώον Ἡρακλέους πάλη καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἡραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθεῖ, καὶ ὁ Ἀκαστός ἐθηκεν ἄγωνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων Πρωτέα ἐν Ὄδυσσεα. τελευταία Ἀδμητὸς τε ξενισθῶν ἐστίν ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα κατακρινοὶ καὶ λέοντα καὶ οἱ Τρῶες ἐπιφέροντες χοὰς Ἐκτορι.

XIX. Τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἢ καθίζοιτο ἄν ὁ θεός, οὐ διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τούτο συνεχοῦς οὕτος ἀλλὰ καθέδρας παρεχομένου πλείονοι, 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. Calaïs 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 Oreius 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. 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

1 Odyssey iv. 384 foll.
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ékásthn ὑπολειπομένης καὶ εὐρυχωρίας, τὸ μέσον ἐστὶν εὐρυχωρῆς μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ἁγαλμα ἐνταῦθα

2 ἐνέστηκε. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι φαίνοντο ἀν πήχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνη πεποιημένον· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κιόνι ἐστίν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην.

3 δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρου παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ῥάκινθον λέγουσιν εν αὐτῷ, καὶ Ῥάκινθοις πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τυσίας ἐς τοῦτον Ῥάκινθῳ τῶν βωμῶν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς ἐναγίζουσιν· ἐν ἀρίστερά δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ θύρα τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τούτῳ μὲν ἁγαλμα Βίριδος, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ Ποσειδώνος. Δίος δὲ καὶ Ἐρμοῦ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις πλησίον Διώνυσος ἐστήκασι καὶ Σεμέλη, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῆς Ἰνώ.

4 πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶν Μοῖραι τε καὶ Ὡραί, σὺν δὲ σφισὶν Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἀρτέμις· κομίζουσι δὲ ἐς οὐρανὸν Ῥάκινθον καὶ Πολύβοιαν, Ῥάκινθῳ καθα λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἐπὶ παρθένους. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ῥάκινθου τὸ ἁγαλμα ἔχον ἐστὶν ἰδία γένεια, Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικομήδους περισσοῦς δὴ τι ἐγραφεν αὐτῶν ὦραιον, τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥάκινθῳ λεγόμενον

5 Ἀπόλλωνος ἐρωτα ὑποσημαίνων. πεποίηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὕτος ἁγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰ 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
καὶ Μοῦσαι τε καὶ Ὄμαι. περὶ δὲ ἀνέμου Ζεφύρου, καὶ ως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ὁμιληθος ἀπέθανεν ἄκοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸ ἀνθος εἰρήμενα τάχα μὲν ἀν ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλως, δοκεῖτω δὲ ἦ λέγεται.

6 Ἀμύκλαι δὲ ἀνάστατος ὑπὸ Δωριέων γενομένη καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον κόμη διαμένουσα θέας παρείχετο ἄξιον ἱερὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ ἀγαλμα· τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδραν οἱ Ἀμύκλαιεῖς Κασσάνδραν τὴν Πριάμου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος νομίζο-μενον μνήμα. θεῶν δὲ σέβοντοι οἱ ταύτῃ τὸν τε Ἀμύκλαιον καὶ Διόνυσον, ὀρθότατα ἔμοι δοκεῖν Ψελακα ἑπονομαζόντες· ζύλα γὰρ κα- λοῦσιν οἱ Δωριές τὰ πτερὰ, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οίνος ἑπαίρει τε καὶ ἀνακουφίζει γνώμην οὐδὲν τι ἢσσον ἡ ὀρνιθας πτερά.

Καὶ Ἀμύκλαι μὲν παρείχοντο τοσαῦτα ἐς μνήμην, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐς Θεράτυν

7 ἀγεῖ· κατὰ δὲ τῇ τὸν ὄδον Ἀθηνᾶς ξίονον ἔστιν Ἀλέας. πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆμαι τὸν Εὐρώταν, ὅλιγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁχθῆς ἱερὸν δείκνυται Δίος Πλούσιον. διαβάσας δὲ Κοτυλέως ἔστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός, ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Κοτυλέα ὁμόμαςεν ἀκεσθεῖς τὸ τραύμα τὸ ἐς τὴν κοτύλην οἱ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἰπποκόσωτα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προτέρα μάχη. ὀπόσα δὲ πεποίητα κατὰ τῇ τὸν ὄδον ταύτῃν, ἔστιν ἄρχαιοτατον αὐτῶν Ἀρεως ἱεροῦ. τούτῳ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοὺς Διοσκούροις φασὶ κομίσαν ἔκ

8 Κόλχων· Θηρίταν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσιν ἀπὸ Θηρίδας, ταύτην γὰρ τροφὸν εἶναι τοῦ "Ἀρεως λέγουσι.
LACONIA, xix. 5-8

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 Hippocoon 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᾽ ἀν ἄκηκοντες παρὰ Κόλχων Ἐθρῖταιν λέγονεν ἔπει "Ἐλληνές γε οὐκ ἦσασιν Ἀρεως τροφῶν Ἐθρῶ: δοκεῖν δὲ μοι Ἐθρῖτας οὐ διὰ τὴν τροφὴν ἢ ἐπωνυμία τῷ Ἀρεί γέγονεν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνδρὶ χρὴ πολεμίῳ καταστάντα εἰς μάχην οὐδὲν ἐτὶ ἔχειν ἦπιον, καθά δὴ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως πεποίηται.

λέων δ᾽ ὡς ἄγρια οἶδεν.

9 Ἐθρίτας δὲ ὄνομα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λέλεγος θυγατρός, Μενελάου δὲ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸς, καὶ Μενελαον καὶ Ἐλένην ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν. Ρόδιοι δὲ ὃι όμολογοῦντες Δακεδαμοῦνοις φασίν Ἐλένην Μενελάου τελευτᾶσαν, Ὀρέστου δὲ ἐτὶ πλανομένου, τηρικαῦτα ὑπὸ Νικοστράτου καὶ Μεγαπένθους διωχθέισαι ἐς Ἀρδών ἀφικέσθαι Πολυξένῃ τῇ Τηληπόλεμον γυναικὸς ἐχουσαν ἐπιτηδείως: εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Πολυξόν τῷ γένος Ἀργείαν, Τηληπόλεμῳ δὲ ἐτὶ πρότερον συνοικοῦσαν φυγῆς μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐς Ἀρδών καὶ τῆς νῆσου τηρικαῦτα ἀρχεῖν ὑπολειπομένην ἐπὶ ὀρφανῷ παιδί. ταύτην τὴν Πολυξόν φασιν ἐπιθυμοῦσαν Ἐλένην τιμωρῆσασθαι τελευτῆς τῆς Τηληπόλεμον τότε, ὡς ἐλαβεν αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον, ἐπιτείμησε οἱ λουμένη ἑραπαίνῳ 'Ερμύσῳ ἦσα σκευασμένος· καὶ αὐτὰ διαλαβοῦσι δὴ τὴν Ἐλένην αἱ γυναικεὶς ὕπαιγχουσιν ἐπὶ δένδρου, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ῥόδιος Ἐλένης ἱερόν ἐστὶ Δευδρίτιδος. διὸ δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας Κροτωνιάτας περὶ Ἐλένης λόγον, όμολογοῦντας δὲ σφίς καὶ Ἰμεραίους, ἐπιμνησθῆσομαι καὶ τούτη. ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ νῆσος κατὰ τοῦ Ἰστρον.
surname Theritas\(^1\) 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\(^2\) says of Achilles:

\begin{quote}
And he is fierce as a lion.
\end{quote}

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

\(^1\) Pausanias connects the name with \textit{ther}, a wild beast.

\(^2\) \textit{Iliad}, xxiv. 41.
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tás ἐκβολάς Ἀχιλλέως ἱερὰ· ὅνομα μὲν τῇ νήσῳ Δευκή, περίπλους δὲ αὐτῇ σταδίων εἴκοσι, δασείᾳ δὲ ύλῇ πᾶσα καὶ πλήρῃς ξώων ἄγρίων καὶ ἱμέρων, καὶ ναὸς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἀγαλμα ἐν αὐτῇ.

12 ἔσ ταύτην πρότος ἐσπλέυσαι λέγεται Κροτωνιά-
tης Δεόνυμος. πολέμου γὰρ Κροτωνιάτας συν-
estηκότος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Δοκρούς, τῶν
Δοκρῶν κατὰ οἰκείωτητα πρὸς Ὄπουντίοις Αἰαντα
τὸν 'Οιλέως ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπικαλομένων, ὁ
Δεόνυμος Κροτωνιάτας στρατηγὸν ἐπήλ τοῖς
ἐναντίοις κατὰ τοῦτο ἦ προτετάχθαι σφίσι τὸν
Αἰαντὰ ἥκουε. τιτρώσκεται δὴ τὸ στέρνον καὶ—
ἐκαμμε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος—ἀφίκετο ἐς
Δελφοὺς. ἐλθόντα δὲ ἡ Πυθία Δεόνυμον ἀπέ-
στελλεν ὡς νήσου τῆς Δευκῆς, ἐνταῦθα εἰσόνειν
αὐτῷ φανήσεσθαι τὸν Αἰαντὰ καὶ ἀκέσεσθαι τὸ
τραύμα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ὑγιάνας ἐπανήλθεν ἐκ τῆς
Δευκῆς, ἰδεῖν μὲν ἐφασκεν Ἀχιλλέα, ἰδεῖν δὲ
τὸν 'Οιλέως καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἰαντα, συνεῖναι
dὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν σφίσι καὶ Ἀρτέμιοχον. Ἑλένην
dὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξαι δὲ οἱ
πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἰμέραν πρὸς Στησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν
ὡς ἡ διαφθορά τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο
αὐτῷ μηνίματος.

XX. Στησίχορος μὲν ἔπι τούτῳ τὴν παλινῳδίαν
ἐποίησεν. ἐν Θεράπτη ἔδρ κρήνη τὴν Μεσσηίδα
ἰδὼν οἶδα. Δακεδαίμονίων δὲ ἐτέρως ἐστὶν εἰρη-
mένον τὴν Πολυδεύκειαν ὀνομαξομένην ἐφ' ἵμῳν,
on τὴν ἐν Θεράπτη Μεσσηίδα καλεῖσθαι τὸ
ἀρχαῖον. ἡ δὲ Πολυδεύκεια ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῇ
κρήνῃ καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἱερὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐς
Θεράπτην ὀδοῦ.
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 Polydeuca. The fountain Polydeuca and a sanctuary of Polydeuces are on the right of the road to Therapne.
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2 Θεράπτης δὲ οὖ πόρρω Φοιβάιον καλούμενον ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκοῦρων ναὸς καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἑυναλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τούτου δὲ οὖ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ιερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαιαόχου. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προελθοῦν ὦς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταύγητον οὖνομάζονσιν Ἀλεσίας χωρίον, Μύλητα τὸν Δέλεγος πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων μύλην τε εὐρεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλεσίαις ταύταις ἀλέσαι. καὶ σφίσι Λακεδαιμόνος τοῦ Ταύγητὸς ἐνταῦθα

3 ἐστιν ἤρφον. διαβάσας δὲ αὐτὸθεν ποταμόν Φελλίαν, παρὰ Ἀμύκλας ιόύσιν εὐθείαν ὡς ἔπι θάλασσαν Φάρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτὲ ωκεῖτο ἀποτρεπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φελλίας ἐς δεξίαν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὅρος τὸ Ταύγητον ἐστὶν ὅδος. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Δίὸς Μεσσαπέως τέμενος, γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἀπὸ ἄνδρος λέγουσιν ἵππασμένον τῷ θεῷ. ἐνευθέν ἐστὶν ἀποιόησιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταύγητον χωρίον ἐνθα πόλις ποτὲ ωκεῖτο Βρυσέαν καὶ Διουσίου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐτὶ λείπεται καὶ ἀγάλμα ἐν ἕπαιθρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναι γυναιξὶν ἐστὶν ὅραν γυναικεῖς γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρόσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. ἀκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταύγητος Ταλετοῦ ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἄνεχει. ταύτῃ Ἁλίων καλοῦσιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτῷ Ἡλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἕπους· τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πέρσας ὀἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. Ταλετοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ καλούμενος ἐστὶν Εὐόρας, θηρία καὶ ἄλλα τρέφοντας καὶ αἵγας μάλιστα ἀγρίας. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ δε όλον τὸ Ταύγητον τῶν ἄγρων τούτων ἄγραν καὶ ὑδαν, πλείστην δὲ 4 καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων. Ταλετοῦ δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ Εὐόρα Θήρας ὀνομάζοντες Λητῶ φασιν ἀπὸ 126
LACONIA, xx. 2–5

Not far from Therapne is what is called Phoebaeum, in which is a temple of the Dioscuri. Here the youths sacrifice to Enyalius. At no great distance from it stands a sanctuary of Poseidon sur-

named 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 Helius (the Sun), and among the sacrifices they offer here to Helius 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
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tῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταύγητος... Δήμητρος ἐπίκλησιν 'Ελευσινίας ἔστιν ἱερόν· ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναι φασίν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ τραύμα ἰώμενον καὶ Ὄρφεώς ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ξύον, Πελασγῶν ὡς φασίν ἔργον.

οὗ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἴχον Ἐλος τ' ἐφαλὸν πτολείθρον.

tοῦτο ὄκισε μὲν Ἐλος νεώτατος τῶν Περσέως παίδων, Δωριές δὲ παρεστήσαντο ύστερον πολιορκία, καὶ πρῶτοι τε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμόνιων δούλοι τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ εἰλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν· τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθέν ύστερον, Δωριές Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ὁνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξεινίκησεν εἰλωτας, καθότι καὶ Ἐλλήνως τὸ σύμπαν ἥνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλία ποτὲ κα-

7 λουμένης Ἐλλάδος. ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Ἐλος ξύον Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥήταις ἀνάγονσιν ἐς τὸ 'Ελευσίνιον. πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσίνιον σταδίους ἀφέστηκε Λαπίθαιοι καλούμενοι ἀπὸ ἀνδρός ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου τούτό τε ὅρν τὸ Λαπίθαιον ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Ταύγητῳ καὶ οὐ πόρρῳ Δέρειον, ἐνθα 'Ἀρτέμιδος ἁγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος, καὶ πηγή παρ' αὐτῷ ἢν Ἀνονον ὁνομάζουσι. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέρειον στα-

δίους προελθόντι ὡς εἰκοσιν ἐστιν Ἀρπλεία καθήκουτα τοῦ πεδίου.

8 Τὴν δὲ ἔπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἱοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης.
LACOXIA, xx. 5-8

... 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:¹

"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 Dereum is Harpleia, which extends as far as the plain.

On the road from Sparta to Arcadia there stands

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 584.
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'Αθηναίας ἐστηκεν ἐπίκλησιν Παρείας ἀγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἱερὸν ἐστιν 'Αχιλλέως· ἀνοίγει δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ νομίζουσιν· ὁπόσοι δὲ ἀν τῶν ἐφύβων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι μέλλοσιν ἐν τῷ Πλατανιστά, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς τῷ 'Αχιλλεῖ πρὸ τῆς μάχης θύειν. ποιήσαι δὲ σφισι τὸ ἱερὸν Σπαρτιάται λέγουσι Πράκα ἀπόγονον τρίτων Περγάμου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου. προίσθη δὲ Ἰπποῦ καλούμενον μνημή ἐστι. Τυνδάρεως γὰρ θύσας ἐνταῦθα Ἰππον τοῦ 'Ελένης ἐξώρκου μνηστήρας ἱστάς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰππον τῶν τομίων· ὃ δὲ ὅρκος ἦν 'Ελένη καὶ τὸ γῆμα προκριθέντι 'Ελένην ἀμυνέιν ἀδικομένους· ἐξορκώσας δὲ τὸν Ἰππον κατώρυξεν ἐνταῦθα. κίονες δὲ ἐπτὰ οὐ τοῦ μνήματος τούτου διέχουσιν οὐ πολὺ. . . . κατὰ τρόπον οἴμαι τὸν ἄρχαιον, οὔς ἀστέρων τῶν πλανητῶν φασὶ ἀγάλματα. καὶ Κρανίου τέμενος κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἐπίκλησιν Στεμματίου καὶ Μυσίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν 'Αρτέμιδος.

τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Αἴδοὺς τριάκοντα που στάδια ἀπέχον τῆς πόλεως Ίκαρίου μὲν ἀνάθημα εἶναι, ποιηθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ λόγῳ φασί τοιὸδε. ὅτ' ἔδωκεν Ὄδυσσει Πηνελόπην γυναῖκα 'Ικάριος, ἐπειρᾶτο μὲν κατοικίσαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ὄδυσσέα ἐν Δακεδαίμονι, διαμαρτάνων δὲ ἐκείνου δεύτερα τὴν θυγατέρα ἱκέτευε καταμείναι καὶ ἀνορμομένης ἐς Ἱθάκην ἐπακολούθων τῷ ἄρματι ἐδείτο. Ὄδυσσεῖς δὲ τέως μὲν ἤμείχετο, τέλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Πηνελόπην συνακολούθειν ἐκούσαν ὧ τὸν πατέρα ἐλομένην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς Δακεδαίμωνα. καὶ τὴν ἄποκρινασθαί φασίν οὔδεν· ἐγκαλυψμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔρωτήμα, Ἰκάριος τὴν μὲν ἄτε δὴ συνιεῖς ὡς βούλεται ἀπείναι μετὰ Ὄδυσσέως 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 Stemmatias, 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
ΧΧΙ. Προεξῆς τε δὲ αὐτοθεν σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ Ἑυρώτα τὸ ῥέμα ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ γίνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνήμα ἐστιν ἀκύτητα ὑπερβαλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὄλυμπίασιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχω κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δὲ μοι κάμνων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐνταύθα οἱ τελευτής ὁ τάφος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. τὸν, δὲ ὁμώνυμον τοῦτῳ, νίκην καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὄλυμπίασι, πλὴν οὐ δολίχου, σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενου, Ἀχαιὸν Ἐξ Λιγίου φησίν εἶναι τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὄλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα. προϊόντι δὲ ὦς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελλάναν Χαράκωμα ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Πελλάνα πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Τυνδάρεων δὲ οὐκήσαι φασίν ἐνταῦθα, ὡτε Ἰπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παιδας ἐφευγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης. θέας δὲ αὔξα αὐτὸθι ἰδὼν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε οἶδα ίερὸν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν Πελλανίδα. ἐς ταύτῃ λέγουσιν ὑδρευμόμενην ἐστεσεῖν παρθένου, ἀφανισθείσης δὲ τὸ κάλυμμα ἀναφανήναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐν ἐτέρα πηγῆς

3 Λαγκία. Πελλάνας δὲ ἔκατον στάδια ἀπέχει Βελεμώνα καλουμένη τῇ δὲ χώρας τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἡ Βελεμώνα μάλιστα ἄρθρεθαι πέφυκεν, ἴμνινα διδέειν μὲν τοῦ Ἑυρώτα τὸ ὑδωρ, παρεχεῖ δὲ ἀφθόνους καὶ αὐτὴ πηγῆς.

4 Ἑπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντι ἐστὶ Δακεδαιμονίωις ἡ κόμη καλουμένη Κροκέαι καὶ λιθοτομία, μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχὴς οὐ διηκονείται, 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
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μίους ἐδικότες, ἄλλως μὲν δυσεργεῖς, ἢν δὲ ἐπεργασθῶσιν, ἔπικοσμήσαιεν ἂν καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κολυμβήθραι δὲ καὶ ὑδασὶ συντελοῦσι μᾶλιστα ἐς κάλλος. θεῶν δὲ αὐτοθι πρὸ μὲν τῆς κόμης Διὸς Κροκεάτα λίθου πεποιημένου ἀγαλμα ἔστηκε,

5 Διόσκουροι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λιθοτομίᾳ χαλκοί. μετὰ δὲ Κροκέας ἀποτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἔς Γύθιον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἥξεις Διήγας. "Ομηρὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσὶ τὸ πόλισμα τούτο ὄνομάζειν λέγουσιν Λυγειάς. ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ μὲν λίμνῃ καλουμένῃ Ποσειδώνος, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ. τοὺς δὲ ἱερὸς δεδοίκασιν ἤξαρεῖν, τὸν θηρεύσαντα ἀλιεᾶ γενέσθαι λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπου.

6 Γύθιον δὲ ἀπέχει μὲν στάδιον τριάκοντα λίμνών, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ δὲ ἁκισμένον ἐστὶν ἥδη τῶν Ἐλευθερολακώνων, οὐς βασιλεὺς Λυγουστός δουλείας ἀφήκε Λακεδαμονίων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατηκοῦσι ὄντας. θαλάσσῃ μὲν δὴ πλὴν τοῦ Κορινθίων ἱσθμοῦ περιέχεται πάσα ἡ Πελοπόννησος· κόχλους δὲ ἐς βαφήν πορφύρας παρέχεται τά ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας

7 μετὰ γε τῆς Φοινίκεως θαλάσσαν. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακώνων ὁκτὼ πόλεις καὶ δέκα εἰσὶ, πρῶτη μὲν καταβᾶσιν ἐξ Λυγιῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Γύθιον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Θευβρώνη τε καὶ Λᾶς καὶ Πύρριχος, ἐπὶ Ταυνάρω δὲ Καινήπολις Οἰτυλός τε καὶ Λεύκτρα καὶ Θαλάμαι, πρὸς δὲ Ἀλαγονία τε καὶ Γεργυία· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Γύθιον πρὸς θαλάσσῃ Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριαὶ Βοιαί Ζάραξ Ἐπίδαυρος Ἡ Διμηρᾶ Βρασία Γερόνθραι Μαριός. αὐται μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν 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\(^1\) 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 Lace-daemonians 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, Aeriae, Boeae, Zarax, Epidaurus Limera, Brasiae, Geronthrae and Marius. These are all that are left to the Free

\(^1\) *Iliad*, ii. 583.
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λακώνων ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ποτὲ καὶ εἶκοσὶ πόλεων·
tάς δὲ ἄλλας, ἐφ' ἄς ἂν καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ λόγος ἐπέλθῃ

dὴ μοι, συντελοῦσα ἴσως τις ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ οὖν

8 ὀμοίως τοῖς προλεχθείσιν αὐτοῦ. Γυθεάται
dὲ τῇ πόλεως ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα οἰκιστὴν

γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Ἦρακλέα δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα

ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐς ἀγώνα ἐλθόντας, ὡς διη

λάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῷ τῇ πόλιν·

καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφισιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἤρακλέ

ους ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Δίονυσος.

ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἀπόλλων Κάρνειος καὶ ιερὸν Ἀμμω

νος καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμά ἐστιν, οὗτοι

ἔποντος ὀρὸν τῷ ναῷ, καὶ πηγή τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ

Δήμητρος ιερὸν ἄγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγαλμα

9 Παιαόχου. ὃν ἐνδομαζόμουν Γυθεάται Γέροντα,

οἶκείν ἐν θαλάσσῃ φάμενοι, Νηρέα ὄντα εὐρισκοῦν.

καὶ σφισι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτον παρεσχέν ἄρχῃ

"Ομηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐν Θέτιδος λόγοι·

ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,

ὄφομεναί τε γέρονθ' ἁλιον καὶ δώματα πατρός.

καλοῦνται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πῦλαι Καστορίδες,

καὶ ἐν τῇ ἅκροπόλει ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς

πεποίηται.

XXII. Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει στάδιοι

ἀργὸς λίθος. Ὄρέσθην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ'

αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος

ὁμομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππάτας κατὰ γῆςσαν τὴν

Δωρίδα. ἦ δὲ νῆσος ἡ Κρανίη πρόκειται Γυθίου,

καὶ "Ομηρος Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάζασται Ἐλένην

1 xviii. 140. 2 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* 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 Cappotias. Before Gythium lies the island Cranaë, and Homer* says that when Alexander had carried off Helen he had intercourse with her
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ἐνταῦθα ἔφη συγγενέσθαι οἱ πρῶτοι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῇ ἱππείρῳ Μυγωνίτιδος, καὶ οὐ τόπος οὗτος ἀπασ καλείται.

2 Μυγώνιον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον. Μενέλαος δὲ Ἰλιον ἐλὼν καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὀκτὼ μετὰ Τροίας πόρθησιν οἶκας ἀνασωθεῖς ἅγαλμα Θέτιδος καὶ θεᾶς 1 Πραξιδίκας ἱδρύσατο ἐγγὺς τῆς Μυγωνίτιδος. Διονύσου δὲ ὁρος ἱερὸν Δαρύσιον καλοῦμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μυγώνιου καὶ ἱρὸς ἀρχομένον Διονύσῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγοσιν ἄλλα τε ἔς τὰ δρόμενα λέγοντες καὶ ὡς βότρυν ἐνταῦθα ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὀραίοι.

3 Ἔν ἀριστερὰ δὲ Γυθίου στάδια προελθόντες ὁς τριάκοντα ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἱππείρῳ Τρινασοῦ καλοῦμένης τείχη, φρουρίου ποτὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν καὶ οὐ πόλεως. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ δοκῶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν νησίδων, αὐτὴ ταύτη πρόκειται, τῆς ἱππείρου τρεῖς ἀριθμὸν. προελθόντες δέ ἀπὸ Τρινασοῦ στάδια ὡς ὄγδοκοντα τῶν Ἕλλην τὰ ἑρείπια.

4 υπόλοιπα ἤν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα προελθόντες ποιῶν στάδιοι ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀκρίαν. θέας δὲ αὐτῶθι ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἅγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατοι δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι φασίν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἑχοντες, ὁπόσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίους ἱερὰ ἐστὶν, ἐπὶ Μαγνησίας, οἷς τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίονε πέτρα Μητρὸς ἐστὶ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἅγαλμα. ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τῶν Ταυτάλοιον.

5 Ἀκριάται δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα ποτὲ ὀλυμπιονίκην παρέσχοντο Νικοκλέα, ὀλυμπιάσι δύο ἀνελό-138
there for the first time. On the mainland opposite the island is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Migonitis (\textit{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 Praxidiceae (\textit{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 (\textit{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 Acriae, a city on the coast. Well worth seeing here are a temple and marble image of the Mother of the Gods. The people of Acriae 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 Acriae once produced an Olympian victor, Nicoles, who at two Olympian festivals carried

\footnote{\textit{θεὰς}, emended by Hermann.}
PAUSANIAS : DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

μενον δρόμου νίκας πέντε: πεποίηται δὲ καὶ 
μνήμα τῷ Νικοκλεὶ τοῦ τε γυμνασίου μεταξὺ 
καὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. ἀπὸ 
θαλάσσης δὲ ἀνω Γερονθραί σταδίους ἀπέχουσιν 
εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν Ἀκριῶν. ταύτας οἰκουμένας 
πρὸν Ἡρακλείδας ἐλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἐποίη-
σαν ἀναστάτους Δωρίεις ὦ Λακεδαίμονα ἑχοῦντες, 
ἀναστήσαντες δὲ Γερονθρῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιῶς 1 παρὰ 
σφὼν ἐποίκους ἀπέστειλαν. ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ 'Ἑλευ-
θερολακώνων καὶ οὗτοι μοῦρα ἦσαν, κατὰ μὲν 
δὴ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκριῶν ἐς Γερονθρᾶς ὁδὸν ἔστι Παλαιὰ 
καλομενὴ κόμη, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερονθραῖς Ἄρεως 
ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος: ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ 
ἐτος, ἐν ἡ γυναῖξιν ἐστὶν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐσελθείν 
ἐς τὸ ἄλσος. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἠγοράν σφισιν αἰ 
πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν υδάτων. ἐν δὲ τῇ 
ἀκροπόλει ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγάλματος 
ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένου κεφαλή: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ 
tοῦ ἀγάλματος τῷ ἡφώνισεν ὁμοῦ τῷ προτέρῳ 
ναῷ.

8 Μαρίος δὲ ἀλλὰ Ἐλευθερολακώνων πόλισμα, 
δ' ἀπὸ Γερονθρῶν σταδία ἐκατὸν ἀφέστηκεν. ἱερὸν 
ἐστιν αὐτόθι ἄρχαιον κοινὸν θεῶν ἀπάντων καὶ 
περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος παρεχόμενον πηγάς, εἰσὶ δὲ 
ταῖ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν πηγαί: ὕδωρ δὲ ἀφθονον 
ἐχερὰν ἀλλὰ τὶ χωρίον παρέχεται καὶ Μαρίος. 
κόμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμα ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαία καὶ 
αὐτῇ, Γλυπτία: καὶ ἐς κόμην ἐτέραν Σελινοῦντα 
ἐκ Γερονθρῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἰκοσὶ.

9 Τάδε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀκριῶν ἀνω πρὸς ἥπειρον τὰ 
δὲ πρὸς θαλάσση, πόλις 'Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριῶν ἀπέχει

1 γερόνθρας τοὺς ἄρχαλους, 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 Acriae 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 Acriae 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 Acriae. By the sea is a city Asopus, sixty stades distant from Acriae.
σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ναὸς τε Ἀρωμαίων
βασιλέων καὶ ἀνωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ὄσον τε
σταδίους δώδεκα ιερόν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Φιλό-
λαον τὸν θεὸν ὄνομαζομεν. τὰ δὲ ὡστὰ ἐν τῷ
γυμνασίῳ τὰ τιμῶμενα μεγέθει μεν ὑπερβάλλοντα,
ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὄμως ἐστὶ. καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ιερὸν
ἐστιν ἐν τῇ άκροπόλει Κυπαρισσίας ἐπικλησιν.
tῆς δὲ άκροπόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐρείπια
calloμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων ἐστι
dὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ιερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ στάδια
ἀπέχον ὡς πευτήκοντα Ἀσωποῦ. τὸ δὲ χορίον,
ἐνθα τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, ὡς περπελέατον ὀνομάζο-
σιν. ἀκρα δὲ ἀνέχουσα ἐς θάλασσαν ἄφεστηκεν
Ἀσωποῦ διακόσια στάδια. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν
γυμνόν την ἄκραν. ἐπταύθῃ ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς ιερὸν
ἀγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον, οὐδὲ ὀροφος ἐπεστίν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ
λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐποιήθη. ἐστὶ
dὲ καὶ μνήμα Κινάδου νεῶς τῆς Μενελάου καὶ
οὕτος κυβερνήτης ἦν. ἐσέχει δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν
Βοιατικός καλομένος κόλπος, καὶ Βοιαὶ πόλεις
πρὸς τῷ πέρατὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ κόλπου. ταύτην ὄκειε
μὲν Βοιῶν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, συναγαγεῖ δὲ ἀνδρας
ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐς αὐτὴν λέγεται πόλεως, Ἡτιδός καὶ
Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Σίδης. τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν
ἀρχαίων τὰς μὲν δύο ἐς Ἰταλίαν φεύγοντα
Ἀλεύκαν καὶ ὑπὸ πιευμάτων ἀπενεχθέντα ἐς τοῦ-
tον τὸν κόλπον οἰκίσαι φασί, τὴν Ἡτιάδα
Ἀλεύκιον θυγατέρα λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν τρίτην δὲ
κληθὴν τῶν πόλεων λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Δαναοῦ
12 Σίδης. ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάντες
ἐξήκοντα ἐνθα οἰκίσαι σφᾶς χρεῶν εἶναι τι καὶ
mάντευμα ἦν αὐτοῖς Ἁρτεμίν ἐνθα οἰκήσουσιν
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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 gymnasion, 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 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

1 That is, "who live beside the Cypress Goddess."
PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐπιδείξειν. ὡς οὖν ἐκβάσιν ἐς τὴν γῆν λαγῶς ἐπιφαίνεται, τὸν λαγὸν ἐποιήσαντο ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ. καταδύντος δὲ ἐς μυρσίνην πόλιν τε οἰκίζον-σιν ἐνταῦθα, οὕτε ἡ μυρσίνη ἦν, καὶ τὸ δένδρον ἐτὶ ἐκείνην σέβουσι τὴν μυρσίνην καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ὡνομάζουσι Σώτειραν. καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῇ Βοιατῶν ἄγορᾶ ἔστι καὶ ἐπέρωθε Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδος τε καὶ Ἰσίδος. Ἡτίδος δ’ ἐρείπια ἀπέχει μὲν Βοιῶν οὐ πλέον ἡ σταδίους ἐπτά’ ἴοντι δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ ἀγαλμα Ἐρμοῦ λίθινον ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστηρᾷ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Τήγειας ἐστίν οὐκ ἄφανές.

XXIII. Κύθηρα δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἀπαντικρυ Βοιῶν, ἐς δὲ Πλατανιστοῦντα—ἐλάχιστον γὰρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτῃ διέστηκεν ἡ νῆσος—ἐς ταύτῃ την ἄκραν τὸν Πλατανιστοῦντα ὅπο ἄκρας τῆς ἡπείρου, καλουμένης δὲ Ὄονον γνάθου, σταδίων πλοῦς τεσσαράκοντα ἐστίν, ἐν Κυθήρως δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Σκανδεῖα ἐστιν ἐπίνειον, Κύθηρα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἀναβάντι ἀπὸ Σκανδείας στάδια ὡς δέκα. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἀγὼνταν καὶ ἱερῶν ὀπόσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ’ Ἐλλησίν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον. αὐτῷ δὲ ἡ θεός ἔδαυν ἀπλισμένον.

2 Πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Βοιῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλεᾶς λιμήν ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον καὶ Ποσειδόνος ἀγαλμά όρθον καὶ στήλαιον θαλάσσης ἐγγύτατα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ γλυκέοις υδατος πηγῆ καὶ ἀνθρωποί περιουκοῦσι πολλοὶ. περιπλεύσαντι δὲ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Μαλεᾶς καὶ ἐκατὸν στάδια ἀποσχώντι, ἐπὶ θαλάσσης χωρίων ἐν ὅροις Βοιατῶν Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν ἱερῶν ἐστιν, Ἑπιδήλιον δὲ ὁνο-

1 Ἡτίδος 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 μαζ' ομονον· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ξόανον, ὁ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἐν Δήλῳ ποτὲ ἱδρυτο. τῆς γὰρ Δήλου τότε ἐμπορίῳ τοῖς Ἐλλησίων οὐσίς καὶ ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐργαζόμενοις διὰ τὸν θεὸν δοκούσης παρέχειν, Μηνοφάνης Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς εἶτε αὐτὸς ὑπερφρονήσας εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου προστεταγμένον—ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἀφορώτι ἐσ ἑρθός τὰ θεῖα ύστερα λημμάτων—οὕτως οὖν ὁ Μηνοφάνης, ἀτε οὐσίς ἀτειχίστου τῆς Δήλου καὶ ὁπλα οὐ κεκτημένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τριήμερων ἐσπέλνας ὑφώνεσε μὲν τοὺς ἐπιδημούντας τῶν ξένων, ἐφόνεσε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δήλους. κατα- σύρας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπόρων χρήματα, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα, προσεξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ καὶ γυναίκας καὶ τέκνα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε τὴν Δήλου. ἀτε δὲ πορθομενὴς τε καὶ ἀρπαζο- μένης, τῶν τις βαρβάρων ὑπὸ ὑβρείς τὸ ξόανον τοῦτο ἀπερρίψεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ κλύδων ἐνταῦθα τῆς Βοιατῶν ἀπῆνεγκε, καὶ τὸ 5 χωρίον ἐλατο τοῦτο Ἐπιδήλου ὑδρυμαζόσως. τὸ μέντοι μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διέφυγεν οὐτε Μηνοφάνης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιθριδάτης· ἀλλὰ Μηνο- φάνη μὲν παραυτικα, ὡς ἄνιγγετο ἐρημώσας τὴν Δήλου, λοχήσαντες ναυσὶν οἱ διαπεφευγότες τῶν ἐμπόρων κατάδυουσι, Μιθριδάτης δὲ ὑστερον τοῦτον ἦνάγκασεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτόχειρα αὐτοῦ κατα- στήναι, τῆς τε ἄρχης οἱ καθηρημενὶς καὶ ἐλαυνό- μενον πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασίν αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων θάνατον βίαιον ἐν μέρει χάριτος εὐφρασθαι.

6 Τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτα ἀπήνυσεν ἀσεβήσας· τῇ δὲ Βοιατῶν ὁμορος Ἐπίδαυρος ἐστὶν ἡ Λιμηρά, 146
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
καταμείναντες οἰκήσαι. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ώς οἶκοθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου δράκοντα ἐπαγομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐξεφυγεν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ὁ δράκων, ἐκφυγόν δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ κατέδυ θαλάσσης, καὶ σφισών ὀμοί τῶν ὀνειρώτων τῇ ὑψεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν δράκοντα ἐδοξεῖν αὐτόθι καταμείναντας οἰκήσαι. καὶ ἔνθα ὁ δράκων κατέδυ, βωμῷ τε εἰσὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἐλαίαι περὶ αὐτοὺς πεφύκασιν.

Προελθόντι δὲ ἐν δεξιὰ δύο που σταδίους, ἔστω τὰ Ἰνοῦς καλούμενον ὕδωρ, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ λίμνην μικράν, τῆς γῆς δὲ ἐν βάθει μάλλων ἐστοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἐμβάλλουσιν ἀλφίτων μάζας, ταῦτας ἐπὶ μὲν αἰσθῶ τοῦ ἐμβαλλόντος καταδέξάμενον ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ· εἰ δὲ ἀναπέμψατο σφάς, πονηρόν κέκριται σημεῖον.

τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν Αἴτη χιλιούδων οἱ κρατῆρες· καὶ γὰρ χρυσοὺ ἐστὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου ποιήματα, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ιερεία τὰ πάντα ἀφίασι· ταύτα δὲ ἢν μὲν υπολαβὸν ἀπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ χαίρουσιν ὅσ ἐπὶ πεφηνότι ἀγαθῶ, ἀπωσιμένου δὲ τὰ ἐμβληθέντα συμφορὰν ἐσεσθαί τοῦτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι νομίζουσιν.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὠδὸν τὴν ἐκ Βοιῶν ἐστὶ Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Διμήναν ἄγουσαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν ἔστω ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαύρων Διμήνατισ. ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀπέχουσα οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ μετεώρῳ.
LACONIA, xxiii. 6-10

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
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men oikystai, theas de autothi axia to mene
'Apodditas estin ierov, to de 'Asklepiou
kai agalma orthon liddon, kai 'Athenas en. th
akropolei naos, pro de tov limenos Dios epikle-
sin Sotiros. akra de eis to pelagios kata tin
polin anechi kaloumenen Minoa. kai o mene kolpos
oudein ti ech ei diaphoron h osai kata tin
Lakonikyn alla thalassias eisin esbolai, aigmalon
de o tautes perexetai psfidas schima etpre-
peseteras kai xroas pantodaphis.

XXIV. 'Epidaurov de stadious ekaton upexei
Zaraei, allas men eulimevnon xorion, tov de
'Eleuferolakwvnon malista touto eketerywthei,
epeiei kai Kleonymos o Kleomenous tov 'Aget-
sipolidos mou touto tov Lakonikwn poli-
smaton epolhsem anastaton' kai moi ta esse
kai tov Kleonymou eterothi estin eirhmena. ev Zaraiki
de allo mene oudein, pro de tov limenos to
perati 'Apollanovos naos esti kai agalma kithara
exou.

2 Proelthoni de atopo Zarakos parata tin thalassan
ekaton pov stadiai kai epistrefantai autothen es
mesogiaian kai etpanabanti stadious ws deka,
Kypantos kaloumenon erepia estin, ev de authois
stilaion ierov 'Asklepiou, lithon de to agalma.
esti de kai edatos psuchrou krounos ekballov
ek petras. 'Atalanta thevounsan evtadha
basin, os hymato upo diyfis, paiasa to th Logan
tn petran kai outrw ryhiai to udwr.

1 Or opposite (with Frazer), if Minoa is to be identified
with the modern Monemvasia.

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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 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. There is nothing in Zarax except a temple of Apollo, with a statue holding a lyre, at the head of the harbour.

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.

2 In III. 6, where he is rightly called the nephew of Agesipolis.

3 Or at the entrance to the harbour. See Annual of the British School at Athens, XV. p. 169.
3. Braiaiai de ἐσχάτῃ μὲν ταύτῃ τῶν Ἕλευ-
θερολακώνων πρὸς θαλάσση ἔστι, Κυφάντων δὲ ἀπέχουσι πλοῦν σταδίων διακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι λέγουσιν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, οὔδέσιν ὁμολο-
γοῦσιν Ἕλληνων, ός Σεμέλη τέκοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Δίως καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθεῖσα ἐσ
λάρνακα αὐτὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθεῖν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκπεσεῖν φασίν ἐσ τὴν σφέτεραν, καὶ Σεμέλην μὲν—οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν περιούσαν ἔτι εὑρεῖν—ἐπιφανῶς θάψαι, Διό

4. δὲ ἀναθρέψαι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, Ὅρειάτας ἐσ ἐκεῖνο οὐνομαζομένην, μετονομασθῆναι Braiaiaς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν γῆν τῆς λάρνακος ὁσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἦμων τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπωθοῦμεν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβεβράσθαι καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί. Braiaitaι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἰνῶ σφισίν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀφικέσθαι πλανωμένην, ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ ἐθελῆσαι τοῦ Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τροφὸν καὶ ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἀντρον ἐνθα τὸν Διό

5. οὐν ἔθησεν Ἰνῶ, καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον Διόνυσου κηπον. ίερὰ δὲ αὐτοθαί τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ἔστῃ κατὰ ἐντὸς ἀγωνίαν Ἀχιλλεί. ἅκρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς Braiaiaῖς μικρά, ἐπέκουσα ἡρέμα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ἀλκοῖ ποδιαίων ἐστήκασιν ὑπὸ μείζονες, πλοῦσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ Διο-

6. σκούρους σφῶς ἢ Κορύβαντας νομίζουσι τρεῖς δ᾽ οὖν εἰς, τέταρτον δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγαλμα. Τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Γυθίου Λᾶς ἐστι, θαλάσσης μὲν δέκα στάδια, Γυθίου δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχουσα. φίκισται 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 Κυνακάδιον, τῶν ὅρων τούτων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐπέχουσα, πρῶτον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ ὅρους ἑκείτο ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἑρείπια καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων τρόπαιον, οἱ μοίρα τῆς Φιλίππου στρατιάς ἦσαν, ἡμῖκα ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀποτραπόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ παραβαλάσσια ἐλεηλάτον 7 τῆς χώρας. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑρείπιοις ναὸς, Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκην καὶ Κάστορά φασιν ἀνασωθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων εἶναι γὰρ καὶ Κόλχους Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀσίας ἱεροῦ. μετα-
σχόντας μὲν ὧν οἶδα Ἰάσων τοῦ στόλου τὸς 
Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, ὅτι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀσίαν τιμῶσιν 
οἱ Κόλχοι, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκούσας γράφων. 
τῆς δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν οἰκουμένης πόλεως κρήνη τῇ 
ἔστι πλησίον διὰ τὴν χρόαν τοῦ υδατος καλουμένη 
Γαλακώ καὶ πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυμνάσιον. Ἐρμοῦ 
8 δὲ ἐστηκεν ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. τῶν δὲ ὅρων ἐπὶ 
μὲν τοῦ Ἰλίου Διονύσου τῇ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπ’ ἀκρας 
τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀσκληπίου ναὸς, πρὸς δὲ τῷ 
Κυνακάδιο Κάρνειος καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων. 
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Καρνείου στάδιως προελθόντι ὡς 
τριάκοντα, ἔστιν ἐν χωρίῳ "Τψοις ἐν ὅροις ἤδη 
Σπαρτιατῶν ἱερῶν Ἀσκληπίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος 
9 ἐπίκλησιν Δαφναίας. πρὸς θαλάσσῃ δὲ ἐπὶ 
ἀκρας ναὸς ἐστὶ Δικτύνης Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ οἱ 
κατὰ ἐτος ἐκαστὸν ἔορτὴν ἀγοὺσι. ταύτης δὲ 
ἐν ἀριστερὰ τῆς ἀκρας ποταμὸς ἐκδίδοσιν ἐς 
θάλασσαν Σμήνος, ὤδωρ πιεῖν ἦδοι εἴπερ ἄλλος 
τις παρασχόμενος ποταμὸς. ἔχει δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀρει 
τῷ Ταύγετῳ τᾶς πηγάς, 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
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10 σταδίους οὐ πλέον πέντε. ἐν δὲ Ἀραίῳ καλου-μένῳ χωρίῳ τάφος Λᾶ καὶ ἀνδριάς ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἐπεστὶ. τούτων τὸν Δᾶν οἰκιστὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν φασίν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, Ἀχιλλέα δὲ κατάραϊ σφυσὶν ἐς τὴν χώραν Ἐλένην παρὰ Τυνδάρεω γυναῖκα αἰτοῦντα. λέ-γοντι δὲ ἐπὶ ἀληθεία Πάτροκλός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν Δᾶν ἀποκτείνας· οὐτός γὰρ καὶ ὁ μηντευσάμενος ἐστιν Ἐλένην, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἐλένης μνηστήρων Ἀχιλλέας οὐκ ἐστίν ἐν Κατάλογῳ γυναικῶν, μηδὲν τούτῳ ἐστῳ τεκμήριον οὐκ αἰτήσαι Ἐλένην

11 αὐτῶν. Ὁμήρος δὲ ἐγραψε μὲν τῆς ποιῆσεως ἀρχόμενος ὡς Ἀχιλλέας χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀτρέως παισὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐνεχόμενος τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς Τυνδάρεω παραγένοιτο ἐς Τροίαν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν ἄθλοις λέγοντα Ἀντίλοχον ὡς Ὄδυσσεος πρεσβύτερος ἐστιν αὐτοῦ γενεῖ, τὸν δὲ Ὅδυσσέα πρὸς Ἀλκινοον περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾗ Ἀιδοὺ καὶ ἄλλα διηγούμενον καὶ ὅτι Θησέα ιδεῖν ἐθελήσαι καὶ Πειρίθουν προτέρους ἀνδρας ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ. Θησέα δὲ ἱσμεν ἀρτάσαντα Ἐλένην, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐγχωροῦν ἐστίν ἀρχὴν Ἐλένης μνηστήρα Ἀχιλλέα γενέσθαι.

XXV. Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος ἐκδίδοσιν ἐς θάλασσαν ποταμός, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Σκύρας, ὅτι κατὰ τούτον ἀνώνυμον τέως ὄντα Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἐσχε ταῖς ναυσίν, ἡμίκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρμώνης γάμον ἐπλευσεν ἐκ Σκύρου. διαβάντων δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶν ιερὸν ἀρχαίον . . . ἀπωτέρῳ Δίδος βωμοῦ, τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει Πύρριχος ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι φασίν
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, 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, 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. 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

1 Iliad, i. 158.
2 Iliad, xxxiii. 790.
3 Odyssey, xi. 630.
2 ἀπὸ Πῦρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, οἱ δὲ εἶναι θεῶν Πῦρριχον τῶν καλομένων Κουρήτων εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιληνὸν ἐκ Μαλέας ἔλθοντα ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἰκήσαν. τραφήναι μὲν δὴ τὸν Σιληνὸν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ δῆλοῖ καὶ τάδε ἐξ ἀσματος Πινδάρου

ὁ ξαμενής δὲ ὁ χοροτύπος, ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος ἔθρεψε, Ναῖδος ἀκοίτας, Σιληνός:

ὡς δὲ καὶ Πῦρριχος ὄνομα ἂν αὐτῷ, Πινδάρῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρημένοι, λέγουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὴν

3 Μαλέαν οἰκοῦντες. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πυρρίχῳ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, δούναι δὲ σφίσι τὸν Σιληνὸν νομιζοὺν: σπανιζοῖν τῇ ἀν ύδατος, εἰ τὸ φρέαρ τούτῳ ἐπιλείποι. θεών δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ σφίσιν ἱερὰ ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἐπίκλησιν Ἄστρατείας, ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνος· ξόανα μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀναθείναι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτά τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκας.

4 Ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρώνη· τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν οἱ ταύτῃ Τευθραντα Ἀθηναῖον οἴντα ἀποφαίνουσι, τιμῶσι δὲ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἰσσωρίαν Ἀρτεμιν, καὶ πηγή σφισίν ἐστὶ Ναία. Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν στάδιον ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὃ τε Ἀχιλλείος ἐστὶ καὶ Ψαμαθῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναός εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδώνος

5 ἄγαλμα. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἐλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ "Αἰδοῦ τὸν κύνα, οὔτε ὑπὸ γῆν ὁδὸν διὰ τοῦ σπηλαίου φεροῦσις οὔτε ἐτοιμον ὃν πεισθήναι θεῶν ὑπόγαιον εἶναι τίνα

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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:¹

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 (strāteia) 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 Naia. 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

¹ Frag. 156 (Schröder).
οίκησιν ἐς ἵνα ἀθροίζεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς. ἄλλα Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὑρεν εἰκότα, ὡς ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ ἀνβαίνοντες ἀνειδέως, κλη-
θήναι δὲ "Αἰδοὺ κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τῶν δηχθέντα
tεθνάναι παρανύκτικα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱῶ, καὶ τούτων ἔφη
tὸν ὁφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος ἀρθήμα αὐτοῦ ἔνθησθαι ·
6 Ὁμηρος δὲ—πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Αἰδοὺ κύνα
ὄντινα Ἡρακλῆς ἄγεν—οὕτε ὄνομα ἕθετο οὔδεν
οὕτε συνέπλασεν ἐς τὸ εἰδὸς ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τῇ
Χιμαιρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ὅστερον Κέρβερον ὄνομα ἐποίησαν
καὶ κυκλά εἰκάζοντες κεφαλᾶς τρεῖς φασιν
ἐχειν αὐτον, οὔδεν τι μᾶλλον Ὁμηρού κύνα τὸν
ἀνθρώπῳ σύντροφον εἰρηκότος ἢ εἰ δράκοντα
7 ὃντα ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Αἰδοὺ κύνα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα
tε ἐςτιν ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ καὶ Ἄριων ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς
χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφίνως. τὰ μὲν οὐν ἐς αὐτὸν
Ἄριωνα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφίνι Ἡρόδοτος εἶτεν
ἀκοήν ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ συγγραφῇ· τὸν δὲ ἐν Πορο-
σελήνῃ δελφίνα τῷ παιδὶ σώστρα ἀποδιδόντα,
ὅτι συγκοπέντα ὑπὸ ἀλεων αὐτὸν ἱάσατο, τούτων
τὸν δελφίνα εἶδον καὶ καλοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ὑπα-
κούοντα καὶ φέροντα, ὅποτε ἐποχεῖσθαι οἱ
8 βούλοιτο. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ καὶ πηγῇ, νῦν
μὲν οὔδεν ὅστε καὶ θαύμα εἶναι παρεχομένη,
πρὸτερον δὲ τοῖς ἐνιδοῦσιν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοὺς λι-
μένας—φασὶ—καὶ τὰς ναῦς θεάσασθαι παρεῖχε.
τούτο ἔπαισε γυνὴ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ
tοιαύτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μεμισμενῆν ἐναποπλῦ-
νασα ἐσθήτα.
9 Ταϊνάρου δὲ τῆς ἀκρας πλοῦν ὅσον τεσσαρά-
κοντα σταδίων ἀφέστηκε Καινήπολις· ὄνομα δὲ
ἂν πάλαι καὶ ταύτη Ταϊναρου. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ
16ο
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, did not give it a name or describe it as of manifold form, as he did in the case of the Chimaera. 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. 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

1 Iliad, viii. 368; Odyssey, xi. 623. 2 Iliad, vi. 181. 3 Hdt., i. 23.
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μέγαρον Δήμιτρος καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσση ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἀγαλμα ὅρθον λίθου. ἐντεύθεν ἀποσχοντὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους Θυρίδες ἀκρα Ταινίρου καὶ πόλεως ἑρείπια Ἰππόλας ἐστὶν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Ἰππολαίτιδος. ὅλιγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Μέσσα πόλις καὶ λιμήν. ἄπο τούτοις στάδιον τοῦ λιμένος πεντήκοντα ἑστὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ Οἰτυλοῦ ὦ ὁ ἥρως ἅφ' οὗ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὅνομα ἐγένετο, Ἀργεῖος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, Ἀμφιανακτος νίδος ὄν τοῦ Ἀντιμάχου. θέας δὲ άξια ἐν Οἰτύλῳ Σαράπιδος ἐστίν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Καρνεῖον ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος.

XXVI. 'Εσ Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οἰτυλοῦ μήκος τῆς ὄδος στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὄγδοχοντα εἰσὶ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὄδον ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἰνώς καὶ μαντεῖον. μαντεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὅποσα δ' ἂν πυθέσαι δεισδόσων ὑπειράσασθαι σφισιν ἡ θεός. χαλκᾶ δὲ ἐστηκεν ἀγάμματα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασιφάς καὶ Ἡλίου τὸ ἐτερον αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ σαφῶς μὲν οὖν ἦν ἵδειν ὑπὸ στεφανωμάτων, χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ εἶναι λέγουσι. ἰδεῖ δὲ καὶ ύδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἱερᾶς πιεῶν ἥδυ Σελήνης δὲ ἐπίκλησεν καὶ οὐ Θαλαμάταις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἐστὶν ἡ Πασιφά.

2 Θαλαμῶν δὲ απέχει στάδιοι εἰκοσιν ὀνομαζομένη Πέφνος ἐπὶ θαλάσση, πρόκειται δὲ νησίς πέτρας τῶν μεγάλων οὐ μείζων, Πέφνος καὶ ταύτη τὸ ὄνομα τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Διοσκούρους φασιν οἱ Θαλάμαται. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀλκμάνα ἐν ἄσματι οἴδα εἰπόντα τραφήναι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ Πέφνῳ φασίν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμήν τὸν ἐσ.

3 Πελλάναν κομίσαντα εἶναι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νησίδι 162
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
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ἀγάλματα Διοσκούρων χαλκᾶ μέγεθος ποδιαία ἐν υπαίθρῳ τῆς νησίδος ἐστιν ταύτα ἡ θάλασσα ἀποκινεῖν οὐκ ἑθέλει κατακλύζουσα ὁρὰ χειμῶνος τὴν πέτραν, τούτῳ τε δὴ θαυμᾶ ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες αὐτῶθι λευκότερον ἢ ὡς μυρμήκων τὸ χρῶμα φαίνουσι. τὴν δὲ χώραν οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ ταύτῳ φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους μᾶλλον τι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακε-

daimonioi προσηκει νομίζουσιν.

4 Πέφυον δὲ στάδια εἰκοσιν ἀπέχει Λεύκτρα. ἐφ’ ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐστιν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει Λεύκτρα, οὐκ οἶδα· εἰ δ’ ἀρα ἀπὸ Λευκίππου τοῦ Περιήρου, ὡς οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασι, τούτου μοι δοκοῦσιν ἔνεκα οἱ ταύτῃ θεῶν μάλιστα Ἀσκληπιόν τιμᾶν, ἄτε Ὄρσινός παιδα εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου νομίζουτες. λίθου δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιόν τε ἀγαλμα καὶ Ἰνοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρωθι. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδρας τῆς Πρώμον νὰὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα, Ἀλεξάνδρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καλουμένης· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Καρνείου ξοανά ἐστι κατὰ ταύτα καθὰ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαι-

μονίων νομίζουσιν οἱ Σπάρτην ἐχοῦτες. ἔπι δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ Ὅρωτος ἐστὶν ἐν Λεύκτρος νὰὸς καὶ ἀλσος· ὕδωρ δὲ ὀρὰ χειμῶνος διαρρέε τὸ ἄλσος, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τῷ ἄρρ. ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρον πέπτουτα οὐκ ἀν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑδατὸς οὐδὲ πλεονάσαντος παρενε-

6 χθεῖν. δ’ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ χώρα τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράφω. ἀνεμοὶ πῦρ ἐς ὑλὴν ἐνεγκών τὰ πολλὰ ἱππάση τῶν δενδρον· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίν ψιλὸν, ἀγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα. τούτο οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασι μαρτυριον εἶναι σφιστὶ 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

1 ἄρπι, Hitzig., Ἕρπι, codd.
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Δεύκτρατο ἄρχαιον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι δύνατον δὲ ἄν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Δεύκτρα ἐξ ἄρχης οἰκούντων ὁ Ιθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς.

7 Καρδαμύλη δὲ, ἢς καὶ Ἁμηρίζος μνήμην ἑποίησατο ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑποσχέσει ὄρων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶν ὑπῆκοος τῶν ἐν Ἐπάρτῃ, Βασιλέως Ἀργοῦστον τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀποτεμομένου. ἀπέχει δὲ Καρδαμύλη θαλάσσης μὲν ὅκτῳ σταδίοις, Δεύκτρων δὲ καὶ ἔξηκοντα. ἐνταῦθα οὖ πόρρῳ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τέμενος ἵερον τῶν Νηρέως θυγατέρων ἐστὶν· ὡς γὰρ τοῦτο ἀναβῆναι τὸ χωρίον φασίν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αυτᾶς Πύρον ὄψαμενας τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅτε ἐς Ἐπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρμώνης ἀπῆκε γάμουν. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολισματὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τε ἵερον καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Κάρνειος, καθά Δωρεάν ἐστὶν ἐπιγύριον.

8 Πολιν δὲ ὀνομαζομένην ἐν τοῖς ἑπτεῖν Ἔνόπτην τοῖς Ἡμηροῖς, Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ἐς δὲ τῷ συνέδριῳ συντελοῦντας τὸ Ἑλευθερολακώνων, καλοῦσιν ἐφ’ ἠμῶν Γερηνίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Νέστορα οἱ μὲν τραφήναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν φεύγοντα τὸ χωρίον, ἥνικα Πύλος ἥλισκετο ὕπο τῷ Ἡρακλέους. ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ μνήμα καὶ ἵερον ἐστίν ἀγιον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους νόσον ἰάματα παρὰ τῷ Μαχάονι ἐστιν εὐρέσθαι. καὶ Ὑφάθον μὲν τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἵερόν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀγαλμα δὲ τοῦ Μαχάονος χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὅρθον ἐπίκειται δὲ οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ὃν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι κέφος καλοῦσι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ. Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρυπύλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτήσατα φησιν ὁ τὰ ἐπὶ ποιήσας τῇ μικρᾶν Ἡλιάδα. διὸ καὶ τάδε 166
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*, 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, 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 Eurypylus, son of Telephus. I myself know that to be the reason of the

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1 *Iliad*, ix. 150, 292.  
2 *Iliad*, ix. 150, 292.
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αὐτὸς οἶδα περὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπεῖον τὸ ἐν Περγάμῳ γινόμενα: ἀρχονταί μὲν ἀπὸ Τηλέφου τῶν ὑμνῶν, προσάδουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπυλον, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ θέλουσιν ὄνομαξεῖν αὐτὸν, οἷα ἐπιστάμενοι φονέα ὄντα Μαχάονος. ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Νέστορα λέγεται τοῦ Μαχάονος τὰ ὅστα. Ποδαλείριον δὲ, ὡς ὅπισώ πορθήσαντες Ἰλιον ἐκομίζοντο, ἀμαρτεὶν τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ ἐς Σύρνον τῆς Καρικῆς ἤπειρου φασίν ἀποσωθέντα οἰκήσαι.

utscheis tῆς Γερηνίας ὅρος Καλάθιον ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῶ Κλαίας ἱερὸν καὶ στηλαιοὺς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἐσοδοὺν μὲν στενῆν, τὰ δὲ ἅψων παρεχόμενον θέας ἅξια. Γερηνίας δὲ ὡς ἐς μεσογαιαν ἀνω τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Ἀλαγονία, καὶ τὸ πόλισμα κατηρίθμησα ἥδη καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ Ἐλευθερολάκωσι θέας δὲ αὐτοθεί ἅξια 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.
BOOK IV—MESSENE
Δ'

ΜΕΣΣΗΝΙΑΚΑ

I. Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν τὴν ἀπονεμηθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὸ Λακωνικὸν ὅροι κατὰ τὴν Γερμνίαν εἰσὶν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν <ἡ> ὄνομαζομένη Χοίριος νάπτῃ. ταύτῃ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον οὖσαν οὔτω σχεῖν τοὺς πρώτους λέγουσιν οἰκήτωρας· ἀποθανόντος Δέλεγος, δὲ ἐβασίλευεν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ, τότε δὲ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Δελεγία καλουμένη, Μῦλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ὁν τῶν παιδών ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερος τε ἦν ἡλικία καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ ἰδίωτης, ὡς ὁ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπτα τοῦ Φόρμαντος ἐλαβε γυναῖκα ἐξεπλάνωσα δὲ ἡ Μεσσήνη διὰ τὸν πατέρα, ἄξιώματι καὶ δυνάμει τῶν τότε προέχουσα Ἑλληνῶν, οὐκ ἦξιον τῶν ἄνδρα ἰδιωτεύειν. ἄθροίσαντες δὲ ἐκ τε Ἀργοὺς δύναμιν καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονοῦ ἀφίκοντο ἐς ταύτῃ τὴν χώραν, καὶ συμπάσχῃ μεν ἐτέθη τῇ γῇ Μεσσήνῃ τῷ ὅνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Πολυκάωνος γυναικὸς, πόλεις δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ—ένθα τὰ βασιλεία κατεσκευάζωσαν—Ἀνδανία. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης, ἦν Ὁσδαιον πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις, καὶ τοὺς οἰκίσμου Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῆ Ἰθώμη, πόλιν οὐδεμίαν πω κληθῆναι προτέρων δοκῆ Μεσσήνῃ εἰκάζω δὲ οὐχ ἦκιστα Ὁμήρου τοῖς ἔπεσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ κατε-
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.1

1 Iliad, ii. 591.
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λόγῳ τῶν ἐς Ἰλιον ἀφικομένων Πύλου καὶ Ἀρήνην καὶ ἄλλας καταλέγων οὐδεμιὰν πόλιν Μεσσήνην ἐκάλεσεν· εν Ὄδυσσείᾳ δὲ δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔθνος καὶ οὔ πόλιν τοὺς Μεσσήνιους ὄντας,

μὴλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσήνιοι ἄνδρες ἀειραν,

4 σαφέστερον δὲ ἐτὶ περὶ τοῦ τόξου λέγων τοῦ Ἰφίτου

tῶ δ’ ἐν Μεσσήνη ἐξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλουν οἶκῳ ἐν Ὄρτιλόχῳ.

tοῦ γὰρ Ὄρτιλόχου τὸν οἶκον ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πόλισμα εἰρήκε τὰς Φηρᾶς, καὶ τὸδε ἐξηγήσατο αὐτὸς ἐν Πεισιστράτου Παρὰ Μενέλαιον ἀποδημίᾳ·
es Φηρᾶς δ’ ἴκοντο Διοκλῆς ποτὶ δῶμα, νῖεος Ὄρτιλόχου.

5 πρῶτοι δ’ οὖν βασιλευοῦσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Πολυκάων τε ὁ Δέλεγος καὶ Μεσσήνη γυνὴ τοῦ Πολυκάωνος. παρὰ ταύτῃ τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰ ὄργια κομίζουν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Καῦκων ἠλθεν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνοις ὁ Κελαίνου τοῦ Φλύου. Φλύου δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι παῖδα εἶναι Γῆς ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφίσι καὶ ὦμοιος Μουσαίου Δυκομίδαις

6 ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα. τὴν δὲ τελετὴν τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος πολλοὶ ἔτεσιν ὑστερον Καῦκωνος προήγαγεν ἐς πλέον τιμῆς καὶ Λύκου δρυμὸν ἐτί οὐσιαζοῦσιν ἐνθα ἐκάθερε τοὺς μῦστας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δρυμὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ Λύκου καλούμενος, Ὁμιαφ τῷ Κρητὶ ἐστὶ πεποιημένον

πάρ τε τρηχὼν Ἑλαίῳ ὑπὲρ δρυμὸν τε Λύκου·

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MESSENIA, 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."¹

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

"They met one another in Messene in the dwelling of Ortilochus."²

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."³

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 ⁴:

"By rugged Elaeum above Lycus' wood."

¹ *Odyssey*, xxi. 18. ² *Odyssey*, xxi. 15. ³ *Odyssey*, iii. 488. ⁴ See below, p. 200.
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7 ὥς δὲ ὁ Παυσάνιος ὀὔτος ἦν Λύκος, δηλοὶ τὰ ἑτὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἐπὶ τῇ Μεθάπου. μετεκόσμησε γὰρ καὶ Μέθαπος τῆς τελετῆς ἐστιν ἃ ὁ δὲ Μέθαπος γένος μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, τελεστὴς δὲ καὶ ὅργιων [καὶ] παντοῖον συνθέτης. ὀὔτος καὶ Θεσαλιῶν τῶν Καβέιρων τὴν τελετήν κατεστήσατο, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἂν τὸ κλίσιον τὸ Λυκομιδῶν εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλα τε λέγον καὶ ὃσα ἡμῖν ἐς πῖστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου.

8 ἤγγισα δ’ Ἐρμείαο δόμους <σεμνής> τε κέλευθα Δάματρος καὶ πρωτογόνου Κούρας, ὃθι φασὶ Μεσσήνην θείαι Μεγάλαισι θεαίσιν ἀγώνα Φλυάδεω κλεινοῦ γόνῳ Καύκωνι δαέισαν.1 θαύμασα δ’ ὡς συμπάντα Λύκος Παυσάνιος φῶς Ἀττιδος ἤρα ἔργα παρ’ Ἀνδανίθθείτο κεδυῖ.

9 τούτῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοὶ μὲν ὡς παρὰ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Καύκων ἀπόγονος ὃν Φλύου, δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Λύκον <τά> τε ἄλλα καὶ ὡς ἡ τελετή τὸ ἄρχαιον ἦν ἐν Ἀνδανία. καὶ μοι καὶ τούτῳ εἰκὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ ἐτέρωθι, ἄλλὰ ἐνθα αὐτῇ τε καὶ Πολυκάων ὄργοι καταστήσαθαι τὴν τελετήν.

II. Πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδὴ πάνυ ἐθελήσας, οὐ τινες παῖδες Πολυκάοι εγένοτο εκ Μεσσήνης ἐπελεξάμην τάς τε Ἡοίας καλομένας καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ Ναυπάκτα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτῶς ὁπόσα Κιναῖθων καὶ Ἀσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὴν ἐσ γε ταῦτα ἣν σφίσιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένου, ἂλλα Ὡλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Ἐυαίχμη συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάοιαν ὕδων Βούτου λεγοῦσας τὰς μεγάλας 176.
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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1 γόνις Καῦκων δαήσαν, Porson. γόνου Καυκωνιάδαο, coold.

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oíða Ἦοιας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνῆς ἄνδρα καὶ 2 τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσηνὴν παρείται σφίσι. χρόνῳ
dὲ ύστερου, ὡς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάονος οὐδεὶς ἔτε
ἀπογόνων, ἐς γενεὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προ-
elθόντων καὶ οὐ πλένοις, Περιήρῃ τὸν Αἴδλου
βασιλέα ἐπάγονται. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκετο, ὡς
οἱ Μεσσηνῖοι φασὶ, Μελανεύς, τοξεύειν ἀνήρ
ἀγαθὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι νομι-
ξόμενος καὶ οἱ τῆς χώρας τὸ Καρνάσιον, τότε
δὲ Οἰχαλίαν κληθείσαν, ἀπένειμεν ὁ Περιήρῃς
ἔνοικήσαι γενέσθαι δὲ ὅνομα Οἰχαλίαν τῇ πόλει
3 φασίν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελανέως τῆς γυναικὸς. Ἑσσ-
sαλοὶ δὲ καὶ Εὐβοῖοι, ἦκε γὰρ δὴ ἐς ἀμφι-
σβήτησιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι <τὰ> πλεῖστον
οἱ μὲν ὡς τὸ Εὐρύτιον—χωρίον δὲ ἔρημον ἐφ' ἠμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ Εὐρύτιον—πόλις τὸ ἄρχαιον ἢν
καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Οἰχαλία, τῷ δὲ Εὐβοῖοις λόγῳ
Κρεώφυλος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποίηκεν ὁμολογοῦντας
Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Σκίῳ μοίρα τῆς
Ἐρετρικῆς ἐγραψεν εἶναι Οἰχαλίαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ
οἱ Μεσσηνῖοι τὰ τε ἄλλα δοκοῦσί μοι μᾶλλον
eἰκότα ἐκείνων λέγειν καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα τῶν ὀστῶν
ἐνεκα τῶν Εὐρύτου, ἢ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπειτὰ που
<ὁ> λόγος ἐπέξεισέ μοι.

4 Περιήρῃ δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφόνης τῆς
Περσεώς Ἀφαρεύς καὶ Λεύκιτππος, καὶ ὡς ἀπέ-
thανε Περιήρης, ἐσχῆν ὄντοι τὴν Μεσσηνῶν
ἀρχήν κυριότερος δὲ ἐτί Ἀφαρεύς ἤν. οὗτος
βασιλεύσας πόλιν ἤκισεν Ἄρην ἀπὸ τῆς
Οἰβάλου θυγατρός, αὐτοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς
καὶ ἄδελφης ὀμομετρίας. καὶ γὰρ Οἰβάλῳ
συνόκησε Γοργοφόνη, καὶ μοι δὶς ἦδη τὰ ἐς
178
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 Melanens. 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.\(^1\)

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

\(^1\) See Ch. xxxiii. 5.
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αὔτῇν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἐδηλώσε καὶ 5 ἐν τῇ Δακωνικῇ συγγραφῇ. ὁ δὲ ὁ άφαρεύς πόλιν τε ἐκτισεν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τῇ Αρήνῃ καὶ Νηλεά τῶν Κρηθέως τοῦ Αίδου, Ποσειδώνος δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, ἀνεψίον ὄντα αὐτῷ, φεύγοντα ἐξ ᾨωλκοῦ Πελιᾶν ἐδέξατο οἶκῳ καὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἐδωκε τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσην, ἐν οἷς ἀλλαὶ τε ἦσαν πόλεις καὶ ἡ Πύλος, ἔνθα καὶ ὄψις καὶ τὸ 6 βασίλειον κατεστήσατο ὁ Νηλεύς. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς τὴν 'Αρήνην καὶ Λύκος ὁ Παυδίονος, ὁτε καὶ αὐτός τὸν ἄδελφον Λυγέα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐφευγε καὶ τὰ ὀργία ἐπέδειξε τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν 'Αφαρεί καὶ τοῖς παισί καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀρήνη, ταῦτα δὲ σφίσιν ἐπέδεικνυτο ἄγαγων ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ὁτι καὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὁ Καύκων ἐμύησεν ἐνταῦθα.

7 Ἀφαρεῖ δὲ τῶν παίδων πρεσβύτερος μὲν καὶ ἀνδρειότερος 'Ἰδας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Λυγκεύς, ὃν ἐφή Πίνδαρος—ὅτω πιστὰ—οὕτως ἕξεν ὅραν ὅσ καὶ διὰ στελέχους θεᾶσθαι δρῦσο. Λυγκέως μὲν δὴ παίδα οὐκ ἴσμεν γενόμενον, 'Ἰδα δὲ Κλεοπάτραν θυγατέρα ἐκ Μαρτήσεσις, ἡ Μελεάγρω συνώκησεν. ὁ δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ ποιήσας τὰ Κύτρια Πρωτεσιλάου φησίν, διὸ ὅτε κατὰ τὴν Τρφάδα ἐσχον "Ελληνες ἄποβηναι πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν γυναίκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάγρου φησίν εἶναι τοῦ Οἰνέως. εἰ τοῖς ἑστὶν ἀληθέσ, αἱ γυναίκες αὐτὰ τρεῖς οὐσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτήσεσις ἀρξάμενα προσποθαυνοῦσι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτὰς ἑπικατέσφαξαν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς 'Αφαρέως παισὶ πρὸς τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐγένετο ἀνεψίους ὄντας μάχῃ περὶ 180
been given twice, in my account of the Argolid and of Laconia.° 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, 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,
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tów boów kai tów mév Polūdeúkhs ἀπέκτεινεν, ἩΔαν δὲ ἐπέλαβε τῷ χρεῶν κεραυνωθέντα, ὁ μὲν Ἀφαρέως οὗκος γένους παντὸς ἥριμωτο τοῦ ἀρρενος, ἐς δὲ Νέστορα τὸν Νηλέως περιήλθε Μεσσηνίων ἡ ἄρχη τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσων πρότερον ἐβασίλευεν ἩΔας, πλὴν ὁσοὶ τοῖς Ἀσ-
2 κληπτοῖ παίσιν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουν. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας στρατεύσαί φασὶν ἐπ᾽ ἩΔον Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, Ἀρσινόης γὰρ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τῆς Δευκίππου καὶ οὐ Κορωνίδος παίδα εἶναι· καὶ Τρίκκαν τε καλοῦσιν ἐρήμουν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνία χωρίον καὶ ἔπτὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου καταλέγουσιν, ἐν ὦς τὸν Μαχαίον ὁ Νέστωρ τῷ ὦστῷ βεβλημένον περιέπων ἑστὶν εὐνοϊκός· οὐκ ἂν οὐν αὐτῶν <εἶ> μή ἐγείτονα καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα ὁμοφύλων προθυμιάν τοσὴν γε ἐπιδείξασθαι. οὐ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἡδὴ βεβαιοῦνται τὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀσκληπι-
ὰδας λόγον, ἀποφαίνοντες ἐν Γερμηνία Μαχαίονος μνήμα καὶ τὸ ἐς Φαράῖς τὸν Μαχαίονος παῖδων ἱερὸν.

3 Διαπολεμηθέντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς ἩΔον πολέμου καὶ Νέστορος ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν οὐκαδε τελευτή-

σαντος, Δωριέων στόλος καὶ ἡ κάθοδος Ἡρα-

κλειδῶν γενομένη δύο γενεὰς ύστερον ἔξεβαλε τοὺς Νηλέως ὑπογόνους ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. καὶ

μοι ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἡδὴ τῷ λόγῳ προσθήκη τῷ ἐς Τισαμενοῦ πλὴν τοσόνδε ἐτὶ δηλώσω. Τῇ-

μένῳ τῶν Δωριέων Ἀργος ἐφέντων ἔχειν, Κρεσ-

φόντης γῆν σφάς ὑπει τῆς Μεσσηνίαν ἄτε καὶ

4 αὐτὸς Ἀριστοδήμου πρεσβύτερος. Ἀριστοδήμους

μὲν οὖν ἔτυγχανεν ἡδή τεθνεώς, Ἡήρας δὲ ὁ Ἀυτεσίωνος τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ μάλιστα ἦναντίοτο, 182
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,\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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,

\(^1\) _Iliad_, xi. 596.  
\(^2\) ii. 18.
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to μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Ἡθβαῖος τε καὶ ἀπόγονος πέμπτος Πολυνείκους τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ ἐπετρόπευεν Ἀριστοδήμου τοὺς παῖδας θείος ὁ ὑπὸς μητρὸς. Αὔτεσίωνος γὰρ θυγατέρα Ἀριστο-δήμος ἔγινεν ὄνομα Ἀργείαν. Κρεσφόντης δὲ — γενέσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἱθελὲ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν πάντως μοίραν—Τημένου δεῖται, παρεσκευασμένος <δὲ> 5 τοῦτον τῷ κλήρῳ δῆθεν ἐφίησε. Τήμενος δὲ ἦς ὑδρίαν, ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑδατός, καθίσαι τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδων καὶ Κρεσφόντου τοὺς πάλους ἔπι δὴ εἰρημένοις μοιραν αἱρεῖσθαι1 τῆς χώρας προτέρους ὄποτέρων ἀν πάλος ἀνέλθη πρότερον. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πάλους <γῆς> ὁ Τήμενος ἐπεποίητο ἀμφοτέρους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν Ἀριστο- δήμος παισὶ ἥρας ὑπὸ ἥλιου, Κρεσφόντης δὲ ὀπτῆς πυρῷ· ὁ τε δὴ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδων πάλος κατετέθηκτο καὶ ὁ Κρεσφόντης οὕτω 6 λαχῶν γῆν αἱρέται τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσεθαι τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδά- σσομαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν· ταύτα δὲ σφισιν εἴκειν παρίστατο ὑποψία πρὸς τοὺς βα- σιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἕξ Ἰωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ Νηλείδαι. γυναῖκα δὲ ἐσχε Κρεσφόντης Με- ρόπην τὴν Κυψέλου, βασιλεύοντος τότε Ἀρκά- δων, ἀφ’ ἦς ἄλλοι τε δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ 7 καὶ νεώτατος Ἀἴπυτως· τὰ δὲ βασίλεια, ἐνθα αὐτός καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐμελλον οἴκησεν, ὥκοδομή- σατο ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχαίων οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ Περιηγησίμοι ὄκουν ἐν Ἀιδανία, κτίσαντος δὲ Ἀφαρέως Ἀρήνην αὐθιστὶ 184
MESSENIA, iii. 4-7

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 Doriats, but agreed to be ruled by Cresphontes and to divide the land with the Doriats. 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

\[1 \text{πι} \delta \eta \epsilonιρημένοις, \text{Valckenaer.} \\text{επι} \deltaινημένοις, \text{codd. a}ιρηις\thetaαι, \text{Valckenaer.} \\alphaναιρηις\thetaαι, \text{codd.}\]
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'Ἀφαρεύς καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐνταῦθα ὄχισαν· ἐπὶ δὲ Νέστορος καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἐν Πύλῳ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν· Κρεσφόντης δὲ ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τὸν βασιλέα οὐκέτι κατεστήσατο. διοικοῦμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτὸν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς 8 λοιποὺς, οὗ δὲ Αἰτυτοῦ—παῖδα γὰρ ἓτο ὅντα ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύψελος—περιγινεῖται μόνος τοῦ οἶκου, καὶ ὡς ἀνήρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγονσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην· συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωρίων, οἳ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Ἰσθμιοὶ ὁ Τημένων. Αἰτυτοῦ δὲ ὡς ἐβασιλεύσειν, ἐτιμωρήσατο μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς φονέας, ἐτιμωρήσατο δὲ καὶ ὁσοὶ τοῦ φόνου παραίτησιν καθεστήκεσαν· προσαγόμενος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τέλει τῶν Μεσσηνίων θεραπείαις, ὁσοὶ δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ δήμου, δωρεαῖς, ἐς τοσοῦτο προέβη τιμῆς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰτυτίδας ἀντὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κληθήναι.

9 Γλαύκῳ δὲ τῷ Αἰτυτοῦ βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἰτυτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ἐξήρκεσε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἐν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱδιώτας, εὐσεβείας δὲ ἐς πλέον προεβη. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Δίδος τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Ἰθώμης τέμενος, ἀνέντων Πολυκάνων καὶ Μεσσήνης, οὗ ἦχον παρὰ τοὺς Δωρίων πω τιμᾶς, Γλαύκος ἦν ὁ καὶ τούτως σέβειν καταστησάμενος· καὶ Μάχινοι τῷ Ἀσκληπιοῦ πρῶτος ἔθυσεν ἐν Γερηνίᾳ, γέρα δὲ ἀπένειμε Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Τριόπα τὰ νομιζόμενα ἤρωσιν. Ἡσθμιοὶ δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἕρων τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν. 186
MESSENIA, III. 7–10

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.
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Ἰσθμίον δὲ γίνεται Δωτάδας, ὃς ἐπίνεια καὶ ἄλλα τῆς Μεσσηνίας παρεχόμενης τὸ ἐν Μοθώνη κατεσκευάστατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδα τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμίσῳ κατὰ ἐτὸς ἔκαστον θύειν τῶν βασιλεύοντα καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τῷ Μελανέως ἔναγιξεν ἐν Οἰχαλίᾳ πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἀγομένης ἐτί ἐν 'Ανδανίᾳ.

IV. Ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσηνίου τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δήλου θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι τὸ δὲ σφίσιν ἄσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἰναὶ τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἐπὶ ταύτα. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τῆς Φίντα βασιλείας διαφορὰ πρῶτον, ἀπὸ αὐτίας ἀμφισβητομένης μὲν καὶ ταύτης, γενέσθαι δὲ 2 οὕτω λεγομένης. ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἱ τε Μεσσηνίοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι. Λακεδαιμονίοι μὲν δὴ φασιν ὡς παρθένους αὐτῶν παραγενομένας ἐς τὴν ἐορτήν αὐτίας τε βιάσαυτο ἄνδρες τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τῶν βασιλεά σφῶν ἀποκτεῖναιεν πειρώμενον κωλύειν, Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάον τοῦ Δορύσου τοῦ Λαβώτα τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος, πρὸς τε ἢ δὴ τοῦτος τὰς βιασθείας τῶν παρθένων διεργάσασθαι

3 λέγουσιν αὐτίας ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης. Μεσσηνίοι δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι σφῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πρωτεύουσιν ἐν Μεσσηνίῃ κατὰ ἡξίωμα, τοῦτος φασιν ἐπιβουλεύειν Τήλεκλον, αἰτιον δὲ εἶναι τῆς χώρας τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν ἅρτην, ἐπιβουλεύοντα δὲ ἐπιλέξαι Σπαρτιατῶν ὁπόσοι πω γένεια οὐκ 188
Isthius 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
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eίχον, τούτους δὲ ἔσθήτι καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ λοιπῷ σκευάσαντα ὡς παρθένους ἀναπαυομένους τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπεισάγαγειν, δόμτα ἐγχειρίδια καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀμυνομένους τοὺς τε ἄγενείους νεανίσκους καὶ αὐτοῖν ἀποκτείναι Τήλεκλου, Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα βουλεύσαι σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα—συνειδότας ὡς ἀρξαίεν ἁδικίας, τοῦ φόνου σφᾶς τοῦ Τηλέκλου δίκας οὐκ ἀπαιτήσαι. τάυτα μὲν ἐκάτεροι λέγουσι, πειθέσθω δὲ ὡς ἔχει τις ἐς τοὺς ἐτέρους σπουδῆς.

4 Ἔγενε δὲ ὑστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Δακεδάιμονι Ἀλκαμένου τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Θεσπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος, Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντίόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τῶν Φίντα, Δακεδαιμονίως καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἐξήρθη τὸ ἔς ἀλλήλους μίσος καὶ ἦρξαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμου, ἐπιγενομένης ἀφορμῆς σφίσιν ἐθελέχθρως μὲν ἔχουσι καὶ πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἐγνωκόσιν οὐ μόνον ἀποχρώσης ἅλλα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐπροσώπου, μετὰ δὲ εἰρημεκωτέρας γνῶμῆς καὶ διελύθη δικαστηρίου γνώσει. τὰ δὲ συμβάντα ἔσχεν οὖτω.

5 Πολυχάρης Μεσσήνιος τὰ τε ἅλλα οὐκ ἄφανῆς καὶ νῖκην Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀνηρμένος—τετάρτην ὀλυμπιάδα ἦγον Ἡλείου καὶ ἀγώνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον, ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησεν—τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐγένοντο βοῦς καὶ—οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνῃ ἰδίαι γῆν ὡς νομᾶς ταῖς βουσὶν ἰκανὰς εἶναι—Σπαρτιάτη σφᾶς δίδωσιν Εὐαίφυς βό—

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MESSENIA, 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,¹ 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 Euæphnus

¹ B.C. 764.
σκεσθαί τε ἐν ἐκείνου καὶ μοίραν εἶναι καὶ
6 Εὐαίφω τοῦ καρποῦ τῶν βοῶν. ἢν δὲ ἀρα
tοιόσοδε τις ὁ Εὐαίφως, κέρδη τε ἀδικα ἐπὶ-
προσθεν ἢ πιστὸς εἶναι ποιούμενος καὶ ἀλλως
αιμύλος· δος καὶ τότε καταπλεύσασιν ἐς τὴν
Δακωνικῆν ἐμπόρους ἀποδόμενος βοῦς τᾶς Πολυ-
χάρους ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ὡς Πολυχάρην ἁγγελος,
ἐλθὼν δὲ ἀποβάντας ἔληγεν ἐς τὴν χώραν
ληστᾶς καὶ βιασαμένους αὐτὸν λείαιν βοῦς τε
ἀγεσθαί καὶ βουκόλους. ἦς δὲ οὕτως παρέ-
πειθεν, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις βουκόλων ὑποδιδράσκει
τοὺς ἐμπόρους, ἐπανήκων δὲ καταλαμβάνει τε
αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη τὸν Εὐαίφων καὶ
7 Πολυχάρους ἐναντίον ἦλεγχεν. ἀλισκόμενος δὲ
καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἀπανεύρισασθαί πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῶν
Πολυχάρην, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πολυχάρους τὸν
παίδα ἱκέτευε νείμαι οἱ συγγνώμην· ἐν γὰρ τῇ
ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει καὶ ἄλλων ἐνότητοι, ἐφ' οἷς
βιαζόμεθα ἄδικοι γίνεσθαι, τὰ κέρδη μεγίστην
ἀνάγκην ἔχειν· τιμὴ δὲ ἦπτινα εἰλήφει τῶν
βοῶν, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε καὶ τὸν παίδα ἥξιον
tὸν Πολυχάρους ἐπεσθαί οἱ κομιούμενον. ὡς
dὲ προϊόντες ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Δακωνικῇ, ἐργον
ἐτόλμησεν Εὐαίφως ἀνοσιώτερον τοῦ προτέρου
8 φονεύει τοῦ Πολυχάρους τοῦ ὕδων. ὁ δὲ ὡς καὶ
ταῦτα ἔγγον πεποιθῶς, φωτῶν ἐς τὴν Δακε-
dαιμονα τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἑφόροις δι'
ὁχλου, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν παῖδα ἀνακλαίων, κατα-
ριθμούμενος δὲ οἷα ὑπὸ Εὐαίφου πεποιθῶς ἦν,
ὅν αὐτὸς ἔγνω ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸ πάντων
Δακεδαιμονίων ἐπιστευσεν. ὡς δὲ οἱ συνεχῶς
ίοντι ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀρχας οὐδεμία ἐγνύετο τιμωρία,
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Messenia, iv. 5-8

to feed on his own land, Euaephnus to have a share of the produce. Now Euaephnus 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 Euaephnus 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, Euaephnus 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 Euaephnus, whom he had made his friend and trusted above all the Lacedaemonians. Obtaining no redress in spite of
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ἐνταῦθα παρετράπη τε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἀτε ἔχων ἀφειδῶς ἡδη καὶ αὐτοῦ, πάντα τινὰ ὄν λάβοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἑτολμα φονεύειν.

V. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ Πολυχάρους τε ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐκδοθέντος σφίσι καὶ διὰ τὸν Υηλέκλου φόνον, καὶ πρότερον ἑτὶ ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούργημα ἐς τὸν κλήρον, πολεμήσαι λέγουσι. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ περὶ Υηλέκλου ἀντιλέγουσι τὰ εἰρημένα ἦδη μοι καὶ Λίπυτον τὸν Κρεσφόντου συγκαταχθέντα ἀποφαίνουσι ὑπὸ Ἀριστοδήμου τῶν παίδων, ὁ μήποτ' ἂν ποιήσαι σφᾶς Κρεσφόντη γε ὄντας 2 διαφόρους. Πολυχάρην δὲ ἐκδοῦναι μὲν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φασιν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν Υὐαίφον, ἔθελεν μέντοι παρὰ Ἀργείους συγγενέσιν οὐσιν ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Ἀμφικτυονίᾳ διδόναι δίκας, ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀθηνησὶ δικαστηρίῳ, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ὅτι δίκας τὰς φονικὰς τὸ δικαστήριον 3 τοῦτο ἔδοκε δικάζειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πολεμήσαι φασιν, ὕπο πλεονεξίας δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τε ἐπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἄλλα ἐργάσασθαι, προφέροντε πέρις μὲν σφίσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων, προφέροντες δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἀργείων, ὡς σοφοτε ἐσχήκασι κόροιν ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ τι ἐκατέρων. Κροίσῳ τε αὐτοῖς δωρα ἀποστείλαντι γενέσθαι φίλους βαρβάρως πρῶτους, ἄφ' οὐ γε τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατεδούλωσατο Ἑλλήνας καλὺσοι Δωριεῖς ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ 4 κατοικοῦσιν ἥπειρῳ. ἀποφαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ἡνίκα

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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 Doriens who live on the Carian mainland. They point out too that
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οἱ Φωκέων δυνάσται τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατειλήφασιν, ἵδια τε κατὰ ἄνδρα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀξιώματος καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τε ἐφόρων τὴν ἄρχην καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν μετασχόντας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. πρὸ τε δὴ πάντων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κέρδους ἐνεκά ὀκνήσαντας, τὴν συμμαχίαν οὐειδίξουσι σφισὶ <τὴν> πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἐν Κασσανδρείᾳ τυραννίσαντα. ἀνθ’ ὅτον δὲ Μεσσηνίων τὸ ὁνείδος ἤγηνται τούτῳ οὕτω πικρόν, οὐ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ παρόντι ἦν ἐπιευσάγεσθαι, ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ εὐψυχον καὶ χρόνου μῆκος ὑπὸ ἐπολέμησαν διάφορα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου τυραννίδος, ἐς γε τὰς συμφορὰς οὐ πολλῷ τινὶ ἀποδέοι <ἀν> ἄ οἱ Κασσανδρεῖς πεπόθασι.

5 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αἰτία ἐκάτεροι τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι λέγουσι· τότε δὲ πρεσβεία Λακεδαιμονίων ἦκουσα ἐξήτει Πολυχάρην, οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων βασιλεῖς τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι βουλεύσαμεν μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα ἐπιστελοῦσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπελθόντων ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς πολίτας συνήγονον. αἳ δὲ γνώμαι διάφοροι παρὰ πολὺ ἐγένοντο, Ἀνδροκλέους μὲν ἐκδίδοναι Πολυχάρην ὡς ἀνώσια τε καὶ πέρα δεινῶν εἰργασμένον· Ἀντίοχος δὲ ἀλλὰ τε ἀντέλεχε καὶ τὸ ἀπάντων οἴκτιστον, εἰ Πολυχάρης ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πείσεται τοὺς Εὐαίφου, καταριθμοῦμενος ὅσα καὶ οἷα ἦν 6 ἀνάγκη παθεῖν, τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο προϊχθησαν οὐ τε Ἀνδροκλέι καὶ οἱ τῶ Ἀντίοχως συσπεύδοντες ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβον. οὐ 196
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 Euæphnus, 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
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μήν ἡς μακράν γε προῆλθέ σφισιν ἢ μάχην περιόντες γὰρ ἀρίθμῳ καὶ πολὺ οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ τῶν τε Ἀνδροκλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγους μάλιστα ἄξιοισ ἀποκτείνουσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ βασιλεύων ἢδη μόνοις ἐπεμπεν ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ᾧ ἦδη λέλεκται μοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ λέγονται τοῖς κομίσασι τὰ γράμματα ἀποκρίνασθαι.

8 Μησὶ δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὑστεροῦν Ἀντιόχου τελευτήσαντος Εὐφαῖς ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὗτε κήρυκα ἀποστελ- λουσι προεροῦντα Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον οὕτε προαιρετάμενοι τὴν φιλίαν, κρύφα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρα- σκευασάμενοι, προομόσποντες ὥρκον μήτε τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος, ἢν μὴ δὲ ὅλγου κρυθῆ, μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς, εἰ μεγάλαι πολέμους γένοιτο, ἀποστρέφειν σφάς πρὶν ἢ κτήσασιν χώραν τὴν

9 Μεσσηνίαν δομᾶλωτων. ταύτα προομόσποντες ἐξοδον νῦκτωρ ἐποιούντο ἐπὶ "Ἀμφειαν, Ἀλκα- μένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦγεμόνα ἀποδείξαντες. ἡ δὲ "Ἀμφεία πρὸς τῇ Ἀλκω- νικῆ πόλισμα ἢν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μέγα, ἐπὶ λόφῳ δὲ ψηλῶν κείμενον, καὶ ὑδάτων πηγάς εἰχεν ἀφθόνους· ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὀρμητήριον σφισιν ἐπιτήδειον ἢ "Ἀμφεία εἴναι. καὶ τό τε πόλισμα αἱροῦσι πυλῶν ἀνεφγεμένων καὶ φυλακῆς οὐκ ἐνοῦσι καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνῶν τοὺς ἐγκαταλη- φθέντας φονεύουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἠδόντο πρὸς τε ἱερὰ θεῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθημένους ἱκέτας· ὅλγοι δὲ καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες 198
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
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10 ἐγένοντο. ταύτην Λακεδαίμονιον πρώτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποιήσαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Ξενοδόκος Μεσσηνίος ἐνίκα στάδιον. 'Αθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν πιὸ τότε οἱ τῷ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρχοντές· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλομένους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφεῖλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν ἐς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὑπεροῦν δὲ καὶ προθεσμίαν ἑτὸν δέκα ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἴσιμίδης Ἀθηναίοις ἦρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλος πέμπτον ἐτος.

VI. Πρὶν δὲ ἡ συγγράφειν με τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὀπόσα πολεμοῦσιν ἐκατέρως ὁ δαίμων παθεῖν ἢ δρᾶσαι παρεσκεύασε, διακρίνατι τι καὶ ἡλίκιας [ἐργα] πέρι ἡθέλησα ἄνδρος Μεσσηνίον. τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον τούτον γενόμενον μὲν Λακεδαίμονιον καὶ τὸν συμμάχον πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους, ὅνομασθέντα δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὄσπερ γε ὁ Μηδίκος καὶ ὁ Πελοποννήσιος, Μεσσηνίον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συμφόρων, καθᾶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ κληθῆναι Τρωικόν καὶ οὐχ Ἐλληνικόν ἐξεύκησεν, τούτον [γὰρ] τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον Ἦλιος τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ Βιναῖος καὶ ὁ Πριηνεὺς Μύρων· λόγοι δὲ πεζοὶ Μύρωνος ἐστιν ἡ συγγραφὴ.

2 συνεχῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδετέρῳ διήμνυταν· μέρος δὲ ὧ ἐκάτερος ἥρέσκετο, ὃ μὲν τῆς τε Ἀμφείας τὴν ἀλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνέθηκεν οὗ πρὸσω

1 B.C. 743.
2 Myron of Priene is of unknown date. Rhianus of Bene 200
attack which the Lacedaemonians made on the Messenians, in the second year of the ninth Olympiad,\textsuperscript{1} 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 Amphieia, 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.\textsuperscript{2} 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 Amphieia 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 Messeniaca, largely used by the author in the present account, we hear of his Heracleia, Achaica, Eliaca, and Thessalica.
tῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς, Ἔριανὸς δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πολέμων οὐδὲ ἦν ἄρχην· ὁπόσα δὲ χρόνων συνέβη τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποστάσιν ἀπὸ Δακεδαμιούσων, ὃ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἔγραψε, τῆς μάχης δὲ τὰ ύστερα ἢν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ.

3 ἄνδρα οὖν Μεσσήνων—τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἕνεκα τὸν πάντα ἐποιησάμην Ἔριανοῦ καὶ Μύρωνος λόγον—Ἀριστομένην, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Μεσσηνίης ὄνομα ἢς ἀξίωμα προῆγαγε, τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπεισήγαγε μὲν ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἢς τῆς συγγραφῆς, Ἔριανὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν οὐδὲν Ἀριστομένης ἐστὶν ἀφανέστερος ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ὁμήρῳ. διάφορα οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρηκότων, προσέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἐτερὸν μοι τῶν λόγων καὶ οὐχ ἄμα ἀμφότερος ὑπελείπετο, Ἔριανὸς δὲ μοι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἑφαίνετο εἰκότα

4 ἐς τὴν Ἀριστομένους ἡλικίαν. Μύρωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τέ ἄλλους καταμαθεῖν ἐστὶν οὐ προορώμενον εἰ γεινῇ τε καὶ οὐ πιθανὰ δόξει λέγειν καὶ οὐχ ἡκίστα ἐν τῇ τῆς Μεσσηνία συγγραφῆς. πεποίηκε γὰρ ὡς ἀποκτείνειε Θεόπομπος τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων τὸν βασίλεα Ἀριστομένης ὅλην πρὸ τῆς Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτῆς. Θεόπομπος δὲ οὐτε μάχης ημομένης οὔτε ἄλλως προσαπθανόντα

5 ἰσμεν πρὶν ἡ διαπολεμηθῆναι τῶν πολέμων. οὕτως δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος ἢν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῶν πολέμων μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὰ ἑλεγεῖα τῶν Τυρταιοῦ λέγοντα

ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆι θεοίσι φίλῳ Θεόπομπῳ, ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην οἴλομεν εὐρύχορον.
MESSENIA, vi. 2–5

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."
ο τοίνυν Ἀριστομένης δόξη γε ἐμὴ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου· καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τούτο ὁ λόγος ἀφίκηται, τηνικάυτα ἐπέξειμι.

6 Οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τότε, ὡς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφειαν ἠκούον 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 κατα-πεπλήχθαι τὴν πόρθην, ὡς τὸν πάντα ἤδη κεκριμένων δὲ αὐτῆς πόλεμου, μήτε ὡς τῆς σφε-τέρας κρείσσονα τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων δεδοικέναι τὴν παρασκευὴν· μελέτην μὲν γὰρ ἑκείνος τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ χρόνου πλείονος, σφίζει δὲ εἰναι τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἰσχυροτέραν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοὶς γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐμενέστερον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀμύνουσι τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκιας ἀρχοῦσιν. VII. Τοιαύτα ὁ Ἔυφαῖς εἰπὼν διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάντας ἐσχεν ἦδη τοὺς Μεσσήνιους ἐν ὄπλοις, τοὺς τε οὐκ εἰδότας ἐπαναγκάζων διδάσκεσθαι τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἐπιμελεστέραν ἐπὶ πρῶτον τὴν ἀσκησιν εἰναι. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καταδρόμας ἐποιοῦντο ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνιαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν οὐκ ἐλυμαίνοντο ἀτε δὴ νομίζοντες οἰκείαν οὐδὲ δένδρα ἐκοπποῦν οὐδὲ οἰκήματα κατέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ λείαι εἰ περιτύχοιει ὣλαυνον καὶ σῖτον καὶ 2 τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν ἀφηροῦντο. πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις ποιούμενοι προσβολὰς εἶλον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀτε καὶ τείχεσιν ὁχυρωμένας καὶ δὲ ἀκριβείας φρουρουμένας, λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀπεχώ-204
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
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ρον ἀπρακτοι καὶ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι ἀπεπερῴητο τῶν πόλεων. ἔληστεν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τὰ τε ἔπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ὡσαί γεωργίαι περὶ τὸ Ταὐγετὸν ἦσαν.

3 Τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἀλωσιν Εὐφαῖς τὸ θυμὸν χρήσασθαι τῷ Μεσσηνίων προθυμούμενος ἀκμαζόντων εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἀμα τὴν ἁσκησιν ἡ δη σφίσιν αὐτάρκη νομίζον ἐναι, προεῖπεν ἔξοδον συνακολουθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας προσέτασσε φέροντας ξύλα καὶ ἄλλα ὡσα πρόσφορα ἐς ποίησιν χαρακώματος. ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφεία φρουρῶν τοὺς Μεσσηνίων ἐξιόντος· ἐξοστρατεύοντο οὖν καὶ οὕτωι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ χωρίον ἀλλως μὲν ἐς ἀγώνα ἐπιτήδειον, χαράδρα δὲ προεβέβλητο αὐτοῦ βαθεία· ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρέτασσεν ὁ Εὐφαῖς, ἀποδείξας στρατηγὸν Κλέοννιν· τῆς δὲ ἰπποῦ καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, οἱ συναμφότεροι ἑλάσσους πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, τούτων Πυθαράτως καὶ Ἀνταύρδρος ἡγοῦντο. ὃς δὲ συνήητα τὰ στρατόπεδα, τοῖς μὲν ὀπλίταις καὶ ἀφειδῶς ὅμως καὶ ἀκρατέστεροι ὑπὸ τοῦ μίσους φερομένοις ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους οὐ παρέσχεν ἐλθεῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἡ χαράδρα διείργυσα· τὸ δ’ ἰππικόν καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ συμμισίουσι μὲν κατὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χαράδραν, ἦσαν δὲ οὔτε πλῆθος οὔτε ἐμπειρία διαφέροντες οὐδέτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱσόρροπος

5 ἡ μάχη σφίσιν ἐγένετο. <ἐν> ὁσοὶ δὲ οὕτωι συνεστήκασιν, ἐν τοσούτῳ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευεν ὁ Εὐφαῖς πρῶτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ νότον τοῦ στρατο-

1 ἐν add. Facius.
effecting anything, and finally gave up attempting the towns. The Messenians also ravaged the La-
conian 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 engage-
ment, but had a deep ravine in front of it. Here Euphaes drew up the Messenians and appointed Cleonnis general; the cavalry and light-armed, to-
gether 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
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πέδου φράζασθαι τοῖς σταυροῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ὑμφότερα. ἔπει δὲ ἢ τε νῦξ ἔπέλαβε καὶ ἡ μάχη διελέυθη, τότε ἦδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἐφράζατο, ὡστε ἐπισχούσης ἦμέρας τῆς τε προνοίας τοῦ Εὐφαῖος τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτίππητε οἰκισμὸς εἰχόν τε οὐτε ὠπως μάχεσθαι χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μὴ προίόντας ἐκ τοῦ χώρακος προσκαθήσθαι τε ἀπεγώνωσκον ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὄντες.

7 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀποχωροῦσιν οὐκαδε, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ύστερον κακιζόντων σφᾶς τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ δεσπαί τε ὑμω ὀρφερῶν καὶ τοῦ ὀρκοῦ τὴν ὑπεροφίαν, οὕτω δευτέρων ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους στρατεύοντες ἐποιούντο. ἤγοντο δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφότεροι, Θεόπομπός τε ὁ Νικάνδρος καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ 'Ἀλκαμένος', Ἀλκαμένης δὲ οὐκέτι περίμεν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίοι καὶ πειρωμένων μάχης τῶν Σπαρτιά−

8 τῶν ἀρχειν ἀντεπεξῆσαν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἡγεῖτο Πολύδωρος μὲν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν, Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, τῷ μέσῳ δὲ εἰχὲν Εὐρυλέων, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν, Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θῆρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίῶνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντετάσσοντο "Ἀντανδρός καὶ Εὐφαῖς", τὸ δὲ ὑστερον κέρας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Πολύδωρον Πυθάρατος εἰχε, Κλέονις δὲ τὸ μέσον. συνιέναι δὲ ἦδη μελλόντων, ἐπεὶ παρόντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προέτρεπον τοὺς αὐτῶν, πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βραχεῖαν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον

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MESSENIA, vii. 6-9

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 Euryleon, 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,


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tην παράκλησιν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Θεόπομπος, τοῦ τε ὄρκου τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀναμμηνήσκον καὶ ὡς καλὸν σφισι τὸ φιλοτήμημα, τῶν πατέρων οὐ τοὺς περιοίκους κατεδουλώσαντο φανήναι λαμπρότερα εἰργασμένοι καὶ χώραν εὔδαιμονεστέραν προσκεκτημένους. Εὐφαίς δὲ μακρότερα μὲν ἐπεν ἦ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, οὗ πλείω δὲ οὐδ’ οὕτως ἦ ἐφιέντα ἑώρα τὸν καίρον. οὐ γὰρ περὶ γῆς μόνον οὐδὲ κτημάτων τὸν ἀγώνα ἀπέφαινε γενησόμενοι, εἰδέναι δὲ ἐφ’ σαφῶς ἄ νικωμένους ἐπιλήφσεται: γυναικάς μὲν γὰρ ἀχθήσεσθαι καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μέρει, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τὸ ἕλαφρότατον ἔσεσθαι βάςανος, ἤν μετ’ αἰκίας μὴ γένηται, συλήσεσθαι δὲ σφισι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐμπρήσεσθαι: λέγειν δὲ οὐκ εἰκάζων, μάρτυρα δὲ ἐναργὴ πᾶσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐν Ἀμφεία τὰ πάθη. πρὸ τε δὴ τηλικοῦτων κακῶν κέρδος εἶναι καλῶς τινα ἀποθανεῖν, πολὺ δὲ εἶναι πᾶς ἀντίθετος οὕσιν ἐτί καὶ τὰς τόλμας καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἵσου προθυμία τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ὑπερβαλέιν ή προαποβαλόντας τὸ φρόνημα ἐπανροθοῦσθαι τὰ ἐπταυσμένα.

VIII. Τοιαύτα μὲν ὁ Εὐφαῖς ἐπεν ἐπεῖ δὲ ἐκατέρως ἐσημέναι οἱ ἡγεμόνες, Μεσσηνίοι μὲν δρόμῳ τε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρόντο καὶ ἀφειδὸς αὐτῶν εἰχον ἀτε ἀνθρωποὶ θανατῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς πρῶτος ἐσπευδεὶν ἀρξαι μάχης· ἀντεπήσει δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σπουδὴ καὶ οὕτωι, πρόνοιαν δὲ ὅμως ἐποιοῦντο μὴ διαλυθῆναι σφισι τὴν τάξιν. ὡς δὲ πληθίων ἐγίνοντο, ἀπείλας ἐχρόντο τῶν τε ὄπλων τῇ κινῆσει καὶ ἐνορώντες ἐς ἀλλήλους δεινῶν· ἐς τε
MESSENIA, vii. 9–viii. 2

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.
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λοιδορίας προήγοντο, οἱ μὲν οἰκέται αὐτῶν ἦδη τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ οὖδὲν ἐλευθερωτέρους ἀποκαλοῦντες τῶν εἰλῶτων, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνους τῶν τε ἐγχειρίματι ἀνοσίους, ἔπει πλεονεξίας ἔνεκα ἐπὶ ἀνδρας συγγενεῖς ἐπίασι, καὶ θεῶν ἀσβεσθὸς ὅσοι Δωριέσι πατρῶι, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα Ἡρακλέοις. ἦδη τε ὁμοῦ τοὺς ὑνείδεσι καὶ ἔργων ἦπτοντο, ἀθρόιε τε πρὸς ἀθρόους ἁθισμῷ χρώμενοι μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιῶντες.

3 τέχνη μὲν οὖν ἐσ τὰ πολεμικὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ μελέτη πολὺ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέσχων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τε γὰρ περιοίκους ὑπηκόους ἦδη καὶ συνακολουθοῦντας εἰχὼν Ασιναῖοι τε οἱ Δρύσπες γενεὰ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἁργείων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἄνεστηκότες καὶ ἠκοντες ἐσ τὴν Δακεδαίμονα ἴκεται κατ’ ἀνάγκην συνεστρατεύοντο πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψίλους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τοξότας.

4 Κρήταις ἐπήγγοντο μισθωτοῖς. Μεσσηνίους δ’ ἀπήντα1 ἐσ τὸ ἱσον ἡ τε ἀπόνοια καὶ τὸ ἐσ τῶν θάνατον εὐθυμον καὶ ὑπόσα μὲν πίσχοιεν, ἀναγκαία μᾶλλον τοῖς πατρίδα σεμνύνουσιν ἡ δεινὰ ἐνόμιζον, ἢ δὲ ἔδρων, αὐτοὶ τε ἠγοῦντο εἰργίσθαι μειζῶνος καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβαίνειν χαλέπωτερα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν προεκπηδοῦντες τῆς τάξεως τοιμήματα λαμπρὰ ἀπεδείκνυτο, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπικαιρῶς πετρωμένοις καὶ

5 ἐμπνεόσιν ὁλίγον ὁμοῖος ἡ ἀπόνοια ἥκμαζε. παρακλήσεις τε ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑσώντες καὶ ἐτὶ ἀτρωτοὶ τοὺς τραυματίας παρώξυνον, πρὶν ἡ τὴν ἐσχάτην τιν ἐφεστηκέναι μοῖραν, ἀντιδράσαντα ὁ τι καὶ δύνατο σὺν ἤδου ἄθρων ἀσχεσθαι τὸ

1 δ’ ἀπήντα, Facius. δὲ ἐσ ἀπαντα 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
πεπρωμένου' οί δὲ ὅποτε αὖθιοντο οἱ τραυματίαι τὴν ἵσχυν σφάς υπολείπουσαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ παραμένειν, διεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἀτρώσι μὴ χειρονας ἢ αὐτοὶ γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἕς ἀνωφελές τῇ πατρίδι 6 καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τελευτὴν καταστήσαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ προτροπῆσυν μὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἔχρωντο καὶ ἐς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν τολμημάτων οὐ κατὰ ταύτα ἐτοίμως τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις εἴχον. ἂτε δὲ εὔθυς ἐκ παίδων τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐπιστάμενοι, βαθυτέρα τῇ φάλαγγι ἔχρωντο καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἦλπιζον οὔτε χρόνου τῶν ἦσον καρτερίσειν ἀντιτεταγμένους οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς 7 κάματον ἢ τὰ τραύματα ἀνθέξειν. ἦδια μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐς τὰ τὰ ἔργα ἵνα καὶ ἐς τᾶς γνώμας τῶν μαχομένων, κοινὰ δὲ ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων οὔτε γὰρ ἱκεσίας οἱ φονευόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων ὑποσχέσειν ἔχρωντο, τάχα μὲν ποὺ μὴ πείσειν διὰ τὸ ἔχθος ἀπεγνωκότες, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἀπαξιοῦντες όσοι οὐ τὰ πρότερά γε κακιοῦσιν οἵ τε ἀποκτείνοντες ἀπείχοντο καὶ αὐχήματος ὁμοίως καὶ ὁπειδδόν, οὐκ ἔχοντες πω βεβαιῶν οὐδέτεροι τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰ κρατήσουσιν. παραδοξότατα δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οἱ τῶν κειμένων σκυλευεῖν τινὰ ἐπιχειροῦντες· ἢ γὰρ τοῦ σῶματος γυμνῶν τι ὑπόγαμτας ἱκοντίζοντο καὶ ἑτύπτουντο οὐ προορόμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἄσχολίν, ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σκυλευμόμενων ἔτι ἐμπνεοῦσιν 8 διεθείροντο. ἐμάχοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἄξιως λόγου, Ἡθόπομπος δὲ καὶ ἀκρατέστερον ὁρμητὸ ὡς αὐτῶν ἀποκτενῶν Εὐφαίη. Εὐφαίης δὲ ὁραῖον ἐπιόντα εἰπεν ἃρα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντανδρόν οὖν ἐναι τὰ Θεοπόμπου διάφορα ἢ <ὅσα> ο πρόγονος 214
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
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αὐτοῦ Πολυνείκης ἐτόλμησε: Πολυνείκην τε γὰρ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀγαγόντα ἐξ Ἀργοὺς ἀποκτείνας τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοχειρὶ καὶ ἀποθανείν ὑπὸ ἐκείνου, Θεόπομπον τε ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸ ἱσον καταστῆσαι μιᾶςματος τοῖς ἀπὸ Δαῖον καὶ Οἰδί-ποδος τὸ Ἡρακλείδων γένος: οὐ μέντοι χαίροντα γε ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διακριθήσεθαι. τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ-9 λέγων ἀντετῆρι καὶ οὕτος. ἐνταῦθα ἦ τε πᾶσα μάχη κεκμηκότον ὃμως ἐς τὸ ἀκμαίοτατον αὖθις ἤρθη, καὶ τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνεφρώνυντο καὶ τὸ ἀφείδες ἐς τὸν θάνατον παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἰνυξάνετο, ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν τις τοῦ ἔργου τότε σφάς πρῶτον ἀπτεσθαι. τέλος δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῖ τῆς τε ἀπονοίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι μανίας ὅντες ἐγχύταται καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδραγαθίας—πάν γὰρ δὴ τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα οἱ λογίδες τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἦσαν—βιά-ξονται τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους· καὶ αὐτὸν τε Θεό-πομπον ἀπόσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψαντο. τὸ δὲ ἐτερον κέρας τοῖς Μεσ-

9 σηνίοις ἐπαλαίπώρει. Πυθάρατὸς τε γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐτεθνίκει καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἀτακτότερον καὶ <θορυβωδέστερον ἐμάχοντο, οὐ μέντοι>1 ἄθυμως εἴχον οὐδ' οὕτοι. φεύγουσι δὲ οὕτε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ο Πολυδώρος οὕτε οὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐφαῖ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίωις ἠκολούθησαν. Εὐφαεὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν αἱρετότερα ἐφαίνετο ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἵπτωμένοις—οὐ μέντοι Πολυδώρῳ γε οὕδε τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν συμμίσχουσιν, 11 ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ γινόμενα ἡν—καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀμα εἰργε μὴ πρόσω τοῖς ἀποχω- ροῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν οὐχ ἤκιστα καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία

1 Suppl. Bekker.
MESSENIA, viii. 8-11

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
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tōn tōtōn. ἢν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀλλὰς πάτριοι σχολαιστέρας τὰς διώξεις ποιεῖσθαι, μὴ διαλύσαι τὴν τάξιν πλείονα ἔχοντας πρόνοιαν ἢ τινα ἀποκτεῖναι φεύγοντα. τὰ δὲ μέσα ἀμφοτέρως, ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Εὐρυλέως, Μεσσηνίοις δὲ Κλέοννυς ἤγειτο, ἱσοπαλῶς μὲν ἡγωνίζοντο, διέ-λυσε δὲ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ τούτους ἐπελθοῦσα ἢ νῦξ.

12 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἢ μόνα ἢ μάλιστα ἐμαχήσαντο τὰ ὁπλιτικά. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτὼν ὅλγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε καὶ μυημονευθῆναι διεπράξαντο· οὐ γὰρ τοι ἁγαθοὶ τότε ἤπειευν ἦσαν οἱ Πελοποιησίωι. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Κρήτες οὐδὲ συνεμίζαν ἀρχὴν· τῷ γὰρ πεξῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ κατὰ τρόπον ἐτὶ ἐκάτεροι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπετάχθησαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπίουςαν μάχης μὲν οὐδέτεροι διενοοῦτο ἀρχεῖν οὐδὲ ἰστάναι πρότεροι τρόπαιον, προϊόσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ ἀνα-ρέσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων συνεχωρήθη, θάψειν ἐμελλον ἦδη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.

IX. Τοις δὲ Μεσσηνίοις μετὰ τὴν μάχην πονηρὰ γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἡρχετο. ἐπιάγα τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀπερήκεσαν, ἢ τῶν πόλεων ἀνήλισκον ἔς τὰς φρουράς, καὶ οἱ δούλοι παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡπτομόλουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ νόσος ἐνέπεσε καὶ παραχὰς μὲν παρέσχεν ὡς εἰς λοιμώδης, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἀπαντᾶς ἐγε ἐχώρησεν. Βου- λευομένοις δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδοκεὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ πολίσματα τὰ ἐς μεσόγαιαν πάντα ἐκ- λείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὸ ὀρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην. 218
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
2 ἢν δὲ καὶ πόλισμα αὐτόθι οὐ μέγα, ὁ καὶ "Ομηρὸν
φασὶν ἐχειν ἐν κατάλογῳ

καὶ Ἡθόμην κλιμακόεσσαν.

ἐς τούτῳ τὸ πόλισμα ἀνωκίζοντο, ἐπεκτείνοντες τὸν
ἀρχαίον περίβολον ἐρυμα εἶναι πᾶσιν αὐταρκεῖ. ἢν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως ἐχυρὼν· ἡ γὰρ Ἡθόμη
μεγέθει τε οὐδενὸς ἀποδεῖ τῶν ὀρῶν ὀπόσα ἐντὸς
ἐστίν ἵσθμον καὶ ὑσβατοσκατά τούτῳ μάλιστα ἦν.

3 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ θεωρῶν πέμψαι σφίσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς.
ἀποστέλλοσιν οὖν Τίσιν τὸν Ἀλκιδος, καὶ ἄξιό-
ματι οὐδενὸς ύστερον καὶ ὅτι προσκείσθαι μαντικῇ
μάλιστα ἐνομίζετο. τούτου τὸν Τίσιν ἑπανώντα
ἐκ Δελφῶν λοχόσιν ἄνδρες Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ
τῆς ἐν Ἀμφεία φρουρᾶς· λοχήσαντες δὲ—οὐ γὰρ
ὑπείκεν ἀιχμάλωτος γενέσθαι—περιμένοντα οὖν
ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθεστηκότα ἐτίπρωσκον, ἐς ὁ γί-
νεται βοὴ σφίσιν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς “τὸν χρησμοφόρον
4 μέθες.” καὶ Τίσις μὲν ὡς ἀπεσώθη τάχιστα ἐς
Ἠθόμην καὶ τὴν μαντείαν παρὰ τὸν Βασιλέα
ἀνήνεγκε, μετ' οὐ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων
τελευτᾶ; τοὺς δὲ Μεσσήνους συναθροίσας ὁ
Εὐφαῖς ἐπεδείκνυ τῶν χρησμῶν.

κόρην ἄχραντον νερτέροισι δαίμοσιν,
κλήρῳ λαχοὺσαν Λιπτυτίδων ἀφ' αἰματος,
θυνπολείτε νυκτέροισιν ἐν σφαγίᾳ.

ἡν δὲ σφαλήτε, καὶ παρ' ἄλλοιον τότε
θύειν, διδόντος ἐς σφαγὴν ἐκουσίως.

5 ταύτα τοῦ θεοῦ δηλώσαντος αὐτίκα ἐκληροῦντο
ὡσαί παρθένοι τοῦ Λιπτυτίδων γένους ἱσαν' καὶ ἐπε-
small town existed here, which they say Homer mentions in the Catalogue:

"Stepped Ithome." 1

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 Ampheia 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

1 Iliad, ii. 729.
λάμβανε γὰρ Λυκίσκου θυγατέρα ὁ κλήρος, ταύτην Ἠπίβολος ὁ μάντις ἀπηγόρευεν ὡς οὐ δέοι θύειν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Λυκίσκου· τήν δὲ γυναῖκα Ἡ Λυκίσκος συνόκησεν, ὡς τεκεῖν οὐκ οία τε ἢν, τὴν παίδα ὑποβαλέσθαι. ἐν ὦς δὲ οὐτός ἀνεδίδασκε τὰ ἐς αὐτήν, ἐν τοσῷδε ὁ Λυκίσκος ἀπαγόρευες ἡμα καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἑυτομόλησεν 6 ἐς Σπάρτην. ἔχοντων δὲ ἄθυμως τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς Λυκίσκος ἀποδράντα ἦσθοντο, ἑνταῦθα σφισίν Ἀριστόδημος ἀνήρ καὶ γένους τοῦ Λιππυτιδῶν καὶ Λυκίσκου τῇ τε ἄλλῃ δόξῃ καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπιφανεστέρος ἔδιδον τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκῶν θύσαι. τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὕς ἦκιστα τὸ πρόθυμον ἢ πεπρωμένη κατὰ ταύτα ἐπικρύπτει καὶ εἰ Ψηφίδα ἐτιλαβοῦσα ἐλὺς ποταμῷ, ὧποι καὶ τότε Ἀριστοδήμῳ διασώσασθαι Μεσσήνην ἀγώνισμα ποιομένῳ ἐμπόδιον ἐπῆγαγε τοι- 7 ὀνδε. ἀνήρ τῶν Μεσσηνίων—τὸ δὲ ὅνομα οὐ λέγουσιν—ἐρῶν ἐτυχε τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου τῆς θυγατέρος, τότε δὲ ἴδῃ ἐμελλε καὶ γυναῖκα ἄξεσθαι. οὕτως κατ' ἀρχάς μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν Ἀριστό- τοδήμῳ προῆλθεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐγγυησαίτα οἱ μηκέτι εἶναι κύριον τῆς παιδός, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγγυη- σάμενος κυριώτερος ἐκεῖνον γίνεσθαι. δεύτερα δὲ ὀς τοῦτο οὐχ ἔόρα οἱ κατορθοθυμοῦν, ἐπ' ἀνάίσχυντον τρέπται λόγον. ξυγγένεσθαι τε τῇ 8 παιδί καὶ κύειν ἐς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον Ἀριστοδήμου προῆγαγεν ὡς ἐκμανεῖτα ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς θυγατέρα ἀποκτεῖναι· μετὰ δὲ ἀνέτειμε καὶ ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρί. παρὶ δὲ Ὁπίβολος ἐκέλευεν ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν θυγατέρα ἐπιδώσοντα γενέσθαι τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρισ- 222
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
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todh'mou pleon itheri sphiwv aptothanoush s oudewn. foneusai gar tov patéra aut'yn, theois de ois
η Πυθία prosetazei ouv therai. toun oipontos
tou manteos to plhths tov Mesothevov orhmen evo
aptoktevontes tov mnsthiras tis pai'dos, ws
'Aristodh'mw te miaisma eikaino prosofanta
kai sphiw tis sotnerias tiv elpida amphidolou
papoinkota. hyn de o anh'ry ou'tos eis ta miaistra
to Gyfhei filos: peidei <oun> tovis Mesothevov
Evfaihs tov te xhrismen exhein telos aptothanoush
tis pai'dos kai sphiwv aptochran ta upo 'Aristo

todh'mou papoinmenea. lemono de tauta efasan
ta onta xhein osoi tov Liptupidon genous hasan:
apeivai gar sphi to deo to ep' tiv thygatir ekastos espeude. kai oi mno tov basilewv tiv
parainespe peithomenoi tiv ekklhsian dialwousi
kai up' aut'hs prois te thyias theon kai eorth
trpetontai. X. Lakedaimonoi de akousantes tov
gevomevov Mesothevov xhrismov atheumos diekevnto
kai autoi kai oi basileis eis te ta loipta kai
arxewv okynontes ma'chis.

'Etci de ekto metav tov ev 'Ithw'hs Lnik'skon
drasmon oi Lakedaimonoi—tov gar iera egnieto
autois aisi—stratevouno evb tiv 'Ithw'mh
oi de Krhtes ouketa parontes sphiwv exuchov.
ystherosav de kai oi ton Mesothevov syimachoi—
di upothes gar ois Spartiatai kai allois h'dh
Peloponnevov kai Arkasin hesan kai Argeioi
maliata—kai ois men Argeioi cru'fa emellon tov
Lakedaimonov au'fisevthai kai idia de malkon
<η> metav doymatos koinon, tois de 'Arkasin h
strateia men aneiritho ek tov favelon, paretuchov
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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 Euphaes, 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
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δὲ οὐδ' οὖτοι. τοὺς γὰρ Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἀνευ συμμάχων κινδυνεύσαι προήγαγεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ
2 χρησμοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὐν πολλὰ οὐδὲν τι ἐγένετο
dιάφορα ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης, ἢ τε
ήμερα καὶ τότε μαχομένους προσπέλιπεν οὐ
μέντι βιασθῆναι γε οὐδέτερον κέρας ἢ καὶ λόχον
μυημνεύουσιν, ἐπει μηδὲ τὴν τάξιν, ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
ἐτάχθησαν, συμμείναι φασίν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἐκατέρων
τοὺς ἀρίστους συνελθόντας ἐς τὸ μεσαίτατον
3 ἐνταῦθα τὸν πάντα ἔχειν πόνον. ὁ γὰρ Ἑυφαῖς
πλέον τι ἡ βασιλέα εἰκὸς ἦν προθυμούμενος καὶ
ἀφειδώς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον ἐγκείμενος
τραύματα [τε] πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἱάσιμα λαμ-
βάνει· λιποψυχήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πεσόντα οἱ
Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δλίγον ὅμως ἐμπνέουτα ἐποι-
οῦντο παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλκύσαι σπουδήν. ἐπήγειρε
δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἢ τε ἐς τὸν Ἑυφαῖ
προὐπάρχουσα εὐνοια καὶ τὰ οἰνείδη τὰ μέλλοντα·
φονευμένους τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμεινὸν σφισιν
ἔφαγετο προϊέσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἢ ἐκείνων προε-
4 μένων ἠποσωθῆναι τινα. τότε μὲν δὴ πεσὼν οἱ
Ἑυφαῖς τὴν τε μάχην ἐπεμήκυνε καὶ προήγαγεν
ἐς πλέον παρὰ ἐκατέρων τὰ τολμήματα· ύστερον
dὲ ἀνήνεγκε μὲν καὶ ῥήσετο ὅτι οὐκ ἐλαττον
ἐσχήκασιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἡμέρας δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς
ἀποθυνόσκει, βασιλεύσας Μεσσηνίων τρία ἔτη καὶ
dέκα καὶ πολεμήσας Δακεδαιμονίοις τὸν πάντα
tῆς βασιλείας χρόνον.
5 Ἐυφαεῖ δὲ οὐκ ὅντων παῖδων τὸν αἰρεθέντα
υπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατελείπετο ἐχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν,
Κλέονίς τε καὶ Δάμις ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν 'Ἀριστο-
δήμῳ προῆλθον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον
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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’ bodyguard, 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
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6 'Aristodemos. ο δε 'Oioveneous ουτος ο των Μεσ-  
σηνινων μαντις τυφλος ον ευθυς εκ γενετης μαν-  
tικην τινα ειχε τοιαυτην ιακινομενος τα  
γινόμενα εκαστοις ιδια τε και εν κοινω προελεγεν  
ουτω τα μελλοντα. ουτος μεν τροπου εμαυτευετο  
tων ειρημενων, 'Aristodemos δε βασιλευσας τω  
tε δημω διεμινε τα εικοτα χαριζεται προ-  
θυμομνενος και τους εν τελε τους τε άλλους  
και μαλιστα Κλεονων και Δαμιν ζηγεν εν τιμη  
dια θεραπειας δε ειχε κα των συμμαχων,  
'Αρκάδων τε τοις δυνατοις και ες 'Αργος και

7 Σικυώνα άποστελλων δωρα. των δε πολεμον  
επι της 'Aristodήμου βασιλειας έπολέμουν λη-  
stειαις τε κατ' ολίγους αει και περι την ωραίαν  
kαταδρομαι ες την άλληλων χρώμενοι, συνεσε-  
βαλλον δε και παρα των 'Αρκάδων τοις Μεσ-  
sηνιοις ες την Λακωνικην' 'Αργειοι δε προανα-  
φημαι μεν το ες τοις Λακεδαιμονιους εχθος ουκ  
ηξίουν, γινομενο δε αγωνος παρεσκευαζοντο ως  
μεθέξοντες.

XI. Πέμπτω δε έτει της 'Aristodήμων <βα-  
sιλειας> μελλόντων εκ προρρήσεως συμβολην  
ποιησεθαι—τω τε γαρ μηκει του πολεμου και  
tois δαπανήμασιν άπειρήκεσαν—ουτω παρέ-  
γένοντο άμφοτέροι και οι σύμμαχοι, Λακεδαι-  
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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
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μονύμοις μὲν Κορινθίων Πελοποννησίων μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες παντοπατηταί καὶ Ἀργεῖον καὶ Σικυωνίων λογάδες. Δακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν Κορινθίοις καὶ τοῖς εἶλωσι καὶ ὅσοι περίουκι συνεστρατεύοντο τὸ μέσον ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτασσοντο βαθείᾳ τε ὡς οὕτω πρότερον καὶ πυκνῇ

2 τῇ φάλαγγῇ. τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ διετάχθη τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην οὖτως. ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὰ μὲν σώματα ἴσαν εἰρρωμένοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, ὅπλα δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἱσχυρά, τούτοις τῶν ὀπλῶν τὰ χρησιμότατα ἐπέλεξε, καὶ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἤπειγον, ὡμοί τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ Σικυωνίοις καὶ τούτους ἔτασσε τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα ἐπὶ πλέον ἠπλώσεν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθείειν ὕπο τῶν ἐναντίων. προείδετο δὲ καὶ ὅπως τεταγμένοις σφίσι τὸ ὄρος ἡ Ἰθώμη κατὰ νότου γῆνοιτο. καὶ τούτως μὲν Κλέονιν

3 ἐπέταξεν ἵγεμόνα: αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις ὑπέμενεν ἐχοντες τοὺς ψιλούς, σφευδονῆτας μὲν ἡ τοξόταις ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἴσαν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδρομάς καὶ ἀναχωρήσεις ἐπιτίθεοι καὶ τῇ ὀπλίσει κούφοι. θώρακα γὰρ ἡ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν <οὐχ> ἐκαστὸς, ὅσοι δὲ ἦπόρουν τούτων, περιεβέβλητο αὐγὴς νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὁρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων.

4 ἀκόντια δὲ ἐκαστὸς πολλά, οἱ δὲ καὶ λόγχας αὐτῶν ἐφερον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλόχων τῆς Ἦθωμης ἐνθὰ ἐμελλον ἥκιστα ἐσεθαι σύνοπτοι. οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων τε ἐφοδοῦν τὴν πρώτην τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ὑπέ-230
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 Lacedaem-
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μειναν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδρεῖοι. ἀριθμὸ μὲν ἰὴ τῶν ἑναυτῶν ἀπελεύποντο, λογάδες δὲ ὄντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς δήμον καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς κρείττον, ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντεῖχον. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὁ εὐξοιος, ἀφ' οὐ καὶ τούτως ἤρθη τὰ σημεῖα, ἔχρωντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους δρόμῳ καὶ περιστάντες ἡκόντιζον ἐς τὰ πλάγια. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔπι πλέον μετὴ τόλμης, προσέθεον τε καὶ ἔτυπτον ἐκ χειρός. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, κύνδυνον σφίσε δεύτερον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ οὕτως ἀνέλπιστον ὅρωντες παρόντα, ὁμοίως οὔτε ἑταράξθησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τε ἐς τοὺς ψυλοὺς ἀμώνεσθαι μὲν ἑπειρώντο, διὰ δὲ τὴν κούφοτητα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποφευγόντων ἀπορία τοῖς Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἤδη καὶ ὀργή γίνεται.

6 πεφύκασι δὲ πως οἱ ἀνθρώποι μάλιστα ἔχειν ἀκρατῶς πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἄξιαν καὶ ἦ καὶ τότε οἱ τῇ ἦδη τραύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰληφότες καὶ ὄσοι κειμένων τῶν παραστάτων ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδον τῶν ψυλῶν πρῶτοι προεξέθεον τε, ὅποτε ὕδοιεν ἐπιφερομένους τοὺς ψυλοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ μακροτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἀποχωροῦντων. οἱ δὲ ψυλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἦρξαντο, κατὰ χώραν τε μένοντας ἔτυπτον καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον καὶ διωκόντων ἐφθανον ἀποφεύγοντες καὶ πειρωμένοις ἀναστρέφειν ἀὑθίς ἐπήθεσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ἔδραν σποράδην καὶ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλο τῆς τῶν ἑναυτῶν τάξεως· οἱ τε ὀπλίται τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ συμμάχων ἑθραυστέρου ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτε τοῖς κατὰ στόμα αὐτῶν ἐπέκειντο.

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messeanians, 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
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tέλος δε οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τω τε χρόνω και τοις τραύμασιν ἀπαγορεύοντες καὶ ἀμα παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν παρασώμενοι διαλύουσι τὴν τάξιν τραπέζων δὲ ἐνταῦθα σφισὶ πλεῖω
8 παρεῖχον κακὰ οἱ ψιλοί. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συλλαβεῖν μὲν οὐχ οἷα τε ἡν ἀριθμῷ, πείθομε δὲ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς πολλοὺς. η δὲ οἰκαδε ἀναχώρησις τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καθ᾽ ἱσυχίαν, Κορινθίοις δὲ ἐμελλεν ἐσεσθαι χαλεπῇ, διὰ πολεμίας γὰρ ἐγίνετο ἑμοίως διὰ τε τῆς Ἀργείας πειραμένους καὶ παρὰ Σικυώνα ἀνασωθήναι.

XII. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς πταῖσμα, τεθνεότων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἄξιων λόγου, παρίστατο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν πάσαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν ἀθύμως ἔχειν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δέλφους. τούτοις ἐλθοῦσιν ἡ Πυθία χρὰ τάδε

οὗ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ᾽ ἐφέσεων χερὶ Φοῖβος ἀνωγέν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαίαν Μεσσηνίδα λαὸς,
taῖς δ᾽ αὐταῖς τέχναισιν ἀλώσεται αἰσπερ ὑπηρέξεν.

2 [ὁ] πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις τέχναισ μὲν [οὐ] προθυμουμένοις οὐκ ἐγίνετο ἀνευρεῖν οἵ δὲ Ὅδυσσέως τῶν ἔργων ἀπομιμοῦμενοί τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ πέμπουσιν ἀνδρὰς ἐκατον ἐς Ἰθώμην συνήσουσι τὴ μηχανῶται, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτομόλους ἢν δὲ καὶ φυγή τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κατεγνωσμένη, τούτοις ἢκοντας 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
κύδος σοι πολέμουι διδοῦ θεοῖς· ἀλλ' ἀπάταιν φράζειν μὴ Ἑπάρτης δύλιος λόχος ἐχθρὸς ἀνέλθη (κρείσσων δὴ γὰρ Ἀρηὶς κείνων) ἔυρεα τείχη· καὶ <τὸ> χορῶν στεφάνωμα πικροὺς οἰκήτωρας ἔξει, τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπτὸν λόχον ἔξαναδύντων.

οὗ πρόσθεν δὲ τέλος τῶν ἐπόψθεται ἱεροῦ ἦμαρ, πρὶν τὰ παραλλά<ξαν>τα φύσιν τὸ[ξαν] χρεῶν ἀφίκηται.

τότε μὲν δὴ Ἀριστόδημος καὶ οἱ μάντεις ἀπείρως ἐξον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ εἰρημένον ἐτεσί δὲ ύστερον οὐ πολλοὶς ἀναφάνειν τε καὶ ἐς τέλος ἀξεῖν ἔμελλεν ὁ θεός.

"Ετέρα δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις συνεβαινε τοιαῦτα. Λυκίσκον μετοικοῦντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν, ἦν ἁμα ἄγομενὸς ἐφυγεν ἐκ Μεσσηνῆς. πολλάκις δὲ αὐτὸν φοιτῶντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα τῆς παιδὸς λοχίσαντες

1 (κρείσσων δὴ γὰρ Ἀρηὶς κείνων) εὐρεα τείχη Lobeck. el, 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 Lyciseus was living abroad in Sparta, death overtook the daughter whom he carried with him on his flight from Messene. As he often visited her
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ππείς τῶν Ἀρκάδων αἱροῦσιν ἀναχθεῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν καταστᾶς ἀπελογείτο ὡς ὦ προδίδοις τὴν πατρίδα ἀποχωρήσαι, πειθόμενος δὲ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἐς τὴν παῖδα ὡς οὕσαν ὦ γυναῖν.

6 ταύτα ἀπολογούμενος οὐ πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἀληθῆ λέγειν πρὶν ἡ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἢ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τότε τῆς Ἦρας ἔχουσα. αὕτη δὲ τεκείν τε τὴν παίδα ὁμολογεῖ καὶ τῇ Λυκίσκου γυναικὶ ὑπὸ βαλέσθαι δοῦναι: "νῦν δὲ" ἐφὶ "τὸ τε ἀπόρρητον ἐκφαίνουσα Ἦκο καὶ παύσουσα ἐμαυτὴν ἱερωμένην" ταύτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἦν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καθεστηκός, ἥν γυναικὸς ἱερωμένης ἡ καὶ ἀνδρὸς προαποθάνυ τις τῶν παίδων, ἐς ἄλλον τὴν ἱερωσύνην μεταχωρεῖν. νομίζοντες οὖν τὴν γυναίκα ἀληθῆ λέγειν, τῇ θεῶ τε εἰλοῦτο ἱερατευσομένην ἀντ' ἐκείνης καὶ Λυκίσκου συγγινωστὰ ἐφασαν εἰργάσθαι.

7 Ἔπεις δὲ ταύτα ἐδοκεί σφίσι—καὶ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐπήει τῷ πολέμῳ—πέμπτει αὖθις ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησσομένους ὑπὲρ νίκης. ἐρομένους δὲ ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία.

τοὺς τρίποδας περὶ βωμὸν Ἰθωμάτα Διὸ πρῶτοις
στήσασιν δεκάδων ἄριθμον διὸ πέντε δίδωσι σὺν κύδει πολέμου γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα δαιμον. Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔνευσ' οὕτως. ἀπάτη δὲ σε πρόσθε τίθησιν
ἡ τ' ὀπίσω τίσις ἐστ', οὔδ' ἀν θεῶν ἐξαπατῶνς.1 έρδ' ὀπ' πη τῷ χρεῶν. ἀτη δ' ἄλλους πρὸ ἄλλων.

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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."

1 ἔστιν οὐδ' ἄν. θεῶν, Spiro. ἔστι καὶ ἐνθεον codd.
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8 ταύτ' ἀκούσαντες γεγονέναι τε ἡγοῦντο ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ σφίσι διδόναι <τὸ> τοῦ πολέμου κράτος· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν γε ἔχοντων ἐντὸς τείχους τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερὸν Λακεδαιμονίος προτέρους ἀναθέτας φθίσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕξιλίνους κατασκευάσεσθαι τρίποδας ἔμελλον, οὐ γὰρ σφίσι περὶ ἡμᾶς χρήματα ὡς χαλκοὺς ποιῆσα-θαι· τῶν δὲ τῆς Δελφῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἔξηγενεν ἐς Σπάρτην. πυθομένοις δὲ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν οὕδεν

9 σφίσιν ἔξεγένετο ἀνευρεῖν σοφῶν, Ὁἰβάλος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὗ τῶν ἑπιφανῶν, γνώμην δὲ ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἀγαθός, ποιησάμενος ὡς ἔτυχε πηλοῦ τρίποδας ἔκατον, τούτους τε ἀποκεκρυμμένους ἐν πήρα καὶ δίκτυα ἀμα αὐτοῖς ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνήρ θηρευτής. ἀτε δὲ ὑν ἄγνως καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς πολλοῖς, ῥάνον Μεσσηνίους ἐλάνθανεν· ἀνα-μίξας δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνδράσιν ἀγροῖκοις ἐσῆλθε τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ ὡς υψός τάχιστα ἐπελάμβανεν ἀναθεῖς τοὺς τρίποδας τῷ θεῷ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πηλίνους αὕθις ἐς Σπάρτην

10 ἀπαγγελῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὕχετο. Μεσσηνίους δὲ, ὡς εἴδου, ἑτάραξε μὲν μεγάλως, καὶ εὔκαζον— ὡσπερ ἦν—παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων εἶναι παρεμν-θεῖτο δὲ ὠμοὶ αὐτοῦς ὁ Ἀριστόδημος λέγων ἄλλα τε ἂ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἕξιλ-νους τρίποδας—ἐπεποίητο γὰρ ἡδη—περὶ τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τῶν βωμῶν ἐστησε. συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ὁφιονέα τῶν μάντων τούτων, τῶν ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλῶν, ἀναβλέψαι παραλόγως δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐπέλαβε γὰρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀλγημα αὐτῶν ἵσχυρῶν, καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

XIII. Τὰ δὲ ἐνετεύθεν—ἐρρέπε γὰρ ἡδη τὸ 240
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
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χρεών ἐς ἀλώσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων—προεσφάγματε γενέσθαι σαρκών τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεὸς. τὸ τε γὰρ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἀγαλμα, ὅν χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀυτὸ καὶ τὰ ὀπλα, παρῆκε τὴν ἁσπίδα' καὶ 'Αριστοδήμου τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Ἰθωματὰ θύειν μέλλοντος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἱ κριοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν αὐτόματοι καὶ βία τὰ κέρατα ἑυράξαντες ἀποθνῄσκουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. τρίτον δὲ ἀλλο συνέβη σφίσιν οἱ κύνες συνιότοι ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀνά πᾶσαν νύκτα ὡρώντο, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν ἄθροι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Δακεδαίων μυϊν ἀστρατόπεδον. ταυτά τε δὴ τὸν 'Αριστοδήμου ἑταρασσε καὶ ὀνείρατος ὑψίς ἐπιγενομένη τοιάδε. ἔδοξεν ἐξιέναι οἱ μέλλοντι ἐς μάχην καὶ ὣπλισμένῳ τῶν ἱερείων τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ προκείσθαι, τὴν δὲ τὰ ὑματέρα ἐπιφανῆς μέλαιναι ἐσθήτα ἐχουσαι καὶ φαῖνουσαν τὸ τε στέρνου καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀπατημενέα, ἀναφανεῖσαν δὲ ἀπορρίψαν μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπεζῆς, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀπλα, ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ στέφανον ἐπιθείναι χρυσοῖν καὶ ιμάτιον ἐπι-

3 βαλείν λευκόν. ἔχοντος δὲ 'Αριστοδήμου τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀθύμως καὶ τὸν ὄνειρο ἤγουμένου προλέγεναν τοῖς ἰδίοις τελευτησίν, ὅτι οἱ Μεσσηνοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τὰς ἑκφορὰς ἐποίοντο ἐστεφανομένων καὶ ιμάτια ἐπιβεβλημένων λευκά, ἀπαγγέλλει τις 'Οφιονέα τοὺς μάντιν οὐχ ὅραν ἔτι ἀλλ' ἐξαι-φυης γενέσθαι τυφλόν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἢν τὸ ἔξω ἄρχης. συνιᾶσι δὴ καὶ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τότε, ὡς τοὺς ἀναδύνατος δύο ἐκ τοῦ λόχου καὶ ἐς τὸ χρεών αὕθις ἐλθόντας τοῦ 'Οφιονέως τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

4 εἶπεν ἡ Πυθία. ἐνταῦθα 'Αριστόδημος τὰ τε οἴκεια ἀναλογιζόμενοι, ὡς οὐδὲν ὤφελίμον γένοιτο φονεύς

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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 ὅρων ἔτι ὑπούσαν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἕαυτον τῆς παιδὸς τῷ τάφῳ, τὰ μὲν ἐς ἁνθρώπου λογισμοῦ ἤκοντα Μεσσηνίους σώσας, τῆς τύχης δὲ ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ἀγαγούσης τὰ τε ἐργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βουλεύματα. ἀπέθανε δὲ βασιλεύσας ἐτή τε ἐξ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔβδομον μήνας ἐπιλαβὼν <οὗ> πολλοὺς.

5 Τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις ἀπεγνωσκέναι τὰ πράγματα παρίστατο, ὡστε καὶ ἄρμησαν ἰκεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἀποστέλλειν οὗτοι σφόδρα κατ-ἐπληξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τελευτή. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ θυμὸς ἔπεσ χεὶν αὐτοὺς μὴ ποιήσαι· συλλεγέστε δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν βασιλέα μὲν οὐδένα, Δᾶμιν δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐίλοντο. οὐ δὲ Κλέοννιν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Φυλέα ἐλόμενος συνάρ-χοντας παρεσκευάζετο ὅς καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνάψων [ἐς] μάχην διηγάγαζε γὰρ ἦ τε πολιορκία καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα ὁ λιμὸς καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

6 δέος, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐνδείας. ἀρετῇ μὲν δὴ καὶ τολμήσασιν οὐδὲ τότε ἀπεδέξη τὰ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀπέθανον δὲ οὐ τε στρατηγοὶ σφισών ἄπαντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῆνας μὲν που πέντε μάλιστα ἀντέσχον, περὶ δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λήγοντα ἐξελίπον τὴν Ἰθώμην, πολεμήσαντες ἔτη τὰ πάντα εἰκοσί, καθὰ καὶ Τυρταῖος πεποιημένα ἐστίν.

εἰκοστῶ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πίσων ἐργα λιπόντες φεύγον Ἰθωμαίοιν ἐκ μεγάλων ὀρέων.

7 ὁ δ' ἐπὸλεμος ἐλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἐτει πρῶτῳ τῆς 244
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
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tetártos kai dekáptos olumpiádos, hén Δάσμων
Korínthios énika stádion, 'Atheísi Meodúntidón
thn arxhèn eti echontow thn dekéntiv kai etous
Ippomènei tetártot ths arxhês hýnasménon.

XIV. Mesosnìwv dé ùsois méν èntuchon en
Sikwvvn ouvai kai en 'Argei proxevniai kai pará
tovn 'Arkádôn tisín, ouvai méν ès taútas tás
póleis ápexwórsan, ès 'Eleuvsína dé oi tòv
génous tòv ieréwv kai theìs tais Megálais te-
loúntes tà òrghia: ó dé óchlos ò polús kata tàs
patrídas èkastoi tás arxíases èskedásthasan.

2 Lakedaimónioi dé pròta méν thn 'Ithômnh ka-
thetaílo én èdaphos, èpeita kai tás loiptás póleis
èpíontes yron, ánèthasan dé kai àpò tòv laphúróv
tov 'Ammklaífó trístodas xalkoûs. 'Aphrodítês
ágalwá èsttw èstthkós và tò trópodi tò pròtow,
'Artémidos dé ùpòtò dèvntérfw, Kòrphe dé h Aúmthres

3 úpò tòv trítow. taúta méν dé àséthasan èntadow,
thís dé gíh thís Mesosnías 'Asiváoi méν anü-
sthkósan và tòv 'Argeiwn didóasw èpti xalássh
taútnh hùn kai ùv ìti oì 'Asiváoi némovnta: tòis
dé 'Androkléous àpogónnois—hùn gár dé kai thyná-
thí 'Androkliéi kai paìdes thís thynatôs, fèv-
ngontes dé ùpò thn teleúthn tòu 'Androkléous
òchonté ès òpártvun—tòútous thn 'Xamian kà-

4 lóuménnh àpouméousi. tò dé ès autòs Mes-
snìwv parà Lakedaimóniv ìsçhen ouvtos.
pròtov méν autòs èppághousin órkon múte àpò-
sthínaí pote àp' autòwn múte àllo èrgássatìthai
neòteron múdev. deútera dé fíron méν ouvèna
epétaxan eirneménon, oì dé tòv òrewroçuménon
trófwn sphiwv àpêferov ès òpártvun pántow tò
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fourteenth Olympiad,\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) B.C. 724.
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ἡμίσεα. προείρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθήτι ἦκείν μελαίνη καὶ τοῖς παραβασίσιν ἐπέκειτο 5 ποιή. <ἐς> τιμωρίας δὲ ἃς ὑβρίζου ἐσ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, Τυρταίῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν

ὡσπερ ὅνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,

dεσποσύνοις δέροτες ἰναγκαῖς ὑπὸ λυγρῆς ἦμισυ πάν ὄσσων καρπὸν ἀρουρα φέρει.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ συμπενθεῖν ἐκείτο αὐτοῖς ἀνίγκη,

dεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷδε:

δεσπότας οἰμώξοντες, ὁμώς άλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί,

eυτέ τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

6 Ťοιούτων οὖν οἱ Μεσσηνίοι κατειληφότων καὶ ἀμα ἐσ τὰ μελλόντα οὔδεν ἐνορόμετε παρὰ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων φιλίανθρωποι, πρό τε δὴ τῶν παρόντων τεθνάναι μαχομένους ἦ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐκ Πελοποιήσου φεύγοντες οἱ χεσθαὶ νομίζοντες αἱρέτωτερα, ἡφίστασθαι πάντως εγώνθσκν. ἐν- ἦγον δὲ οὖχ ἦκιστα ἐς τοῦτο καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι,

πολέμου μὲν ἐπὶ ἀπείρως ἔχοντες, λαμπροὶ δὲ ὄντες τὰ φρονήματα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν προτιμῶντες ἐν ἑλευθέρα τῇ πατρίδι, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαι- 7 μόνως δουλέυειν παρείη. ἐπετράφη δὲ νεότης καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἀριστοι καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστοι περὶ τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀριστομένης, ὅσ καὶ νῦν ἐτί ὦς ἦρως ἔχει παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις τιμᾶς. καὶ οἱ καὶ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπάρξαι νομίζουσι: Νι- κοτελεία γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ δαίμονα ἦ θεὸν

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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 Peloponnesianpreferable to their present lot, resolved at
all costs to revolt. They were incited to this mainly
by the younger men, who were still without experi-
ence 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 συγγενεσθαι λέγουσι. τοι-αύτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ 'Ολυμπιάδι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμα Σικυώνιος οἶδα εἰρηκότας, διάφορα δὲ τοσόνδε ἦν· Μεσσήνιοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐποιοῦσιν Ἀριστομένην Ἡρακλεῖ παῖδα ἢ Δι, ὡσπερ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀμμονι oἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀρατόν Ἀσκληπιίων Σικυώνιοι. Ἀριστομένει δὲ πατέρα Ἑλλήνων μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ Πύρρον φασίν εἶναι, Μεσσηνίους δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζων ἥλικια καὶ τόλμη καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν τέλει παρόξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐπράσ-σετο δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εὕθες ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, κρύφα δὲ ἔσ "Ἀργὸς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀπεστελλον, εἰ σφησιν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεεστέρως ἦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου ἀμύναι θελή-σουσιν.

XV. Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προθυμότερα ἦ προσεδόκων—καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείους ἦδη καὶ Ἀρκάσι λαμπρῶς τὸ ἐς τοὺς Δακεδαίμονιοὺς ἔχθος ἐξῆπτο—οὔτως ἀπέστησαν ἐτεί τριακοστῶ μὲν καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ Ἰθώμης ἄλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εἰκόστης, ἦν Ἰκαρος Ὑπερησιεὺς ἐνίκα στάδιον. Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ᾽ ἐναυτὸν ἤσαν ἦδη τότε ἄρχοντες, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Θησίας ἦρχεν. Ἐν δὲ Δακεδαίμοι οἱ τινες τηροῦντα ἐτυχον βασιλεύσουσι, Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ ὁνόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε, Ριάνος δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσι Δεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου. 'Ριάνοι μὲν οὖν ἔγραψεν ὡδαμῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο συνή-σομαι. Τυρταίον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὃμως εἰρή-250
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, 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

1 B.C. 685.
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κέναι τις ἂν ἐν τῷ δὲ ἤγοιτο. ἐλεγείαι γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ἐστίν αὐτῷ πόλεμον.

ἀμφ' αὐτῇ δ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννέα καὶ δεκ' ἔτη νωπέμεως, αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμόν ἔχοντες, αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἥμετέρων πατέρες.

3 δήλα οὖν ἐστὶν ὡς ὑστερον τρίτη γενεὰ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσηνοὶ τόνδε ἐσπολέμησαν, ἀποδείκνυσι τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχὲς βασιλεύοντας τηνικαύτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀνάξανδρον Εὐρυκράτος τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Ἀνάξιδαμον Ζευξίδαμον τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. κατέβην δὲ ἐς ἀπόγονον Θεοπόμπου τέταρτον, ὅτι Ἀρχιδάμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προσέπιθη τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον νικὸν ὅντα ἡ Θεοπόμπου περιήλθεν ἀρχῆ. Δευτεροχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν Ἀρίστωνος. Θεοπόμπου δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀπόγονος ἐβδόμος.

4 Τότε δὲ οἱ Μεσσηνοὶ Λακεδαιμονίως συμβάλλουσιν ἐν Δέραις καλομέμαις τῆς σφετέρας, ἔτει πρῶτο μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἀπῆσαν δὲ ἀμφοτέροις οἱ σύμμαχοι. καὶ νίκη μὲν ἐγένετο οὐδετέρων σαφῆς. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔργα φασὶν ἀποδείξασθαι πλέον τι ἡ ἄνδρα ἕνα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὡστε καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἤροῦτο αὐτόν, ἦν γὰρ καὶ γένους τῶν Λιπτυτίδων παραιτούμενον τε, οὕτω στρατηγοῦν αὐτοκράτορα

5 εἴλοντο. Ἀριστομένει δὲ παρίστατο μηδ' ἂν ἄλλον ἀπαξιώσαι παθεῖν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δρᾶσαντα ἄξια μνήμης: αὐτῷ μέντοι καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἐνύμιζεν εἰναι, ἐτὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμονίως.
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 Leotyphlides 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
μονίων καταπλήξαντα φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά σφισὶ φοβερώτερον. ἂτε δὲ οὐτως ἔχων, ἀφικόμενος νῦκτωρ ἐς τὴν Ἀκεδαίμονα ἀνατίθησιν ἁσπίδα πρὸς τὸν τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναὸν ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ Ἀριστομένην ἀπὸ Σπάρται ἀτὸν διδόναι τῇ θεῷ.

6 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἀκεδαίμονις μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τὸν Ἀθηναίον ἐπάγεσθαι σύμβουλον. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν τε χρησμὸν ἀπαγγέλουσας καὶ ἄνδρα αἰτοῦντας παραινέσσοντες ἄ χρή σφισιν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐδετέρα θέλοντες, οὔτε Ἀκεδαίμονις ἀνευ μεγάλων κινδύνων προσλαβὲν μοῖραν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τὴν ἁρίστην οὔτε αὐτοὶ παρακούσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐξευρίσκουσιν καὶ ἤν γὰρ Τυρταίος διδάσκαλος ὑγραμμάτων νοῦν τε ἦκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν καὶ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ποδῶν χωλός, τοῦτον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἵδια τε τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ συνάγων ὀπόσους τύχοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ σφίσι τὰ ἀνάπαιστα

7 ἦδεν. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὦστερον τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δέρας ἀγώνοις, ἦκιντον ἀμφιτέροις καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς μάχην συνάψοντες ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Κάπρου σήματι. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἀργοὺς ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυώνοις βοήθεια. παρήγαν δὲ καὶ ὁσοὶ πρότερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐφευγον ἐκοινώσως, ἐξ Ἐλευσίνης τε, οἷς πάτριοι δραν τὰ ὀργα τῶν Μεγαλῶν θεῶν, καὶ οἱ Ἀνδροκλέους ἀπόγονοι καὶ γὰρ οἱ συσπεύσαντες μάλιστα σφισιν ἦσαν 8 οὕτως. Ἀκεδαίμονις δὲ ἦλθον Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσοντες καὶ Λεπτρατῶν τινες κατὰ ἐχθὸς τὸ 254
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 Tyrtaeus, 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
'Ηλείων: 'Ασιναίοις δὲ ὁρκοὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τούτο, Κάπρου σῆμα, ἔστι μὲν ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, 'Ἡρακλέα δὲ αὐτόθι ὁρκοὶ ἐπὶ τομίων κάπρου τοῖς Νηλέως παίσι δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ ἐκείνων λέγοντιν.

XVI. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις προεθύσαντο οἱ μάντεις, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν Ἑκας ἀπόγονός τε καὶ ὄμω-νυμος Ἐκα τοῦ σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖσιν ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐπάρτην, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις Θέσκλος —ἐγεγόνει δὲ ὁ Θέσκλος οὗτος ἀπὸ Ἐὐμάντίδος, Ὑμαγντὶν δὲ ὄντα 'Ηλείων τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν Κρέσφοντης ἐπηγάγετο ἐς Μεσσηνίαν—τότε δὲ πα-ρώντων καὶ τῶν μάντεων σὺν φρονήματι ἀμφότεροι μᾶλλον ὑπείγοντο ἐς τὴν μάχην. καὶ ἂν μὲν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρόθυμα, ὡς ἠλκιίας ἐκαστὸς εἶχεν ἡ ῥώμης, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀνάξανδρός τε ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐπαρτιατῶν παρὰ Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ Ὀνδρο-κλέους ἀπόγονοι Φίνιτας καὶ Ὀνδροκλῆς καὶ οἱ συντεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐπειρώντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι. Τυρταῖος δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἱερο-φάνται τῶν Μεγάλων ἔργων μὲν ἢπτοτοῦ οὐδενός, τοὺς τελευταῖος δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐκάτεροι στρα-

3 τίας ἐπίγειοιν. κατὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστομένην εἶχεν οὕτω. λογάδες περὶ αὐτῶν ὁγδοίκοντα ἦσαν Μεσσηνίων, ἠλκιίαν τε γεγονότες ἐκεῖνω τῇν αὐτήν καὶ ἐκαστὸς προτετιμήσθαι μεγάλως μυμίζων ὅτι ἡξίωτο Ἀριστομένειν συντετάχθαι. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι δι’ ὄλγον δεινοὶ τὰ τέ παρ’ ἄλληλων καὶ μάλιστα ἐκεῖνω καὶ ἄρχο-μένου τι δρᾶν καὶ ἔτι μέλλοντος. οὕτωι μὲν

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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 Theocles, who was descended from Eumantus, 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. Tyrtaeus 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
πρώτον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀριστομένης πόνον εἶχον πολὺν κατ’ Ἀνάξανδρον καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἀρίστους· λαμβάνοντες δὲ τραύματα ἀφείδως καὶ ἐς πάν προϊόντες ἀπονοίας τῷ τε χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς τολμήμασιν ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀνάξανδρον. τούτοις μὲν δὴ θευμοῦσα διώκειν ἐπέταξεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἔτερον τῶν Μεσσηνίων λόχον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὀρμήσας πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα ἀνθεστηκός, ώς ἐβιάσατο καὶ τούτους, ἐπ’ ἀλλούς ἐτράπετο αὖθις. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τούτους ὑσάμενος ἐτοιμάτερον ἤη ἐπὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ἐπεφέρετο, ἐς δὲ πᾶσαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν τάξιν καὶ αὐτῶν <καὶ> τῶν συμμάχων συνέχει· καὶ οὐχὶ σὺν αἰδοὶ φενγόντων οὐδὲ ἀναμέειν θελόντων ἐτί ἀλλήλους, ἐπεκεῖτο σφισὶ φοβερῶ- τερος ἡ κατὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς εἶναι μανιαν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παρ’ ἀχράδα πεφυκών ποὺ τοῦ πεδίου, παρὰ ταύτην Ἀριστομένην οὐκ εἶα παραθεῖν ὁ μάντις Θέοκλος· καθέξεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐφα- σκεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀχράδι. Ἀριστομένης δὲ εἶκον τῷ θυμῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀκροφύσασθαι τὰ πάντα τοῦ μάντεως, ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀχράδα ἐγίνετο, ἀπόλυσε τὴν ἀσπίδα, Λακεδαιμονίους τῷ ἀμαρτήμα τοῦ Ἀριστομένους παρέσχεν αὐτῶν ἀποσωθῆναι τινας ἐκ τῆς φυγής· διετριψε γὰρ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνευρεῖν πειρόμενος.

6 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐχόντων ἀθύμως μετὰ τὴν πληγήν καὶ ῥωμημένων καταθέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, Τυρταίος τε ἐλεγεῖα ἄδικων μετέπειθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόχους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων κατέλεγεν ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν εἰλότων. Ἀριστομένει δὲ, ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐς τὴν Ἀνδανίαν, ταυτιὰς αἰ γυναῖκες 258
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 Theocclus 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 ώραία ἐπιβάλλουσαι τῶν ἄνθρων ἐπέλεγον ἁσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτί ἁδόμενον

ἐς τε μέσον πεδίον Στενυκλήριον ἐς τ’ ὅρος ἄκρον
εἶπεν Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

7 ἀνεσώσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἑκείνην, ἐς τε Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ὡς οἱ προσέταξαν ἢ Πυθία καταβάς ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον ἱερὸν τοῦ Τροφωνίου τὸ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ. ὧστερον δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Λεβάδειαν φέρων, ὡ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδω ανακείμενην ἐπίθημα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἄετος τὰ πτερὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκτετακὼς ἐς ἄκραν τὴν ἱτυν. τότε δὲ Ἀριστομένης ὃς ἐπαυῆκεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας εὐρόων τε παρὰ τὸ Τροφωνίῳ καὶ κομισμένοις τὴν ἀσπίδα, αὐτίκα ἔργων μείζων

8 ἥπτετο. συλλέξας δὲ ἄλλοις τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἄρα ἐχοὺς λογάδας, φυλάξας τὰ μετὰ ἔσπεραν ἤλθεν ἐπὶ πόλιν τῆς Δακωνικῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἶνομα καὶ ἐν Ὁμήρου καταλόγῳ Φάριν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ προσοίκων καλουμένην Φαράς· ἐπὶ ταῦτην ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τε πειρωμένους Ἀμύνεσθαι διέφθειρε καὶ λείαν περιβάλλομενος ἀπήλαυνεν ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνήν. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιθεμένων καθ’ ὅδον, ἐτρέψατό τε καὶ τούτους καὶ διώκειν τῶν Ἀναξάνδρου ὁρμητοῦ· βληθεὶς δὲ ἀκοντίῳ τοῦ γλυκτοῦ τὴν διώξιν ἐπέσχεν, οὐ μὲντοι τὴν λείαιν γε ἢν ἠλαυνεν

9 ἀφηρέθη. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὅσον ἀκεσθήναι τὸ τραύμα, ἐς μὲν αὐτὴν Σπάρτην ἔξοδον ποιούμενος νῦκτωρ ἀπετράπετο ὑπὸ φασμάτων Ἐλένης 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, 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

\[1\] Iliad, ii. 582.
κούρων, τὰς δὲ ἐν Καρύαις παρθένους χορευούσας τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι ἐλόχησε μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ συνέλαβεν ὅσαι χρήματιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἥξιόματι πατέρων προεῖχον ἀγαγῶν δὲ ἐς κόμην τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύετο, ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου
τὴν φρούραν ἐπιτρέψας τῶν παρθένων. ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ μέθης οἱ νεανίσκοι δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκρατῶς ἔχουτες λογισμοῦ πρὸς βίαν ἔτρεποντο τῶν παρθένων, 'Αριστομένους δὲ ἀπείργουτος οὐ νομιζόμενα "Ἐλλησι δρόντας οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο λόγον, ὡστε ἡναγκάζθη καὶ ἀποκτείναι τοὺς παροιμοῦντας μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰς δὲ αἱ-χμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε χρημάτων πολλῶν, παρθένους ὡσπέρ γε καὶ εἴλεν.

XVII. Ἑστὶ δὲ Αὐγίλα τῆς Δακωνίκης, ἐνθα ἱερὸν ἱδρυται ἄγιον Δήμητρος. ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστά-μενος ο Ἄριστομένης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγούσας ἐσορτὴν . . . ἀμώνεσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ ἀνευ τῆς θεοῦ προὐχθεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἳ τὰ ἱερεῖα αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθνου, καὶ ὄβελοῖς, οἵς τὰ κρέα ἐπειρόν ὀπτώσαι τὸν δὲ Ἄριστομένην τύπτουσα ταῖς δαοὶ ξόντα αἱροῦσιν. ἀπεσόθη δὲ ὅμως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκεῖνης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. ἀφεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερεῖα τῆς Δήμητρος αἰτίαν ἔχειν Ἀρχιδάμειαν ἀφῆκε δὲ οὐκ ἔπει χρήματιν, ἀλλὰ ἕρωσα ἐτυχεῖν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐτί, προὐφασίζετο δὲ ὡς Ἄρι-ςτομένης διακαύσας τὰ δεσμὰ ἀποδρᾶς οἶχοτο.

2 Τρίτω δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου μελλούσης γίνεσθαι συμβολῆς ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ καὶ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδων βεβοηθηκότων ἀπὸ πασῶν 262
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
Διάβασε τον πόλεμον, 'Αριστοκράτη τ' Ικετά Τραπεζούντιον, Βασιλέα τ' Αρκάδων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἐν τῷ τότε, διαφθείρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρῆμασι. πρῶτοι γὰρ ἂν ἵσμεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμῳ ἀνδρὶ δῷρα ἔδοσαν, καὶ ὅνιον πρῶτοι κατεστήσαντο εἶναι τὸ κράτος τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς.

3 πρὶν δὲ ἡ παρανομήσαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων πόλεμον καὶ 'Αριστοκράτους τοῦ 'Αρκάδος τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀρετῇ τε οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ τύχαις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διεκρίνοντο. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ύστερον, ἥνικα ἐπὶ Ἁγίὸς ποταμὸς ταῖς Ἀθηναίων ναῦσιν ἀνθόρμουσιν, ἀλλοὺς τε τῶν στρατηγούντων 'Ἀθηναίοις καὶ

4 Ἀδείμαντον ἐξωνησάμενοι. περιῆλθε μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἡ Νεοπτολέμειος καλουμένη τίσις. Νεοπτολέμῳ γὰρ τῷ 'Αχιλλείῳ, ἀποκτείνατι Πρίμαμον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἐρκείου, συνέπεσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ἀποσφαγήμασι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τὸ παθεῖν ὀποῖόν τις

5 καὶ ἔδρασε Νεοπτολέμειον τίσιν ὀνομάζουσι. τοῖς οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα ἦθησαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖον τε τὸ ναυτικὸν καθηρήκασαν καὶ Ἀγησίλαος κεχείρωτο τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη τῆς Ἀσίας, τότε σφίσε τὴν ἄρχὴν πᾶσαν οὖν ἐξεγένετο ἀφελέσθαι τὸν Μῆδον, ἄλλα σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος περιῆλθε τῷ ἐκεῖνων εὐρήματι, ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Ἡβας χρῆματα ἀποστείλας οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι Κορινθιακοὶ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τούτων ἔξηφθη τῶν χρημάτων, ὡς ἀπολείπειν Ἀγησίλαον ἀναγκασθῆναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.

6 Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν τὸ ἐς Μεσσηνίους σφόσιμα 264
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
of 

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9
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

1 οί πολλοί, Hitzig. οί πολλοί, codd.
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ἐπειρώντο, ὅλιγοι δὲ ὄντες οὐ μεγάλα ὤφέλουν. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων τοῦ μὲν δήμου τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀνυλῶθησαν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα Λακεδαιμονίων δεσπότας ἀντὶ δούλων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντας τότε μηδὲ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτὴν ἐτὶ ἔχειν ἐλπίδα· ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ τὸν πρωτεύοντον ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς καὶ Φίντας καὶ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιως ἀγωνισάμενος Φάνας, ὃς πρῶτον τούτων ἐτὶ δολίχῳ νίκην Ὁλυμπίασιν ἦν ἀνηρμένους.

10 Ἀριστομένης δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς διαπε- φευγότας τῶν Μεσσηνίων συνήθροιζε, καὶ Ἀν- δανίαν μὲν καὶ εἶ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἰραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι. συνελημμένοις δὲ ἐς τούτο τὸ χωρίον προσεκάθυντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολι- ορκία σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἐξαιρήσειν νομίζοντες· αὐτήρ- κεσαν δὲ ὅμως οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφῳ συμφορᾶν ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἐτεισὶν ἀμυνόμενοι. τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γενέ- σθαι τοσοῦτον δηλοὶ καὶ τάδε ἐπὶ 'Ριανοῦ πε- ποιμέναι ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους·

οὖρεος ἀργεννυοί περὶ πτύχας ἐστρατόωντο χείματά τι ποίας τε δύω καὶ εἰκοσι πᾶσας.

χειμώνας γὰρ καὶ θέρη κατέλεξε, πόας εἰπὼν τὸν χλωρὸν σίτων ὡς ὀλίγου πρὸ ἀμητοῦ.

XVIII. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὴν Εἰραν <ἀνω- κίσθησαν,> τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐξείρηγνον πλῆν ὅσον σφίσιν οἱ Πύλιοι τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ οἱ Μο- θωναιοὶ διέσωζον, [ἡ] ἐλήστευον τὴν τε Δακω- νικήν καὶ τὴν σφητέραν, πολεμίαν ἢδη καὶ ταύτην νομίζοντες· ἄλλοι τε δὴ συνίσταντο ἐς τὰς κατα- 268
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 Androeles 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
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дромах, ώς ἑκαστοι τύχοιεν, καὶ Ἀριστομένης δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λογάδας ἐς τριακοσίων ἀριθμὸν
2 προῆγαγεν. ἦγοι μὲν δὴ τὰ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἔφερον ὁ τι καὶ δύναιτο αὐτῶν ἑκαστὸς, ἐλόντες
dὲ σίτον καὶ βοσκῆματα καὶ οἶνον ἀνήλισκον,
ἐπιπλα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπεδίδοσαν χρημάτων.
ὡστε καὶ ἑποίησαντο οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι δόγμα,
άτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Εἶρᾳ μᾶλλον ὢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
γεωργοῦντες, τῇ Μεσσηνίαν καὶ τῆς Δακωνικῆς
τὴν προσεχῆ, ἐως ἀν πολεμῶσιν, ἐὰν ἂσπορον.
3 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου σιτοδέία ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ
όμοι τῇ σιτοδέιᾳ στάσις· οὐ γὰρ ἤνειχον οἱ
ταύτη τὰ κτημάτα ἑχοντες τὰ σφέτερα ἀργὰ
εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τὰ διάφορα διέλυε Τυρ-
ταῖος: Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐχὼν τοὺς λογάδας τὴν
μὲν ἔξοδον περὶ βαθείαν ἐποιήσατο ἐσπέραν,
ἐφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τάχους τὴν ἐς Ἀμύκλας ἀνύσας
πρὸ ἀνίσχωντος ἥλιον, καὶ Ἀμύκλας τὸ πόλισμα
εἴλε τε καὶ διήρτασε καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποίη-
σατο πρὶν ἡ τούς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτῆς προσβοηθῆσαι.
4 κατέτρεχε δὲ καὶ ύστερον τὴν χώραν, ἐς ὁ Δακε-
δαιμονίων λόχους πλέον ἡ τοῖς ἠμίσεσι καὶ τοῖς
βασιλεύσιν ἀμφότεροι συμβαλών ἄλλα τε ἐσχεν
ἀμυνόμενοι τραύματα καὶ πληγέντι ὑπὸ λίθου
τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῇ σκοτοδιώσων οἱ ὁφθαλμοί,
καὶ πεσόντα ἅθροι τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἐπιδρα-
μόντες ἤσταντα ἀφρόνους ἠλώσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ
αὐτῶν ἐς πεντήκοντα. τούτους ἔγνωσαν οἱ Δακε-
δαιμόνιοι ρίψαι πάντας ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν· ἐμβάλ-
λουσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα σοῦ ἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τιμωρῶνται.
5 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Μεσσηνίων ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπόλ-
λυντο αὐτίκα, Ἀριστομένη δὲ ἐς τε τὰ ἄλλα
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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
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θεών τις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσεν ὁ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστομένει ψάγων ἐμβληθέντι ἐς τὸν Κεάδαν ὅρνθα τὸν ἄετὸν ὑποπέτεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχειν ταῖς πτέρυξιν, ἐς δὲ κατηνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πέρας οὔτε πηρωθέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τραύμα τι λαβόντα. ἔμελλε δὲ ἅρα καὶ αὐτόθεν ὁ δαίμων ἡξοδον ἀποφάίνειν 6 αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὸ τέρμα ἤλθε τοῦ βαράθρου, κατεκλίθη τε καὶ ἐφελκυσάμενος τὴν χλαμύδα ἀνέμενεν ώσ πάντως οἱ ἀποθανεῖν πεπρωμένου τρίτῃ δὲ ὑστερον ἡμέρα ψόφου τε αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος—ἐδῶνατο δὲ ἡδι διὰ τοῦ σκότους διοράν—ἀλώπεκα εἰδεν ἀπομένη τῶν νεκρῶν. ὑπονοήσας δὲ ἐσοδον εἰναι τῷ θηρίῳ ποθέν, ἀνέμενεν ἑγγύς οἱ τὴν ἀλώπεκα γενέσθαι, γενομένης δὲ λαμβάνεται τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ χειρί, ὅποτε ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφοιτο, τὴν χλαμύδα προβάλλειν οἳ καὶ δάκνειν παρεῖχε. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείω θεούσι συνέθει, τὰ δὲ ἄγαν δυσέξοδα καὶ ἐφεῖλκετο ὑπ' αὐτῆς· ὅψε δὲ ποτὲ ὅπην τε εἰδεν ἀλώπεκι εἰς διάδυσιν ἵκανην καὶ φέγγος δ' αὕτης.

7 καὶ τὴν μὲν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους ἡλευθερώθη, τὸ φωλίον ἐμελλέν ὑποδέξθαι. Ἀριστομένης δὲ—οὐ γὰρ τι ἡ ὅπη καὶ τοῦτο παρέχειν ἐδῶνατο ἡξοδον—εὐρυτέραν τὲ ταῖς χεραῖν ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκάδε ἐς τὴν Εἴραν ἀποσώζεται, παραδόξω μὲν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλωσιν χρησάμενος, τὸ γὰρ οἱ φρώνιμα ἤν καὶ τὰ τολμήματα μείζονα ἢ ώς ἐλπίσαι τινὰ Ἀριστομένην αἰχμαλωτον ἄν γενέσθαι, παραδοξότερα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πάντων προδηλότατα οὐκ ἀνευ θεοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Κεάδα σωτηρία.

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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.
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XIX. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ παρανύκτικα μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἄπηγγέλλετο αὐτομόλων, ὡς Ἀριστομένης ἐπαινήκοις σῶς· νομιζόμενοι δὲ ἀπίστου κατὰ ταῦτα ἢ εἴ τινα τεθύνωτα ἐλέγετο ἀναβιώναι, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτο Άριστομένους ὑπήρξεν ἐς πίστιν. Κορίνθιοι Λακεδαιμονίοις δύναμιν ὡς

2 συνεξαίρησοντας τὴν Εἰραν ἀποστέλλουσι. τούτους παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀριστομένης τῇ πορείᾳ τε ἀτακτότερον χρὴσθαι καὶ ταῖς στρατοπεδείαίς ἄφυλλάκτως, ἐπιτίθεται νῦκτωρ σφίσι' καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων καθευδόντων ἐτί ἐφόνευσε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἢγεμόνας "Τπερ-μενίδην καὶ Ἀχλαδαίον καὶ Λυσίστρατον καὶ Σίδεκτον ἀποκτίνωσι. διαρπάσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνήν τὴν στρατηγίδα παρέστησεν εὗ εἰδέναι Σπαρτιάταις ὡς Ἀριστομένης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος

3 Μεσσηνίων ἑστὶν ὁ ταῦτα εἰργασμένοι. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Ἰθωμάτα τὴν θυσίαν ἢν ἐκατομφόνια ὑνομάζουσιν. αὕτη δὲ καθεστήκει μὲν ἐκ παλαιοτότου, θύειν δὲ αὐτὴν Μεσσηνίων ἐνομίζετο ὅποσοι πολεμίους ἄνδρας κατεργά-σαιντο ἐκατόν. Ἀριστομένης δὲ, ὅτε ἐπὶ Κάρπου σήματι ἐμαχέσατο, θύσαντι ἐκατομφόνια πρῶτον, δεύτερα ἤδη θύσαι καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ νυκτί τῶν Κοριν-θίων παρέσκει φόνος. τούτων μὲν δὴ λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑστεροῖς θύσαι καταδρομαῖς θυσίαν

4 τρίτην. Λακεδαιμονίοι δὲ—ἐπήει γὰρ Ἰακύθια—πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἔιρᾳ τεσσαράκοντα ἐποίη-σαντο ἡμερῶν σπονδάς· καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀναχωρῆ-σαντες οἴκαδε ἐὼρταξον, Κρῆτες δὲ τοξόται—μετεπέμψαντο γὰρ ἐκ τε Λύκτον καὶ ἔτερων πόλεων μισθατοὺς—οὕτῳ σφίσιν ἀνὴ τὴν Μεσ-
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 Aristomenes 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
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σημίαν ἔπλανώντο. Ἄριστομένην οὖν, ἀτε ἐν σπουδαίς ἀπωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑθρᾶς γενόμενον καὶ προϊόντα ἀδεέστερον, ἐπτὰ ἄνδρες ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν τούτων ἐλόχησαν, συλλαβόντες δὲ τοῖς ἰμάσιν ὁς εἶχον ἐπὶ ταῖς φαρέτραις δέουσιν. ἔσπερα γὰρ ἐπίη. δύο μὲν οὖν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐλθόντες Ἀκεδαίμονιοι Ἄριστομένην εὔηηγελι-ξοντο ἦλωκέναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἄποχωροῦσιν ἐς ἀγρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ. ἐνταῦθα φόκει κόρη σὺν μητρὶ παρθένοις, πατρὸς ὅρφανή. τῇ δὲ προτέρα νυκτὶ εἰδὲν ὅσιν ἢ παῖς λέοντα ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν λύκοι σφίσιν ἤγαγον δεδεμένου καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄνυχας, αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἀνευροῦσα ἔδωκε τοὺς ὄνυχας, οὕτω τε διασπασθῆναι τοὺς λύκους ἦδοξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ λέοντος. τότε δὲ ὅς τῶν Ἄριστομένην ἐσάγονοιν οἱ Κρήτες, συνεφρόνησεν ἡ παρθένος ὑπὰρ ἤκειν τὸ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ οἱ πεφηνὸς καὶ ἀνηρώτα τὴν μητέρα ὅστις εἰς μαθοῦσα δὲ ἐπερρόσθη τε καὶ ἀπιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ προσταχθὲν συνῆκεν. οἴνον οὖν τοῖς Κρησίν ἐγχέουσα ἄνεδην, ὡς σφᾶς ἢ μέθη κατελάμβανεν, υφαιρεῖται τοῦ μάλιστα ὑπωμένου τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον' τὰ μὲν δὴ δεσμὰ τοῦ Ἄριστομένου ἔτεμεν ἡ παρθένος, ο δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸ κύρος <ἐκείνου> διεργάσατο. ταύτῃ τῆς παρθένου λαμβάνει γυναῖκα Γόργος Ἄριστομένου· ἐδίδου δὲ Ἄριστομένης τῇ παιδὶ ἐκτίων σῶστρα, ἔπει Γόργῳ οὐκ ἦν πω déκατον καὶ οὐδοὺν ἐτος, ὅτε ἐγνημεν.

XX. Ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολυρκίας τῆς τε Ἑθρᾶν ἐπετρωτο ἀλώνια καὶ ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι Μεσσηνίους, καὶ δὴ σφίσιν ἐπετέλεσεν 276
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
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ο θεὸς Ἀριστομένει καὶ Θεόκλων χρησθέν τι. τούτοις γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ πληγήν καὶ ἐπερομένους ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοσὸνδε εἰπεν ἡ Πυθία:

εὐτε τράγος πίνησι Νέδης ἐλικόρροον ὕδωρ, οὐκέτι Μεσσήνην ῥύμοις σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὀλεθρος.

2 εἰςι δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς Νέδας ἐν ὀρει τῷ Λυκαιῷ προελθὼν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἐπιστρέψας αὖθις ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὀρίζει τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ἡλείοις τὴν γῆν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν τοὺς αἰγας τοὺς ἄρρενας ἐδεξοίκεσαν μὴ πίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Νέδας· τοῖς δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων προσεήμαινε τοιὸνδε. τὸ δένδρον τῶν ἐρινεῶν εἰσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ καλοῦσιν ὀλυνθην, Μεσσηνίου δὲ αὐτοὶ τράγουν. τότε οὖν πρὸς τῇ Νέδα πεφυκὼς ἐρινεῶς οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ νηξῆτο, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ ἰεῦμα ἐπέστρεψε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄκροις τοῖς

3 φύλλοις ἐπέψαυε. θεασάμενοι δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκλος συμεβάλετο ὡς τὸν τράγουν τὸν πῖνοντα ἐκ τῆς Νέδας προείπεν ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐρινεῶν τούτων καὶ ὡς ἦδη Μεσσηνίους ἤκει τὸ χρεὼν καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, Ἀριστομένην δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν ἐρινεῶν ἡγάγε καὶ ἀνεδίασκεν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐξήκου σφίσιν ὁ χρόνος. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἔχειν οὕτω πειθεῖαι καὶ ἀναβολὴν οὐκέτι εἶναι σφίσι, προενοίσατο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν

4 παρόντων. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἐμελλε δὲ ἀφαινῆθεν υποθρύχιου τὴν Μεσσήνην κρύψειν τὸν πάντα αἰώνα, φυλαχθέν δὲ οἱ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος χρησμοὶ 278
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:

"Whosoever 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
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Mesσηνίους ἔλεγον χρόνω ποτὲ ἀνασώσεσθαι τὴν χώραν· τούτῳ δὴ ὁ Ἀριστομένης ἀτε ἐπιστάμενος τοὺς χρησμοὺς, ἔπει νῦξ ἔγινετο, ἐκόμιζε. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἔνθα τῆς Ἡθώμης ἦν τὸ ἐρημότατον, κατώρμυξεν ἐσ Ἡθώμη τὸ ὄρος, καὶ Δία Ἡθώμη ἔχοντα καὶ θεοὺς οὗ Μεσσηνίους <ἐς> ἐκεῖνο ἐσωζόν φύλακας μεῖναι τῆς παρακαταθήκης αὐτούμενος, μηδὲ ἐπὶ Δακεδαμονίους ποιῆσαι τὴν μόνην καθόδου Μεσσηνίους ἐλπίδα.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἥρχετο, καθὸ καὶ Τρωσίν ἐτὶ πρότερον, ἦν ταῖς κακὰ ἀπὸ μοιχείας, ἐπεκράτουν μὲν αὐτοῖς [ἐπει ἐκράτουν] τοῦ τέ ὄρους καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Εἰραν ἀχρὶ τῆς Νέδας, ἦσαν δὲ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἔξω πυλῶν ἐνίοις. αὐτόμολος δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀλλος μὲν ἀφίκετο οὔδείς, οἰκέτης δὲ Ἐμπεράμου βουκόλος ἐλαύνων τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς βοῦς· ὁ δὲ

6 Ἐμπέραμος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος. οὐτος ὁ βουκόλος ἔνεμεν οὐ πόρρω τῆς Νέδας. ἄνδρός οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων τῶν οὐκ ἐντὸς τείχους ἐχόντων οἰκήσιν γυναῖκα εἰδὲν ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἔλθουσαν· ἔρασθεὶς δὲ διαλεχθήναι τε ἐτόλμησε καὶ δῶς δῶρα συγγίνεται. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα παρεφύλασσεν αὐτῆς, ὅποτε ἀποχωρήσεις εἰς τὴν φρουράν. ᾳνα μέρος δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπήγετο ἡ φυλακή. ταύτῃ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐδεδοξάσαν μὴ ὑπερβῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὅποτε οὖν οὕτω ἀποχωρήσει, τηνικάυτα ὁ βουκόλος ἔφοιτα παρὰ

7 τῆς γυναίκα. καὶ ποτε ἔτυχε σὺν ἄλλοις ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιήκουσα ἐν τῇ νυκτί <ἡ> φυλακῆ, ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ἦειν πολλῷ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐκλείπουσιν οἱ 280
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
Μεσσήνιοι τὴν φρουράν· τὸ γὰρ ύδωρ ἐβιάζετο σφᾶς ὠθρόν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταχείμενον, οὔτε ἐπάλξεων ἐνφυκοδομημένων οὔτε πῦργων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῦ τειχισμοῦ, καὶ ἀμα οὐδὲ κινήσεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἥλπιζον ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ 8 καὶ οὔτω χειμερίῳ. Ἀριστομένης δὲ οὐ πολλὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας Κεφαλλήνα ἐμποροῦν, έαντῷ ξένου καὶ ἐσάγοντα ἐς τὴν Εἰραν ὀπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἑαλωκότα ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοξοτῶν Ἀπτεραίων ὧν ἦρξεν Εὐρύαλος Σπαρτίτης, τούτων τὸν Κεφαλλήνα ἀφαιρούμενος ἔκεινον μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὀπόσα ἦγεν ἀπέσωσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέτρωτο καὶ οὐκ εἴδυνατο ἐπιφοιτάν τοῖς φυλάσσοντι καθάπερ εἰώθει. τούτο μάλιστα αἰτίοιν 9 ἐγένετο ἐκλειφθῆναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν τε δὴ ἅλλων ἐκαστος ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ βουκόλου μοιχευομένης ὁ ἀνήρ, ἡ δὲ τηνικαύτα ἐνδον εἰχε τὸν βουκόλου, αἰσθάνεταὶ τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιόντος καὶ αὐτίκα ὡς τάχους εἰχεν ἀποκρύπτει τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἑσελθόντα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο ὡς οὐτὶ πρότερον καὶ ἠρώτα καθ᾽ ἣν τινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι. ὃ δὲ οὐτε μεμοιχευμένην εἰδὼς οὔτε ἐνδον ὑματα τὸν βουκόλου ἐχρῆτο τῷ ἅλθετι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτός τε διὰ τοῦ ὄμβρου τὸ βίαιον καὶ τῶν ἅλλων ἐκαστον ἐφασκεν ἀπολελοιπέναι τὴν φρουράν. ἐπηκρόατο δὲ λέγοντος ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπυθετο ἐκαστα, αὐθίς εκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφικετο αὐτόμολος. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ οἱ μὲν βασιλείς ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τηνικαύτα ἀπῆταιν πολεμαρχῶν δὲ τὸτε Ἐμπέραμος ὁ τοῦ βουκόλου δεσπότης προσεκάθητο τῇ Εὐρᾷ. ἀφί-
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 Aptera, 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.
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κόμενος οὖν ἐς τούτον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄροσμῆς παργυτεῖτο ἀμάρτημα, δεύτερα δὲ ἀνε- δίδασκεν ὡς τήν Εἰραν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα αἰρήσοσιν, αὐτὰ ἐκαστὰ ὀπόσα ἦσθετο τοῦ Μεσσηνίου διηγούμενος.

XXI. Ἐδοξέ τε δὴ λέγειν πιστὰ καὶ ἤγειτο Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἦν δὲ ἡ πορεία χαλεπή σφισιν ἀτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεύτος τοῦ ύποτ. ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἦνυσαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τήν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Εἰρας ἐγένοιτο, ὑπερέβαινον κλίμακας τε προστεθέντες καὶ ὀτώ τις ἐδύνατο ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. τοῖς δὲ Μεσ- σηνίοις παρεῖχετο μὲν τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ καὶ ἀλλὰ αὐσθῆσιν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ κύνες οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰσθότα ὑλακτοῦντες, ἄλλα συνεχεστέρα καὶ βιαιοτέρα τῇ κραυγῇ χρώμενοι. γυνότες οὖν τῶν ὑστατον ὅμοι καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον σφᾶς ἀγώνα ἐπειληφότα, οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαντα ἀνελάμβανον, ἄλλʼ ὅτω προχείρῳ μάλιστα ἐντύχοι τις, ἀρτά- ξοντες ἦμυνον τῇ πατρίδι, ἡ μόνη σφίσιν ἔλειπε το 2 ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας πίσιν. πρῶτοι δὲ ὑσθοῦντο ἐνδον τῶν πολεμίων δινῶν καὶ ἐβοήθουν ἐπʼ αὐτοῦς πρῶτοι Γόργος τε ὁ 'Αριστομένους καὶ Ἀριστομένης αὐτὸς Ἰερόκλος τε ὁ μάντις καὶ Μάντικλος ὁ Ἰερόκλων, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐνεργετίδας ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐν Μεσσῆνῃ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πλέον ἄξιοματος ἦκων. ἀδελφὴν γὰρ εἶχεν Ἀριστομένους Ἀγαγόραν. τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, συνιέντες ὡς ἐν δικτύοις εἰσίν ἐσχημένοι, ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐχόν τινα 3 ἐλπίδα: Ἀριστομένης δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις ἦπισταντο μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐτὶ ἀναβολῆν ὀλέθρου Μεσσηνίους 284
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, Theocles 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, ἂτε εἰδότες καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν διν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ ἐς τὸν τράγον ἡ Πυθία, ἐπέκρυπτον δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον, καὶ ἦν σφισιν ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπόρρητον. επιώντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν σπουδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐρχόμενοι τοῖς τε ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὅποτε αἰσθάνοντο ὅντας Μεσσηνίους, παρεκελεύοντο ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἀνεκάλουν τούς ἐτὶ ύπολειπομένους. ἐν μὲν δὴ νυκτὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπράξῃ λόγον παρ’ οὐδετέρῳ τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀπειρία τῶν τόπων καὶ ἡ τόλμα τοῦ Ἀριστομένους παρεῖχε μελλησμόν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις υῦτε παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν σύνθημα ἐγεγονεὶ φθάνοντας εἰληφέναι, τάς τε διὰς, ἦ εἰ τινα λαμπτήρα ἄλλοιον ἄψαυτό τις, ὑών ἀν ἐσβέννυεν ὁ θεός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν καὶ ἀλλήλους καθορὰν ἐδύναντο, ἐνταῦθα Ἀριστομένης καὶ Θέσκλος ἐπειρώντο ἐς πᾶσαν ἀπόνοιαν προάγειν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἀλλὰ τε ὅπωσα εἰκός ἦν διδάσκοντες καὶ Σμυρναίων τὰ τολμήματα ἀναμμηνήσκοντες, ὡς Ἰώνων μοίρα ὄντες Γύγην τὸν Δασκύλου καὶ Λυδοὺς ἔχοντας σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκβάλοιεν. οἱ Μεσση-νιοὶ δὲ ἄκουόντες ἀπονοίας τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ συνιστάμενοι καθ’ ὅπως εἰκοῦστι τύχως ἐφέ- ροντο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὁμοίαςαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ ὅτι δύνατο ἐκάστη τοὺς πολεμίους βάλλειν. τούτο μὲν δὴ μὴ ὁράσαι σφᾶς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῶν τεγῶν τοῦ ὀμβρου τὸ βίαῖον ἐπεκόλυνε· λαβείν δὲ ὅπλα ἐτόλμησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐταὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐξῆγαν, ὅποτε καί τὰς γυναίκας ἐώρων προτιμῶσας συναπολέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἢ 286
they knew the riddle of the oracle which the
Pythia had uttered concerning the goat. Neverthe-
less 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 en-
countered, when they saw that they were Mes-
senians, 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 des-
perate 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 house-
tops. 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-
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άχθηναι δούλας ἐς Δακεδαίμονα, ὡστε κἂν
7 παρελθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τὸ πεπρωμένον. ἀλλὰ ὁ
θεὸς τὸ ὤδωρ ἐπήγαγεν ἀθρόον μᾶλλον μετὰ
ισχυροῦ τῶν βροντῶν τοῦ ψόφου καὶ τοὺς
ὄφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἑναντίας ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἐξε-
πλήσαε. τοῖς δὲ Δακεδαίμονίοις ταῦτα πάντα
παρίστη φρόνημα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύνειν σφίσιν
έφασαν τὸν θεὸν· καὶ—ἡστραπτε γὰρ τούτους
κατὰ δεξιὰ—ἀπέφαινεν Ἑκας ὁ μάντις ὥς αὐτίον
8 εἰς τὸ σημεῖον. οὗτος δὲ καὶ στρατηγῆμα ἔξευρε
τοίοντε. ἀριθμὸ καὶ πολὺ οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι
περίῆσαν· ἀτε δὲ οὐκ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ σφίσιν οὔδὲ
κατὰ σύνταγμα ἐγγυισμενῆς τῆς μάχης, ἀλλῶν
δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τῆς πόλεως ποιομένων τὸν ἀγώνα,
ἀχρείους ἀπὸ ἐκάστης τάξεως συνέβαινεν εἰνά
τοὺς τελευταίους. τούτους ἐκέλευεν ἀποχωρή-
σαντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον σιτίων μεταλάβειν
καὶ ὑπνοῦν καὶ αὖθις πρὸ ἐστέρας ἤκειν τοῖς
ὑπομενοῦσιν αὐτῶν διαδεξομένους τὸν πόλον.
9 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀναπαυόμενοι τε καὶ ἀνά μέρος
μαχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἀντιρροῦν, τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίοις
πανταχόθεν παρίστατο ἀπορία: μεθ' ἡμέραν γὰρ
ἀεὶ καὶ νῦκτα συνεχῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ τρίτην ἡμύνοντο.
ἡδη τε ἡμέρα δὲν καὶ ἡ τε ἀνυπνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὤδωρ τε καὶ ῥίγους ἐπίεξε σφάς, δὲ
τε λιμὸς καὶ ἡ δίψα ἐπεκεῖτο· μάλιστα δὲ αἱ
γυναίκες ἀνθεία τε πολέμου καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς
tαλαιπωρίας ἀπειρήκεσαν. παραστάσας οὖν ὁ
μάντις Θεόκλασ πρὸς Ἀριστομέμνην εἶπε· "τί
μάτην τόνδε ἔχεις τὸν πόλον; ἀλλών Μεσσηνὶ
Pάντως ἐστὶ πεπρωμένου, συμφορὰν δὲ τὴν ἐν
ὄφθαλμοὶ πάλαι τε ἡμῖν προσήμαινεν ἡ Πυθία
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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,
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καὶ ἕναγχος ὁ ἐρωτός ἔδειξεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ κοιμήσαντα πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπάγει τὴν τελευτήν· σὺ δὲ σῶζειν μὲν ὡς δυνάμεως ἥκεις Μεσσηνίους, σώζειν δὲ καὶ σαυτόν." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεῖ πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔθει καὶ οἱ καὶ ἕς τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἐπεισὶν ἐκβοήσαι τοσόνδε· "ἀλλ' οὔ τοι τὸν πάντα γε χρόνον χαίροντες καρπώσεσθε τὰ Μεσσηνίων." μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς καθαυτὸν ἀνθεστηκόσιν ἐμπεσὼν ἐκείνους τε ἐκτείνε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, προεμπλήσας δὲ τὸν θυμὸν τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀφίησι τὴν ψυχήν. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπείρασας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀνεκάλει, πλήν ὅσοι κατὰ ἄνδραγαθίαν αὐτῶν προεμάχοντο· τούτους δὲ εἰα κατὰ χώραιν μένειν· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς προσέταξε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐντὸς τῆς τύχεως ἔχοντας ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἦπερ ἀν αὐτὸς παρέχηται διέξοδον. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοῖς τελευταῖοις Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἐπέστησεν ἀρχοῦτας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἐς οὓς προτεταγμένους τῆς τε κεφαλῆς τῷ νεύματι καὶ τοῦ δόρατος τῇ κινήσει δήλος ἦν διέξοδον τε αὐτούμενος καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν ἥδη βεβουλευμένος. τῷ τε οὖν Ἐμπεράμῳ καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῖς παροῦσι διεῖναι τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἥρεσις μηδὲ λυσσώντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν ἀπονοίας ἥκοντας ἐξαγριάναι πέρα· καὶ ἦμα οὗτος σφᾶς ποιεῖν ἑκαὶ ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευν.

XXII. Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες παρατύχαντες τὸν κατάληψιν ἐπιτυθάνουτο τῆς Εύρας καὶ αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀριστοκράτην ἐκέλευσαν σφᾶς ἵππειν ὡς ἄσωστους Μεσσηνίους ἡ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπολομένους. ὁ δὲ 290
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 Manticlus 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

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άτε ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος δεδεγμένος δῶρα, οὕτε ἄγειν ἦθελεν εἰδέναι τε ἐφασκεν οὐδένα ἐτι Μεσ-
2 σηνίων ὤτω καὶ ἀμυνοῦσιν ὡντα ὑπόλοιπον. τότε
dὲ ὃς σαφέστερον ἦς θάνοντο περιόντας καὶ ἐκλεί-
πειν τὴν Εἰραν βεβιασμένους, αὐτοὶ μὲν περὶ
tὸ ὄρος σφᾶς τὸ Λύκαιον ἐμελλον ὑποδέξεσθαι,
προετοιμασάμενοι καὶ ἐσθήτα καὶ συνία, ἀνδρας
dὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει πέμπτου παραμυθεῖσθαι τε
tοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἁμα τῆς πορείας
gενέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὸ Λύκαιον
ἀνεσώθησαν, ἔξενιζον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐνοϊκῶς
περιεῖπον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, κατανέμειν τε ἐς τὰς
πόλεις ἦθελον καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι δι’ ἐκείνους τῆς
3 γην. Ἀριστομένει δὲ ὁ τε οἰκτός διαρπαζομένης
τῆς Εἰρας καὶ τὸ μίσος τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιοις
βούλευμα παρίστηση τοιώντε. πεντακοσίους τῶν
Μεσσηνίων, οὐς μάλιστα ἦπιστατο αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς
ἐχοντας, ἀποκρίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους, ἡρετο σφᾶς
ἐν ἐπικόω τῶν τε ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀριστο-
κράτους, ἀτε ὡντα προδότην οὐκ εἰδῶς—ἀνανδρία
γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας φυγεῖν τότε ἡδη [Ἀριστο-
κράτην] τῆς μάχης καὶ οὐ διὰ κακίαν οὐνεμίαν
ἐδόξαζεν αὐτῶν, ὅστε ἐναντίον καὶ τούτῳ τούτοις
πεντακοσίους ἥρετο—εὶ τιμωροῦντες τῇ πατρίδι
4 ἀποθνησκεῖν συν αὐτῷ ἔθελήσοναι. φαμένων δὲ
ἐθέλειν ἀπεγύμνου τὸ πᾶν, ὡς πάντως τῆς ἐπιούσις
ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄγειν μέλλοι: Λακε-
δαίμονιων γὰρ τότε δὴ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν Εἰραν
ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπεφοίτων φέ-
ρουτες καὶ ἄγοντες τὰ Μεσσηνίων. "καὶ ἢν μὲν
ἐλεῖν τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶμεν,"
ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀριστομένης, "ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποδότας
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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-
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Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἐκείνων κομίσασθαι τὰ οίκεῖα· ἀμαρτάνοντες δὲ όμοι ἀποθανούμεθα γε μυήμας 5 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεῖται ἄξια ἐργασάμενοι." ταῦτα εἰπόντος τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅσον τριακόσιοι μετέχειν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ τολμήματος ἦθελον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπείχον τῆς ἐξόδου, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐγίνετο αὐτοῖς ὡς κατὰ γνώμην, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ τε ἀπόρρητον ἐγνωσάν σφὸν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προπεπτυμένους καὶ αὐτοὶ δεύτερον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοκράτους προδεδομένου· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους βουλεύματα αὐτίκα ὁ Ἀριστοκράτης ἐγγράφας βιβλίῳ, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιθεῖς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὅτι ἦπιστατό ὅντα εὐνοοῦστατον, παρὰ Ἀνάξανδρον ἀπέστελλεν ἐς

6 Σπάρτην. ἐπανόρτω ἄτε τῶν οἰκετην λοχώσων ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀρκάδων διάφοροι καὶ πρότερον τῷ Ἀριστοκράτει, σχόντες δὲ τι καὶ ὑποπτον τότε ἐς αὐτόν. λοχήσαντες δὲ τῶν οἰκετην ἐπανάγον- σιν ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἐπεδείκνυον ἐς τὸν δήμον τὰ ἀντεπεσταλμένα ἐκ Λακεδαιμώνων· ἐπέστελλε δὲ ὁ Ἀνάξανδρος, φυγήν τε αὐτῷ τῷ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης τάφρον φάμενος οὐκ ἀνόητου ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι, προσέσεσθαι δέ οἱ

7 χάριν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνυμάτων. ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα ἐς ἀπαντας, αὐτοὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀριστοκράτην ἐβάλλον οἱ Ἀρκάδας καὶ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις διεκελεύοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀριστο- μένην ἀπέβλεπον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφο- ρῶν ἐκλαίει· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἕκβαλ- λουσιν ἄταφον, στῆλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Λυκαίου Λέγουσαν.
Messenians 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:
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πάντως ο χρόνος εὑρε δίκην ἀδίκω βασιλῆς, εὑρε δὲ Μεσσηνίας σὺν Διὸ τὸν προδότην ῥηιδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἀνδρ’ ἐπίστροφον. χαῖρε Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων ὅποσοι περὶ τὴν Εἰραν ᾦ καὶ ἔτερωθί ποὺ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐγκατελήφθησαν, τούτους μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσένειμαν ἐς τὸ εἴλωτικὸν. Πύλιοι δὲ καὶ Μοθωναῖοι καὶ ὅσιο τὰ παραθάλασσια ὄκουν, [καὶ] ναυαίνυ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀλωσιν τῆς Εἰρας ἀπαίρουσιν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἡλείων. ἐκείθεν δὲ παρατός ἐς Ἀρκαδία Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλον, ἐδέλουτες κοινῷ στόλῳ χώραν ἐνθα ὀικήσουσιν ἀναζητεῖν, καὶ Ἀριστομένην ἐκέλευσον ἠγεόθαι 2 σφίσιν ἐς ἀποκιάν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔως ἃν περίπ, πολεμήσιν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφασκεν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἅπε τῷ ἀναφύβεται τῇ Σπάρτῃ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κακοῦν ἐκείνους δὲ Γόργον καὶ Μάντικλον ἐδωκεν ἠγμονάς. ὁ δὲ Εὐρηγετίδας ἐς μὲν τὸ Δύκαιον σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μεσσηνίοις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκείθεν δὲ, ὡς ἑώρα τὸ βούλευμα διαπεπτοκόσ τῷ Ἀριστομένη εἶ το ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀναπείσας τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς πεντηκοντὰ ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς 3 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὴν Εἰραν, καὶ ἐντυχῶν διαρπαζόσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐπινίκεα πένθος σφίσιν ἐποίησε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐνταύθα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεών, Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τοὺς ἠγμονάς τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἐπέταξεν <ἐναί> ἐς Κυλλήνην, ὅστες ἔθελοι μετέχειν τῆς ἀποκιας. καὶ μετέσχοι ἄπαντες, πλὴν εἰ γηρᾶς τινα ἀπέχρην ἣ μηδὲ 296
MESSENA, xxii. 7–xxiii. 3

"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 Manticlus 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
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eὔπορῶν ἔτυχεν ἐς τὴν ἀποδημίαν' οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέμειναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιοι.

4 Ἐάλω δὲ Ἡ Εἴρα καὶ ὁ πύλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Ἀὐτοσθένους, ἔτει πρῶτῳ τῆς ὑγόθης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἢν ἑώκα Χίωνις Λάκων.

5 Ὑς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην οἱ Μεσσηνίοι συνελέχθησαν, τὸν μὲν παρόντα χειμώνα ἐδοξέων αὐτοῦ χειμάζειν, καὶ τὴν ἀγοράν σφίσι καὶ χρήματα οἱ Ἡλεῖοι παρεῖχον ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἤρι ἐβουλεύοντο ποῖ γρήγορα. γυμνοὶ δὲ ἦσαν Γόργων μὲν Ζάκυνθον τὴν ὑπέρ Κεφαλ- ληνίας καταλαβόντας καὶ νησιώτας ἀντὶ ἦπει- ρωτῶν γενομένους ναυσίν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιπλέοντας κακοῦν τὴν γῆν. Μάντικλος δὲ ἐκείνην Μεσσήνης μὲν καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχθους λαβεῖν λήθην, πλεύσαντας δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶν κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ 6 εὐδαιμονία πρώτην. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Ἄναξίλασ παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστειλεν ἐς Ἰταλίαν καλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἄναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου, μετοίκησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥηγίου μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτήν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὕτως οὖν ὁ Ἄναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπτε τε ἐθεοῦσι τε ἐλεγεν ός Ζαγκλαίοι διώφοροι μὲν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, χώραν δὲ εὐδαιμονία καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ δὴ σφίσιν ἐθέλειν ἐφ' ἑκτικατεργα- σάμενος δοῦναι. προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἄναξίλας διεβιβάσεν 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,¹ 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 Cephalenlia, becoming islanders instead of mainlanders, and raid the coasts of Laconia with their ships and ravage the land. But Manticlus 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 Alcidamidas, 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.

¹ B.C. 668.
7 Ζάγκλην δε το μεν εξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λησταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμω τῇ γῇ τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἑπίπλους ἐχρώντο· ἔγερμονες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κρεατιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρης δὲ ὤστερον καὶ Κρεατιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐδοξεῖν οἰκήτορας.
8 τότε δὲ τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ὁ τε 'Αναξίλας ναυσίν ἀνταναγομένους ἐνίκησε καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίοι μάχῃ πεξῆς. Ζαγκλαίοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν τε ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων καὶ ναυσιν ἀμα ἐκ θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ ἀλισκομένου σφίσιν ἣδη τοῦ τείχους, επὶ τε βωμοὺς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντες. 'Αναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρεκκλεῖσεν τοῖς τε ἱκετεύονται Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναικίν ὀμοὶ καὶ πασίν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρητοῦντο 'Αναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεποιθότας ἀνύσια, ὡμοία αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλλήνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἦδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνύστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν καὶ ὅρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων λαβόντες ὃκησαν ἀμφότεροι κοινὴ ὅνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν.
9 Μεσσηνίην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλείσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράξθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἤν Χίους Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος. Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίους τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐπιτήσε, καὶ ἑστίν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἱδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλοῦμενοι Μάντικλος, καθάπερ γε καὶ Ἀμμών ἐν Λυβῇ καὶ ὁ ἐν 300
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 Zanclaeans, when they put to sea to oppose him, and the Messenians did the like by land, and the Zanclaeans, 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 Zanclaeans 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 Zanclaeans 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,¹ 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

¹ B.C. 664.
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Βαβυλῶνι Βῆλος ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρός Αἰγυπτίου Βῆλου τοῦ Διβύς ὄνομα ἔσχεν, "Ἀμμων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδρυσαμένου ποιμένος.

XXIV. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγε-γόνει πέρας τῆς ἄλησ. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τὴν ἔγερξενναν ἀπείπατο τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν στελλο-μένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτη καὶ Ἀγναγόραν τὴν ἄδελφην τὴν μὲν Θάρυκι ἐς Φυγαλίαν, Δαμοθοίδα δὲ Λεπρεάτη καὶ Ἡραίη Θεοπόμπῳ τὰς θυγατέρας συνάρκυσεν; αὐτὸς δὲ ἄφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔχρητο τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Ἀριστομένει γενόμενον μάντευμα

2 οὖ λέγεται. Δαμαγήτῳ δὲ Ἄρνοφ βασιλέυοντι ἐν Ἰαλυσῷ, τότε δὲ ἦκοντι παρὰ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἐρωτώντι ὅπωθεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρή γυναῖκα, ἔχρησεν η Πυθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρός τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ—ἣν γὰρ καὶ τρίτη τῷ Ἀριστομένει θυγατηρ—γαμεῖ ταύτην, Ἐλλήνων τῶν τότε ἐκείνον μακρῷ δή τινι ἀριστον νομίζων. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἄρνον ἄφικετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρί, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐς τε Σάρδεις ἐνεύει παρὰ Ἀρδιν τῶν Γύγου καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ἀναβῆμαι παρὰ τὸν

3 βασιλέα Φραόρτην ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τοῦτον συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ νοσήσαντι, οὕ γὰρ ἔδει συμφορὰν οὐδεμιᾶν Δακεδαμούνιος ἐτί ἐξ Ἀριστομένους γενέσθαι. τελευτήσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ Δαμάγητος καὶ οἱ Ἄρνοι οὐκ ἔτπέραντες ἐποίησαν καὶ ἴππουν ἀπὸ ἐκείνου τιμᾶς. τὰ μὲν δὴ λεγόμενα ἐς τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλουμένους ἐν Ἄρνῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγή-του τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς 392
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 Damothoidas 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
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'Aristomévous thugatrópos, paríka, μή οὐ κατὰ 4 καιρὸν δοκοίην γράφειν' Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τότε, ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς 'Ασινάιων αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μο-θώνην δὲ Ναυπλιέωσιν ἐδίδοσαν ἐκπεπτωκόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἐναγχος ὑπὸ 'Αργείων.

5 Μεσσηνίων δὲ τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν τῇ γῇ, συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς εἴλωτας, ἐπέλαβεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστερον ἀποστήναι κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐβδομηκοστήν, ἣν Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα Ἐνοφῶν, 'Ἀρχημίδους 'Αθη- νησίων ἄρχοντος· ἀπέστησαν δὲ καιρὸν τοιόν πετρευτες. Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρεὶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ ἐγκλήματι ὅτῳ δὴ καταγγωσθέντες ἰκέται κατα- φεύγουσιν ἐς Ταίναρον ἐνεύθεθιν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ σφᾶς ἀποσπάσσασα 6 ἀπέκτεινε. Σπαρτιάται δὲ ἐν σύνενι λόγῳ θε- μένοι τοὺς ἱκέτας ἀπήντησαν ἐκ Ποσειδώνος μήμα, καὶ σφισιν ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν κατέβαλεν ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων ὅσοι Μεσσηνίοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἤσαν, ἐς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄλλα τε χετεπέμπουντο συμμα- χικὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου πρόξενον σφισιν ὄντα καὶ 'Αθηναίων δύναμιν ἀφικομένους δὲ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ὑποπτεύεσαι δοκοῦσιν ὡς τάχα νεωτερίσουντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς 7 υποψίας ἀποπέμψασθαι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐξ Ἰθώμης. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων υπόνοιαν συνέντες 'Ἀργεῖοι τε φίλοι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο καὶ Μεσσηνίῳ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμη 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,¹ 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

¹ B.C. 464.
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κομμένοις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑποσπώδοις ἐδοσαν Ναύ-
πακτον, ἀφελόμενοι Δοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς Λυτωλία
καλουμένους Ὦξόλας. τοῖς δὲ Μεσσηνίωις παρ-
έσχεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰθώμης τοῦ τε χωρίον τὸ
ἐχυρὸν καὶ ἀμα Λακεδαιμονίωις προείπεν ἢ Πυθία
ἡ μὴν εἶναι σφισί δίκην ἀμαρτοῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Δίος
τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν ἱκέτην.

XXV. Τπόσπονδοι μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τοῦ-
των ἐνεκα ἀφείθησαν· ἔτει δὲ ἔσχον τὴν Ναύ-
πακτον, οὐκ ἀπέχρη πόλιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν
εἰληφέναι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς πόθος
εἶχεν ἱσχυρὸς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν φανῆναι λόγον τι
κεκτημένους ἄξιον. καὶ ἥπισταντο γὰρ Οἰνιάδας
Ἀκαρναίον γῆν τε ἐχοντας ἄγαθὴν καὶ Ἀθη-

ναίους διαφόρους τῶν πάντα ὄντας χρόνου,
στρατεύοντες ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς. οὕτε δὲ ἁριθμῷ μὲν
όυ πλείους, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ πολύ ἀμείνους [οὕτε]
τῇ σφετέρᾳ νικῶσι, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν κατα-

κεκλειμένους ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τὸ δὲ ἐντεύθεν, οὐ
γὰρ τι τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐριμένων ἐς πολυρ-
κίαν οἱ Μεσσηνίοι παρίσχαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίμακας
προστιθέντες ἐπειρώντο ὑπερβαίνειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν
καὶ ὑπόρυσσον κάτωθεν τὸ τεῖχος, μηχανήματά
τε, ὡποία ἐνήν δὴ ὀλίγον παρασκευάσαντι,
προσαγαγόμενοι ἀεὶ τῷ ἡρειπων δείσαντες δὲ οἱ
ἐνδον μὴ ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖ τε ἀπόλωνται
καὶ αἱ γυναικεῖς σφισι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐξαινραπο-

δισθῶσιν, εἶλοντο ἀπελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι.

3 Καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν μάλιστα οἱ Μεσσηνίοι
κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν
τῷ δὲ ἐτεί τῷ ύστερῳ δύναμιν οἱ Ἀκαρνανεῖς ἀπὸ
πασῶν συλλέξαντες τῶν πόλεων ἐβουλεύοντο
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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 Ναυπακτον στρατεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπέδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τε πορείαν ὅρῳσιν, ὅτι ἔσεσθαι δὲ Λύτωλων ἐμμελλε πολεμίων ἀεὶ ποτε ὅντων, καὶ ἁμα τοὺς Ναυπακτίους κεκτήσθαι τὶ ναυτικὸν ὑπὸπτευον, ὅσπερ γε καὶ εἴχον, ἐπικρατοῦντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν εἰναι 4 κατεργάσασθαι μέγα οὐδὲ στρατῷ πεξῳ· μετεβουλεύστο τε ἐτή σφισι <καὶ> αὐτίκα ἑπὶ Μεσσηνίους τρέπονται τοὺς ἐν Οἰνίάδαις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς πολιορκήσουσι παρεσκευάζοντο· οὐ γὰρ ποτε ὑπελάμβανον ἄνδρας οὕτως ὀλίγους ὡς τοσοῦτων ἀποικίας ἦσεν ὡς μαχέσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπῶντων στρατιῶν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνίουι προποτιμασμένοι μὲν καὶ σίτον καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἦσαν ὀπόσα εἰκὸς ἢν, πολιορκίας πειράσεσθαι 5 μακρότερα ἔλπιζοντες· παρίστατο δὲ σφισι πρὸ τῆς μελλούσης πολιορκίας ἀγώνα ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ ὅντας Μεσσηνίους, οἱ μηδὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνδρια, τύχῃ δὲ ἡλαττῶθησαν, καταπεπλήχθαι τῶν ἦκοντα ὁχλον ἐξ Ἀκαρνάνιας· τὸ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαραθῶν ἔργον ἀνεμημνήσκοντο, ὡς μυριάδες τριάκοντα ἐφθάρησαν τῶν Μήδων ὑπὸ ἄνδρῶν οὐδὲ ἐς 6 μυρίους ἀριθμόν. καθίστατο τε ἐτή τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσιν ἐς ἀγώνα καὶ ὁ τρόπος λέγεται τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι τοιόσδε. οὐ μὲν, ἀτε πλῆθει προέχοντες πολὺ, οὐ χαλεπῶς περιέβαλον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ πῦλαι τε ἀπείρουν κατὰ νάον τοῦ Μεσσηνίοις γυνόμεναι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς σφετέροις προθύμως ἀμύνοντες ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ μὴ περισχεθῆναι σφᾶς ἐκώλυτε, τὰ δὲ πλευρὰ ἀμφότερα ἐκυκλώσαντο 308
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
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αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες καὶ ἐσηκοντιζον παντα-7 χόθειν. οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ συνεστραμμένοι μετ’ ἀλλήλων, ὅποτε άθρόοι τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσιοι ἐμπέ- 
σοιεν, ἐτάρασσον μὲν τοὺς κατὰ ταυτὸ ἐστηκότας 
καὶ ἐφόνευόν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπίτρωσκον πολ- 
λούς, τελέαν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐργάσασθαι 
φυγήν ὅπου γὰρ τῆς τάξεως αἰσθούτο τι 
οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες τῆς αὐτῶν ὕπὸ τῶν Μεσση- 
νίων διαστῶμεν, κατὰ τούτο ἀμύνοντες τοῖς 
βιαζομένοις αὐτῶν ἀνείργον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους 
8 ἐπικρατοῦντες τῷ πλῆθει. οἱ δὲ ὅποτε ἰνακο- 
πείειν, κατ’ ἄλλο αὖθις πειρόμενοι διακόψαι 
τὴν Ἀκαρνάνων φάλαγγα τὸ αὐτὸ ἄν ἐπασχον’ 
ότῳ μὲν προσβάλλοιεν, διέσειόν τε καὶ τροπὴν 
ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐποίουν, ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ αὖθις κατα 
τούτο σπουδὴ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπετρέποντο 
ἀκοντες. γενομένου δὲ ἰσορρόπου τοῦ ἀγώνος 
ἀχρι ἐσπέρας καὶ Ἀκαρνάσιν ὕπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν 
νῦκτα ἐπελθούσης δυνάμεως ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, 
οὕτω τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις περιειστήκει πολιορκία.

9 καὶ ἀλῶναι μὲν κατὰ κράτος τὸ τείχος ἡ 
ὑπερβάντων τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἡ καὶ ἀπολυπέιν 
βιασθείσων αὐτοῖς τὴν φρουρὰν δέος ἡν οὐδέν- 
τα δὲ ἐπιτήδεια σφιζέν πάντα ὁμοίως ὁγὸς μην 
ἐξανήλωτο. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας ἐχρώνιτο 
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους χλευασία, μὴ σφᾶς τὰ σιτία 
προδοναὶ τοτε ἀν μηδὲ ἐς ἔτοι δέκατον πολι-

10 ορκουμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὑπνὸν πρῶτον 
ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνιαδῶν, <καὶ> γενομένης 
τοῦ δρασμοῦ σφῶν τοῖς Ἀκαρνασίων αἰσθήσεωι 
[καὶ] ἐς μάχην ἰναγκασθέντες ἀφικέσθαι, περὶ 
τριακοσίον μὲν ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ πλείονας ἐτὶ 
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Acarnanians 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
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αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κατεργάζονται, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῶν διεκτίπτουσι διὰ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς Αἰτωλῶν ἐχόντων σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως ἐσ τὴν Ναυπάκτου ἀνασώζονται.

XXVI. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῶν τε ἁλλον χρόνων ἐνέκειτο σφιστὸ τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μῖσος καὶ τῆν ἔχθραν ἐς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐπὶ τού γενομένου Πελοποννησίου πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πολέμουν τὴν τε γὰρ Ναυπάκτου ὀρμητήριον ἐπὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποληφθέντας Μεσσηνίων σφενδόνηται τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου συνεξεῖλον.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πταίσμα ἐγένετο <τὸ> Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἴγος ποταμοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκβάλλουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι ναυσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντες, οὕτως Σικελίαν τε παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ὡς Ῥήγουν ἐστάλησαν, τὸ πλείστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τε Διβύην ἀφίκετο καὶ Διβύης ἐς Εὐεσπερίτας: οἱ γὰρ Εὐεσπερίται πολέμῳ κακωθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προσοίκων πάντα τινὰ "Ελληνα ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύνοικον. ἐσ τούτους τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸ πολὺ ἀπεχώρησεν ἠγεμόνι δὲ σφίσιν ἡν Κόμων, ὅσ καὶ περὶ τὴν Σφακτηρίαν ἐστρατήγησεν αὐτοῖς.

3 Ἔμεντῳ δὲ πρὸτερον ὡς κατορθώσαι Ὀθηβαίοις τα ἐν Λεκτροῖς, προεσήμαινεν ὁ δαίμων Μεσσηνίος τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Μεσσηνῇ <τῇ> πρὸς τῷ πορθμῷ τὸν ἱερά τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν ὅνειρατος ἴδεῖν ὕψιν—τοῦ Ἡρακλέα ἐδοξέ κληθῆναι τὸν Μάντικον ἐπὶ ξενία ἐς Ἰθώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίως—τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Εὐεσπερίταις Κόμων συγγενεῖσθαι

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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 Peloponessian, 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 Manticlus was bidden by Zeus as a guest to Ithome. Also among the Euesperitae Comon dreamt that he lay with his
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νεκρα τη μητρι εδοκει, συγγενομένου δε αυθίς οι την μητέρα ἀναβιώναι. καὶ ο μὲν ἐπηλπίζειν Ἀθηναίων δυνηθέντων ναυτικῷ κάθοδον ἐσεθαί σφισιν ἐς Ναύπακτον. τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐδήλοιο τὸ ὄνειρον ἀνασώσεσθαι Μεσσήνην. ἔγενετο τε οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν Λευκτροις Λακεδαιμονίωι τὸ ἀτύχημα ὀφειλόμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀριστοδήμῳ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Μεσσηνίῳ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος ἐστίν ἐρὸ ὑπη τὸ χρεὼν· ἀτη δ’ ἄλλοις πρὸ ἄλλων.

ὅς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐκεῖνον δέον καὶ Μεσσηνίους κακῶς πραξαί, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον καὶ Λακε-

δαίμονα ἐπιληψομένης τῆς ἀτης. τότε δὲ ἐν Λευκτροῖς οἱ Θηβαῖοι νευκηκότες ἀγγέλους ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἐνεσ-

περίτας ἀπέστελλον, ἐκ τε τῆς ἄλλης, εἰ ποὺ τις Μεσσηνίων εἰη, πανταχόθεν ἤνεκάλουν ἐς Πελοπόννησον. οἱ δὲ θάσσον ἢ ὡς ἂν τις ἡλπίσῃ συνελέηθησαν γῆς τε τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους μίσος παραμεῖναί αἰεί σφισιν.

6 Ἕπαμινῶνδα δὲ οὕτε ἄλλως ἐφαίνετο ῥάδια ἀξίωμαχον πόλιν ἐποικίσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὕτε ὁποὺ χρή κτισαι τῆς χώρας ἐξευρίσκει· τῆν γὰρ Ἀυδαίαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Οἰχαλίαν οὐκ ἔφασαν ἁνωκίειν, ὡτι αἱ συμφοραὶ σφισὶν ἐγενόσθαν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. ἀποροῦντι οὖν αὐτῶ πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα, ἱεροφάντη μάλιστα εἰκασμένον, νύκτωρ φασιν ἐπιστάντα ἐπιπείν. ἱσοὶ μὲν διώρᾳ ἐστὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ κρατεῖν ὅτι ἂν μεθ᾽ ὀπλῶν ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἡν ἐξ ἄνθρώπων γένη, ἐγὼ γε οἱ Θηβαῖοι 314
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 found 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
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ποιήσω μή ποτε ἀνώνυμον μηδὲ ἄδοξόν <σε> γενέσθαι. σὺ δὲ Μεσσηνίους γῆν τε πατρίδα καὶ πόλεις ἀπόδος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μὴν μα ἦδη 7 σφίσι πέπανται τὸ Διοσκοῦρων.” Ἐπαμιμώνυδα μὲν ταῦτα ἐλεγεν, Ἐπιτέλει δὲ τῷ Λισχίνῳ τάδε ἐμὴν—στρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἷ Ἀργείοι τὸν Ἐπιτέλη καὶ Μεσσήνην ἀνοικίζειν ἧρηντο—τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὁ ὄνειρος, ἐνθα ἀν τῆς Ἰθώμης εὐρη πεφυκίαι πολίκα καὶ μυρσίνην, τὸ μέσον ὅρυξαντα αὐτῶν ἀνασώσαι τὴν ἡραῖν κάμινες γιὰ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ καθεργ-μένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἦδη λαποψυχεῖν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ Ἐπιτέλης, ὥς ἐπελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, παραγεγο-μενος ἂς τὸ εἰρήμενον χωρίον ἐπέτυχεν ὁρύσσων 8 ὕδρια χαλκῆ, καὶ αὐτίκα παρὰ τὸν Ἐπαμιμώνυδαν κομίσας τὸ τε ἐνύπνιον ἔξηγεῖτο καὶ αὐτῶν ἔκεινῳ τὸ πῶμα ἀφελότα ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι ἐνεῖ σκο-πεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ πεθυντὶ ὄνειρατη ὑμοίγε ὑδρίαν, ἀνοίξας δὲ εἰρε κασ-σίτερον ἐληλασμένον ἐς τὸ λεπτότατον ἐπείλικτο δὲ ὠσπερ τὰ βιβλία. ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μεγάλων θεῶν ἐξέγραπτο ἡ τελετή, καὶ τοῦτο ὃ παρα-καταθήκῃ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους. τοῦτον τὸν ἐπελ-θόντα τῷ Ἐπιτέλει καὶ Ἐπαμιμώνυδα καθεύδουσι Καύκωνα εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὅς ἀφίκετο ἐξ ᾿Αθηνῶν ἐς ᾿Ανδανίαν παρὰ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόμπα.

XXVII. Τὸ δὲ τῶν Τυνδάρεω παῖδων μήμια ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἤρξατο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ μάχης, γενέσθαι <δὲ> αὐτὸ δι’ αἰτίαιν τοιαῦτε εἰκάζῳ, μειράκια ὤραια ἐξ ᾿Ανδα-νίας, Πανορμος καὶ Γώνυππος, τὰ τε ἄλλα οἰκεῖος εἰχον ἄλληλους καὶ κοινὰς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας ἐξόδους 316
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 καταδρομάς ἐποιούντο ἐς τὴν Δακωνικήν.

2 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Διοσκούροις ἐορτὴν ἀγόντων καὶ ἦδη πρὸς πότον καὶ παιδιὰς τετραμμένων μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον, ὁ Γώμππος καὶ ὁ Πάνορμος χιτώνας λευκοὺς καὶ χλαμύδας πορφυρᾶς ἐνδύστης ἐπὶ τε ἦπτον τῶν καλλίστων ὁχύμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πίλους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ δόρατα ἐχοῦσε ἐπίφαινονται Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, προσεκύνουν τε καὶ εὐχόντο, ἀφίχθαι δοκοῦντες σφισὶν αὐτοῦς ἐς τὴν

3 θυσίαν τοὺς Διοσκούρους. οἱ νεανίσκοι δὲ ὡς ἄπαξ ἀνεμίχθησαν, διεξῆλαυνν διὰ πάντων παῖστες τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ ἦδη κειμένων πολλῶν ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐς Ἁιδανίαν, καθυβρίσαντες τῶν Διοσκούρων τῇ θυσίᾳ. τούτῳ ἐμὸι δοκεῖν προῆγαγε τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐς τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Μεσσηνίων· τότε δὲ, ὡς ἐδήλου τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδα τὸ ὀνειροῦ, ὡς ἦν ἐν τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀκούσιος τῶν

4 Μεσσηνίων ἦ κάθοδος. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐς τὸν ὀἰκισμὸν οἱ Βάκιδος ἐνήγον χρησμοῖ. Βάκιδι γὰρ μανέντι ἐκ Νυμφῶν ἐς ἄλλους τε ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίων κάθοδον προειρημένα

καὶ τότε δὴ Σπάρτης μὲν ἀπ’ ἀγλαὸν ἀνθὸς ὀλείται,
Μεσσήνη δ’ αὐτὶς οἰκήσεται ἠματα πάντα.

ἔγω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἰρας, ὄντων ἀλώσιτο τρόπον, Βάκιν ἐφώρασα εἰρήκοτα· καὶ οἱ καὶ τὸν ἐστὶ τῶν χρησμῶν,

οἱ τ’ ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης πατάγω κρουνοῖς τε ὁμείσης.

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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 Ός δὲ ἡ τελετή σφισιν ἀνεύρητο, ταύτην μὲν, ὡσοι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων ἴσαν, κατετίθεντο ἐς βίβλους. Ἐπαμινώνδας δὲ, ὡς οἱ τὸ χορίον, ἐνθα νῦν ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὴν πόλιν, μᾶλλον ἐς οἰκισμόν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτίθειον, ἐκείλευσεν ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι τὸς μάϊτεσιν, <ἐί> οἱ βουλήσεται ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιχωρῆσαι. φαμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ αἰσία, οὐτω παρεσκευάζετο ἐς τὸν οἰκισμὸν, λίθους τε ἁγεσθαὶ κελεῦν καὶ ἀνδρὰς μεταπεμπόμενος, οἰς τέχνῃ στενωποὺς κατατέμενεσθαι καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τείχη περιβάλλεσθαι.

6 ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πάντα ἐν ἔτοιμῳ, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν—ἱερεία γὰρ παρεῖχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες—αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐπαμινώνδας καὶ οἱ Ὄηβαῖοι Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔθουν Ἰσμηνίῳ τὸν νομιζόμενον τρόπον, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τῇ τε Ἡρα τῇ Ἀργείᾳ καὶ Νεμέῳ Δίῳ, Μεσσήνιοι δὲ Δίῳ τε Ἡθωμάτα καὶ Διοσκούροις, οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἱερεῖς θεαῖς ταῖς Μεγάλαις καὶ Καῦκωνι. ἐπεκαλοῦντο δὲ ἐν κοινῷ καὶ ἢρωᾶς σφισιν ἐπανήκειν συνοίκους, Μεσσήνην μὲν τὴν Τριότα μάλιστα, ἐπὶ ταύτην δὲ Εὐρυτον καὶ Ἀφαρέα τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, παρὰ δὲ Ἡρακλείδων Κρεσφόντην τε καὶ Αἰ-πυτοῦ πλείστη δὲ καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἀνάκλησις 7 ἐγίνετο Ἀριστομένους. καὶ τὴν μὲν τότε ἠμέραν πρὸς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαίς ἴσαν, ταῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ τείχους τὸν περιβολὸν ἡγείρον καὶ ἐντὸς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐποιοῦντο. εἰργάζοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ μουσικῆς ἀλλής μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, αὐλῶν δὲ Βοιωτίων καὶ Ἀργείων τα τε Σακάδα καὶ Προνόμου μέλη τότε δὴ προήχθη μάλιστα ἐς 320
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-
Λαυπλίας, αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνην ἔθεντο ὄνομα, ἀνωκέτου δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα. Ναυ-

κλεῖς δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης οὐκ ἀνέστησαι κατὰ χῶραν δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναῖοις μένειν εἰσὶν, τούτοις μὲν καὶ ἐνεργείας ἀπομνημονεύοντες πολεμήσαι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς σφάς οὐ θελήσασι, Ναυπλίεις δὲ κατιούσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Μεσσή-

νίας τε δῶρα ἤγαγον ὑποίᾳ εἰσὶν καὶ ἀμα μὲν ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῆς ἐκείνων συνεχέσιν ὡς τὸ θεῖον ταῖς εὔχαις, ἀμα δὲ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σφετέρας δεήσειν εἰς ἐκείνους ἐχρόντο.

Κατῆλθον δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοϊκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ύστερον μετὰ Εἰρας ἄλοσιν, Δυσκινήτου μὲν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐκατοστητῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἴν Δάμων Θούριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. οὐκ ὀλίγος μὲν οὖν ὁ χρόνος καὶ Πλαταιεύσιν ἐγένετο, ἐφ' ὦσιν καὶ ἐκείνοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφευγον, καὶ Δηλίους, ἤνικα ὄκησαν Ἀδραμύττιοι ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων [καὶ Ὀρχομενίων]. οἱ δὲ Μινώαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν εἰν Λεύκτρου ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, κατῆ-

χήσαν ἐς Βωοτίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμωντοῦ, καὶ οὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς. Θηβαίων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐρημώσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν πόλιν, αὐθίς ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς ύστερον Κάσσανδρος Ἀντιπάτρου τᾶς Θηβαῖς ἐκτισεν. φαίνεται μὲν δὴ τῶν κατε-

λεγμένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἡ Πλαταικὴ φυγὴ συμβάσα, οὐ μέντοι περαιτέρω γε ἡ ἐπὶ δύο ἐγένετο οὕτα αὐτὴ γενεάς. Μεσσήνιοι δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελοπόννησου τριακοσία ἐτῆ μάλιστα ἥλιοντο, 322
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,¹ 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

¹ B.C. 370.
Pausanias: Description of Greece

ἐν οἷς οὐτε ἐθῶν εἰσὶ δῆλοι παραλύσαντές τι τῶν οἰκοθεν οὐτε τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Δωρίδα μετε- 
διαχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦμασ ἐτὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτῆς Πελοποννησίων μάλιστα ἐφύλασσον.

XXVIII. Κατελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἀρχὰς 
μὲν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δεινὸν ἦν οὐδὲν κατε- 
χόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φόβῳ τῷ Θηβαίων 
Μεσσηνίς τε ἦνεχοντο ἐποικιζομένης καὶ Ἀρ- 
κάδων εἰς μίαν ἥδροισμένων πόλιν. ὡς δὲ ὁ 
πόλεμος ὁ Φωκίκος, καλούμενος δὲ <ὁ> αὐτὸς 
οὕτως καὶ ίερός, ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου 
Θηβαίους, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ 
tῶν Μεσσηνίων οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀπέχεσθαι.

2 Μεσσηνίοι δὲ αὐτοῖ τε μετὰ Ἀργείωι καὶ Ἀρ- 
kάδων ἀντείχον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀμβ-
ναὶ σφισιν ἐδείκησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Δακωνικήν 
οὕτως μετὰ ἑκείνων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐφασαν, ἄρχοντων 
δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμου καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσαν 
tῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν 
ἐπηγγέλλοντο. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι Φιλίππων 
σύμμαχοι τῷ Ἀμύντου καὶ Μακεδόνιν ἐγένοντο, 
καὶ τοῦτο σφαῖς λέγοντες ἀποκωλύσασα του συμ-
βάντος τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἀγώνος ἐν Χαιρωνεία μὴ 
μετασχεῖν· οὐ μὴν οὔδε τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἐναντία 
3 θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἡθέλησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ 
ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῶν Ἔλληνων πολέμου δεύτερον 
tότε ἀνηρμένων πρὸς Μακεδόνας, μετέσχου καὶ 
oi Μεσσηνίοι τοῦ πολέμου, καθὰ καὶ πρῶτον 
edήλωσα ἐν τῇ Ἀττιδὶ συγγραφῇ. Γαλάταις δὲ 
μεθ’ Ἔλληνων οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο, Κλεονύμου καὶ 
Λακεδαιμονίων σπείσασθαι σπουδὰς σφισιν οὐ 
θελησάντων.

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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. They did not join the Greeks against the Gauls, as Cleonymus and the Lacedaemonians refused to grant them a truce.

1 i. xxv. 4.
4 Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστερον ἔσχον Ἡλιν Μεσσήνιοι, σοφία τε ὁμοί χρησάμενοι καὶ τολμήματι. Ἡλεῖοι γὰρ τὰ μὲν παλαιότατα εὐνομώτατοι Πελοπον–

νησίων ἦσαν. Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅποσα εἴρηται κακουργήσαντος τὴν Ἑλ–

λάδα καὶ Ἡλείων τοὺς δυνατοὺς διαφθείραντος χρήμασι, στασιάζοντι πρὸ τοῦ τὸτε Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ἦς ὅπλα, ὡς λέγουσι, χωροῦσι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον βὰρον ἐτὶ ἐμελλὼν ἀπεχθήσεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους, οἷς 

γε καὶ Δακεδαίμονίων ἔνεκα δέστη τὰ βουλεύ–

ματα, καὶ ἦς ἐμφύλων προῆλθον πόλεμον. πυν–

θανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι παρεσκευά–

ζοντο ὡς Ἡλείων τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὰ σφέτερα ἀμυνοῦντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τέλη τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ διενέμοντο ἐς τοὺς λόχους· τῶν δὲ Μεσση–

νίων λογάδες χίλιοι φθάνουσιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς 

τὴν Ἡλιν, σήμεεια ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀστήι Δακωνικὰ 

6 ἔχοντες. ὡς δὲ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐθεάσαντο ὅσοι 

τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις εὑνοῦ τῶν Ἡλείων ἦσαν, συμ–

μαχίαν τε ἀφιχθαί σφισίν ἤλπισαν καὶ τοὺς 

ἀνδρας ἐδέχοντο ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἐσελθόντες δὲ 

τρόπον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸν εἰρημένον τοὺς τὰ Δακε–

δαίμονίων φρονοῦντας ἐδίώξαν, καὶ ἑπιτρέπουσι 

7 τοῖς στασιώτατοι τοῖς αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. ἔστι 

μὲν δὴ τὸ σόφισμα Ὀμήρου, φαίνοντα δὲ αὐτὸ 

ἐν δέοντι μιμητάμενοι καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, ἐπεὶ 

Πάτροκλόν γε ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἡλιώδι Ὀμηρος 

Ἀχιλλεώς τὰ ὅπλα εὐδύντα, καὶ ἐγγενέσθαι τε 

ἐφὴ τοῖς βαρβαροῖς δόξαν ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπίοι 

καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους αὐτῶν ταραχθῆναι. 

eὐρήται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Ὀμήρῳ στρατηγήματα, δύο 

tε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατασκόπους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ 

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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 opportune, for Homer represents Patroclus in the Iliad 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

1 xvi. 281.
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ἀνθ’ ἐνός ἐς τοὺς Τρώας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἄνδρα ὑστερον λόγῳ μὲν αὐτόμολον, ἔργω δὲ τὰ ἀπόρρητα πολυπραγμονήσουτα ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἑσελθεῖν.

8 ἦτι δὲ τοὺς διὰ νέοτητα ἐν-τοῖς Τρῳσίν ἢ γῆρας οὐχ ὥραιοις μάχεσθαι, τούτους μὲν τὸ τείχος φρονείν ἐταξε, τῶν ἐν ἥλικία τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐπηνισμένων. 'Ελλήνων δὲ οἱ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες ὀπλίζουσιν αὐτὸ τὸ μάχιμον, ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἄργοιεν. Τὰ Ὄμηρον μὲν οὖν ὀφέλιμα ἐγένετο ἐς ἀπαντα ἀνθρώπωις.

XXIX. Μετὰ δὲ οὗ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλείδα Μακεδόνες καὶ Δημήτριος ο Φιλιπποῦ τοῦ Δημητρίου Μεσσηνήν καταλαμβάνονσι. τὰ μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐς τε αὐτὸν Φιλιπποῦ καὶ τὰ ἄς Δημήτριον τοῦ Φιλιπποῦ τολμηθέντα ἐκ Περσέως ἐν τοῖς Σικυωνίοις ἐγραψα ἤδη λόγοις· τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τὴν 2 Μεσσηνής ἐσχεν οὕτω. χρημάτων ἐσπώνευτο Φιλιππος καὶ—ἐδει γὰρ πάντως οἱ γενέσθαι χρήματα—ἀποστέλλει Δημήτριον ναυσίν ἐς Ηελοπόνησον. Δημήτριος δὲ κατῆγετο ποι τῆς Ἀργείας ἐς λιμένα τῶν ἐρημοτέρων αὐτίκα δὲ ὅσι εἶχε διὰ τῶν ἐπιτομωτάτων τῆς χώρας τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγεν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνής. προτάξας δὲ ὅσον ἦν τῶν τε ὁπλών τῆς σκευῆς κούφων καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰθώμην εἶχεν ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἀπείρως, λανθάνει περὶ ὀρθον μάλιστα ὑπέρβας τὸ τείχος, καθὸ τῆς τε πόλεως μεταξ ἦν καὶ ἀκρας τῆς Ἰθώμης. 3 ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐπέσεχε καὶ ἦδη τοῖς ἐνδόν αἰσθήσις ἐγεγονεῖ τοῦ κατειληφότοις κινδύνοι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐσήλθεν ὑπόνοια ὡς οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ὁπλοῖς παρέλθοιεν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, 328
one, 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, 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, captured Messene. I have already, in my account of Sicyon, 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 Peloponnesse. 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

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1 x. 220.  
2 viii. 517.  
3 See, however, Polybius iii. 19, where it is stated that it was Demetrius of Pharos who made the raid.  
4 ii. ix. 5.
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οὔτε καὶ ὠρμησαν ἢπτ' αὐτοὺς ἀφειδέστερον διὰ τὸ μίσος τὸ ἑξί ἄρχης. ἔπει δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν ἀντας, δεῦμα ἱσχυρὸν παρέστη σφίσι λογιζομένοις τήν τε ἐς τὰ πολε-μικὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων μελέτην καὶ τύχην ἦ πρὸς ἄπαντα ἐώρων χρωμένους αὐτοὺς. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ τε παρόντος κακοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ἐδίδασκεν ἀνδρίαν τινὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δυνατοῦ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀμα τὰ ἄμεινω παριστατο αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ θεοῦ διὰ τοσοῦτον σφίσιν ὑπάρξαι τὴν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον. οἳ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσήνιοι θυμῷ παντὶ ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἔχου-ρουν καὶ οἱ φρουρῶντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπέκειντο

5 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων. ὀσάυτως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπὸ τε ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐμπειρίας τὸ κατ᾽ ἄρχας ἢμύνοντο ἐρρωμένως· ἀπεὶ δὲ ὀδοιπορία προσαπει-ρηκότες καὶ ὁμοῦ τῶν τὲ ἀνδρῶν σφίσιν ἐγκε-μένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν κεράμῳ καὶ λίθως βαλλόμενοι, σὺν οὐδεὶς ἐφευγὼν κόσμῳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο ὀθούμενοι κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν, ἀπότομος γὰρ δὴ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰούμη ὀλύγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ ῥίψαντες τὰ ὄπλα ἀπεσώθησαν.

6 Ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τὸ Ἀγαίων ἐπὶ τῶδε οὐ μοι δοκοῦν ἐσελθεῖν κατ᾽ ἄρχας. Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτεπιγγελτοὶ βοηθήσουντες ἀφί-κοντο ὢπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ Λιακίδου πολεμουμένοις, καὶ σφίσιν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἤδη τὰ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰρημικῶτερα ὑπῆρχεν. οὐκουν ἀνακινήσας τὸ ἔχθος ἐβουλοῦντο ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συγχωρήσαντες, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα 330
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
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7 πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καθεστήκεσαν. ὁ δὲ οὐ λέληθεν ἐμὲ, οὐδὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐλελήθει δῆποι, καὶ μὴ συντελοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ συννέδριον ὡς ἐπὶ Δακεδαιμονίους τὰ 'Αχαιῶν ὑπάρχοι' ἐν γάρ δὴ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀργείοι καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν οὐκ ἑλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦσαν. ἀνὰ χρόνον μέντοι προσεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν. οὐ πολλὲς δὲ ύστερον Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου Μεγάλην πόλιν εἶλεν Ἀρκάδων ἐν σπουδαῖς.

8 τῶν δὲ οἱ καταληφθέντες οὐ μὲν ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τὴν ἀλωσιν, Φιλοπόιμενα δὲ τῶν Κραύγιδος καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Φιλοποίμενος ἀπεχώρησαν—γενέσθαι δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολετῶν τὸ διαφυγὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δύο μοίρας λέγουσι—τούτους ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ Μεσσηνίοι τῶν τε Ἀρχαίων ἔργων ἕνεκα ὄποσα ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους ὑπῆρκτο Ἀρκάδι καὶ ύστερον ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκίσμου τοῦ Μεσσήνης, ἀποδιδόντες

9 σφίσι τὴν ὁμοίαν. πέφυκε δὲ ἀρα ὡς ἐπίπαν μεταπίπτειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἰ δὴ Μεσσηνίοις Ἀρκάδας τε ἀντισώσαι καὶ τὸ ἀδοκιτότερον ἐτί ἐλείν Σπάρτην ὁ δαίμων ἐδωκεν. Κλεομένης γὰρ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναυτία καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀράτῳ καὶ Ἀχαίοις συγκαθεῖλον.

10 Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένους Κλεομένους ἐπανίσταται τύραννος Μαχανίδας, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὑποθανόντος Νάβις ἀνέφυ σφίσιν αὐθίν πύραννος· ἀτε δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρπάζοντε αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ συλώτῳ, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ χρήματα τε ἄφθονα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιὰ συνείλεκτο. τούτου τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσήην καταλαβόντος Φιλοποίμην καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται

11 νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ο μὲν Σπαρτιάτης
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 Achaean 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. 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 Aristo- menes 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 Achaean 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

1 See II. ix. 2.
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tύραννος ἀπήλθεν ὑπόσπονδος. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ύστερον τούτων μεμφόμενοι τῷ Μεσσηνίωσι στρατεύονσιν ἐπὶ αὐτούς παρασκευὴ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔτεμον τῆς χώρας. καὶ οἴ μὲν αὐθίς περὶ ἀκμῆν σίτου συνελέγοντο ὡς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες. Δεινοκράτης δὲ δήμουτε προσετηκὼς καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡρμένους Ἀυκόρταν μὲν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ἀναχωρήσας παρεσκεύασεν ἄπρακτον, τὰς ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας παρόδους προλαβὼν τοῖς τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μεσσηνίως

12 καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περιοίκων σφίσιν ἤμυναν Φιλοποίμενος δὲ σὺν ἢπειροῦσιν ὀλίγους ἀφικομένου πολὺ ύστερον ἢ ὁ μετὰ Ἀυκόρτα στρατός, πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐδέν πτὼ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δεδυνημένων, ὕκωσιν οἱ Μεσσηνίων γινομένης σφίσιν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τῆς μάχης καὶ ξόντα αἱροῦσι Φιλοποίμενα. τρόπον δὲ ὅντινα ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἔαλω καὶ ὃς ἐτελεύτησε, τάδε μὲν ἦμῖν καὶ ύστερον ὁ Ἀρκαδίκος λόγος ἐπέξεισι. Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ τε Φιλοποίμεναι αὐτίοι τῆς τελευτῆς ἐδοσαν δίκας καὶ ἡ Μεσσηνίη συνετέλεσεν αὐθίς ἐς τὸ Ἀχαῖκόν.

13 Ὁ Ἀχρι μὲν δὴ τούδε ὁ λόγος ἐπήλθε μοι Μεσσηνίων τὰ πολλὰ παθήματα, καὶ ὃς ὁ δαίμων σφᾶς ἐπὶ τε γῆς τῷ ἐσχατα καὶ ἑπὶ τὰ πορρώτατα Πελοποιηθένσι σκεδάσας ύστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἀνέσωσε τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεως τραπώμεθα ἐς ἀφίγησιν.

XXX. Ἐστὶν ἐδ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ τῆς μάτης τῆς Χοιρίου στάδια εἰκοσι μάλιστα ἀπέχουσα Ἀβία ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλις. ταύτης Ἰρην καλείσθαι πάλαι καὶ τῶν ἐπτά φασίν εἶναι 334
retired on terms. But the Achaean 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 Deinocrates, 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. Philopoemen 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 Philopoemen's capture and death in my account of Arcadia later. 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 Choerus valley. They say that this was formerly called Ire and was one of the seven cities

1 viii. li. 5 seqq.
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πόλεων, ἃς Ἀχιλλεῖ τεποιήκεν Ὄμηρος Ἀγαμέμνονα ὑπισχυμοῦμενον. "Τόλου δὲ καὶ Δωρίεων μάχῃ κρατηθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀχαίων, ἑνταῦθα Ἀβίαν Γλήνου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τροφὸν ἀποχωρήσαι λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰρην καὶ οἰκήσαι τε αὐτῶθι καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα ύστερον Κρεσφόντῃ ἄλλα τε γέρα νεῖμαι καὶ τῇ πόλει μεταβέσθαι τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβίας. Ἡ Ἡρακλεῖον δὲ ἦν αὐτῶθι ἐπιφανὲς καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖον.

2 Φαραι δὲ ἀφεστήκασιν Ἀβίας σταδίους ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ ύδωρ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστιν ἀλμυρὸν· βασιλεὺς δὲ Δυσονατος τοὺς ἐν Φαραίς Μεσσηνίους συντελεῖ ἀπέταξεν ἐς τὸ Δακωνικὸν, τὸν δὲ οἰκιστὴν Φάριν Ἐρμοῦ τε καὶ Φυλοδαμείας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῆς Δαναοῦ. Φάρει δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν οὐ φασὶ γενέσθαι, θυγατέρα δὲ Τηλεγόνη, τοὺς δὲ ἐφεξής εγενελόγησεν Ὄμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι διδύμους Κρήβωνα καὶ Ὀρτιλόχου εἶναι Διοκλεῖ, Διοκλέα δὲ αὐτῶν Ὀρτιλόχου τοῦ Ἀλφείου· τὰ δὲ ἐς Τηλεγόνην παρεῖδεν, αὐτὴ γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ ἐστιν ἡ τεκοῦσα Ἀλφεῖ τὸν Ὀρτιλόχον. καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἦκουσα ἐν Φαραίς, Διοκλεῖ θυγατέρα ἐπὶ τοῖς διδύμοις παίσιν Ἀντικλείαις γενέσθαι, τῆς δὲ Νικόμαχον τε εἶναι καὶ Γόργασον, πατρὸς δὲ Μαχαίνος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τούτους καταμείναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὁ Διοκλῆς ἐτελεύτησε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι. διαμεμένηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐτί νοσήματα τε καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱάσθαι· καὶ σφινω ἀντὶ τούτων θυσίας ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄγουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναὸς Φαραιάταις 336
which Homer says that Agamemnon promised to Achilles.\(^1\) When Hyllus and the Doriens 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 \textit{Iliad},\(^2\) 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.

\(^1\) \textit{Iliad}, ix. 150.
\(^2\) v. 541.
καὶ ἀγάλμα ἀρχαίον. πρῶτος δὲ ὅν οἶδα ἐποιήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσεν "Ομήρος Τύχης μνήμην ἐποιήσατο δὲ ἐν ὑμνῷ τῷ ἐσ τῇ Δήμητρα ἀλλας τε τῶν Ὁκεανῶν θυγατέρας καταραθμοῦμενος, ὡς ὁμοὶ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παίζοιειν, καὶ Τύχην ὡς Ὁκεανῶν καὶ ταύτην παῖδα οὐσαν καὶ οὗτος ἔχει τὰ ἐπὶ.

ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἃν' ἴμερτὸν λειμώνα, Λευκίππη Φαῖνῶ τε καὶ Ἡλέκτρη καὶ Ιάνθη Μηλόβοσίς τε Τύχη τε καὶ Ὁκυρόη καλυκώπις.

5 πέρα δὲ ἐδήλωσεν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ώς ἡ θεοὶ ἔστων αὐτῇ μεγίστῃ θεῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασι καὶ ἵσχύν παρέχεται πλείστην, ὡσπερ γε ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησεν Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν καὶ Ἐνυόν πολεμοῦντων ἡγεμονίαν ἐχειν, Ἀρτεμίν δὲ γυναικῶν ὀδίσων εἶναι φοβερών, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ τὰ ἔργα μέλειν τῶν γάμων, ἀλλ' οὔτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο 6 ἐποίησεν ἐς τὴν Τύχην. Βοῦπαλος δὲ, ναοὺς τε οἰκοδομήσασθαι καὶ ξίδα ἄνηρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρναῖοις ἀγαλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρῶτος ἐποίησεν ὃν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον 'Αμαλθείας κέρας ὕπὸ Ἐλλήνων. οὕτος μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσε τῆς θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα. ἦσε δὲ καὶ ὑστερον Πίνδαρος ἀλλα τε ἐς τὴν Τύχην καὶ δὴ καὶ Φερέπολιν ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτῆν.

XXXI. Ὁλύγον δὲ ἀπωτέρῳ Φαρῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἅλσος ἐστὶ Καρνείοι καὶ ὅδατος ἐν αὐτῷ πηγήθαλάσσης δὲ ἔξ που στάδια ἀπέχουσιν αἱ Φαραί.

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(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,* 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 Ianthe, 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. But he makes no other mention of Fortune. Bupalos a skillful 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

1 420.
2 *Iliad,* v. 333; xxi. 483; v. 429.
3 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.
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εντεύθεν πρὸς μεσογαιαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας σταδίους προελθόντι ὑγοςμεκοντα, ἐστιν ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις, Ἀνθειαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν ὀνομάζον οἱ Θεοκρίτους τοῖς Ὀμήρου λέγουσι. Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὐγοῦστος. Αὐγοῦστῳ γὰρ βασιλεύοντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησαν Ἀντώνιοι, γένει καὶ ὀντὸς Ῥωμαῖοι· καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι προσέβησαν, ὅτι ἐφρόνον ἔργακονι Αὐγοῦστος τὰ Ἀὐγοῦστον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτων ἔνεκα Μεσσηνίως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλαττον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐπεξῆλθε. Θουριάται δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐν μετεώρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἰκουμένης ἐς τὸ πεδίον κατελθόντες οἰκοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν παντάπασι γε οὐδὲ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐκλελοίπασιν, ἄλλα καὶ τείχους ἔρειπτα καὶ ἱερὸν ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ὀνομαζόμενου θεοῦ Σύριας· τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πόλιν ποταμὸς καλούμενος "Αρις παρέξεισιν.

3 Ἡστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαιῶς κώμῃ Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμνης χωρίων ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Λιμναίιδος οἱ ιεροὶ ἐστίν Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔνθα Τηλέκλω βασιλεύοντι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὴν τελευτικὴν συμβηκὴν λέγουσιν. Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Θουρίας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίας εἰς ἦν αἱ παραὶ τοῦ Παμίσου καὶ ἐπὶ αὐταῖς παισὶ μικρὸς ἀκέσματα γίνεται.

Ἰούσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἐν ἀριστερὰ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα στάδια, ἐστι Μεσσηνίως ἡ ὕπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ πόλις. περιέχεται δὲ οὗ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πάμισον τὰ τετράμμενα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐυας· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τῷ ὧρει φασὶ Βακχικόν τι ἐπίθηκεύμα 340
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.\(^1\) 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 (\textit{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

\(^1\) \textit{Iliad}, ix. 151, 293.
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The date of Damophon of Messene has now been fixed in the first half of the second century B.C. (see Dickins, Annual 342)
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 Arside. 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, 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. 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.

2 vii. xviii. 8.
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8 ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀχαϊῶν μόνους, Ἑφεσίαν δὲ Ἀρτέμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἱ πάσαι καὶ ἄνδρες ἒνδι 
θεῶν μάλιστα ἁγουσιν ἐν τιμῆ. τὰ δὲ αὐτία ἐμοὶ 
δοκεῖν ἔστιν Ἀμαζόνων τε κλέος, αἰ φήμην τὸ 
ἀγαλμα ἔχουσιν ἰδρύσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ παλαι-
οτάτου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐποιήθη. τρία δὲ ἄλλα 
ἐπὶ τούτοις συνετέλεσεν ἐς δόξαι, μέγεθος τοῦ 
ναοῦ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατασκευάσματα 
ὑπερηφάνοντο καὶ Ἑφεσίων τῆς πόλεως ἡ ἀκμὴ 
καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπιφανὲς τῆς θεοῦ.

9 Πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Μεσσηνίως ναὸς 
καὶ ἀγαλμα λίθον, πλησίον δὲ Κουρίτων μέγαρον, 
ἕνθα ζῶα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν ἀρξά-
μενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ βοῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καταβαίνουσιν 
ἐς τοὺς ὀρνιθὰς ἀφιέντες ἐς τὴν φλόγα. καὶ 
Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίων ἐστίν ἁγιόν καὶ 
Διοσκοὺρων ἀγάλματα φέροντες τὰς Λευκίππουν· 
καὶ μοὶ καὶ ταύτα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐστίν ἢδη 
δεδηλωμένα, ὡς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω 
παίδας ἄμφισβητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Δακε-

10 δαιμονίοις προσήκειν. πλεῖστα δὲ σφισὶ καὶ 
θέας μάλιστα ἁγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ 
παρέχεται τὸ ἱερὸν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τὸν θεοῦ 
καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστίν ἁγάλματα, χωρὶς δὲ 
Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἡρακλέους· πόλις 
τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμιδος 
Τύχη τε καὶ Ἀρτέμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ 
λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο—Μεσσήνιον 
δὲ ὃτι μὴ τούτον ἄλλον γε ὀυδὲνα λόγου ποιήσαντα 
ἄξιως οἴδα ἁγάλματα—ἡ δὲ εἰκών τοῦ Ἐπα-
μινώνδου ἐκ σιδήρου τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐργον ἄλλου, 

11 οὐ τούτου. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Μεσσηνὶς τῆς Τριόπτα 
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the Achaearns 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 Eileithya 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 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 Cleommis, 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

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1 III, xxvi, 3.
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ναός καὶ ἁγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παριόν: γραφαί δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὦπισθεν οἱ βασιλεύσαντες εἰσὶ Μεσσήνης, πρὶν μὲν ἡ στόλον ἄφικέναι τὸν Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς, κατελθόντων δὲ Ἰρακλείδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἔστιν, ἤγεμών καὶ οὔτος τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, τῶν δὲ οἰκησάντων ἐν Πύλῳ Νέστωρ καὶ Θρασύμηδῆς καὶ Ἀντίλοχος, προτετιμημένου παίδων τῶν Νέστορος ἢλικία καὶ ἔπι τροίαν μετεσχηκότες 12 τῆς στρατείας. Δεύκιππος τε Ἀφαρέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰλαίερά ἔστι καὶ Φοῖβη, σὺν δὲ σφίσιν Ἀρσινόη. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπίος, Ἀρσινόης δὲν λόγῳ τοῦ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ Μαχάων καὶ Ποδαλείριος, ὅτι ἔργον τοῦ πρὸς Ἡλίῳ καὶ τούτους μέστησι. ταῦτας τὰς γραφὰς ἐγραψεν Ὀμφαλίων, Νικίου τοῦ Νικομήδους μαθητῆς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δουλεύσαι παρὰ τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φασίν αὐτοῦ.

XXXII. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομαζόμενον παρὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱεροθέσιον1 ἐχεῖ μὲν θεῶν ἁγάλματα ὀπόσους νομίζουσιν Ἐλληνες, ἐχεὶ δὲ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα Ἐπαμισώνδου. κείνται δὲ καὶ ἀρχαῖοι τρίποδες ἀπούρου αὐτοὺς καλεῖ Ὄμηρος. τὰ δὲ ἁγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῶ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματα ἐστίν ἄνδρῶν Ἀγγυπτίων, Ἐρμῆς καὶ Ἰρακλῆς τε καὶ Ἱθησεὺς. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς πᾶσιν Ἐλλησὶ καὶ ἡδὴ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοῖς περί τε γυμνασία καὶ ἐν 2 παλαίστραις καθεστηκεν ἐχειν ἐν τιμῇ... Αἰθίδαιαν δὲ ἐμαυτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὄντα εὐρισκον, γενομένων

1 ἱεροθέσιον, Rohde; ἱερούσιον, codd. The word ἱεροθέσιον is used of the tomb of Antiochus I. of Commagene on the Nemrout Dagh (Dittenberger, Or. Graec. Inscr., 383, II. 36, 346
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, Hilairea and Phoebe, and with them Arsinoë. Asclepius too is represented, being according to the Messenian account a son of Arsinoë, also Machaon and Poda-leirius, as they also took part in the affair at Troy. These pictures were painted by Omphalion, pupil of Nicias 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. 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

1 See III. xix. 4. Nothing further is known of his pupil Omphalion.
2 IIiad, ix. 122.

126, ἱεροθεσίῳ σώματος ἐμοῦ, 130), and of the tomb of Queen Isias near Melitene (Ib., 403).
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de oĩ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἀδυνάτω τιμαὶ παρὰ Μεσ-
σηνίων ὑπάρχουσιν ἀτε ἴρῳ. εἰςι δὲ τῶν
Μεσσηνίων οἱ τῷ Αἰθίδα χρήματα μὲν γενέσθαι
πολλὰ ἔλεγον, οὐ μέντοι τούτοι γε εἶναι τὸν
ἐπειργασμένον τῇ στήλῃ πρόγονον δὲ καὶ ὁμώ-
νυμον ἄνδρα τῷ Αἰθίδα. Αἰθίδαν δὲ τὸν πρότερον
Ηγήσασθαι τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις φασίν, ἡμῖκα ἐν τῇ
νυκτὶ Δημήτριος σφίσιν ὁ Φιλίππου μηδαμῶς
ἐλπίσασιν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ λαυθάνουσιν
ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

3 Καὶ Ἀριστομένους δὲ μνῆμα ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα·
οὐ κενὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ μνῆμα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐρο-
μένου μου τρόπον τε ὄντω καὶ ὀπόθεν Ἀρι-
στομένους κομίσαντο τὰ ὀστᾶ, μετατέμφασθαι
μὲν ἐκ Ρόδου φασὶ, τὸν δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ τὸν
kελεύσαντα εἶναι. πρὸς τε ὅτι τοῦτοι ἐδίδασκόν
με ὅποια ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δρῶσι. ταῦτον ὄντω
ἐναγίζειν μέλλουσιν, ἀναγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα
ἐδησαν πρὸς τὸν ἐστὴκότα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ κόνα.
ὁ δὲ ἄτε ἄγριος καὶ ἀήθης δεσμῶν οὐκ ἔθελε
μένειν θορυβοῦμενῷ δε οἱ καὶ σκιρτώντι ἢν ὁ
κίον κινηθῇ, Μεσσηνίος ἐστὶν αἴσιον, οὐ κινη-
θέντος δὲ ἀσύμφορα ἐπαγγέλλει τὸ σημεῖον.

4 παραγενέσθαι δὲ Ἀριστομένην καὶ τῷ περὶ
Δεύκτρα ἄγων εἴθελουσιν οὐ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων
ἐτὶ ὄντα, καὶ ἀμῦναί τε αὐτῶν φασὶ Θηβαῖοις
καὶ μάλιστα γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀτυχίματος Λακε-
δαιμονίως αἰτιων. ἐγὼ δὲ Χαλδαῖος καὶ Ἰνδῶν
tους μάγους πρώτους οἴδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατος
ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου ψυχή, καὶ σφίσι καὶ Ἑλλήνων
ἀλλοι τε ἐπείσθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Πλάτων ὁ
Ἀρίστωνος· εἰ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ οἱ πάντες
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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
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εθελήσουσιν, ἐκεῖνῷ γε ἀντειπεῖν οὐκ ἐνεστὶ μὴ οὔ τὸν πάντα αἰώνα Ἀριστομένει τὸ μῖσος τὸ ἐστὶν. Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνεστάχθαι. ἢ δὲ αὐτὸς ἦκουσα ἐν Θῆβαις, εἰκὸς μὲν τι παρεῖχετο ἐς τὸν Μεσσηνίων λόγον, οὐ μὴν παντάπασι γέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογηκότα. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Θῆβαιοι μελλούσης τῆς μάχης ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐν Δεύκτροις ἐς ἀλλα τε ἀποστείλα χρηστήρια καὶ ἐρησουμένους τὸν ἐν Δεβαδείαθεοῦ. Ἀλλαται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ τοῦ Πτόου, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἀβαὶς τε χρησθέντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Τροφώμιον δὲ φασιν εἰπεῖν ἐξαμέτρων.

πρὶν δορὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, στήσασθε τρόπαιον,
ἀσπίδι κοσμήσαντες ἐμὴ, τὴν ἐθάνατο νηὸθ
θυρόμεν Ἀριστομένης Μεσσηνίος. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ
τοι
ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων φθίσω στρατὸν ἀσπιστάων.

Ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ δειθῆναι Ξενοκράτους λέγονσιν Ἐπαμινώνδαν. οὐ δὲ τὴν τε ἀσπίδα μεταπέμπται τοῦ Ἀριστομένου καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τρόπαιον, ὧθεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔσεσθαι σύνοπτον ἐμελλεν. ἦδεσαν δὲ ἀρά τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Δεβαδεία καθ’ ἱσυχίᾳν ἐωράκοτες, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ πάντες· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ νῖκη Θῆβαιος, ἀποδιδόσαν αὐῶς τῷ Τροφώμιῳ τὸ ἀνάθημα. Ἀριστομένους δὲ καὶ χαλκοὺς ἀνδρῶς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ σταδιῷ τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ οὐ πόρρῳ Σαράπιδος ἐστὶ καὶ Ἰσιδος ἱερόν.

XXXIII. Ἐς δὲ τὴν κορυφήν ἐρχομένῳ τῆς
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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,

1 ἀσπίδι, ἔμη, Herwerden; ἀσπίδα, ἔμην, codd.
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'Ithômês, ἢ δὴ Μεσσηνίως ἐστὶν ἀκρόπολις, πηγὴ Κλεψύδρα γίνεται. πάντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμῆσας καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὅποιοι θέλουσι γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία: μέτεστι δ' οὖν καὶ Μεσσηνίως τοῦ λόγου φασί γὰρ καὶ οὕτω τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσι τὸν θεὸν, 'Ἰθώμην δὲ εἶναι καὶ Νέδαν τὰς θρεψάμενας, κεκληθαί δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Νέδας τὸν ποταμὸν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν τῷ ὅρει τὴν 'Ἰθώμην δεδωκέναι τὸ ὄνομα. ταύτας δὲ τὰς νῦμφας τὸν Δία, κλαπέντα ὑπὸ Κουρήτων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δείμα, ἐνταῦθα λοῦσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τῷ ὦδαι ἀπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων τῆς κλοπῆς: φέρουσι τε ἀνὰ πάσαν ἥμεραν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐς τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Ἰθώματο τὸ ἱερόν. τὸ δὲ ἁγαλμα τοῦ Δίως Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἐστὶν ἐργοῦ, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυτάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων ἱερεὺς δὲ αἰρετός κατὰ ἔτος ἐκαστον ἐξει [δὲ] τὸ ἁγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἐπτέτειον Ἰθωμαια, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγώνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς: τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἄλλος τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἐπεσιν, ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἔν τῷ προσδιώκει τῷ ἐς Δήλουν·

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῳ καταθύμιος ἐπλετο μοῦσα ἀ καθαρὰ <ν κιθάραν> 1 καὶ ἐλευθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

οὐκοῦν ποιήσαι μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγώνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας.

1 Suppl. Bergk.

1 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 and was made originally for the Messenian settlers in Naupactus. The priest is chosen annually and keeps the image in his house. 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.; Inschr. v. Olym., 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).

Cf. vii. xxiv. 4.
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3 'Ἰοντὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ 'Άρκαδίας ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Ἐρμῆς τέχνης τῆς 'Ἀττικῆς. 'Αθηναίων γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τετράγωνὸν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἐρμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τούτων μεμαθήκασιν οἱ ἄλλοι. σταδίους δὲ καταβάντι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τριάκοντα τὸ πεῦμα ἐστὶ τῆς Βαλύρας. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἄποβαλόντος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρόσει παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλάμμωνος καὶ 'Αργυρότης τῆς νύμφης εἰναι. τὴν δὲ 'Αργυρόπην τέως μὲν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰχεν ἐν γαστρὶ, ἐς Ὀδρὺσας λέγουσι μετοικήσαν. Φιλάμμωνα γὰρ οὐκ ἔθελεν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι, καὶ Θάμυρον μὲν Ὀδρύσην τε καὶ Θράκα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καλοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ Λευκασία καὶ 'Αμφιτός συμβαλλόσσως ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ ρεύματα.

4 Διαβάντι δὲ τοῦτος πεδίου ἔστιν ὀνομαζόμενον Στενυκληρικὸν. εἶναι δὲ ἡρωα Στενύκληρου λέγουσι. τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ καλοκύνη τὸ ἄρχαιον Οἰχαλία, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Καρνάσιον ἄλσος, κυπαρίσσων μᾶλιστα πλήρες. θεόν δὲ ἀγάλματα Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶ Καρνείου <καὶ Ἀργής>1 καὶ Ἐρμῆς φέρουν κρυόν. ἡ δὲ Ἀγή Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησις: ὕδωρ δὲ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς θεὰς τὰς Μεγάλας—δρόσι γὰρ καὶ ταύτας ἐν Καρνασίῳ τὴν τελετήν—ἀπόρρητα ἐστώ μόνῳ δεύτερα γὰρ σφίσι νεμὼ σεμνότητος μετὰ γε Ἐλευσίνια. οτι δ' ὑδρία τε ἡ χαλκῆ, τὸ εὐρήμα τοῦ Ἀργείου στρατηγοῦ, καὶ Εὐρύτου τοῦ Μελανέως τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐφυλάσσετο ἐνταῦθα, δηλῶσαί 354
MESSENIA, xxxiii. 3-5

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

1 Suppl. Sauppe.
με καὶ ἐς ἀπαντας οὐκ ἀπείρηγε τὸ ὄνειρον. Με 6 ὅπος παρὰ τῷ Καρνάσιον Χάραδρος, καὶ προελθόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σταδίους ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἐρείπτια ἐστιν Ἁυδάνιας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γνωαίκος γέγονεν Ἁυδάνιας, ὁμολογεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, οὐ μὴν τὰ γε ἐς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῆς οὔδὲ τῷ συνψόκησεν ἔχω λέγειν. ἱόντων δὲ ὡς ἔπει Κυπαρισσίας ἀπὸ Ἁυδάνιας Πολίκην τῇ ἐστὶ καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Ἡλεκτρα καὶ Κόιος ρέουσιν. τὰχα δ' ἂν τινα καὶ λόγον ἐς Ἡλεκτραν τὴν Ἀτλαντος λέγοιεν καὶ ἐς Κοιον τὸν Λητοῦς πατέρα, ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἠρώνων εἶδεν Ἡλεκτρα τε καὶ Κοῖος.

7 Διαβάντων δὲ Ἡλεκτραν Ἀχαΐα τε ὄνομαξομένη πνηγὴ καὶ πόλεως ἐστιν ἐρείπτια Ἰωρίου. τεποίηκε δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν Ὁμήρῳ ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Δωρίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν συμφοράν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰς Μοῦσας νικήσειν ἐφασκεν ἄδοῦσας. Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαῖν—εἰ δὴ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινακᾶ ἐπή—προσκεῖσθαι φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Ἀιδοῦ δίκην τοῦ ἐς τὰς Μοῦσας αὐχήματος. διευθάρη δὲ ὁ Θάμυρις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ συνέπεσεν ὑστερον ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐς ἀπαν διετέλει ποιῶν, οὐ γὰρ τι εἰκε τῇ συμφορᾷ. Θάμυρις δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄθην ὑπὸ κακοῦ τοῦ παρόντος ἐξέλιπεν.

XXXIV. Ἐκ δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ τοῦ Παμίου τὸ στόμα ὀδὸς μὲν σταδίων ἐστὶν ὑγιοῦκοντα, ρεῖ δὲ ὁ Πάμιως διὰ τῷ ἀρουμένῃ καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναπλεῖται νανσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ δέκα ποι σταδίων ἀναθέουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ θαλάσσιοι τῶν ἱχθύων περὶ ὤραν μάλιστα τοῖς 356
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\(^1\) 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\(^2\) 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

\(^1\) Iliad, ii. 594. \(^2\) See x. xxviii. 2.
 latina translatio: 

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depos. to de autò eis Ἦμων te kal eis tôn Maiaνdron poiouσin oî ixthûs: maîlista de ånà to reûma to 'Axeλwòu nîxontai toû ekstidíontos

dakata nîsous tás 'Eξiνîadas. diáφoroi de to eîdos maîlista ixthûs ánathéousin eis toû Pàmìsou an te eis údor katharôn kal oû kata ta autà tois kateilegeinois potamoiós iluîdhes: oî kéfaloi de, an te ixthûw oîntes toû pîlaiwîn, potamow filoi toû tholerotérôn eisi. thêria de eis òleþhron anvtrópw oû peûkakasin oî 'Ellîmwn potamoî fêrein, katháper ge 'Ivndos kal Neîlos o Aîgûptios, eti de Ἦμων kal 'Istros Eîphrâthês te kal Fáisîs: ouîoi gâr de thêria ômioa tois maîlista anvтро-

phiâga aûxouss, tais en 'Ermw kal Maiaνdrow xîlânisîn eûikota ïdèas plîn chróas te melantêras kal àlkeîs: taûta de ai xîlânies âpodoûsîn.

3 o de 'Ivndos kal o Neîlos krokoòeîlous mèn âmfor-
teroi, Neîlos de parêxetes kal òppous, ònìk élassou in oî krokoèeîlos kakôn anvtrópwos. oî de 'Ellîmwn potamoi deûmatas òs apò thêrîwn èxousin ouûdêna,1èpeti kai 'lwôw tò dià tîs Òesôprow-
tidos rèouî ìpeîrôn thêria ou potamia ou kûnes, 

alla èptîlûdès eisiw enk xalàsséhs.

4 Korousî de èstî tôlîs òn deûia tòi Pàmìsou pròs thalâssé te kal òpò tò òrpei tî Mabîa. 
cata de tîn òdôn tautên èstîn eti thalâssé xwriîn, o 'Ivndos ierôn eînai nomìzousin: èpat-
navâbînai gâr èntaûtha en thalâsséfis faiwîn autîn thèon te ìda nomìzomênhn kal Deûkoðeân kalou-
mênhn auti 'Ivndos. proelðontw de ou polym 

Bras èkdiðôswin ès thalâssean potamos: gêneîswai de autî ëgeîwni to ònoma àpò Brisantos tòu

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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

1 ἐξουσίων, Hitzig, εἰσίω, codd.
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'Αμυθάόνος. καὶ Πλατανιστόνος δὲ ἡ τηγή στάδια μὲν εἰκοσὶν ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρῳ τῆς ὄδοι, ρεῖ δὲ ἐκ πλατάνου τὸ ὑδωρ πλατείας καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς κοίλης· κατὰ στῆλαιον μάλιστα που μικρὸν τὸ εὔρος ἐστὶν τοῦ δένδρου, καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐστὶν ἐκ Κορώνην τὸ πότιμον κάτεισι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄνομα τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶχεν Δίπεια· ἔπει δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων κατηχθησαν ἐς Πελοπόννησον, Ἐπιμηλίδην φασὶν ἀποσταλέντα οἰκιστὴν καλέσαι Κορώνειαν, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Κορωνείας τῆς Βοιωτίας, τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίως ἐξ ἀρχής τε οὐ κατορθοῦν περὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀνὰ χρόνου εκνικήσαι τὸ ἐκείνων ἀμάρτημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἔτερος λόγος, ὅσ τοῦ τείχους τὰ θεμέλια ὀρύσσοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν κορώνῃ χαλκῇ. θεῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος τε καλουμένης Παιδοτρόφου καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς· τῷ μὲν δὴ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Διονύσῳ λίθου, Δίος δὲ Σωτῆρος χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πεποίηται. χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἀγαλμά ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐπιμηλίδου μυήμα· ἐφ’ ὅτι τοῦ τῶν λιμένα Ἀχαιῶν καλοῦσιν, οὐκ οἶδα.

7 Ἐκ Κορώνης δὲ ως ὄγδοκοιτα σταδίους προ- ελθόντι Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ιερὸν πρὸς θαλάσση τιμᾶς ἔχων· ἀρχαιοτατὸν τε γὰρ λόγῳ τῷ Μεσ- σηνίῳ ἐστὶ καὶ νοσήματα ὁ θεὸς ἱάται, Κόρυνθου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ξόανον, τοῦ Ἀργεῶτα δὲ χαλκοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα· ἀναθείναι δὲ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Λργοὶ πλεύσαντας.

8 τῇ Κορωναίῳ δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὄμορος Κολωνίδης· οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὐ Μεσσηνίοι φασὶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ 360
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 adjointed by Colonides. The inhabitants say that they are not Messenians but settlers from Attica brought
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9 'Ασιναῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔξ ἄρχης Δυκωρίτας ὀμοροὶ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ὄκουν ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ο ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστῶν Δρύσπεσ. γενεὰ δὲ ὑστερον τρίτῃ βασιλεύοντος Φύλαντος μάχη τε οἱ Δρύσπεσ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἥχθησαν ἔς Δελφοῦς ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρύσαντος Ἡρακλεὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμοῦν Ἀσίνην ἔσχον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ, Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων καὶ ὃς ἄνα χρόνον οἱ Μεσσηνίοι κατήχθησαν οὐ γενομένης σφίσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως.

10 'Ασιναῖοι δὲ αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσιν: κρατηθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους μάχη συγχωροῦσιν ἀλώναι τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ πόλιν, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα οὐ φασίν ἄλλ’ ὡς ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ, διαβάντες δὲ ὑστερον ναυσίν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γενέσθαι φασίν Εὐρυσθέως ἱκέται, καὶ σφίσιν Εὐρυσθέα ἀτε ἀπεχθανόμενου τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ δοῦναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνην. μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρυόπων οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι σεμνύονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτὶ τῷ ὄνοματι, οὐδὲν ὀμοίως καὶ 362
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 Lyceoritae 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 ἔξ ἄρχῃ, ὡσοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἱππακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μάχης, ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς οἰκήσεις. ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν Στυρεῖς καλείσθαι Δρύοπες ὑπερφρονοῦσι, καθάπερ γε καὶ οἱ Δελφοὶ πεφεύγασιν ὁνομάζεσθαι Φωκεῖς, 'Ασιναῖοι δὲ Δρύοπες τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἵερῶν τὰ ἀγιώτατα εἰσὶ δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτὲ ἐν Παρνασσῷ φισίν ἱδρυμένων. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοὶς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἵερὸν καὶ ἀγαλμα ἄρχαιον ἁγοῦσι καὶ παρὰ ἐτος αὐτῷ τελετῆν, παῖδα τῶν Δρύστα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες. κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ ποτὲ ἐν μοιρᾷ τῇ Ἀργολίδι 'Ασίνης σταδίων δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἐκ ἔκ Κολωνίδων ἐς αὐτὴν ὅδος, τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίνης πρὸς τὸν Ἀκρίταν καλοῦμενον. ἄνεχει δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁ Ἀκρίτας, καὶ νῆσος Θηραγονῶσα ἐστιν ἔρημος πρὸ αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκρίταν λιμήν τε Φοινικοῦ καὶ νῆσοι κατ' αὐτὸν Οίνουσαι.

XXXV. Μοβώνη δὲ, πρὶν ἕ την στρατιὰν ἐς Τροίαν ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πολέμου καλομένη Πύθασος, μεταβέβληκεν ὕστερον τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς μὲν αὐτοῖ Μοβωνάιοι λέγονσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰνέως θυγατρὸς. Οἶνει γὰρ τῷ Πορθάνους μετὰ ἀλώσιν Ἰλίου παρὰ Διομήδην ἀναχωρῆσαντι ἐς Πελοπόννησον θυγατέρα φασίν ἐκ παλλακῆς Μοβώνης γενέσθαι δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῇ δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μόθων λίθος. οὗτος δὲ σφίσι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένα ἔστιν.
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 Peloponnesus 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
τὸν τε γὰρ ἔσπλουν στενῶτερον ταῖς ναυσίν ἔργαζεται παρῆκιων ὑφαλος καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ
2 ταράσσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρμα ἐστηκεν. ἔδηλωσα δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ὅτι Ναυπλεύσιν ἔπὶ Λακωνισμῷ διωχθεῖσα Δαμοκράτίδα βασιλεύσοντος ἐν Ἀργεία Μοθώνῃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διδόσι καὶ ὡς οὖδὲ ἐκ τῶν Μεσσηνίων κατελθόντων ἐγένετο οὖδὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς νεῶτερον ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ναυπλεῖς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ παλαιότερα, παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁμοί Δαναὸς ναυσίν ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὕστερον γενεαῖς τρισίν ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου τοῦ Ἀμυμώνης κατωκίσθησαν ἐν
3 Ναυπλία. Μοθώναιοι δὲ βασιλεῖς μὲν Τραϊάνὸς ἐδώκεν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐτὶ παλαιότερα μόνοις σφίζε Μεσσηνίων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοιοῦτῳ ἀτύχχημα ἰδίᾳ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τὰ ἐν Ἡπείρῳ τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐφθάρη. Δηδαμεία γὰρ τῇ Πύρρου παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοιτο, ἀλλὰ ὡς τελευτῶν ἐμελλεν, ἐπιτρέπει τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πράγματα. θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Πύρρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
4 τοῦ Πύρρου· τὰ δὲ ἐς Πύρρου τὸν Αἰακίδου πρότερον ἐτὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίων ἐδήλωσα, Προκλῆς δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τύχης μὲν χρηστῆς ἐνεκα καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα ἐργῶν ἐνεμέν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου πλέον, τάξαι δὲ ὀπλίτας τε καὶ ἵππικον καὶ στρατηγήματα ἐπὶ ἄνδρας πολεμίους εὑρεῖν Πύρρου ἐφασκεν ἀμείνονα
5 γενέσθαι. Ἡπείρωται δὲ ὡς ἐπαύσαντο βασιλεύσθαι, τὰ τε ἀλλα ὁ δήμος υβρίζε καὶ ἀκροάζθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπερεώρων καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου τὴν 366
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\(^1\) that, when the Nauplians in the reign of Damocratidas in Argos were expelled for their Laconian sympathies, the Lace-daemonians 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 Deiāmeia 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.\(^2\) Procles the Carthaginian\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) Ch. xxiv. 4; xxvii. 8.  
\(^2\) i. 11–13.  
\(^3\) See II. xxi. 6.  

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'Ηπειρον ὑπεροικοῦντες παρεστήσαντο ἐξ ἐπι-
δρομής. οὐ γάρ πω δημοκρατίαν ἰσμεν ἄλλους
γε Ἡ Ἀθηναίοις αὐξησασαν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ προή-
χθησαν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῆς. συνέσει γάρ οἰκείᾳ
τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ ὑπερβαλλόντω καὶ νόμοις τοῖς
καθεστηκόσιν ἑλάχιστα ἦπείθουν. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοί,
ἂρχῆς τε γεγενέμενοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ
πλείονος, ναῦς τε ἐπιθέματο καὶ ἐληξιόντο ἄλλους
τε ὡς ἐκάστους τύχοιν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μοθωναίαν
σχόντες ὀρμίσαντο οἳ ἐς φιλίαν. στείλαντες δὲ
ἀγγελον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄγειν σφίσιν ὦνον ἐπὶ
tὰ πλοία ἐδείχθησαν. ὡς δὲ ἄγοντες ἄφικοντο
ἀνδρες οὐ πολλοί, τὸν τε ὦνον ὑποντο ἐπι-
τιμόντων τῶν Μοθωναίων καὶ αὐτοὶ σφίσιν
ἐπιπρασκον ὄν ἐπιήγοντο. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν
ἄφικομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλείονοι παρέχουσι
καὶ τοῖσδε κερδαναι τέλος δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ
ἀνδρες κατίασιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοία ὦνον τε ἀποδόσθαι
καὶ ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιληψόμενοι. ἔνθα νῦν
ἀποτολμήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς
καὶ ἕτι πλείονας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρπάξουσιν·
ἐσθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐπλεον τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰονίου,
Μοθωναίων ἐρημώσαστε τὸ ἄντυν.

8 'Ἐν Μοθώνῃ δὲ ναὸς ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμότιδος:
Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀναθείναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα
τῇ θεῷ φασὶ θέσθαι. βιαιότεροι γὰρ καὶ οὐ
κατὰ καὶρον πνέοντες ἐλυμαίνοντο οἱ ἀνέμοι τῇ
χώρᾳ. Διομήδους δὲ εὐξαμένου τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ, τὸ
ἀπὸ τούτου συμφορά σφίσιν οὐδεμια ἀνέμων γε
ἐνεκα ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν γῆν. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος δ᾽ ἱερῶν
ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν φρέατι κεκραμένου
πίσσῃ. Κυζικηνῷ μύρῳ 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 Diomedes, who gave the goddess her name. The country being damaged by violent and unseasonable blasts, Diomedes 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

1 *αιξησασι* Bekker.
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9 οsimdην. γλαικότατον μεν οίδα ύδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαισ, οὔτε ποι πᾶν, ἀλλ᾽ όσον κάτεισιν ἐσ τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἤμτινα οὐνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρους γυναικεῖους. ξανθῶν δὲ ύδωρ, οὐδὲν τι ἀποδέον τὴν χρόαν αἴματος, Ἐβραίων ἡ γῆ παρέχεται πρὸς Ἰόπτη ἀπαλάσσῃς μη ἐγγυτάτω τὸ ύδωρ ἐστὶ, λόγον δὲ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτη, Περσεία ἀνελόντα τὸ κῆτος, φ τὴν παῖδα προκείσθαι τοῦ

10 Κηφέως, ἐνταῦθα τὸ αίμα ἀπονύσασθαι. ύδωρ δὲ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀνερχόμενον μέλαν ἰδὼν οίδα ἐν Ἀστύρως τὰ δὲ Ἀστυρα ἀπαντικρύ Δέσβου λουτρὰ ἐστὶ θερμὰ ἐν τῷ Ἄταρνεὶ καλομένῳ. τὸ δὲ χάριν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀτατνεὺς ὁ Χῖων μυσθῶς, ἐν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑμίθου λαμβανόσων ἄνδρα ἐκδόντες ἵκέτην, Πακτύνων τὸν Δυνών. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ με- καίνηνται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν, διαβάντων τὸν Ἀνιυν ὁνομαζόμενον ποταμόν, ύδωρ λευκὸν ἐστὶν ἄνδρὶ δὲ ἐσβάντε εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν παραυτικὰ πυχρόν τε πρόσεισι καὶ ἐμποτεί φρίκην, ἐπισχόντε δὲ ὀλίγον ἀτε φάρμακον θερμαίει τὸ πυρώδε- στατον. καὶ ὅσαι μὲν πηγαῖς θαυμά τι ἤν καὶ ἴδοντι, τοσαῦτας θεασάμενος οίδα, τὰς γὰρ δὴ ἐλάσσονος θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος παρίμη- ἀμυρὸν δὲ ύδωρ καὶ στρυφῶν οὐ μέγα θαυμά ἐξευρεῖν. δύο δὲ ἀλλοια. τὸ μὲν τῆς Καρίας ἐν πεδίῳ καλομένῳ Λευκῷ θερμῶν ἐστὶν ύδωρ παρὰ κώμην ὁνομαζόμενην Δασκύλου, πιεῖν καὶ γάλα-

12 κτος ἦδιν: τὸν δὲ Ἡρόδοτον οἴδα εἰπόντα ὡς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰππανὺ εἰκόδωσιν ύδατος πικρῶν πηγῆ. πῶς δ᾽ ἂν οὐκ ἀποδεξαίμεθα 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. 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

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1 Hdt. i. 160.
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αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον, ὅποι γε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ τῇ Τυρρηνῶν ἐξεύρηται ὑδωρ σφίσι
θερμῶν οὕτω δὴ τι ὡστε τὸν μόλυβδον—
dieξῆι γάρ διὰ μολύβδου ρέου—ἐτεσὶ κατέτηξεν
οὐ πολλοίς;

XXXVI. Ἑστι δὲ ἐκ Μοθώνης ὁδὸς σταδίων
μάλιστα ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν τὸ Κορυφάσιον· ἐπ'
αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Πύλος κεῖται. ταύτῃ ὥςισε Πύλος
ὁ Κλήσωνος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς
ἐχοντας τὸτε αὐτὴν Δέλεγας· καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ
ὡνατο ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελασγῶν
ἐκβληθεῖς, ἀποχωρήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ὀμορον ἐσχεν
ἐνταῦθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ. Νηλέως δὲ
βασιλεύσας ἐς τοσοῦτο προῆγαγεν ἄξιόματος
τὴν Πύλον ὡς καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν

2 ἀστυ ἐπονομᾶσαι Νηλέων. ἐνταῦθα ιερὸν ἐστιν
Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Κορυφασίας καὶ οἶκος καλού-
μενος Νέστορος· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ
γέγραπται· καὶ μνῆμα ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐστιν
αὐτῶ, τὸ δὲ ὀλύγον ἀπωτέρω τῆς Πύλου Θρασυ-
μήδους φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ σπῆλαιον ἐστὶν ἐντὸς
τῆς πόλεως· βοῦς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰς Νέστορος καὶ

3 ἔτι πρότερον Νηλέως φασὶν αὐλίζεσθαι. εἶν
δ' ἐν Θεσσαλίκον τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τούτων,
Ἰφίκλου ποτὲ τοῦ Πρωτεστάνου πατρὸς· ταύτας
γὰρ δὴ τὰς βοῦς Νηλέως ἐδνα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ
ἠτε τοὺς μνωμένους, καὶ τούτων ἐνεκα ὁ Μελάμ-
πους χαριζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι ἀφίκετο
ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἐδειθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
βουκόλων τοῦ Ἰφίκλου, λαμβάνει δὲ μισθὸν ἐφ'
οῖς αὐτῷ δεηθέντι ἐμαυτεύσατο. ἐσπουδάκεσαν
dὲ ἀρα οἱ τότε πλούτον τινα συλλέγεσθαι
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our days at Dicaearchia (Puteoli), in the land of the
Tyrrenians, 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 Cleson, 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.\(^1\) 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 herds-
men 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

\(^1\) Iliad, xi. 682; Odyssey, iii. 4.
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toiou'ton, itp'wv kal boB'wv an'gelas, e'i de N'leiv's te genex'oi o'i boB's epev'ymhse tas 'I'fvklou kai 'Hrakleiv kat'adoxan ton ev 'I'vtria boB'wv prosoet'xen Euvry'stheivs elasaiv ton G'p'ounou

4 boB'wv ton an'gelh'n. fai'netai de kai 'Erv'z to'te en Sikeli'a dnuas'teuv'n dr'mun ou'tos ekhn es tas boB's tas ez 'Ervtheias erw'ta, wste kai ep'alai'se pro's ton 'Hrakle'a atla e'ti ti'擀h kata'th'menos tas te boB's ta'ttas kai ar'h'n ti'n enaut'ou. pepoi'khe de kai 'O'm'p'os ev 'I'vad'i, os 'Ifid'amas o 'Anti'moros ta' prw'ta ton 'e'dwvn e'kat'w boB'wv to' penv'era' do'i'. ta'tta men ton lo'gon mou be'baiou, bousi tous to'te xaireiv

5 mal'sta an'thro'pous: enem'vnto de emoi dokoiv a'i tou N'leiv's boB'wv en ti' uperor'ia ta' polla' upo'phas'mos te ymar es'tin wos ep'tpav h ton P'vli'wv x'wa' kai po'wan bousi'noi ou'h ika'ni' tosa'ntn para'sch'esai. mar'turei de moi kai 'O'm'p'os ev mn'm'nh N'estoros ep'tile'wvn aei ba'silea aut'on emath'ontos eivai P'v'lou.

6 Tov lim'enos de h Sfakt'hiria n'h'sos pro'be'betai, ka'bap'er tov'om'ou tov D'vli'wv h 'R'nh'vaia' ein'kasi de ai an'thro'peiai t'xai kai xwria te'wos a'gnwsta es doxan proi'h'xaiv. ka'frh'esos te ymar es'tin o'numa tov ev Euvboia tois su'n 'Agam'em'nou 'Ellh'sin epigno'menov xeu'mwv es'ta'ba, wos eko'mi'zo'to ez 'I'v'wv. Vup'tallerian te ti'n eti S'la'v'vni u's'me'n ap'tole'me'nov en aut'h ton M'v'don'. oswav'tos de kai ti'n Sfakt'hirian to' at'ych'ama to' Lakedaimoi'v'n gno'rmov tois p'asiv ep'toi'se'en.'A'nh'vai'do de kai N'k's an'e'th'kan a'gal'ma ev akro'pot'le'i xal'kou'n es mn'm'nh ton ev ti' Sfakt'hiria. 374
horses and cattle, if it is the case that 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, 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 Lace-daemonian 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.

1 xi. 244.
7 Ἀφικομένων δὲ ἐς Κυπαρισσιὰς ἐκ Πύλου σφίσι πηγῆ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει πλησίον θαλάσσης ἐστὶν ῥυὴναὶ δὲ Διονύσῳ τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι θύρσῳ πληξαντὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Διονυσιάδα ὄνομαζουσι τὴν πηγήν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κυπαρισσιᾷ ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν Κυπαρισσίας. ἐν δὲ Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν Αὐλωνίου· κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς ἡ Νέδα μεταξὺ τῆς τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἡδη καὶ τῆς 'Ηλείας 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
ΠΛΙΑΚΩΝ Α

1. "Οσοι δὲ Ἐλλήνων Πελοποννήσου πέντε εἶναι μοιραὶ καὶ οὐ πλείονάς φασιν, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδῳ, οἶκουσίν Ἦλείδοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, δευτέρα δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτας αἱ Δωριέων. γένη δὲ οἴκει Πελοπόννησον Ἀρκάδες μὲν αὐτόχθονες καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνέστησαν, οὐ μέντοι Πελοποννήσου γε ἐξεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκβαλόντες Ἰωνας νέμονται τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν τὸ ἄρχαῖον, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τούτων καλοῦμεν· 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 Πελοποννήσιοι εἰσί, καὶ σφισίν, ἄφι οὐ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἰκόσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἦν ἐς ἐμὲ· Δρύοπες δὲ καὶ Δωριὲς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρρασσοῦ, Δωριὲς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οἰνῆς ἐς Πελοπόννησον εἰσίν ἀφιγιμένοι.

3 Τοὺς Ἦλείους ίσμεν ἐκ Καλυδώνος διαβεβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης· τὰ δὲ ἐτὶ παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε εὐρίσκον. βασιλεύσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀεθλίου, παίδα δὲ αὐτῶν Διὸς τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Ἀεθλίου δὲ Ἐυδυμίωνα 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.

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 Aethlius, who was the son of Zeus and of Protogeneia, the daughter of Deucalion, and the
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4 σθαν' τούτου τοῦ Ἑνδυμίωνος Σελήνην φασίν ἔρασθήναι, καὶ ως θυγατέρες αὐτῶ γένοιτο ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον τι εἰκότα λέγοντες Ἑνδυμίωνι λαβόντι Ἀστεροδίαν γυναίκα —οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύωνος Χρομίαν, ἀλλοι δὲ 'Ὑπερίππη τὴν Ἀρκάδος,— γενέσθαι δ' οὐν φασίν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἑπείον τε καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἕφυκυδαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν 'Ὀλυμπία δρόμοι τοῖς παισίν ἀγώνα Ἑνδυμίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ὀλυμπίας καὶ Ἑπείοι 5 πρῶτον τότε ὃν ἠρχεν ὁμομασθήσαν. τῶν δὲ ἄδελφῶν οἱ τῶν μὲν καταμείναν φασίν αὐτῶν, Παίονα δὲ ἄχθομενον τῇ ἦση φυγεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτω, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτῶ Παιονίαν ὁμομασθήσαν. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑνδυμίωνος τελευτήν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλεώται τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλητῷ καὶ Ἡλείοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἡλείοι μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν Ἑνδυμίωνος μνήμα, Ἡρακλεώται δὲ ἐς Λάτμου τὸ ὀρὸς ἀποχρησίᾳ φασίν αὐτὸν <καὶ τιμήν αὐτῶ νέ> 1 μοισὶ, καὶ ἄδυτον Ἑνδυμίωνος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ 6 Λάτμῳ. Ὁ Ἑπείο δὲ γῆμαντι Ἀναξίροπη τὴν Κορώνου θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἰτώνα, ἄρσεν δὲ οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ γένος· καὶ τάδε ἄλλα συνέβη κατ' Ἑπείον βασιλεύσατα. Οἶνόμας ο deix, Ἀλξίωνος, Ἀρεως δὲ καθὰ ποιήται τῷ ἐπεφήμισαν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτῶν λόγος, οὗτος δυναστεύων περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν καλομένην ο Ὁἰνόμας ἐπαύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς διαβάντος Πέλοτος τοῦ Δυνδοῦ ἐκ τῆς 7 Ἀσίας. Πέλοψ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Οἶνομάου τὴν τε Πισαίαν ἐσχε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀποτεμόμενος 382
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 Amphietyon; others again, Hyperippe, the daughter of Areas—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. Oenomaïs 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 Oenomaïs, Pelops took possession of the land of Pisa and its bordering country Olympia,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\] The part within brackets is not in the MSS., but was added by Schubart.
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8 Αἰτωλὸς δὲ μετὰ Ἐπειδὴν βασιλεύσαντι συν- ἐπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀπίδος παῖδες ἔφ’ αἰματὶ ἄκουσιν δίκην εἶλον.

9 Ἡλείον δὲ ἦν Ἀὐγέας’ οἳ δὲ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτῶν, παρατρέψαντες τοῦ Ἡλείου τὸ ὄνομα, Ἡλίου φασίν Αὐγέαν παῖδα εἶναι. τούτῳ βοῦς τῷ Ἀὐγέᾳ καὶ αὐτοῦλα τοσάτα ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶ τὰ πολλὰ ἥδη διατελεῖν ἀργὰ ὡντα ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς κόπρου. Ἡρακλέα οὖν εἴτε ἐπὶ μοῦρα τῆς Ἡλείαις εἴτε ἐάρ’, ὅτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ πείθει οἱ καθήρα τῆς κόπρου τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ξειρ- γάσατο ἐκτρέψας τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ ἔχειμα ἐς τὴν κόπρου Ἀὐγέας δὲ, ὅτι τῷ Ἡρακλεί τοῦ Ἐλεοῦ καὶ ὦ σὺν πόνῳ τὸ ἔργον ἦνυστο, αὐτὸς τε ἀποδοῦναι οἴ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηγίαν καὶ τῶν παῖδων τῶν ἀρσέων τοῦ πρεσβύτερον Φυλέα ἐξέβαλεν

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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 Achelois their name, when he fled to this part of the mainland. But the kingdom of the Epeans fell to Eleius, the son of Euryeyda, 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 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

1 _i.e._ the Sun.
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... and, as if to say, ‘Well, I should have said more about this other than about the great temple that stands there and the fine and exquisite things that are in it, and I should have noted also the stones of the temple where the processions are held."

11. 'Then as to the temple, the people say that it was the Athenian statesman, Demosthenes, who built it, and that it was dedicated to Athena Polias, the patroness of Athens. And they say that it was built with stones brought from the island of Lemnos."

II. 'The temple was built in the style of the Doric order, and it has a portico on each side, with columns of the same style, and a pediment on the front and on the back. The roof is made of stone, and the columns are made of wood. The temple is surrounded by a colonnade, and it is said to be the largest in Greece."

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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
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tou, Μολίνην θέσθαι φασίν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολίταις κατάρας, ἢν Ἰσθμίων μὴ θέλωσιν εἰργασθαι. φυλάσσουσι δὲ τὴν Μολίνης καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐτὶ τὰς κατάρας, καὶ ὅσιϊ τὰ σώματα ἀσκοῦσιν Ἡλείων, οὐ σφισὶν ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα ἐσελθείν καθέσθηκε τὸν 3 Ἰσθμικοὺς. διάφοροι δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόγοι. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύψελον τὸν τυραννήσαντα Κορινθίων φησίν ἀγαλμα ἀναθεῖν τὸ Διὸς χρυσοῦν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, προσποθανώντος δὲ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τὸ ὀνόμα ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς Κορινθίους παρὰ Ἡλείων αἰτεῖν δοῦναι σφισίν ἐπιγράψαι δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι, οὐ τυχόντας δὲ ὀργῇ τε ἐς τοὺς Ἡλείους χρήσιν καὶ προειπεῖν σφισίν Ἰσθμίων εἰργασθαι. πώς ἂν οὖν Κορινθίους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀγώνος μετῆν τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπία, εἶ δὴ ἀκούτας 4 γε Ἡλείους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσθμίων εἰργοῦν; ὁ δὲ ἐτερος ἐχεῖ τῶν λόγων Προλάω παῖδας ἄνδρὶ παρὰ Ἡλείους δοκίμω καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτῶν Λυσίππη Φίλαμθον καὶ Λάμπον γενέσθαι: τούτους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγώνα ἐλθόντας τῶν Ἰσθμίων παγκρατιάσοντας 1 ἐν παισὶ, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν παλαιόντα, υπὸ τῶν ἀντιαγωνιστῶν, πρὶν ἦς τὸν ἀγώνα ἐσελθεῖν, ἀποπυροβήναι σφάς ἢ καὶ ἄλλω τῷ τρόπῳ διαχρησθῆναι καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους, ἢν Ἰσθμίων μὴ ἐκόντες εἰργοῦνται, Λυσίππῆς ἀρὰς εἶναι. δείκνυ-5 ται δὲ καὶ ὅδε εὐθῆς ὄν ὁ λόγος. Τίμωνι γὰρ ἄνδρὶ Ἡλείῳ ἑγοῦνασι περιτάθλου νῦν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλλησίων ἀγώνων, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκῶν ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ ἑλεγεῖον, στεφάνους τε ὀπόσους ἀνείλετο ὁ Τίμων λέγον καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτιαν δι' 1 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. Prolais, a distinguished Elean, had two sons, Philanthus and Lampus, by his wife Lysippe. These two came to the Isthmian games¹ 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

¹ If the proposed emendation be adopted the meaning will be: "one to compete in the boys' pancratium, the other in wrestling."
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ἡμερὰς Ἰσθμικῆς οὐ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ νίκης· καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἐλεγέειον.

Συσφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόνι ἐκώλυνεν ἀνέρα νείκη ἀμφὶ Μολιονιδᾶν οὐλομένῳ θανάτῳ.

III. Τάδε μὲν ἦμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐξητάσθω· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶλεν ὑπερτερον καὶ ἐπώρθησεν Ἡλιν, στρατιὰν παρὰ τε Ἀργεῖον καὶ ἐκ Ἐθβῶν ἀθροίσας καὶ Ἀρκάδας· ἦμιναν δὲ καὶ Ἡλείους οἱ ἐκ Πύλου τού ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ καὶ οἱ Πισαῖοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πισαῖους στρατεύας αὐτῶν χρησμὸς ἐπέσχεν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐχῶν οὕτω.

πατρὶ μέλει Πίσης, Πυθοὺς δὲ μοι ἐν γυνάλοισι.

τούτῳ μὲν δὴ σωτηρία Πισαῖοι τὸ μάντευμα ἐγένετο· Φυλεῖ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν τε χώραν ἀνέδωκε τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τάλλα, αἱδοὶ τοῦ Φυλέως μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτός ἐκουσίως· τὰ τε γὰρ αἰχμάλωτα ἐφύησιν ἔχειν αὐτῷ καὶ Λυγέαν μὴ ὑποσχεῖν 2 δίκην. τῶν δὲ Ἡλείων αἱ γυναῖκες, ἄτε τῶν ἐν ἥλικια σφίσιν ἡρμημωμένης τῆς χώρας, εὐξασθαί τῇ Ἀθηνά λέγονται κυῆσαι παρατικά, ἐπειδὰν μιχθώσι τοὺς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἦ τε εὐχή σφίσιν ἐτελέσθη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ιερῶν ἐπίκλησιν Μητρὸς ἱδρύσαντο. ὑπερησθέντες δὲ ἀμφότεροι τῇ μίξει καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐνθα συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις πρῶτον, αὐτὸ τε τὸ χωρίου Βαδῦ ὤνομάζουσι καὶ ποταμῶν τῶν ρέοντα ἐνταῦθα ὕδωρ Βαδὺ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ.

1 Πυθό and ἔγγυαλιξεν 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.¹

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.

¹ Hermann's emendation would mean: "but unto me he assigned Pytho."
3 Φυλέως δὲ, ώς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ὁλίδι κατεστήσατο, αὕθις ἐς Σουλίχιον ἀποχωρήσαντο, Ἀντέαν μὲν τὸ χρεών ἐπέλαβε προῆκοντα ἐς γῆρας, βασιλείαν δὲ τὴν Ἡλείων Ἀγάσθένης ἑσχεν ὁ Ἀντέαν καὶ Ἀμφίμαχος τε καὶ Θαλπίς. Ἀκτορος γὰρ τοῖς παισίν ἀδελφάς ἐσαγαγομένους διδύμας ἐς τὸν οἶκον, Δεξαμενοῦ θυγατέρας ἐν Ὡλέῳ βασιλεύοντος, τῷ μὲν ἐκ Θηρούκης Ἀμφίμαχος, Εὐρύτω
4 δὲ ἐκ Θηραϊφόνης ἐγεγόνει Θάλπις. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ Ἀμαρυγκεὺς οὐτε αὐτὸς διέμεινεν ἰδιωτεύων οὔτε Διώρης ὁ Ὀμηρος παρεδήλωσεν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἡλείων, τὸν μὲν σύμπαντα αὐτῶν στόλον ποιήσας τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι νεῶν, τούτων δὲ τὰς ἥμισειάς ὑπὸ Ἀμφίμαχῳ τετάχθαι καὶ Θαλπίῳ, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ εἰκοσὶ δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ Διώρην τὸν Ἀμαρυγκεὺς ἠγείρθη, τοσάτοις δὲ ἐτέραις Πολύζευνος τὸν Ἀγάσθένους. Πολύζευνος δὲ ἀνασωθέντι ἐκ Τροίας ἐγένετο ύδὸς Ἀμφίμαχος—τὸ δὲ ὅνομα τῷ παιδὶ ἔθετο ὁ Πολύζευνος κατὰ φιλίαν ἐμοὶ δόκειν πρὸς Ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Κτεάτον τελευτήσαντα ἐν Ὁλίῳ—,
5 Ἀμφίμαχου δὲ Ἡλείος καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλείου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ὁλίῳ, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δωριέων στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχῳ παισίν ἤθροιζετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον. γίνεται δὲ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν αὐτῶν λόγιον τόδε, ἦγεμόνα τῆς καθόδου ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τριόφθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δὲ σφίσιν ὁ τι ὁ χρησμὸς ἐθέλοι συνετυχεῖν ἐλαύνων ἀνὴρ ἡμίονον, ὁ δὲ ἐτερος διέφθαρτο τῷ ἡμίονος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Κρεσφοντο δὲ συμφρονήσαντος ὡς ἐς τούτον τὸν ἀνδρα ἐχοὺ τὸ μάντευμα, οὕτως οἰκείωσαντο αὐτῶν 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 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

1 *Iliad* ii. 622.
σφάζες παυσίν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατιέναι 
μηδὲ στρατῷ πεζῷ διὰ τοῦ ἴσθμοῦ πειρᾶσθαι. 
ταῦτὰ τε δὴ παρῆμεσε καὶ ἀμα τῶν ἐς Μολύκριον 
ἐκ Ναυπάκτου πλοῦν καθηγήσατο αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ 
ἀντὶ τούτου δειηθέντι τὴν Ἡλείαν γῆν συνεθέντο 
αὐτῷ δώσειν. ὦ δὲ ἀνήρ ἦν Ὀξύλος Αἴμονος τοῦ 
Θόαντος· Θόας δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρέως 
παῖσιν ἄρχῃ συγκαθεῖλε τὴν Πριάμου, γενεὰι δὲ 
ἂπο Θόαντος ἄνήκουσιν ἐὰς Ἀιτωλῶν τῶν 
7 Ἐνυδμίωνος. ἦσαν δὲ οἳ Ἡρακλείδαι συγγενεῖς 
καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ βασιλεύσαν, καὶ ἄδελ-
φαὶ Θόαντι τῷ Ἀιραίμονος καὶ Ὅλλον τοῦ 
Ἡρακλεοῦς ἦσαν αἱ μιτέρες. συνεπέπτωκε δὲ 
tῶν Ὀξύλων φυγάδε ἐξ Ἀιτωλίας εἰναι· δισκεύοντα 
γὰρ φασιν ἁμαρτεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔξεργασάσθαι 
φόνου ἀκούσιον, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδανώντα ὑπὸ τοῦ 
dίσκου τῶν ἁδελφῶν εἰναι τοῦ Ὀξύλου Θέρμιον, 
οἱ δὲ Ἀλκιδόκον τὸν Σκοπίον.

IV. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἑπὶ τῶν Ὀξύλων 
τοιοῦδε, ὅς τοὺς παίδας ὑποπτεύσειτο τοῦ Ἀριστο-
μάχου, μὴ τὴν Ἡλείαν τε ἱδόντες ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν 
καὶ ἔξεργασμένην διὰ πάσης οὐκ ἔθελήσωσιν ἐτί 
αὐτῷ διδόναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ τοῦτο ἑνεκα διὰ τῶν 
Ἀρκάδων καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς Ἡλείας τοῖς Δωριέσσιν 
ηγήσατο. Ὀξύλω δὲ σπεύσαντι ἁμαχεῖ λαβεῖν 
τὴν Ἡλείων ἄρχῃν Δίος οὖν εἰκε, πρόκλησιν δὲ 
ἐποιεῖτο μὴ σφᾶς παρασκευὴ τή πάσῃ διακινδύν-
εῦσαι, προκριθῆναι δὲ ἄφ’ ἐκατέρων στρατιώτην 
2 ἐνα ἐς τὴν μάχην· καὶ πως συνήρεσε ταῦτα 
ἀμφοτέροις, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔργον προταχθέντες Δέγ- 
μενός τε Ἡλείος ἦν τὸξότης καὶ παρὰ τῶν 
Αἰτωλῶν Πυραίχμης σφενδόνην δεδίδαμενος.

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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 Thermius, 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 Πυραῖχμου τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἐσχεν ὁ Ὁξύλος καὶ Ἀπειδώς τοὺς ἄρχαίους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶασεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν μένειν, συνοίκους δὲ σφισὶ τοὺς Λιτωλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῷ τῆς χώρας ἐπεισήγαγε. καὶ Δίω ως ἀπένειμε γέρα καὶ ἦρωσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ τὰ ἄρχαια ἐφύλαξε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ Ἀγία ὑπὲρ τὸν ἐναγισμὸν ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἕκαστον καθεστηκότα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστήκεσαν, κατελθεῖν ἐπεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλῆθει τε οἰκητῶροι μεἰξον καὶ εὐδαι- μονεστέραν ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέφυγε τὴν Ἡλιον. ὁφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμός, τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεσθαι συνοικιστήν ὁ Ὁξύλος δὲ τὴν ἥτησιν ἐποιεῖτο σποουδὴ καὶ ἀναξιτῶν εὕρει Ἀγώριον τοῦ Δαμασίου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέσ- του, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ἐξ Ἐλίκης τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγώριῳ μοίραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάζετο οὐ πολλὴν. τῷ δὲ Ὁξύλῳ Πιερίαν μὲν τῇ γηναικὶ όνομα εἶναι λέγουσι, πέρα δὲ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μνημονεύσωσι. Ὁξύλῳ δὲ γενέσθαι παιδίας φασίν Λιτωλόν καὶ Δαίαν προαποθανόντος δὲ Λιτωλοῦ θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ γηναῖοι ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι τῇ πύλῃ τὸ μνῆμα, ἡτίς ἐπὶ Ὀλυμ- πίαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγεῖ τοῦ Διός ἐθάφαν δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτω κατὰ μαντείαν, όσο μὴτε ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως μὴτε ἐντὸς γένους ὁ νεκρός. ἐναγίζει δὲ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔτος τῷ Λιτωλῷ.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ὁξύλου Δαίας ἐσχεν ὁ Ὁξύλου τὴν ἄρχην. οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε ἀπογοίουσαν αὐτοῦ βασι- λεύσαν ἐυρίσκουν, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπιστάμενοι ὁμοίς 396
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 Achaean. 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
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παρήμιν: οὖ γὰρ τί μοι καταβῆναι τὸν λόγον ἡθέλησα ἐς ἄνδρας ἰδιώτας. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον Ἰφιτος, γένος μὲν ὁν ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου, ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκούργου τῶν γράψαντα λακεδαιμονίως τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἁγώνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὄλυμπία πανηγυρίῳ τε Ὄλυμπικὴν αὐθίς εἰς ἄρχης καὶ ἐκεχερίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλιπόντα ἐπὶ χρόνον ὁπόσος δὴ οὗτος ἦν. αὐτίαν δὲ δ' ἠμτινα ἐξέλυτε τὰ Ὅλυμπια, ἐν τοῖς ἐχουσιν ἐς Ὅλυμπιαν τοῦ 6 λόγου δηλώσω. τῷ δὲ Ἰφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τὸτε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίων στάσεων καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπῆλθεν αἰτῆσαί τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λύσιν τῶν κακῶν καὶ οἱ προσταχθηναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰφιτον δεόν καὶ Ἡλείους τὸν Ὅλυμπικὸν ἁγώνα ἀνανεώσασθαι. ἔπεισε δὲ Ἡλείους Ἰφιτος καὶ Ἡρακλεὶ θύειν, τὸ πρὸ τοῦτο πολέμιον σφισιν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι νομίζοντας. τὸν δὲ Ἰφιτον τὸ ἐπιγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὅλυμπία φησιν Αἰμονος παῖδα εἶναι, Ἐλλήνων δὲ οἱ πόλλοι Ἐραξώνιδου καὶ οὐχ Αἰμονος εἶναι φασιν τὰ δὲ Ἡλείων γράμματα ἀρχαία εἰς πατέρα ὀμώνυμον ἀνήγγε τὸν Ἰφιτον.

7 Ἡλείους δὲ μέτεστι μὲν πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ, μέτεστι δὲ καὶ ἐργον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μηδών εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐφοδιόν. ὑπερβαίνων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο κύνδυνοι πρὸς Πιστάιους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἁγώνου τοῦ ἐν Ὅλυμπία, συνεσέβαλον μὲν λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκουσίως ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων, συνέστησαν δὲ μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ λακεδαιμονίους Μαντινεύσιν ὀμοῦ καὶ Ἀργείους, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὴν 398
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. 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 Olympic games. Against their will they joined the Lacedaemonians in their invasion of Athenian territory, and shortly afterwards they rose up with the Mantineans 420 B.C. and Argives against the Lacedaemonians, inducing

1 See chapter viii of this book.
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8 συμμαχίαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ὄλυμπος ἐπιστρατεύαν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν προδοσίαν τὴν Ἐστίου μάχη μὲν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν νικῶσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ τροπῇ ἐργασάμενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σφάς ἐξῆλασαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον ἐπαύθη σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἂς ἔγω πρότερον ἐτὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίως ἐδήλωσα. Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου οὐκ ἐθέλοντος ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προσεχώρησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἡλεῖοι στάσει κακωθεῖτε ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, μαχεσθῆναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τοῖς Ἑλλησσον ἔναντία ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τῆς δὲ ἐφόδου Φιλίππω τῆς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετέσχον κατὰ ἐχθὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρχαιον, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀλεξιάνδρου Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μετὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπολέμησαν.

9. Χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον Ἀριστότιμος ὁ Δαμαρέτον τοῦ Ἐστύμονος τυραννίδα ἐσχεν ἐν Ἡλεία, συμπαρασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δῆμητρίου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστότιμου μῆχας τυραννίσαντα ἐς καταλύουσιν ἐπαναστάντες Ξίλων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Λάμπτες τε καὶ Κύλων, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτοχειρία τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Κύλων ἐπὶ Δίος Σωτήρος βωμόν καταφυγόντα ἱκέτην.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαύτα ὑπῆρχεν Ἡλείοις, ἄς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως· θαυμᾶσαι δ' ἂν τις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἡλείᾳ τὴν τε βύσσουν, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὑπεροφια καὶ οὐκ ἐντὸς τῆς χώρας αἱ ἦπειροι.
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. 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.

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

1 See Book III, chapter viii.
σφήσιν ἐκύισκον ἐκ τῶν ὄνων. καὶ τούτου μὲν κατάραν τινὰ ἐλέγετο γενέσθαι τὸ αὐτίον· ἢ δὲ βύσσος ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ λεπτότητος μὲν ἔνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἐβραίῳν, ἐστὶ δὲ οὐχ ὀμοίως ξανθῆ.

3 Ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡλείας ἕστιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθηκον, ὃ ὅνομάζεται μὲν Σαμικὸν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἦ τε Τριφυλία καλουμένη καὶ πόλες ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ Λεπρέος. ἐβέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρέαται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἡλείων καθήκοι τὸ εξ ἀρχῆς οὕτε· καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶν Ὄλυμπια ἐνίκησιν, Ἡλείους ἐκ Λεπρέουν σφάζει ὁ κήρυξ ἀνείπτε. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐποίησεν ὡς Λεπρεος εἰν τόλμησα Ἡλείων, ἐστὶ δὲ ὠδὸς ἐς Λεπρεον ἀπὸ μὲν Σαμικοῦ τῶν Ἀνυρρον ποταμὸν ἀφέντι ἐν ἀριστερὰ, ἐτέρα δὲ ἐξ Ὄλυμπιας, τρίτη δὲ ἐξ Ἡλίδος ὕμερήσιος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστίν ἡ μακροτάτη.

4 τεθήναι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸ ὀνομά φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Λεπρέουν τοῦ Πυργέως. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὡς πρὸς Ἡρακλέα ἐρίστειν ὁ Λεπρέος μὴ ἀποδείγει τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἑσθίον· ἔπει δὲ ἐκάτερος βοῦν αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπὸ τῷ καρὶ κατέσφαξε καὶ ἐντρέπεσς εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἦν ὄσπερ καὶ ύφιστατό ὁ Λεπρέος φαγεῖν οὐκ ἀδυνατότερος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐτόλμησε τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο προκαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀγώνα ὑπλων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τε Λεπρέον κρατηθέντα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φιγαλέων ταφῆμαι λέγουσιν οὐ μὴν εἰχόν γε οἱ 5 Φιγαλεῖς ἀποφήμαι Λεπρέουν μνήμα. ἤδη δὲ ἰκουσά ἠγαπστὶ τοῦ Πυργέως Λεπρέα προσποιοῦντον τὸν οἰκισμὸν· οἴ δὲ τοῖς πρῶτον οἰκήσασιν

1 τῆς Nédas 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 Aristophanes¹ 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

¹ *Birds*, 149.
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ἐν τῇ γῇ νόσον φασίν ἐπιγενέσθαι λέπταν καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄνομα λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκητῶν τῷ συμφορᾷ. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Δεσπραγίας φίλοι ἐλευθ ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ναὸν καὶ Δυκοῦργον τάφον τοῦ 'Αλέου καὶ ἀλλον Καύκωνος' τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπίθημα ἀνδρὰ επείναι 6 λύραν ἔχοντα. κατὰ δὲ ἐμὲ οὕτε μνήμα ἐπίσημον οὕτε ἱέρων ἡ πολεοῦ σφιοὺς οὐδενὸς πλήν γε Δημήτρος· πλίνθου δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐπεπόητο ὁμής καὶ οὐδὲν παρεῖχετο ἀγαλμα. Δεσπρατῶν δὲ ἐστίν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Ἀρίην καλουμένην πηγῆ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφαρέως γυναικὸς τεθήναι λέγουσι τῇ πηγῇ.

7 'Διαστρέψαντι δὲ αὐθίς ἐπὶ τὸ Σαμικόν καὶ διδέοντι τὸ χωρίον, 'Ἀνυρος ποταμὸς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θαλάσσαν. τούτου τὸ ῥέμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλάκις ἀνείργουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι βίαιοι πνεόντες· φοροῦντες γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν τὴν θῖνα ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπέχουσι τοῦ πρόσω τὸ ὕδωρ. ὅποτε οὐν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡ ψάμμος ὑπὸ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβροχος γένοιτο, ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον 8 εὐξώνῳ καταδύναι κίνδυνὸς ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὴν. οδὲ 'Ἀνυρος οὕτος ἐξ 'Αρκαδίκου μὲν κάτευσιν ὅρους Δαπίθου, παρέγειται δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὕδωρ οὐκ εὐώδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσσομον δεινῶς. πρὶν δὲ ἢ καταδέξασθαι τὸν 'Ακίδαντα καλοῦμενον δῆλος ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τρέφον ἰχθὺς· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔσβαλοντα ὅσοι τῶν ἰχθύων ομοί τῷ ὕδατι αὐτοῦ κατίσασιν ἐς τὸν 'Ἀνυρον, οὐ σφᾶς ἐτὶ ἐδωδίμους ἔχουσιν ἀνθρωποί, τὰ πρότερα, ἡν ἐντὸς ἀλώσι τοῦ 'Ακίδαντος, ἐδωδίμους 404
dwellers in the land were afflicted with the disease leprosy,¹ 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 Lencaeus (*Of the White Poplar*), the grave of Lycurgus, son of Aleii, 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

¹ Not our leprosy, but a whitish, rough, scaly, skin-disease, possibly our psoriasis. See Galen XIV. 758.
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9 οὖντας. ὅτι δὲ τῷ Ἀκιδαντὶ ὂνομα Ἰάρδανος ἦν τὸ ἄρχαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν συνεβαλόμην, ἄκουσας δὲ ἀνδρὸς Ἐφεσίου λέγω τὸν λόγον. τῷ δὲ 'Ανίγρῳ τὸ ἄτοπον εἶναι τῆς ὁσμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πείθομαι δι’ ἥς ἀνείσι τὸ ὑδωρ, καθά δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ὤδασι τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτιον, ὅπόσων ἢ ἄτις ὀλέθριος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπω. 10 Ἐλλήνων δὲ οἱ μὲν Χίρωνα, οἱ δὲ ἀλλον Κένταυρον Πυλήνορα τοξυνθέντα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους καὶ φυγόντα τραυματίαν φασίν ἐν τῷ ὑδατὶ ἀπολούσαι τούτῳ τὸ ἔλκος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑδρας τοῦ ἱοῦ γενέσθαι δυσχερῆ τῷ Ἀνίγρῳ τὴν ὁσμήν οἱ δὲ ἐς Μελάμπτοδα τὸν Ἀμυθόνος καὶ ἐς τῶν Προτόου θυγατέρων τὰ καθάρσια ἐμβληθέντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνάγουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ παθήματος.

11 Ἑστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Σαμικῳ σπῆλαιον οὐκ ἀποθέν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καλούμενον Ἀνιγρίδων νυμφῶν. ὅσ δ’ ἂν ἔχων ἀλφὸν ἢ λεύκην ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσελθῆ, πρῶτα μὲν ταῖς νύμφαις εὔξασθαι καθέστηκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι θυσίαν ὅποιαν δὴ τινα, μετὰ δὲ ἀποσμίξει τὰ νοσοῦντα τοῦ σώματος διανηξάμενος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐείδος μὲν ἑκεῖνο κατέλειπεν ἐν τῷ ὑδατὶ αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ υγιῆς τε ἀνείσι καὶ ὁμόχρως.

VI. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθείαν διαβάντι τὸν Ἀνιγροῦν καὶ ἱόντι ἐς 'Ολυμπίαν, ἐστὶν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον τε ψηλὸν καὶ πόλις Σαμίᾳ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ.1 ταύτῃ Πολυσπέρ-

1 After αὐτοῦ the MSS. have Σαμικοῦ, and after ταύτῃ they read τῇ Σαμικῇ. Editors either omit both, or delete Σαμικοῦ and read Σαμίᾳ for Σαμικῇ.
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 Anigrus Nymphs. Whoever enters it suffering from alphos or leuke\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) For these skin-diseases see Galen XIV. 758. Alphos was probably our vitiligo, and leuce our leucoderma.
χοντά φασίν ἄνδρα Αἰτωλῶν ἐπιτειχίσματι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας χρήσασθαι.

2 Τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια τὰ Ἀρήνης σαφῶς μὲν οὔτε Μεσσηνίων εἰχεν οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἡλείων ἀποφηναί μου διάφορα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα πάρεστι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, πιθανότατα δὲ ἐφαίνοντό μοι λέγειν οἱ τὸ Σαμικὸν τὰ παλαιότερα ἐτη καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων Ἀρήνης καλείσθαι νομίζοντες. οὔτοι δὲ καὶ ἑτη τῶν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἔλεγον.

ἔστι δὲ τις ποταμὸς Μινυής εἰς ἀλὰ βάλλον ἐγγύθευν Ἀρήνης.

3 τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια ταῦτα πλησιαίτατα ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀνίγρου. καὶ Ἀρήνην μὲν ἀμφισβητοῖς ἄν μὴ ὄνομασθήναι τὸ Σαμικόν, τῷ δὲ ποταμῷ Ἀνίγρῳ Μινυήϊον τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι τὸ ἄρχαῖον ὁμολογήκασιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ὅροι δὲ Ἡλείοις πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν τῆς Νέδας τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσση γενέσθαι τις πεῖθοιτο ἄν ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλείδῶν καθόδω.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀνίγρον οδεύοντι ἐπὶ μακρότερον διὰ χωρίον τὰ πλείονα ὑποψάμμου καὶ ἐχοντος δένδρα πίτου ἀγρίας, ὡπίσω εἰς ἀριστερὰ Σκιλλοῦντος ὅψει ἐρείπια. τῶν μὲν δὴ πόλεων ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ καὶ Σκιλλοῦς· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἡλείους ἐπίκουροι τε Πισαίων οἱ Σκιλλοῦντιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἡλείοι τούτων ἐνεκα ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους.

5 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ύστερον Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποτεμόμενοι τῆς Ἡλείας Ἑνοφόντο ἐδοσαν τῷ 408
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*:

There is a river Minyĕius 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 Minyĕius. 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

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1 xi. 722-3.
Γρύλου, φυγάδι ἡδή γεγονότι ἐξ Ἄθηνῶν. ἐδιώχθη δὲ ὁ Ἑνοφῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἔτη βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν σφίσιν εὖνομον ὅντα στρατείας μετασχῶν Κῦρῳ πολεμωτάτῳ τοῦ δήμου· καθήμενος γὰρ ἐν Σάρδεσιν ὁ Κῦρος Λυσάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ καὶ Δακεδαίμονίοις χρήματα ἀνήλισκεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Ἑνοφῶντι ἐγένετο φυγή, κατοικήσας δὲ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τέμενος τε καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι ὕκοδο-6 μήσατο Ἐφεσία. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ Σκιλλόος καὶ ἀγάρας θηρίων, ὅπω τε ἀγρίων καὶ ἔλαφων· καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκιλλοῦντιαν Σέλινοὺς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. οἱ δὲ Ἡλείων ἔχειρρῃ κομίσασθαι τε αὐθίς Σκιλλοῦντα Ἡλείους ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἑνοφῶντα, ὅτι ἐλαβὲ παρὰ Δακεδαίμονίων τὴν γῆν, κριθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ βουλῇ, τυχόντα δὲ παρὰ Ἡλείων συγγνώμης ἀδεῶς ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι οἰκῆσαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅλιγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ ἱεροῦ μυῆμα τε ἐδείκνυτο καὶ τῆς Πεντελήσιν ἐστὶ λωθομίας εἰκών ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἑνοφῶντος λέγουσιν οἱ προσοκοῦντες.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδὸν, πρὶν ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφείον, ἐστὶν ὅρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένω πέτραις υψηλαῖς ἀπότομοι· ὄνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὅρος. κατὰ τούτων τὰς γυναικας Ἡλείωις ἐστὶν ὅθειν νόμος, ἣν φωραθῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγωνα ἐλθοῦσα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἢ καὶ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις σφίσιν ἡμέραις διαβᾶσαι τὸν Ἀλφείον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀλώνια λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν, ὅτι μὴ Καλλιτάτεραν μόνην· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιτάτερ-8 πάν καλοῦσιν. αὐτὴ προαποθανόντος αὐτὴ 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 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
ANDROS, ΕΞΕΙΚΑΣΑΣΑ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΆΝΔΡΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΗ, ΉΓΑΓΕΝ ΕΣ 'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΜΑΧΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΒΙΚΩΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΙΣΙΡΟΔΟΥ, ΤΟ ΈΡΥΜΑ ΕΝ 'ΟΤΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΑΣ ΧΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΕΙΛΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΥΠΕΡΠΗΔΩΣΑ Η ΚΑΛΛΙΠΑΤΕΙΡΑ ΓΕΥΜΝΩΘΗ. ΦΩΡΑΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΔΕ ΌΤΙ ΕΙΤΗ ΓΥΝΗ, ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΑΦΙΑΣΙΝ ΆΞΗΜΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΆΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΑΙΔΩ ΝΕΜΟΝΤΕΣ-ΥΠΗΡΧΟΝ ΔΗ ΆΠΑΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ 'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΑΙ—, ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΑΙΣ ΓΥΜΝΟΥΣ ΣΦΑΣ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΆΓΩΝΑ ΕΣΞΕΡΧΕΘΑΙ.

VII. 'ΑΦΙΚΟΜΕΝΩ ΔΕ ΕΣ 'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΝ ΕΝΤΑΘΑ ΎΔΗ ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ ΠΛΗΘΕΙ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΥ ΙΔΟΝΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΔΙΣΤΟΝ, ΑΤΕ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΓΟΝ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΆΞΙΩΝ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΡΕΟΥΝΤΩΝ. ΔΙΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ 'ΕΛΙΣΣΩΝ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΚΘΕΩΣΙΝ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ, ΒΡΕΥΘΕΑΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΓΗΣ, ΠΑΡΑ ΔΕ ΓΟΡΤΥΝΑΝ ΕΥΘΑ ΙΕΡΟΝ 'ΑΣΚΛΠΙΙΟΥ, ΠΑΡΑ ΔΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΣ ΡΕΟΥΝ, ΔΕ ΔΕ ΜΕΛΑΙΝΕΩΝ ΒΟΥΦΑΓΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΔΟΣ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΚΑΙ 'ΗΡΑΙΤΙΔΟΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ, ΔΕ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΛΑΔΩΝ, ΔΕ ΔΕ 'ΕΡΥΜΑΙΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΌΡΟΥΣ ΌΡΜΟΥΜΟΙ ΤΩ 'ΟΡΕΙ. ΟΥΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΓΩ 'ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΙΑΙΝΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ, ΚΛΑΔΕΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ 'ΗΛΕΙΑΣ ΣΥΜΜΙΣΓΕΙ ΟΙ ΤΟ ΡΕΧΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΗ 'ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ 'ΗΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΙ ΠΗΓΑΙ. ΛΕΝΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΑΣΕ ΕΣ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ, ΩΣ ΆΝΗΡ ΕΙΤΗ ΘΗΡΕΥΤΗΣ, ΕΡΑΣΘΗΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΝ 'ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΗΣ, ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ. ΚΑΙ 'ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΆΡΕΣΚΟΜΕΝΗ ΓΗΜΑΣΘΑΙ ΠΕΡΑΙΩΘΗΝΑΙ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΕΣ ΒΗΣΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ, ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ ΔΕ 412
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
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'Ορτυγίαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἕξ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι τηγήνι, συμβηναί δὲ ύπο τοῦ ἑρωτος καὶ Ἀλφειὸν
3 τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν. ταῦτα μὲν λόγον τοῦ ἐς Ἀλφειὸν ἐς τὴν 'Ορτυγίαν ἕν δὲ
dὶὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ὅντα ἐνταῦθα ἀνακοινοῦσθαι τὸ ύδωρ πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁπως ὁπιστῆσω, τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστάμενος τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁμολογοῦντα σφίσιν, δό 'Αρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐς τὸν Συρακούσῶν ἀποστέλλων ἀκισμὸν καὶ
tάδε εἴπε τὰ ἐπὶ:

'Ορτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἕρεοιδεὶ πόντῳ.
Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἵν' Ἀλφειὸν στόμα
βλύξει
μισγόμενον τηγαίσιν εὐρρεῖτης 'Αρεθούσης,
kατὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ὅτι τῇ 'Αρεθούσῃ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ
tὸ ύδωρ μίσγεται, καὶ τοῦ ἑρωτος τὴν φήμην
4 τῷ ποταμῷ πείθομαι γενέσθαι. ὅσοι δὲ 'Ελλήνων
ἡ Λιγυπτίων ἐς Λιθιοπίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Συήνης καὶ
ἐς Μερόνην Αἰθιόπων πόλιν ἀναβεβήκασι, λέ-
γουσιν οὕτω τὸν Νείλον, ἐσιόντα ἐς λίμνην
καὶ δὴ αὐτῆς διεξόντα ὡσπερ ἐκ χέρσου, μετὰ
tοῦτο ᾦδη δὴ Λιθιοπίας τῆς κάτω καὶ ἐς Λιγυπτοῦν
ῥεύσαντα ἐπὶ Ψάρον καὶ τὴν ταύτην θάλασσαν
κατέρχεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ ποταμῷ τῇ 'Εβραίων
Ἱάρδαυον καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδα λίμνην Τιβεριάδα
ὄνομαξιμένην διοδεύοντα, ἕς ἐς λίμνην ἔτεραν
καλουμένην θάλασσαν Νεκράν, ἐς ταύτην ἐσιόντα
5 καὶ ύπὸ τῆς λίμνης αὐτῶν ἀναλοῦμενον. ἢ δὲ
θάλασσα ἡ Νεκρὰ πᾶσχει παντὶ ύδατι ἄλλῳ
tὰ ἐναντία: ἐν ᾗ γε τὰ μὲν ξώντα πέφυκεν οὐ

1 ἐστὶν οὐχ ύγια 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.¹ 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 Aethiopía 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.

¹ This sentence, obviously corrupt, seems to show a lacuna after Ἀλφεῖον. 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).
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νηχόμενα ἐποχείσθαι, τὰ δὲ θυσίκοντα ἐς βυθὸν χωρεῖν. ταύτη ἄκαρτος καὶ ἵχθύων ἢ λίμνη· 
ἀτε ἀπὸ τοῦ φανερωτάτου κινδύνου ἐπὶ τὸ ύδωρ ἀναφεύγουσιν ὅπισώ τὸ οἰκεῖον. 
τὸ δὲ Ἀλφειὼ 
τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσχει καὶ ύδωρ ἀλλο ἐν Ἰωνία. τοῦτον 
δὲ τοῦ ύδατος πηγὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὀρεί, 
διεξελθὼν δὲ θάλασσαν τῇ μεταξὺ ἀνείσιν 
αὐθις κατὰ Βραγχίδας πρὸς λιμένι ὄνομαζομένῳ 
Pαυρόμῳ.

6 Taúta mēv dὴ ἔχει τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένου· ἐς 
δὲ τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν Ὄλυμπιακὸν λέγουσιν Ἡλείων 
οί τὰ ἀρχαίοτα μημονεύοντες Κρόνου τὴν ἐν 
ὑπαρχόν σχείν βασιλείαν πρότον καὶ ἐν Ὄλυμπία 
ποιηθῆναι Κρόνῳ ναῦν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, 
οἳ ὁμομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος· Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος 
ἐπιτρέψαι 'Ρέαν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς 
Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλομένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς 
τοῦτοι καὶ Κούρησιν· ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ 
Ἰόνι τῆς Κρητικῆς, Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ 

7 Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἰάσιον τε καὶ Ἰδαν· τὸν δὲ 
Ἡρακλέα παύζοντα—ἐἰναι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν πρεσ-
βοτανον ἡλικία—συμβαλεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐς 
ἀμιλλάν δρόμον καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν 
κλάδῳ στεφανώσατο κοτίνου· παρεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς 
pολὺν δὴ τὶ οὖν τῶν κότινων ὡς τὰ χλωρὰ 
ἔτι τῶν φύλλων ὑπεστρώσθαι σφᾶς καθεύδοντας. 
κωμίσθημαι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ττερβορέων γῆς τῶν 
κότινων φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς "Ελληνας, 
ἐἰναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὑπέρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκούσι 

8 τῶν Βορέαν. πρῶτος μὲν ἐν ὑμνῷ τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιαν 
ἐποίησεν Ὄλην Λύκιος ἀφικέσθαι τῇ Ἁρακλέα 
ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ἰττερβορέων τούτων· ἐπεὶτα 416
ELIS I, vii. 5–8

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 Achaeia, was the first to say that from these Hyperboreans Achaeia came to
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dē ωδήν Μελάνωπος Κυμαῖος ἐς 'Ωπιν καὶ Ἐκαέργην ἦσεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ῥηπερβορέων καὶ αὐτὰ πρότερον ἔτι τῆς Ἀχαίας ἀφίκοντο ἐς 9 Δῆλον. Ὁ Αριστέας δὲ ὁ Προκοννήσιος—μνήμην γὰρ ἐποιήσατο Ῥηπερβορέων καὶ οὐτὸς—τάχα τι καὶ πλέον περὶ αὐτῶν πεπυσμένοι ἄν εἰς παρὰ Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐς οὐς ἀφικέσθαι φησίν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. Ἡρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἁγώνα διαθεῖναι πρῶτῳ καὶ Ὀλυμπία ὁμορα θέσθαι· διὰ πέμπτου οὖν ἔτους αὐτῶν κατεστήσατο ἀγεσθαί, ὅτι αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ 10 ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμὸν. Δία δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παλαίσαι καὶ αὐτῷ Κρόνῳ περὶ τῆς ἄρχης, οἱ δὲ ἔτι κατειργασμένοι ἁγιωνθητήσαι φασίν αὐτῶν νικήσαι δὲ ἄλλοι τε λέγονται καὶ ὅτι Ἀπόλλωνα παραδράμοι μὲν ἐρίζοντα Ἑρμῆν, κρατήσαι δὲ Ἀρεως πυγμῆ. τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ αὐλημα Πυθικόν φασι τῷ πηδήματι ἐπεισ- αχθῆναι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὐλημα ὅν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀνηρμένον Ὀλυμπικάς νίκας.

VIII. Τούτων δὲ ύστερον Κλύμενον τὸν Κάρδυνος, πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Ἑλλησία ἐπομ- βρίαν ἐλθόντα οἱ Κρήτης, γένος ἀπὸ Ἡρα- κλέους ὁντα τοῦ Ἰδαίου, τὸν τέ ἁγώνα ἐν Ὀλυμπία θείναι καὶ Κοῦρησι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ προγόνῳ λέγουσιν ἱδρύσασθαι βωμόν, Παραστάτην ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θέμενον. Ἐνυμιών δὲ ὁ Ἀεθλίου Κλύμενον τε
Delos. Then Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode to Opis and Hecaërge, declaring that these, even before Achaeia, came to Delos from the Hyperboreans. And Aristeas of Proconnesus—for he too made mention of the Hyperboreans—may perhaps have learnt even more about them from the Isedones, 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 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 pentathlum 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

1 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.
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επαυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δρόμου τοῖς νύσις ἀθλα

2 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν βασίλειαν ἔθηκε. Πέλοψ δὲ ἦστερον γενέα μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνυδυμώνια τὸν ἀγώνα τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δίω ἐποίησεν ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν παίδων σκεδασθέντων ἔξ Ἡλίδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, Ἀμφιθάλων ὁ Κρηθέως Ἐνυδυμώνι ἀνεψιός πρὸς πατρὸς— εἶναι γὰρ φασὶ καὶ Ἀέθλιον Δίλο, Δίος δὲ ἐπίκλησιν—, ἔθηκεν ὁ Ἀμφιθάλων τὰ Ὀλυμπία, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν

3 Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεὺς ἐν κοινῷ. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Ἀὐγέας καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύων ἐλὼν Ἡλίῳ ὁπόσους δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν οὕτως υικτάς, ἔστιν Ἰόλαος ταῖς Ἡρακλέους δραμῶν ἵπποις. ἢν δὲ ἄρα ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστηκὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἀλλοτρίας ἵπποις. "Ομηρος γοῦν ἐν ᾠδοὺς θεθείσων ἐπὶ Πατρόκλω πεποίηκεν ὡς Μενέλαος Αἴθη τῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ χρήσαιτο τῶν ἵππων οἰκεῖοι. ἢμιὸχεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Ἰόλαος ὁ Ἡρακλεῖ τὰς ἵππους· αὐτός τε συν ἀρματὶ καὶ Ἰάσιος ἀνὴρ Ἁρκάς κέλητος ἐνίκησεν ἵππου δρόμῳ, Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παίδες ὁ μὲν δρόμῳ, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρακλέα ὡς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο καὶ παγκρατίων νῖκας.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ὑξυλον— διεθήκε γὰρ τὸν ἀγώνα καὶ ὁ Ὑξυλος—, μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα ἐξελιπεν ἀχρὶ Ἰφίτου τα Ὀλυμπία. Ἰφίτου δὲ τὸν ἀγώνα ἀνανεωσμένον κατὰ τὰ ἦδη μοι λελεγμένα, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐτι ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἀρχαίων λήθη καὶ κατ' ὀλγον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἠρχοντο αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅποτε τι ἀναμνησθεῖν.
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 Iolaiìs, who won with the mares of Heracles. So of old a competitor was permitted to compete with mares which were not his own. Homer, 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, Iolaiìs used to be charioteer to Heracles. So Iolaiìs 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 Oxylus, who also celebrated the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued until the reign of Iphitus. When Iphitus, as I have already related, 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

1 Iliad xxiii. 295. 2 Chapter iv. § 5 of this book.
6 ἔποιοῦντο τῷ ἀγώνι προσθήκην. δῆλον δὲ ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀλυμπιάδοις ἐστὶ, δρόμον 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 ύστερον τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη προσετέθη σφίσι δίανοις:

7 Ἀκανθὸς Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὁγδόνης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀφίκοντο ἐς μνήμην καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπτιδι ὑπήρξεν, Εὐρυβάτῳ δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ τούτοις. τρίτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμής ἄθλα ἀπέδοσαν ὁ Ὀυμόσατος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσης ἡδὴ τηνικάυτα ἐς Ἰων. πέμπτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκοσι κατεδέξαντο ἱππῶν τελείῶν δρόμον, καὶ ἀν-ηγορεύθη Ὑππαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἀρματι.

8 ὁγδόνῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδι ἐδέξαντο παγ-κρατιστήν τε ἀνδρα καὶ ἱππῶν κέλητα: ἱππο- μὲν δὴ Κραννωνίου Κρανξίδα παρέβη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσέλθοντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Λύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος. τοῦτο πρὸς ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἐστίν ἐν Συρακούσαις μνήμαις: εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεὶ τῷ Ὑππαῖῳ μέγεθος παρίσοφτο ὁ Λύγδαμις, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ

9 Συρακούσιων ἐστὶ. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισίν ἐς μὲν τῶν παλαιστέρων ὀνομάζαν ἥκει μνήμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἄρεσαν σφίσι κατεστήσαντο Ὑλείοι. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παίσιν 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, \(776\) B.C. 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,\(^1\) 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 pentathlum 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;

\(^1\) The Greek word \(\sigma\alpha\iota\nu\mu\pi\iota\delta\) 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.
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καὶ Ἡπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνείκης δὲ τῶν δρόμων ἐνίκησεν Ἡλείος. πρώτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιήγων τῶν ἐσελθόντων Ἡλείος.

Συβαρίτης Φιλύτας. τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος ἐδοκιμάσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐξήκοστής, μελέτης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐνεκα τῆς ἔσ τὰ πολεμικά τοὺς δὲ ὀραμόντας ἀστίσιν ὁμοῦ πρῶτος Δαμάρετος ἐκράτησεν Ἡραίες. δρόμος δὲ δύο ὑπῶν τελείων συνωρίς κληθείσα τρίτη μὲν ὀλυμπιάδι ἑτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνεήκοντα, Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἡλείος. ἐνάτη δὲ ἦρεσεν ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνεήκοστή καὶ πῶλων ἁρμασίν ἀγωνίζεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνες δὲ Συβαριάδης τὸν στέφανον τῶν πῶλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἁρματος. προσέθεσαν δὲ ὑστερον καὶ συνωρίδα πῶλων καὶ πῶλων κέλητα. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῇ συνωρίδι Βελιστίχην ἐκ Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ γυναίκα, Τλητόλεμον δὲ Λύκιον ἀναγορευθηναι λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κέλητι, τούτων μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ τριακοστῆς τε καὶ ἐκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς δὲ Βελιστίχης τῆς συνωρίδα ὀλυμπιάδι πρὸ ταύτης τρίτης. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄθλα ἑτέθη παγκρατίῳ παισί, καὶ ἐνίκα Φαιδίμος Αἰολεύς ἐκ πόλεως Τρώαδός.

IX. Κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ ἀγωνίσματα, μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἡλείοις. πενταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγδόθης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἑτέθη, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῶν κότινων Ἐυτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος ὤκετι ἀρεστά Ἡλείοις ὥν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. τῆς δὲ ἀπήμης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, τὸν μὲν 424
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 *synorist* (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
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ολυμπιάδι νομισθέντα ἐβδομηκοστῇ, τῶν δὲ τῆς κάλπης τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, κήρυγμα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐποίησαντο ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς μήτε κάλπης τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἀπήνης ἐσεσθαί δρόμουν. ὥτε δὲ ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Θερσίον μὲν ἀπήνη Θεσσαλοῦ, Παταίκου δὲ 2 Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη. ἢν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐςχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνεθεοῦν ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμενοί τῶν χαλινῶν, καθά καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτί οἱ ἀναβαται καλούμενοι. διάφορα δὲ τοῖς ἀναβάταις ἐς τῆς κάλπης τῶν δρόμων τά τε σημεῖα ἔστι καὶ ἀρσενὲς σφίσιν οὗτε οἱ ἵπποι. ἀπήνη δὲ οὗτο τῷ ἀνευρήματι οὔδεν ἄρχαίοι οὔτε εὐπρέπεια αὐτῆς προσήν, ἐπάρατον τε Ἡλείοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἄρχην γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ ξύλον ἣν γὰρ δὴ ἀπήνη κατὰ τὴν συνωρία ἡμῶν οὖντι ἵππων ἑχουσα.

3 'Ο δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τῶν ἄγωνα ἔφ' ἡμῶν, ὡς θύεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὰ ίερεῖα πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων ύστερα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρότερα ἄγωνυσίματων, οὕτως κατέστη σφίσιν ὁ κόσμος ὀλυμπιάδι ἐβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα τὰ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἤργον τῆς αὐτῆς ὀμοίως καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων ἄγωνα. τότε δὲ προήχθησαν ἐς νῦκτα οἱ παγκρατιάζοντες ἄτε οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐσκληθέντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο οὐ τε ἵπποι καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐτί ή τῶν πεντάθλων ἀμιλλα καὶ ἐκράτει μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Καλλίας τοὺς παγκρατιάςαντας, ἐμπόδιον δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλε παγκρατίῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ πεντάθλου οὐδὲ οἱ ἵπποι γενεσθαί. 4 Ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄγωνυσέτουσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ 426
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
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ἀ καθέστηκότα ἤν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοῦς νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἡφιτος μὲν τὸν ἁγώνα ἐθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἡφιτον ἐτίθεσαν ὁσαστῶς οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου. πεντηκοστῇ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι ἄνδρας δύο ἐξ ἀπάντων λαχούσιν Ἡλείων ἐπετράπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὀλυμπία, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπὸ ἑκεῖνον διέμειν τῶν ἁγωνιστῶν ὁ ἄριθμός 5 τῶν δύο. πέμπτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενήκοστῇ ἡμέρα Ἑλλανοδίκαις κατέστησαν τρισὶ μὲν δὴ ἐπετέρα σὺν αὐτῶν ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἕπτων, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἔτεροι ἐπόπταις εἰναι τὸν πεντάθλου, τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοις τὰ λοιπὰ ἔμελε τῶν ἁγωνισμάτων. δευτέρα δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδι προσετέθη καὶ ὁ δέκατος ἀθλοθέτης. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἐκατοστῆς φυλαὶ τε Ἡλείους δόδεκα καὶ ἕις ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἔγένετο Ἑλλανοδίκης.

πιεσθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων πολέμῳ μοῖραν τε ἀπέβαλον τής γῆς καὶ ὀσοὶ τῶν δήμων ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἀποτμηθείσῃ χώρᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐς ὅκτω τε ἄριθμον φυλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνεστάλησαν ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐκατοστῆς καὶ Ἑλλανοδίκαι σφίσιν ὅς ταῖς φυλαῖς ἑρέθησαν. ὁγόδῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκατόν ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανηλθοῦν αὕθες ἐς ἄνδρῶν δέκα ἄριθμον, καὶ ἠδὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμενήκεν ἐς ἡμᾶς.

Χ. Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἅλλα ἰδοί τις ἄν ἐν Ἑλληστὶ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι βαύματος ἄξια· μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἑλευσίνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἁγώνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος

Τὸ δὲ ἄλογον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δίως παραποίησαντες τὸ οἶνομα Ἁλτίν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ Πινδάρῳ ποιήσαντες ἐς ἄνδρα ὀλυμπιονίκην ἄσμα 428
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 pentathlum, 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. Pindar¹ too calls the place Altis in

¹ Ol. x. 55.

¹ καὶ εἰκοστῇ MSS.; emended by Boeckh.
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2' Ἀλτις ἐπωνύμασται τὸ χωρίον. ἐπουθήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῷ Διί ὑπὸ λαφύρων, ἥνικα Πίσαν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ὁσον τῶν περιοίκων άλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθείλουν. Φειδίας δὲ τὸν ἐργασάμενον τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι καὶ ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος γεγραμμένον τοῖς ποσί.

Φειδίας Χαρμίδου νῦν 'Αθηναῖος μ’ ἐποίησε.

τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ Δώριος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐργασία, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς περιστυλός ἐστὶν: πεποίηται δὲ ἐπιχωρίους τρώρου. ὤφος μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἀετὸν ἄνηκον, εἰσὶν οἱ ὀκτὼ πόδες καὶ ἐξήκοντα, εὔρος δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐς μῆκος τριάκοντα τε καὶ διακόσιον: τέκτων δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Δίβων ἐπιχώριος. κέραμος δὲ ὑγίς ὀπτῆς ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ κεράμου τρόπον λίθος ὁ Πεντελήσιων εἰργασμένος: τὸ δὲ εὐρήμα ἀνδρός Νάξιον λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζου, οὗ φασίν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ’ ὅν ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι.

Νάξιος Εὐεργός με γένει Αητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεων παῖς, δὲς πρώτητος τεῦξε λίθον κέραμον.

ἡλικίαν δὲ οἱ Βύζης οὕτως κατὰ Ἀλυάττην ἢν τὸν Λυδόν καὶ Ἀστυάγην τὸν Κυαξάρον βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μήδοις. ἐν δὲ 'Ολυμπία λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἐκάστω τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπίκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἐστηκε τοῦ ἀετοῦ, ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὐτη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀστίς ἀνάκειται χρυσῆ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόνα ἐχουσα ἐπειργασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ
ELIS I, x. 1–4

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:

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
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ταύτης τής μάχης μνήμην καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐποιησάμην συγγραφῆ, τὰ Ἀθήναισιν ἐπεξείων 5 μνήματα. τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ναοῦ τῆς ύπέρ τῶν κίονων περιθεούσης ξώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι μία καὶ εἰκοσιοί ἄριθμον, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου κρατῆ- σαντος 'Αχαϊῶν πολέμου καὶ Κορινθίων τε ἐλύντος καὶ Κορινθίους τοὺς Δωρίας ποιήσαντος ἀνα- 6 στάτους. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄετοῖς, ἔστων ἐμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἦ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἀμίλλα ἐτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἄμφο- τέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Δίος δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τῶν ἄετος, ἔστων Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Δίου ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν. Μυρτίλος δὲ, δὴ ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἁρμα, κάθιστα πρὸ τῶν ἵππων, οὐ δὲ εἰσὶν ἄριθμον οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσὶν ἄνδρες δύο οὐνόματα μὲν σφισιούς οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσ- 7 ετέτακτο υπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομᾶν. πρὸς αὐτῶ δὲ κατά- κειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ’ Ἡλείων τιμᾶς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετά γε Ἀλφείων. τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δίως ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἰπποδάμεια καὶ ὁ τε ἴνισχος ἔστι τοῦ

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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,\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) See Book I, ch. xxix.
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Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι δύο τε ἀνδρεῖς, ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὕτω τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ ἄετος κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφείδος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἤμιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιξηνίων ἔστὶν ὅνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἐφασκεν ὁ ἐν Ὁλυμπία Κίλλαιν 8 εἶναι. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς ἄετοῖς ἔστι Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θηραίας, τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένου, ἀνδρὸς ἤλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεία ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄετοῖς ἔστιν αὐτῷ Λαπιθῶν ἐν τῷ Πειρίθου γάμῳ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἢ μάχη. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἄετοῦ τὸ μέσον Πειρίθους ἔστιν παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν Εὐρυτίων ἤρπακώς τὴν γυναῖκα ἐστι τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ ἀμύνων Καϊνεύς τῷ Πειρίθῳ, τῇ δὲ Ἰησεύς ἄμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους. Κενταύρος δὲ ὁ μὲν παρθένον, ὁ δὲ παιδὰ ἤρπακως ἔστιν ὀραίον. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλκαμένης, Πειρίθουν τε εἶναι Διὸς ἐν ἔπεσι τοῖς Ὀμήρου δεδιδαγμένοι καὶ Ἰησέα ἐπιστάμενος ὡς εἶν τέταρτος ἀπὸ Πέλοπος.

9 Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. ύπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ πεποίηται τῶν θυρῶν ἢ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἄγρα τοῦ νῦς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Διομήδην τὸν Θρῆκα καὶ ἐν Ἕρυθείᾳ πρὸς Γηρυόνη, καὶ Ἀτλαντὸς τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι μέλλων καὶ τῆς κόπρου καθαίρων τὴν γῆν ἔστιν 434
ELIS I, x. 7–9

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, 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. 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 poem that Peirithoüs was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops.

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 1

1 There are good reasons, chronological and artistic, for thinking that neither Paeonius nor Alcamenes carved the figures on the pediments.

2 This is supposed to be a mistake.

3 Iliad XIV. 318.
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'Ἡλείοισιν ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἔως τῆς Ἀμαζώνα ἐστὶν ἀφαιροῦμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἕλαφον καὶ τὸν ἐν Κνωσῷ ταῦρον καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφήλῳ καὶ ἐς ὤδραν τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ λέοντα. τὰς θύρας δὲ ἐστίν τὰς χαλκᾶς, ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιὰ πρὸ τοῦ κόνων Ἰφιτος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς στεφανοῦμενος Ἐκε- χείριας, ώς τὸ ἐλεγείον τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν φησίν. ἐστήκασί δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοι τε ἐνδον ὑπερφοι καὶ πρόσοδος δε' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαλμά ἐστι. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἀνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρόφον σκολά.

XI. Καθεξεται μὲν δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐν θρόνῳ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένοι καὶ ἐλέφαντος στεφανος δὲ ἐπίκει- ται οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεμιμημένος ἔλαιας κλώνας. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρει Νίκην ἡ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταινίαν τε ἐξουσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον τῇ δὲ ἀριστερά τοῦ θεοῦ χειρί ἐνεστὶ σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἕμθισ- μένοιν, ὁ δὲ ὠρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ καθήμενος ἐστιν ὁ ἄετος. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ τὰ υποδήματα τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον ὡςαύτως ἐστὶν τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ξώδια τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιη- μένα. ὁ δὲ θρόνος ποικίλος μὲν χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις, ποικίλος δὲ καὶ ἐβένῳ τε καὶ ἐλέφαντι ἐστιν καὶ ζῷα τε ἐπὶ αὐτῶν γραφῇ μεμιμημένα καὶ ἀγαλματί ἐστιν εἴργασμενα. Νίκαι μὲν δὴ τέσσαρες χορευούσθων παρεχόμεναι σχῆμα κατὰ ἕκαστον τοῦ θρόνου τῶν πόδα, δύο δὲ εἰσὶν ἄλλαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πέζῃ ποδός. τῶν ποδῶν δὲ ἐκατέρω τῶν ἐμπροσθὲν παιδές τε ἐπίκεινται Θηβαῖον ὑπὸ σφιγγών ἠρπασμένου καὶ ὑπὸ τᾶς σφιγγας

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dung 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, Ececheiria (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
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Νιόβης τούς παίδας Ἀπόλλων κατατοξεύονσι καὶ Ἀρτεμίς. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου μεταξὺ ποδῶν τέσσαρες κανόνες εἰσίν, ἐκ ποδῶς ἐς πόδα ἐτερον δυῆκων ἐκαστος. τῷ μὲν δὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς ἐσοδου κανόνι, ἐπτά ἐστιν ἀγάμματα ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τὸ γὰρ ὀγδοον ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅθ' ἦσασι τρόπον ὅντινα ἐγένετο ἄφανες· εϊγ' δ' ἂν ἀγωνισμάτων ἄρχαίων ταύτα μιμήματα, οὐ γὰρ πω τὰ ἐς τοὺς παίδας ἐπὶ ἠλικίας ἦδη καθειστήκη τῆς Φειδίου. τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ταινία τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενον ἐοικέναι τὸ είδος Παντάρκει λέγοντα, μειράκιον δὲ Ἡλείου τὸν Παντάρκη παίδικα εἶναι τοῦ Φειδίου· ἀνείλετο δὲ καὶ εὖ παισίν ὁ Παντάρκης πάλης νίκην ὀλυμπιάδι ἐκή πρὸς ταῖς ὑγοθήκοιτα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κανόνων τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁ λόχος ἐστίν ὁ σὺν Ἡρακλεὶ μαχόμενος πρὸς Ἄμαξονας· ἀριθμὸς μὲν δὴ συναμφοτέρων ἐσ ἐννέα ἐστὶ καὶ εἰκοσι, τέτακται δὲ καὶ Θησεὺς ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τῷ Ἡρακλεί. ἀνέχοσι δὲ οὔχ οἱ πόδες μόνοι τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κίονες ἦσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἐστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν. ὑπελθείν δὲ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῶν θρόνων, ὡσπερ γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις ἐσ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα· ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ ἀπείρογντα ἐστὶ. τοὺτων τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ διετάκτει κυάνῳ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς ἐστὶ μὲν οὐρανόν καὶ γῆν Ἀτλας ἀνέχον, παρέστηκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ ἄχθος 438
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. 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

1 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 οὗ γὰρ (for which he reads ἑρὰ) πω... τῆς Φειδίου to after ἄγουσιντα. This would mean: “So P. had not reached the age of boys at the time of Pheidias.”
6 παρανόμημα Αἰαντός, Ἱπποδάμειά τε ἡ Οἰνομάν 
σὺν τῇ μητρί καὶ Προμηθεὺς ἐτὶ ἐχόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐσ αὐτὸν ἠρταί· 
λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς 
ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν τῶν ἁτὸν ὀὐ ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ τὸν 
Προμηθέα ἐλύπει, ἐξέλοιτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθέα 
ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. τελευταίᾳ δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Πενθε-
ςίλεια τε ἄφιεστα τὴν ψυχήν καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς 
ἀνέχων ἐστίν αὐτῆς καὶ Ἔσπερίδες δύο φέροντε 
τὰ μῆλα ὁν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγονται τὴν φρυγάν. 
Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὐτὸς ἀδελφὸς τε ἡν Φειδίου καὶ 
αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι 
7 ἔργον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνωτάτῳ 
τοῦ θρόνου πεποίηκεν ὁ Φειδίας ύπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν 
τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦτο μὲν Χάριτας, τουτο δὲ "Ὡρας, 
τρεῖς ἐκατέρασ. εἶναι γὰρ θυγατέρας Δίὸς καὶ 
ταῦτας ἐν ἐπεσίν ἐστὶν εἰρήμενα: "Ομηρος δὲ ἐν 
Ἰλιάδι ἐποίησε τὰς "Ὡρας καὶ ἐπιτετράφθαι τὸν 
οὐρανὸν καθάπερ τινὰς φύλακας βασιλεῶς αὐλῆς. 
τὸ ὑπόθημα δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος τοῖς ποσίν, ὑπὸ τῶν 
ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καλούμενον θρανίων, λέοντας τε 
χρυσοῦς καὶ Θησέως ἐπειργασμένην ἔχει μάχην 
τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζώνας, τὸ Ἀθηναίων πρῶτον ἀν-
8 δραγάθημα ἐς οὐχ ὀμοφύλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου 
τοῦ τῶν θρόνων τε ἀνέχοντος καὶ ὀσοὶ ἄλλοι 
κόσμος περὶ τὸν Δία, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου 
χρυσᾶ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκός ἐπὶ ἄρμα" Ἡλιος 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 poetry¹ are included among the daughters of Zeus. Homer too in the Iliad² 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

¹ Hesiod, Theogony 901.  
² V. 749 foll.
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Zeus te esti kai 'Hra, eti de 'Hfaiostos,1 parâ de autôn Xaris: taûthi de 'Ermês exeyai, tou 'Ermoû de 'Estía: metâ de ðì thn 'Estían 'Eroos estin êk thalassas 'Aphrodítês anioûsau upodechômenos, thn de 'Aphrodítê stefanoî Peiôw: ëpeírghastai de kai 'Apôllwv svûn 'Artemidî 'Athenâ te kai 'Hraklês, kai ñde toû báthrou pròs tò pérate 'Armiftrítê kai Poseidôn Xelêmê te ñppou èmûi dôkein èlaiûnousa. toûs de estin eîrhmêna êf' ÿmiônou thn theôn Òxheîsai kai ouû ñppou, kai lógon ge tina épî toû ÿmiônou légousin euíshê.

9 Mêtra de toû èn 'Olymptía Dîôs ès ýpos te kai eûros eîpsastámenos ëgeiramêmâ oûk èn épainô thîsoumai toûs metrôsantás, êpete kai ðâ eîrhmêna autôiès métrea polû ti âpodeontá estin ò toûs ñdoûsì parèstîken ës toû ìgâlhma dòxa, òppou ge kai autôn tôn theôn mártypa ès toû 'Feidîou thn têchnìn ñgenêsthai légousin. òs ñar ñh' èkstopelosmênon ñdèi toû ìgâlhma òn, ñûzato ò 'Feidîas eîpsiûmînai tôn theôn ëi to érgon estin autô kai ñgômênî autîka ð' ès toûtò toû èdâforos kataskeîpsαι keraunôn fàsîn, êntha ûdría kai ès èmé eîpíthêma òn ñ kalthê.

10 'Oson de toû èdâforos estin èmprosthein toû ìgâlmatos, touto ou leukô, mëlanî de kate- skewsastai ò tò õibv: peribhe dé èn kûklw tôn mëlanâ thîn Paríw krrhîs, èrmwç èinai tò èlaiô tò èkxeomênô. èlaiôn ñar tò ìgâlmati estin èn 'Olymptía svûÎerôun, kai èlaiôn èstî toû apeiûrgon ÿû gínseîsai tò èlèfantei bìlûbos dià toû èlôdês tîs 'Altewos. èn èkropolôi de tê 'Athen-
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

\[1 \text{ ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστός is not in the MSS., but was added by Brunn.}\]
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ναίων τὴν καλομένην Παρθένον οὐκ ἠλαίον, ὕδωρ δὲ τὸ ἐς τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὄφελον ἐστὶν, ἀτε γὰρ αὐχμηρᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οὕσης διὰ τὸ ἀγαν υψηλῶν, τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένον ὕδωρ καὶ δρόσον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ποθεῖ. ἐν Ἐπι-δαύρῳ δὲ ἐρομένου μοι καθ' ἤντια αἰτίαν οὔτε ὕδωρ τῷ Ἀσκληπιίῳ σφισὶν οὔτε ἠλαίον ἐστὶν ἐγχεόμενον, ἐδίδασκον μὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὦς καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐπὶ φρέατι εἰς πεποιημένα.

XII. "Ὅσοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἐλέφασιν ἐξίσχοντα ὀδόντας τῶν θηρίων εἶναι καὶ οὐ κέρατα ἤγχονται, τούτων ἐστὶν ἀπείδειν μὲν ἐς τὰς ἀλκας, τὸ ἐν Κελτικῇ θηρίῳ, ἀπείδειν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπικοὺς ταύρους· ἀλκαὶ μὲν γὰρ κέρατα ἐπὶ τὰς ὀφρύσιν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἅρρενες, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ οὐ φύει τὸ παράπαν· οἱ δὲ Αἰθιοπικοὶ ταῦροι τὰ κέρατα φύωσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥυί. τὸς ἄν οὖν ποιήσατο ἐτί ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι διὰ 2 στόματος ζῴῳ κέρατα ἐκφύναι; πάρεστι δὲ ἀναδιδάςκεσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε ἐτί· κέρατα γὰρ κατὰ ἑτῶν περίοδον ἀπογίνεται καὶ αὐθίς ἐκβλαστάνει ζῷος, καὶ τούτῳ ἔλαφοί τε καὶ δορκίδες, ὀσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πεπόθθασιν. ὅδοις δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτω δεύτερα παρέσται ζῷῳ τῶν γε ἥδη τελείων· εἴ δὲ ὀδόντες τὰ διὰ στόματος ἐξίσχοντα καὶ μὴ κέρατα ἔσαιν, τῶς ἄν καὶ ἀνεφύνοντο αὐθίς; οὐ μὴν οὖδε εἰκείν πυρὶ ἔχουσιν ὀδόντες φύσιν· κέρατα δὲ καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἐλέφαντων ἐς ὀμαλές τε ἐκ περιφεροῦσα καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀγεταὶ σχήματα. ποταμίως γε μὴν ἦπτοις καὶ ὑσίν ἢ κάτωθεν γένυς τοὺς χαυλιόδοντας φέρει, κέρατα 444
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. Ethiopian 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 de anaphvomeva oux orowmen ek gevnwv exelephanti owh tа kepata istor ти диа kротaфов kater-хомена анов💙гес кαι ou.tос es tо ektos epistrefonta. toutо ouk akoih γrάфω, theasamenes de exelaphontos en γi tη Kampanwv kranion en 'Aртемидos ierо stadioues de ωs tριακονта аπexeи μάλιστα Kαpун тων Kampanwv. ο μεν διηδέλφας παρά та λοιπа ζωη diафορου και την έκφυσιν παρέχεται тων керάτων, ώσπερ γε και то μεγεθός еsti ν αυτи και ειδος ουδεν εικότα еτερω θηριω φιλοτιμοι δε еs та μάλιστα μοι και еs θεων тιμηн ου feidhlioi χρημάτων гевέθαι докουσιν οι 'Ελληνες, ωи γε παρά 'Ινδον ήγετο και еξ Αιθι-οπίας елεφας еs ποιησиν ωγαλμάτων.

4 'En de 'Оλυμπία παραπέτασμα έρευν кекоςмей-менон υφασμασι 'Аσυρίωι кαι βαφη πорфύραс της Фониκων άνεθικεν 'Αντίοχος, ου δη και υπερ тου θεατροу тου 'Αθηνησιν η αιγιс η χρυση και еп' αυτης η Γοργώ естин аναθήματα. тоуто ουκ еs тo ανω тo παραπέτασμα πрος тон οροφον ώσπερ γε ен 'Артемидοѕ тης 'Εфεσιας аνέλκουσι, καιλδιους δε 5 επιχαλώντες καθιάσιν еs тo έδαφοс. аναθήματα δε οπόσα еιδον η еn тω προναφ keiτai, θρόνος еstin 'Арμυνηστου βασιλεύσαντος еn Τυρσηνοιс, ος πρωτος βαρβάρων аναθήματι тων еn 'Оλυμπία Δια еδωρήσατο, και ίπποι Κυνίσκας χαλκοι, σημεία 'Оλυμπικής νίκης ουτοι μεγεθος мèв аποδέουσιν ίππων, еστήκασи δε еn тω προναφ тοις еσιονσιν еn δεξια. keiτai δε και τριπους

1 Some editors think that the passage ποταμοι το γενυн 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, 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

1 Probably Antiochus Epiphanes, who was king of Syria 175–164 B.C.
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ἐπίχαλκος, ἐφ' οὗ πρὶν ἢ τὴν τράπεζαν ποιηθῆναι ὁ προετίθεντο τοῖς νυκῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. Βασιλέων δὲ ἀνδριάντας, Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν αἰ ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν τελθεῖσαν πόλεις ἀνέδεσαν Παρίου λίθον, Τραϊανοῦ δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἐλληνες. οὕτως προσεκτίζοντο οἱ βασιλεῖς Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ὀσρῆ τε τῷ ἀπογόνῳ τῷ Ἀρσάκου καὶ Πάρθους ἐπολέμησεν· ὁπόσα δὲ ἐς ἔργων ἔχει οἱ κατασκευὴν, ἀξιολογώ- τατά ἐστι λουτρὰ ἐπώνυμα αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον μέγα κυκλοτερεῖ πανταχόθεν καὶ οἰκοδόμημα ἐς ἰτπών δρόμους προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μῆκος, καὶ ἩΡωμαίων ἀγορὰ κόσμου τε ἔνεκα τοῦ λοιποῦ θέας ἄξια καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ὀροφὸν χαλκοῦ πε- 7 ποιημένον. αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες αἱ τοῖς κατασκευάσμαι τοῖς περιφερέσιν ἐγκειμέναι, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἠλέκτρου βασιλέως ὉΡωμαίων ἐστιν Λυγούστου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος βασιλέως Νικομήδους ἔλεγετο εἶναι Βιθυνῶν. ἀπὸ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἐν Βιθυνία πόλεως μετεβλήθη τὸ ὄνομα, Ἀστακῷ τὰ πρὸ τοῦτο καλομένη τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῇ Ζυπόϊτης ἐγένετο οἰκιστικής, Θρᾶξ γένος εἰκάζοντι γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνοματος. τὸ δὲ ἠλεκτρον τοῦτο οὗ τῷ Λυγούστῳ πεποίημα τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅσον μὲν αὐτόματον ἐν τῷ Ἦριδανοῦ ταῖς ψάμμοις εὑρί- σκεται, σπανίζεται τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τίμιον πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἔνεκα· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἠλέκτρον 8 ἀναμεμηγμένος ἐστὶν ἀργύρῳ χρυσός. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπία ναῷ Νέρωνος ἀναθήματα τρεῖς μὲν ἐς κοτίνου φύλλα στέφανοι, τέταρτος δὲ ἐς δρυός ἐστι μεμηγμένος· κεῖται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἀσπίδες χαλκαὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς ὀπλιτεύονσιν εἶναι φορήματα ἐς τὸν δρόμον. στήλαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε 448
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 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
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εστήκασι καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους
tε καὶ Μαντινεάς ἔχουσα ὅρκων παρά Ἡλείων ἐς
συμμαχίαν ἐτῶν ἐκατόν.

XIII. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως καὶ Πέλοπτο
ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος· ἡρῶων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμ-
πία τοσοῦτον προτετμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ
Ἡλείων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεόν τῶν ἄλλων. ἐστὶν οὖν
tοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Δίως κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς
ἀνεμον Βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ
ναοῦ τοσοῦτον ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ
ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακείσθαι, παρέχει δὲ ὦς ἐπὶ
tὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον
tοῦ ναοῦ· καὶ λίθων τε θρυγκῷ περιέχεται καὶ
dένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν

2 ἀνακείσμου, ἐσόδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν
ἐστὶν ἡλίου. τότε ἀπονείμαι τῷ Πέλοπτο Ἡρα-
κλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ
ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ καὶ
ὡς ἔδυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπτο. θύσωσι δὲ
αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐτί οἱ κατὰ ἐτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν·
tὸ δέ ἰερεῖον ἐστὶ κρίως μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ
γίνεται τῷ μάντει μοῦρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ
μόνον δίδοσθαι τῷ κριῳ καθέστηκε τῷ ὄνομα-

3 ξομένῳ ξυλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ὧν ξυλεῖς ἐκ τῶν ὧν 
κοτῶν τοῦ 

Δίως, ἐργον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸςκεῖται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας
ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν
καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἡδίωτη· τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ
ἀλλον δένδρου ἐστὶν οὐδενός· δια σὺ ἀν δὲ αὐτῶν
Ἡλείων ἢ ξένων τοῦ θυμγέου τῷ Πέλοπτο ἰερεῖοι
φάγῃ τῶν κρεῶν, οὐκ ἐστὶν οἱ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν
Δία. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ
ποταμοῦ Καῖκου πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Τηλέφορ
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.

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
θύωντες: ἔστι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀναβήναι πρὸ
4 λουτροῦ παρὰ τοῖς 'Ασκληπιίον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
tοιοῦτον μηκενομένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πολέμου
tοῖς "Ελλησιν, προαγορεύσαι αὐτοὺς τοὺς μάυτες
ὡς αἰρήσουσιν οὐ πρότερον τὴν πόλιν, πρὶν ἂν
tὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα καὶ ὀστοῦν ἐπαγάγωνται
Πέλοπος. οὗτω δὴ μεταπέμψασθαι μὲν Φιλο-
κτήτην φασίν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀχθήναι
dὲ καὶ τῶν ὀστῶν ὀμοπλάτην σφίσιν ἐκ Πίσης
τῶν Πέλοπος· ὡς δὲ οὐκαδὲ ἐκομίζοντο, ἀπόλυ-
tαι περὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ ἡ ναὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ
5 τὸ ὀστοῦν φέρουσα τὸ Πέλοπος. ἔτεσι δὲ ὑστε-
ρον πολλοῖς μετὰ ἀλωσίν Ἰλίου Δαμάρμενον
ἀλιέα ἐξ Ἕρετρίας ἀφέντα δίκτυν ἐς θάλασσαν
tὸ ὀστὸν ἐλκύσατι, θαυμάσαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ
μέγεθος ἔχειν ἀποκρύπταντα ὑπὸ τὴν ψάμμον.
tέλος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὅτου
tε ἀνδρὸς τὸ ὀστὸν εἰῆ καὶ ὁ τι χρηστέου αὐτὸ
6 διδαχθήναι δεισόμενον. καὶ πως κατὰ πρόοιν
τοῦ θεοῦ τηρικαῦτα πρεσβεία παρὰ Ἡλείων
ἐπανόρθωμα αὐτοῦτων νόσου λοιμῶνος· ἀνείπεν
οὖν σφισίν ἡ Πυθία, τοῖς μὲν ἄνασώσασθαι
Πέλοπος τὰ ὀστᾶ, Δαμαρμένῳ δὲ ἀποδοῦνα τὰ
εὐρημένα αὐτῷ Ἡλείοις. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι
ἀλλὰ τε ἀντέδοσαν Ἡλείοι καὶ Δαμαρμένον τοῖς
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογόνοις τοὺς ἐκείνου φύλακας σφαῖς
εἶναι τοῦ ὀστοῦ. ἡ δὲ ὀμοπλάτη τοῦ Πέλοπος
ἡμᾶνότο ήδη κατ᾽ ἐμὲ, ὅτι ἔμοι δοκεῖν ἐκέκρυπτο
ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ ὀμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ
προσέκαμψεν οὐχ ἤκιστα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.
7 Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταυτάλου τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐνοι-
kήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταυτάλου
452
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,
est 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
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μὲν λίμνη τε ἅπτ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανῆς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἑστὶν ύπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ίερόν, διαβάντε δὲ Ἰέρμου ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυνίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμης, προϊλασκόμενον τῇ θεόν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἰπποδαμείας αὐτούμενον.

8 Ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμός ὅσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἡρας ἀπέχον, προκείμενοι μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὡς Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαιοῦ λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἱρών τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενεάς δύο ὑστερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. πεποίηται δὲ ἱερείων τῶν θυμομένων τῷ Δίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ τέφρας γάρ δὴ ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ Ἡρα τῇ Σαμίᾳ βωμός οὐδέν τι ἐπιφανέστερος ἢ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἂς αὐτοσχεδίας Ἀθηναίων καλοῦσιν ἑσχάρας. τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπίδος μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προθύσεως καλουμένης, πόδες πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ περίοδος, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει περίμετρος ἐπακοῦν πόδες δύο καὶ τρίμικτον· τὸ δὲ ύψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἰκοσιν ἀνίκει πόδας. αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ τα ἱερεία ἐν μέρει τῷ κάτω, τῇ προθύσει, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς θύειν τοὺς μηροὺς δὲ ἀναφέροντες ἐς τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ υψηλόστατον καθαγίζονσιν ἑπτάθα. ἀναβασμοὶ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν προθύσιν ἀναγουσιν ἐξ ἐκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς λίθου πεποιημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἅπτο τῆς προθύσεως ἐς 454
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
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to anw tou boimou tefras paraechetai kai anabasmois. axios mewn de tis prothuseos estin anavbainai kai parthenois kai oswautos gnuaixiin, epieidain tis 'Olympiai mi eixeirgonontai apot touton de es to anwotato tou boimou monois estin anvarav anelthein. thnetai de to Di kai anen tis panygyreos upo te idioton kai ana passan hemeran upo

11 'Heleion. Kat' etos de ekastov fulakantos oi manteis tin evatign eti deka tou 'Elafigon mhnos komiougisin ek tov prutaneiou tin tefran, fyrastantes de to ydai tov 'Alfeioun kouidoun ou tov boimoun. upo de allou tin tefran ydatos pointhai phevon ou mi pote egvenetai kai toude eneka o 'Alfeios nevomistai to 'Olymptio Diia potamoun de melista einai filos. esti de kai ev Dideumois twn Milhsion boimos, epoinh th de upo 'Hrakleous tou Thebaion, katho oi Milhsioi legousin, apto twn ireiwn tou aimeros es de ta ystera to aima twn thumatow ouk es uperougkon yxeiken auton megados.

XIV. 'O de ev 'Olympia boimos paraechetai kai allo toionde es thaima: oi gar iktines pevukotes artpaein melista ornithon adikousin oudein ev 'Olympia tous theonta: pin de arpaixi poti iktinos utoi spлагyxa utoi kreon, nevomistai to theonti ouk aisioun einai to simeion. fasoi de 'Hraklei to 'Alkminhs theonti ev 'Olympia di' ochlon melista geneisbai tas mnias: exeuvonta oun auton a kai up' allon didaxtheonta 'Apomnias

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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\(^1\) by the Eleans. Every year the soothsayers, keeping carefully to the nineteenth day of the month Elaphius,\(^2\) 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

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\(^1\) It is possible that \(\alpha ν\alpha\ \pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu\ \\dot{\eta}μ\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\) must be understood in the first clause from the second; “daily by individuals and by the Eleans.”

\(^2\) End of March and the beginning of April.
θύσαι Δί, καὶ οὕτως ἀποτραπήναι τὰς μυῖας πέραν τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. λέγονται δὲ κατὰ ταύτα καὶ Ἡλείοι θύειν τῷ Ἀπομνίῳ Δί, ἐξελαύνοντες τῆς Ὀλυμπίας τὰς μυῖας.

2 Τῆς δὲ λεύκης μόνης τοῖς ξύλοις ἐς τοῦ Δίος τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς δένδρου τῶν ἄλλων οἱ Ἡλείοι χρήσθαι νομίζουσιν, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν προτιμώντες ἔμοι δοκεῖν τὴν λεύκην, ὅτι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκόμισεν αὐτήν ἐς Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος χώρας, καὶ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐφαίνετο, ἤνικα τῷ Δίι ἔδυεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν ἱερεῖν τὰ μηρίδια ἐπὶ λευκής καῦσαι ξύλων. τῆς δὲ λεύκης ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πεφυκών παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα ἐὗρε τὸν ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ ποταμόν, καὶ τοῦτῳ ἐνεκὰ φασιν αὐτὴν Ἀχερώιδα

3 ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου καλεῖσθαι. εἶχον δὲ ἄρα καὶ εἰς ἀρχῆς οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔχουσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπιθεδεώς πρὸς γένεσιν πόας τε καὶ δένδρων ἀλλὰ πλεῖσται μὲν ὑπὸ Μαιάνδρου μυρίκαι καὶ μάλιστα αὐξονται, Ἀσωπὸς δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος βαθυτάτας πέφυκεν ἐκτρέφειν τὰς σχοῖνους, τὸ δένδρον δὲ ἡ περσέλα μόνου χαίρει τοῦ Νείλου τῷ ὕδατι. οὕτω καὶ τὴν λεύκην θαῦμα οὐδὲν καὶ αἰγειρὸν τε καὶ κότιον, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀχέροντι ἀναφύναι πρῶτο, κότιον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ, τὴν δὲ αἰγειρὸν γῆς τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ θρέμμα εἶναι.

4 Φέρε δὴ, ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μυίμην, ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀπαντᾶς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ’ ἦττα Ἡλείοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι. θύουσι δὲ Ἑστία μὲν 458
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 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 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

1 I take ἐξελαύνοντες to be a conative present participle; Frazer takes it as an ordinary temporal participle; "when they drive out."

2 Iliad XIII. 389, and XVI. 482.
πρώτη, δευτέρω δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δίῳ ἵνας ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐντός τοῦ ναοῦ, τρίτα δὲ Λαοίτας Δίῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Λαοίτας· ἐπὶ ἐνός βωμοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ καθέστηκεν ἡ θυσία. τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα
5 Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Δηνίτιδι Ἀθηνᾶ, έκτα Ἐργάνης ταύτη τῇ Ἐργάνη καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἡλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Δίως τὸ ἁγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιδιανόντων καθαίρειν, οὐτοὶ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὸν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἁγαλμα ἀρχονταί. ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρ’ αὐτὸν τετράγωνος ἄνήκων
6 ἡρέμα ἐς ύψος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατελεγμένους Ἀλφειῶν καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἐνός βωμοῦ· τὸ δὲ αίτιον τούτου παρεδήλωσεν μὲν ποι καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν φόδη, γράφομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς Λετρυναῖοις. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καὶ ἄλλος τῷ Ἀλφειῶν βωμὸς πεποίηται, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου· τοῦ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ βωμὸν εἶσιν Ἡλείων οἱ ὄνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου Δίως· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὕτω καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύου τῷ Ἀρείῳ Δίῳ, ὅποτε τῶν Ἰπποδαμείας μυστηρίων καθίστασθαι μέλη
7 λοι τοῖς ἐς ἱππῶν ἀμιλλαν. μετὰ τούτου πεποίηται μὲν Ἡρακλεὶ βωμὸς ἔπικλησιν Παραστάτη, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς Ὑπιμηθεὶς καὶ Ἰδα καὶ Παιωναῖῳ τε καὶ Ἰώσῳ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ Ἰδα βωμὸν Ἀκεσίδα ὑπὸ ἑτέρων οἴδα καλούμενον. ἐνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμελία ἔστι τῆς Ὀινόμαου, δύο ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶ βωμοί, Δίῳ τε

1 The words Λαοίτα . . . Λαοίτα were added by Buttmann.
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to Hestia first, secondly to Olympic Zeus, going to the altar within the temple, thirdly to Zeus Laoetès and to Poseidon Laoetès. 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,¹ I think, intimates in an ode, and I give it² 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 Oenomaiüs 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 Oenomaiüs stand two altars: one

¹ Nemeans I.  
² Book VI, ch. xxii.
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Ἐρκείου—τούτον ὁ Οἰνόματος ἐφαίνετο αυτὸς οἰκοδομησάσθαι—, τῷ δὲ Κεραυνῷ Δίῳ ὑστερον ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν βωμόν, ὦτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου 8 τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνὸς. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν μέγαν βωμὸν ὀλίγῳ μέν τι ἡμῖν πρότερον ἐστὶν εἰρημένα, καλεῖται δὲ Ὄλυμπιόν Δίος’ πρὸς αὐτῷ δέ ἔστιν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμὸς καὶ μετὰ τούτου Καθαρσίου Δίος καὶ Νίκης καὶ αὐθίς Δίος ἐποιημέναι Χθονίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων βωμοὶ καὶ Ὁμιος ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας, πεποιημένοι τέφρας καὶ οὔτος. Κλυμένου δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τούτου Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἐρμοῦ βωμός ἐστιν ἐν κοινῷ, διότι Ἐρμὴν λύρας, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἡφέτην εἶναι κιθάρας Ἐλλήνων ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς λόγος. εφεξῆς δὲ Ὅμονοιας βωμῶς καὶ αὐθίς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὦ δὲ Μητρῶς θεῶν. τῆς ἐς ὁδὸν δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον εἰσὶν ἐγκύτατα βωμοὶ δύο· τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Ἐρμοῦ καλοῦσιν Ἐναγωνίου, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον Καιροῦ. Ἰὼν δὲ οἶδα τὸ Χίω καὶ ὑμῖν πεποιημένον Καιροῦ γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑμνῷ νεώσατον παίδων Δίος Καιρῶν εἶναι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Σικυωνίων θησαυροῦ ἦτοι Κουρήτων ἦ τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους’ λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἐμφότερα. ἔπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ, βωμὸς ἐστὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Γης, τέφρας καὶ οὔτος· τὰ δὲ ἐτὶ ἀρχαίοτερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὁνομαζομένου Στρομίου Θέμιδι ὁ βωμός πεποιηται. τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου Δίος προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. μεμνησθώ δὲ τις οὖ κατὰ 462
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 Alemena, 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
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στοίχοι τις Ἰδρύσεως ἀριθμομένους τοὺς Βωμοὺς, 
τῇ δὲ τάξει τῇ Ἠλεών ἐς τὰς θυσίας συμπερι-
νοστούντα ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ
Πέλοπος Διοιύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων εἰς κοινῷ,
μεταξὺ δὲ αὐτῶν Μουσῶν καὶ ἐφεξῆς τούτων
Νυμφῶν ἐστὶ Βωμὸς.

XV. Ἐστὶ δὲ οἶκημα ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως, 
καλεῖται δὲ ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, καὶ ὁ Φειδίας 
καθ' ἐκαστὸν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο·
ἐστιν οὖν Βωμὸς εἰς τῷ οἰκήματι θεοὺς πᾶσιν εἰς
κοινῷ. ὅπεσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι άὕθις εἰς τὴν
2 Ἀλτιν ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρύ τοῦ Δεωνιδαίου—τὸ δὲ 
ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περίβολου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Δεωνιδαίου,
τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποίηται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ὄλυμπα καθά 
τὴν πομπικῆς, ἢ μόνῃ τοῖς πομπεύονσιν ἐστὶν 
όδος· τούτῳ δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν 
ἀνάθημα Δεωνιδοῦ, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ Ῥωμαίων 
ἐσφοινυτό ὦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες·
δείστηκε δὲ ἀγνιαῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς 
πομπικῆς, ὦτοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλομένους στενω-
3 ποὺς ἀγνιαῖς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἠλεωί—ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν 
τῇ Ἀλτεῖ τοῦ Δεωνιδαίου περαῖν μέλλοντι ἐς 
ἀριστερῶν Ἀφροδίτης Βωμὸς καὶ Ὄμρον μετ' 
αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστα ἐστὶν 
ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκώς κότινος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαίᾳ 
Καλλιστέφανος, καὶ τοῖς νικώσι τὰ Ὀλυμπία 
καθέστηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς δίδοσθαι τοὺς στεφάνους.
τοῦτον πλησίον τοῦ κοτίνου πεποίηται Νῦμφαις 
Βωμὸς· Καλλιστέφανος ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ταῦτα.
4 ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγρ-
ραίας Βωμὸς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Δεωνιδαίου, πεποίη-
ται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίναις—τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν θεοῦ ἰστιν
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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

1 The MSS. have ἐντός.
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δομομάζουσι Δέσποιναν διδάξει μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς 'Αρκάδας—, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔστιν Ἀγοραίου Δίος βωμός, πρὸ δὲ τῆς καλουμένης Προεδρίας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπωνυμίαν Πυθίου καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Διονύσου τοῦτον οὔτε πάλαι τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ὑπὸ 5 ἄνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι λέγουσιν. ἰόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἱππῶν ἐστὶ βωμός, ἐπὶ-γραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα. δῆλα οὖν ἔστιν ἐπικλησιν εἶναι Δίος ὑπὸ τὰ ἄνθρωπον οἴδεν, ὅσα διδάσασιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωται σφισι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοῖρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Ἐρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Δίος Ὁψίστου. ἐν δὲ τῶν ἱππῶν τῇ ἁφέσει ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ. τῆς ἁφέσεως κατὰ μέσον ποὺν μάλιστα, Ποσειδόνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἰππίας 6 βωμοί. πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι Διοσκούρων. τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἐμβολον καλοῦμενον ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Ἀρεως Ἰππίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰππίας βωμός, ἐς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Ἐμβολον ἐσελθότων Τύχης ἐστίν Ἀγαθῆς βωμός καὶ Πανός τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἐνδοτάτω δὲ τὸν Ἐμβόλον Νυμφῶν ὡς Ἀκμηνᾶς καλοῦσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοάς ἡν οἱ Ἡλείοι κα- λοῦσιν Ἀγνύστου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες τῷ οἰκοδομηματί, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἑπανίνυτι ἐστίν 7 ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὕθις διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀλτιν, εἰσὶν ὀπίσθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου Κλαδέου τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέ- μιδος βωμοί, ὁ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀπόλλωνος, τέταρ- τος δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπικλησιν Κοκκώκας, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος Θερμίου. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἡλείοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο εἰκά-
for Mistresses, and in my account of Arcadia 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

1 Book VIII, ch. xxxvii, § 9.
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ζειν ώς κατὰ 'Αθηνᾶς γλώσσαν εἰς θέαμας· ἀνθ' ὄτου δὲ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπωνομάζουσι Κοκκώκαν, οὐχ
8 οἶα τε ὡς μοι διδαχθῆναι. ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ καλομένου Θεηκολεόνος οἴκημα· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν γωνίᾳ τοῦ οἰκήματος Πανὸς ἰδρυται βωμός. τὸ
πρυτανεῖου δὲ Ἡλείοις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀλτεως ἑυτός, πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἥ ἐστὶ τοῦ
γυμνασίου πέραν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οὐ τε δρόμοι τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσίν αἱ παλαίστραι.
τοῦ πρυτανείου δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῶν θυρών βωμός
9 ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ
πρυτανείῳ παρόντων ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, ἐνθα σφύσιν
ἡ ἐστία, Πανὸς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἑσόδου βωμός.
ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ ἐστία τέφρας καὶ αὕτη πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πᾶσῃ
υπολείψατος καίεται· ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐστίας
τῆς τέφραν κατὰ τὰ εἴρημένα ἢδη μοι κομίζουσιν
ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμῶν, καὶ οὐχ ἢκιστα
ἐς μέγεθος συντελεῖ τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας
ἐπιφορούμενον.

10 Ἐκάστου δὲ ἀπαξ τοῦ μηνὸς θύουσιν ἐπὶ πάν-
tων Ἡλείοι τῶν κατειλεγμένων βωμῶν. θύουσι
δὲ ἀρχαῖον των τρόπον λιβανωτὸν γὰρ ὀμοῦ
πυρὸς μεμαγμένοις μέλιτι θυμιῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
βωμῶν, τιθέασι δὲ καὶ κλώνας ἑλαιάς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν
καὶ οἴνων χρώνται σπουδή. μόναι δὲ ταῖς
Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἴνου οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποιναῖς
σπένδειν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων
θεῶν. μέλει δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας θεηκόλω τε, ὅς ἐπὶ
μηνι ἐκάστῳ τὴν τιμήν ἔχει, καὶ μάντεσι καὶ
σπουδοφόροις, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐξηγητῇ τε καὶ αὐλητῇ καὶ
11 τῷ ξυλεῖ· ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς λέγειν
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conjecture occurred to me that in the Attic dialect it would be *thesmios* (god of laws), but why Artemis is surnamed Coccoca I could not discover. Before what is called Thēcoleon 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
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σφίςιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καθέστηκεν, ἂν καὶ ὡμοὺς ὀπτοίσιν ἄδουσιν, οὐ μὲν εἰκὸς ἔπεισαγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τῶν λόγων. θεοὶς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσι καὶ Ἡρα τῇ Ἀμμωνίᾳ καὶ Παράμμωνι. Ἐρμοῦ δὲ ἐπίκλησις ἐστὶν ὁ Παράμμων. φαίνουται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἡλείων ἐν "Ἀμμωνὸς εἰσὶ βομοί. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνύματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀμμωνα ἦλθον εἰς Ἡλιδος. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστιν ἐν "Ἀμμωνος. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ καὶ ἡρωσι καὶ γυναιξὶ σπένδουσιν ἡρώων, οὕσι τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἡλείᾳ καὶ ὅσι παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμᾶς ἔχουσιν. ὑπόσα δὲ ἄδουσιν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ, φοινὶ μὲν ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ Δώριος, ὅστις δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἦν τὰ ἄσματα, οὐ λέγουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐστιατόριον Ἡλείωις καὶ τούτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ πρυτανείου, τοῦ οἰκήματος τοῦ τῆς ἐστίας ἀπαιτούρα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ὀλυμπία νικῶντα ἐστιόσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι.

XVI. Λείπεται δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἢμῖν τῆς τε Ἡρας ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὀπόσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρέποντα ἐς συγγραφήν. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ὡς Σκιλλοῦντιοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ πόλεων εἰσιν οἱ κατασκευασάμενοι τῶν ναῶν ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ὑστέρουν ἡ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐν Ἡλιδῷ ἐκτήσατο Ὁξυλος. ἐργασία μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ Δώριος, κύονες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτῶν ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρυὸς ὁ ἔτερος τῶν κύων ἐστὶ. μῆκος δὲ εἰσὶ τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες ἐννέα 470
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 Paramon, 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 ἐκατόν, εὔρος δὲ ἡ τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ύψος τῶν πεντήκοντα ὁυκ ἀποδεῖ· τὸν δὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα ὡστὶς ἑγένετο οὐ 2 μνημονεύουσι. διὰ πέμπτου δὲ υφαίνονσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἡρα πέπλουν αἱ Ἕξ καὶ δέκα γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασι καὶ ἀγώνα Ἡραία. ὁ δὲ ἀγών ἔστιν ἀμίλλα δρόμου παρθένου· οὕτι που πᾶσαι ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶται μὲν αἱ νεώτεραι, μετὰ ταῦτας δὲ αἱ τῇ ἡλικία δεύτεραι, τελευταίαι δὲ θέουσιν ὡσαὶ πρεσβύταται τῶν παρθένων εἰσὶ.

3 θέουσι δὲ οὕτω· καθείτας σφισιν ἡ κόμη, χιτῶν ὁλίγων ὑπὲρ γόνατος καθήκει, τὸν ὅμοιν ἀχρι τοῦ στιθοῦς φαίνονσι τὸν δεξίον. ἀποδεδειγμένον μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτας τὸ Ὀλυμπικὸν στάδιον, ἀφαιροῦσι δὲ αὐταῖς ὡς τὸν δρόμον τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ἐκτὸν μάλιστα ταῖς δὲ νυκώσαις ἐλαίας τε διδόσαι στεφάνους καὶ βοὸς μοῖραν τεθυμένης τῇ Ἡρᾳ, καὶ δὴ ἀναθεῖναι σφίσιν ἐστὶ γραφαμέναις εἰκόνας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ διακοινούμεναι ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς 4 ἀγωνοθετούσαις γυναίκες. ἐπανάγοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν παρθένων τὸν ἀγώνα ἐς τὰ ἀρχαία, Ἰπποδάμειαν τῇ Ἡρᾳ τῶν γάμων τῶν Πέλοπος ἐκτίνουσαν χάριν τάς τε ἐκκαίδεκα ἀθροῖσαι γυναίκας λέγοντες καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς διαθείνατε πρώτην τὰ Ἡραία μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ ὑπὶ Χλώρις νικήσειν Ἀμφίονος θυγάτηρ μόνη λειψθείσα τοῦ ὀίκου. σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἕνα περιγενέσθαι φασὶ τῶν ἀρσέων· ἀ δὲ ἐς τοὺς Νιώβης παῖδας παρίστατο αὐτῷ μοι γινόσκειν, ἐν τοῖς ἑξούσιν ἐς

1 From ἐννέα to δὲ is not in the MSS.
2 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 Ἀργείους ἔδηλωσα. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐκκαίδεκα γυναῖκας καὶ ἀλλον τοιοῦτο λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ προτέρῳ λόγον. Δαμοφόρτα φασὶ τυραννοῦντα ἐν Πίσι πολλά τε ἐργάσασθαι καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἡλείους ὡς δὲ ἐπελεύσθης ὁ Δαμοφόρος—οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἱ Πισαῖοι συνεχόροιν μετέχειν δημοσίᾳ τοῦ τυραννοῦ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ πως ἄρεστὰ καὶ Ἡλείους ἐγένετο καταλύεσθαι τὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα—, οὕτως ἐκκαίδεκα οἰκουμένων τηρικαύτα ἐτί ἐν τῷ Ἡλείᾳ πόλεως γυναῖκα ἄφ’ ἐκάστης εἴλοντο διαλύειν τὰ διάφορα σφίσιν, ἢτος ἥλικια τῇ προσβυτάτῃ καὶ ἀξίωματι καὶ δόξῃ τῶν γυναι-κῶν προείχεν. αἱ πόλεις δὲ ἄφ’ ὅν τὰς γυναίκας εἴλοντο, ἦσαν Ἡλίας ***1. ἀπὸ τοῦτων μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες οὐσαι τῶν πόλεως Πισαῖοις διαλλαγάς πρὸς Ἡλείους ἐποίησαν ὡστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα ἐπετράπησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν θείαι τὰ Ἡραία καὶ ὑφήμασθαι τῇ Ἡρα τὸν πέπλον. αἱ δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες καὶ χοροὺς δύο ἱστάσι καὶ τὸν μὲν Φυσκόας τῶν χορῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰπποδαμείας καλοῦσιν τὴν Φυσκόαν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίδος τῆς Κοῖλης, τῶ δήμῳ δὲ ένθα ὄψησεν ὅνομα Ὀρθιᾶν εἶναι. ταύτη τῇ Φυσκόα Διόνυσον συγγενεσθαί λέγουσι, Φυσκόαν ὡς δὲ Διονύσου τεκεῖν παίδα Ναρκαίον τοῦτον, ὡς γυνή, πολε-μεῖν τοῖς προσοικοῖς καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ιερῶν ἐπίκλησιν Ναρκαίας αὐτὸν ἱδρύσασθαι· Διονύσῳ τε τὶμᾶς λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ναρκαίου καὶ Φυσκόας δοθῆναι πρώτων. Φυσκόας μὲν δὴ γῆρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χορὸς ἐπώνυμος παρὰ τῶν ἐκκαίδεκα γυναικῶν, φυλασσοῦσι δὲ οὐδεν ἦσσον Ἡλείου καὶ τάλλα 474
Argos. 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

1 See Book II, ch. xxi., § 9.

1 Here there is a gap in the text.
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καταλυθεισῶν ὁμοίως τῶν πόλεων ἑνεμημένοι γὰρ ἐς ὅκτῳ φυλᾶς ἀφ’ ἐκάστης αἱροῦνται γυναῖκες καὶ σύν ὑπὸσα δὲ ἡ ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα γυναίξιν ἡ τοῖς ἐλλανοδικοῦσιν Ἦλειῳ δρῶν καθέστηκεν, οὐ πρότερον δρῶσι πρὶν ἡ χοῖρῳ τε ἐπιτιμηθείᾳ πρὸς καθαρμὸν καὶ ὑδαι ἀποκαθήρωται. γίνεται δὲ οφισιν ἐπὶ κρήνη Πιέρα τά καθάρσια ἐκ 'Ολυμπίας τὴν πεδιάδα ἐς Ἡλίν ερχομένῳ πρὸς τὴν πηγήν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Πιέραν ἔστι.

ΧVII. Ταύτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἔχει κατὰ τὰ προειρήμενα τῆς Ἡρας δὲ ἐστίν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δίως, τὸ δὲ Ἡρας ἀγαλμα καθήμενον ἐστίν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ παρέστηκε δὲ γένεια τε ἔχων καὶ ἑπικείμενος κυνήν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἔργα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπλᾶ. τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τούτων καθήμενας ἐπὶ θρόνων Ὁμας ἐποίησεν Ἀίγινήτης Σμῖλις. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὰς Θέμιδος ἀτε μητρὸς τῶν Ὁρῶν ἀγαλμα ἐστικε Donald Ορυκλείδου τέχνη, γένος μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, 2 μαθητοῦ δὲ Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος. τὰς δὲ Εὐστρίδας πέντε ἀριθμῶν Θεοκλῆς ἐποίησε, Λακεδαιμόνιος μὲν καὶ οὕτος, πατρὸς Ἡγύλου, φοιτήσας δὲ καὶ αὐτῶς παρὰ Σκύλλιν καὶ Διποίνον λέγεται. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν κράνους ἑπικείμενην καὶ δόρυ καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν Λακεδαιμονίου λέγουσιν ἔργου εἶναι Μέδοντος, τούτον δὲ ἄδελφῳ τε εἶναι Δωρυκλείδου καὶ παρὰ ἀν- 3 δράσι διδαχθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Κόρη δὲ καὶ Δημήτηρ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἀρτέμις, αἱ μὲν ἀλλήλων εἰς ἀπαντικρὺ καθήμεναι, Ἀπόλλων

1 καταλυθεισῶν is not in the MSS. It is added by O. Müller. Some such word as τὶνων or ἐνὶοι seems also to have dropped out.

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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
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de 'évaντιος ἐστώση τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι ἐστηκεν. ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Λητὼ Τύχη τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ ἔχουσα Νίκη πτερά τοὺς δὲ εἰργασμένους αὐτὰ ὄνκ ἔχω δηλώσαι, φαίνεται δὲ εἶναι μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαία. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον καὶ ἀλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἰράων. Ἠρμῆν λίθῳ, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλους, καὶ Ἀφροδίτη χαλκῆ Κλέωνος

4 ἔργον Σικυωνίου. τούτου δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Κλέωνος, ὄνομα Ἀντιφάνης, ἐκ φοιτήσεως Περικλύτου, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητῆς ὁ Περίκλυτος. παιδίον δὲ ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. Βοθὼς δὲ ἐτορέευσεν αὐτὸ Καλχηδόνιος. μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλομένου Φιλίππείου, χρυσοῦ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Εὔρυδίκη τε ἦ Ἀριδαίου γυνὴ καὶ Ὁλυμπιᾶς ἦ ¹ Φιλίππου.

5 Λάρναξ δὲ κέδρον μὲν πεποίητα, ξώδια δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρος. ἐς ταύτην τίν πάρνακα Κύψελον τὸν Κορύθθον τυραννίσαντα ἀπέκρυψεν ἡ μήτηρ, ἡνίκα τεχθέντα ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδὴν ἐποίουντο ὁι Βακχίδαι. τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γένος οἱ ὄνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τίν πάρνακα ἦς Ὁλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν Κορύθθοι κυψέλας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα

6 Κύψελον τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι λέγουσι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἐπεστή τοῖς πλείστοις, γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα. καί τὰ μὲν ἐς εὑθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχῆματα δὲ ἀλλα τῶν γραμμάτων.
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 Antiaphanes, was a pupil of Pericles, 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.

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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1 From Ἀριδαίου to ἦ is not in the MSS. The words were added by Buttmann.
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tων βουστροφηδών καλούσιν "Ελληνες. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῖονδε ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπος ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὤσπερ ἐν διαύλον δρόμῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοὶς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς, ἀρξαμένῳ δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν τοσάδε ἐπὶ 7 τῆς λάρνακος ἡ πρώτη παρέχεται χώρα. Οἰνώμας διόκων Πέλοπᾶ ἐστιν ἔχοντα Ἰπποδάμειαν ἐκατέρω μὲν δὴ δύο αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἔποι, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐστὶ πεπυκότα καὶ πτερά. ἡδοίς δὲ Ἀμφιαράμου τε ἡ οἰκία πεποίηται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νῆπιον πρεσβύτης ἤτις δὴ πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἐστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ Δημώνασσα, 8 καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνὸς. Ἅσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσὶ καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράμου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι. Βάτων δὲ, δὴ ἡμιοχεὶ τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ, τὰς τε ἤνια τῶν ἔπων καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει τῇ ἑτέρᾳ λόγχην. Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ οἶ μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιβεβήκεν ἢδη τοῦ ἄρματος, τὸ ἔξιφος δὲ ἔχει ψυμνὸν καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἐριφύλην ἐστὶν ἐπιστραμμένος ἐξαγόμενος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ὡς 9 μόλις ἐκεῖνης ἀν ἀποσχέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστὶν ἄγων ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. πεποίηται δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν θρόνῳ καθήμενος καὶ ὀπίσθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἀπεστὶν ἤτις ἐστὶ, Φρυγίεως δὲ αὐλεῖ καὶ οὐχ Ἐλληνικοῖς αὔλοις. ἡμιοχούντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πισός ἐστιν ὁ Περιήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομίτου, πλεύσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἀμηστος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς 480
Greeks call *bustrophedon*. 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. Oenomaïs 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 Amphiaraïs, and baby Amphilochos 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 Alemaeon naked. Asius in his poem makes out Alemaena also to be a daughter of Amphiaraïs and Eriphyle. Baton is driving the chariot of Amphiaraïs, holding the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraïs 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 Amphiaraïs 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 Pisus, 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

1 That is, "as oxen turn when ploughing." The writing went from left to right and from right to left alternately.
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Εὐφήμος, Ποσειδώνος τε ὑπὸ κατὰ τῶν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγων καὶ Ἰάσων ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσχηκὼς· οὕτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικὼν ἔστιν. οἱ δὲ ἀποτελομηκότες πυκτεῖειν "Ἀδριπτὸς καὶ Μόψος ἐστίν ὁ "Ἀμπύκος· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνήρ ἐστηκὼς ἐπαυλεῖ, καθότι καὶ ἐφ' ἢμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλματι αὐλεῖν τῶν πεντάθλων νομίζουσιν. Ἰάσων δὲ καὶ Πηλεῖ τὸ ἔργον τῆς πάλης ἔξ ἱσον καθέστηκε. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Εὐρυβώτας ἀφιεῖς δίσκου, ὡστὶ δὴ οὕτος ἐστιν ἐπὶ δίσκῳ φήμην ἔχων. οἱ δ' ἐς ἀμιλλαν δρόμοι καθεστηκότες Μελανιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ Νεοθέας καὶ Φαλαρεύς, τέταρτος δὲ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Ἰφικλος πέμπτος· τοῦτο δὲ ἑκόνων ὑρέγει τῶν στέφανων ὁ Ἀκαστός· εἶη δ' ἄν ὁ Πρωτεσιλάου πατήρ τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰλιον. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τρίποδες, ἀθλα δὴ τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ θυγατέρες εἰσίν αἱ Πελίου· τὸ δὲ όνομα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλκηστιδί γέγραπται μόνη. Ἰόλαος δὲ, ὁς ἐθελοντὴς μετείχεν Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἔργων, ἐστιν ἱππῶν ἄρματι ἀνηρμένος νίκην. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἄγων μὲν ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία πέπαυται, τὴν ὕδραν δὲ, τὸ εὖ τῷ ποταμῷ τῇ Ἀμμώνῃ θηρίον, Ἡρακλεῖ τοξεύοντι Ἀθηνᾶ παρέστηκεν· ἂτε δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὕτως οὐκ ἀγνώστον τοῦ τε ἄθλου χάριν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι, τὸ όνομα οὐκ ἐστιν ἐπί αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον. Φινεὺς τε ὁ Ὀραξ ἔστι, καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Βορέου τὰς Ἀρτνίας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διώκουσιν.

XVIII. Τῆς χώρας δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακε τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν μὲν γίνοιτο ἀν ἡ ἄρχη τῆς περιόδου, πεποίηται δὲ γυνὴ παιδα λευκῶν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξίᾳ χειρί, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ.
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 pentathlon 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 παίδα καθεύδοντι ἔοικότα, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. δηλοῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἑπιγράμματα, συνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἀνευ τῶν ἑπιγραμμάτων ἔστι Θάνατον τε εἶναι σφάς καὶ "Τπνον καὶ ἀμφοτέρους Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφὸν.

2 γυνὴ δὲ εὐειδῆς γυναῖκα ἀισχρὰν κολάζουσα καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀπάγχουσα αὐτὴν, τῇ δὲ ῥάβδῳ παίουσα, Δίκη ταῦτα Ἀδικίαν δρῶσα ἔστε δύο δὲ ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐς ὀλίμους καθικνουμένας ὑπέροις, φάρμακα εἰδέναι σφάς νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτᾶς ἐστιν ἑπὶγραμμα. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναίκα ἑπομένην αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπη δηλοὶ τὰ ἕξαμετρα` λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως.`

"Ιδας Μάρτησσαν καλλίσφυρον, ἀν οἱ 'Απόλλων ἂρπασε, τὰν Ἐνανοῦ ἄγει πάλιν οὐκ ἀέκουσαν.

3 χιτῶνα δὲ ἐνδεδυκὼς ἄνηρ τῇ μὲν δεξιὰ κύλικα, τῇ δὲ ἐχὼν ἐστίν ὀρμοῦ, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῶν 'Ἀλκιμῆνη" πεποίηται δὲ ἐς τὸν λόγον τῶν 'Ελλήνων ὡς συγγένοιτο 'Ἀλκιμῆνη Ζεῦς 'Αμφιτρώου εἰκάσθείς. Μενέλαος δὲ θώρακά τε ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ ἑχὼν ξίφος ἐπεισὶν Έλευθην ἀποκτεῖναι, δῆλα ὡς ἀλισκομένης Ἰλίου. Μηδείας δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου καθημένης 'Ιάσων ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ 'Αφροδίτη παρέστηκε γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἑπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·

Μηδείαν 'Ιάσων γαμεῖ, κέλεται δ' 'Αφροδίτα.

4 πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ᾠδοῦσαι Μοῦσαι καὶ 'Απόλλων 484
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. Menelaïs, 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
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ἐξάρχων τῆς ὁδῆς, καὶ σφιεν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται.

Δατοῖδας οὗτος τάχ' ἃναξ ἐκάρεργος Πτώλαων.
Μοῦσαι δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, χαρίεις χορός, αἰσιοκατάρχει.

"Ατλας δὲ ἔπὶ μὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα οὐρανῶν τε ἀνέχει καὶ γῆν, φέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπερίδων μῆλα. ὅστις δὲ ἐστὶν ἄνιψ ὁ ἔχων τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀτλαντα ἔρχόμενος, ἱδία μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν οὐδέν, δῆλα δὲ ἐς ἀπαντας Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων:

"Ατλας οὐρανῶν οὗτος ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα μεθήσει.

5 ἐστι δὲ καὶ "Ἀρης ὁ πλα ἐνδεξίως, Ἀφροδίτην ἄγων ἐπίγραμμα δὲ Ἐνυάλεος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλέως, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θέτιδος ὁφις ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλέα ἐστὶν ὀρμῶν. αὐτὶ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ Μεδουσῆς 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 εἴσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἱππεῖς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐστὶν εἰκάζειν συνιέναι μὲν σφᾶς ἐς μάχην, συνιέναι δὲ καὶ ἀσπασομένους τε καὶ ἀναγγειροῦντας ἀλλήλους. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀμφότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τοῖς 486
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 "Enyalius." 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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1 This ῥάχα is meaningless. Probably, as Haupt suggests, the inscription had here ὀὕτος γὰς Φάναξ, which Pausanias misread.
μέν ἐστὶν εἰρημένον Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς μετὰ 'Οξύλου καὶ Ἡλείους εἶναι τοὺς ἄρχαίους, ἀπαντᾷν δὲ σφᾶς γένους τε μηνή τοῦ ἐξ ἄρχης καὶ εὐνοιαν ἐνδεκυμένους ἐς ἀλλήλους. οἱ δὲ συνιέναι φασίν ἐς ἄγωνα τὰ στρατιωτικά, Πυλίους δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀρκάδας παρὰ τε Φειδὰν πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν 7 μαχουμένους Ίάρδανον. ταύτα μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἄρχην ἀποδέξατο ἀν τις, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Κυψέλου προγόνοις Κορινθίοις τε ὑν καὶ τὴν λάρνακα αὐτῷ ποιούμενος κτήμα, ὅποσα μὲν Κορινθίοις ἦν ἐπι- χώρια, ἐκών ὑπερέβαινεν, ἢ δὲ ξενικά τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἤκοντα ἐς δόξαν, ἐτεχνύτω ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακῇ αὐτῷ μέντοι παραστάτῳ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν. Κυψέλῳ καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἐκ Γονοῦσης ἦν γένους ἐξ ἄρχης τῆς ὑπὲρ Σικυώνος, καὶ προγόνος 8 σφισιν ἦν Μέλας ὁ 'Αντάσος' Μέλανα δὲ καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα μοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Κορινθία συγγραφῇ ὁυκ ὦθελεν Ἀλήτης συνοίκους δεξασθαι, γεγονός οἱ μάν- τευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν υφορόμενος, ἐς ὁ θεραπεία τε τῇ πάσῃ χρόμενον Μέλανα καὶ ὅποτε ἀπελα- σθείς σὺν δεισε ἐπανιόντα αὐτίς ἐδέξατο καὶ ἄκων Ἀλήτης. τοῦτο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τεκμαί- ροτο ἀν τις τοῦτο εἴπτ ἐς τῇ λάρνακι εἰργασμένους εἶναι.

Χ. Τέταρτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐξ  ἀριστερᾶς περιώντι Βορέας ἐστὶν ἡπακῶς 'Ορείθυναν— οὐραὶ δὲ ὀφεὼν ἀντὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ—καὶ Ἡρακλεόν ὁ πρὸς Γηρυόνην ἀγών' τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες Γηρυόνης εἰσὶν ἀλλήλους προσεχόμενοι. Ὡςεῦς δὲ ἐχὼν λύραν καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀριάδνη κατέχουσι ἐςτὶ στέφανον. Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ καὶ 488
have said that they are the Aetolians with Oxylus 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,¹ 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.

¹ See Book II, ch. iv.
Μέμνονι μαχομένοις παρεστήκασιν αἱ μητέρες·
2 ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Μελανίων καὶ Ἀταλάντη παρ’ αὐτῶν ἠχούσα ἐλάφου νεβρόν. μονομαχοῦντος δὲ Ἀιαντί
"Εκτορος κατὰ τὴν πρόκλησιν, μεταξῦ ἐστηκεν αὐτῶν Ἐρις αἰσχύστη τὸ εἴδος ἐοικυία; πρὸς δὲ ταύτη καὶ Καλλιφὼν Σάμιος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ιερῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐποίησεν Ἐριν, τὴν μάχην γράψας τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσῖν Ἑλλήνων. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ο ἐτερος οὐκ ἔχων πιγ γένεια, 3 μέση δὲ αὐτῶν Ἐλένην' Ἀἴθρα δὲ ἦ Πιτθέως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐλένης τοῖς ποσῶν ἐς ἔδαφος καταβεβλημένη μελαιναν ἠχούσα ἐστιν ἐσθῆτα, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπος τε ἐξάμετρον καὶ ὑνόματος ἐστιν ἔνος ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαμέτρῳ προσθήκη'

† Τυνδαρίδα Ἐλέναν φέρετον, Αἴθραν δ' ἔλκετον Ἀθάναθεν.†

4 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐπος οὐτω πεποίηται: Ἰφιδάμαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κειμένου μαχόμενοι πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα υπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κόων ἐστὶ: Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἐπεστὼν, ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπιγράμματα δὲ υπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ,

Ἰφιδάμας, οὐτός τε Κώων περιμάρμαται αὐτοῦ· τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι,

5 οὕτως μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ο δ' ἔχων ᾿Ἀγαμέμνων.

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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, 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.²

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.

¹ Iliad VII. 225 foll.
² Various attempts have been made to emend this inscription, which is obviously corrupt. None of them is satisfactory.
ἀγεί δὲ καὶ Ἐρμῆς παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμον τὰς θεὰς κριθησομένας ύπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους, καὶ ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ τούτοις:

’Ερμείας ὁδ’ Ἀλέξανδρῳ δείκνυσι διαιτήν τοῦ εἴδους “Ἡραν καὶ Ἀθάναν καὶ Ἀφροδίταν.

’Αρτέμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ’ ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρνυγας ἔχουσά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Κασσάνδραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Αἰας τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἔλκων, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστιν.

Αἰας Κασσάνδραν ἀπ’ Ἀθαναίας Δοκρὸς ἔλκει.

6 τῶν δὲ Οἰδίπόδοσ παῖδων Πολυνεῖκει πεπτωκότι ἐς γόνις ἔπεισιν Ἑτεοκλῆς. τοῦ Πολυνείκους δὲ ὁπισθεν γυνῇ ἐστηκεν ὄδοντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἥμερωτέρους θηρίου καὶ οἱ τῶν χειρῶν εἰσὶν ἑπικαμπτές οἱ ὄνυχες· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῇ εἶναι φησὶ Κῆρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπρωμένου τὸν Πολυνείκην ἀπαχθέντα, Ἑτεοκλεῖ δὲ γενομένης καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς τελευτῆς. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἀντρῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἑκπώμα χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδικωσά ἐστιν ποδήρη χιτώνα· δένδρα δὲ ἀμπελοὶ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ μηλέας τε εἰσὶ καὶ ρόαι.

7 Ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτῳ χώρᾳ—πέντε γὰρ ἄριθμὸν εἶσι—παρέχεται μὲν ἐπίγραμμα οὐδέν, λείπεται δὲ εἰκάζειν ἐς τὰ ἐπειργασμένα. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν στηλαῖς γυνῆ καθεύδουσα σὺν ἄνδρὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃ, καὶ σφαῖρ’ Ὄδυσσεά εἶναι καὶ Κύρκην ἐδοξάζομεν ἄριθμῷ τε τῶν θεραπαινῶν, αἳ εἰσὶ 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
σπηλαίον, καὶ τοὺς ποιομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν τέσσαρές τε γὰρ εἰσίν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐργαζόμεναι τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἐπέσιν "Ομήρος εἴρηκε. Κένταυρος δὲ οὗ τοὺς πάντας ἵππου πόδας, τοὺς 8 δὲ ἐμπροσθεὶν αὐτῶν ἔχουν ἀνδρὸς ἑστίν. ἔξης καὶ ἵππων συνωρίδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἰσίν ἐστῶσαι πτερὰ δὲ τοῖς ἱπποῖς χρυσὰ ἑστὶ, καὶ ἀνήρ διδώσιν ὅπλα μιὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Πατρόκλου τελευτήν ἐχειν τεκμαίρονται; Νηρηίδας τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συνωρίδων εἶναι καὶ Θέτιν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ τὰ ὅπλα δίδους οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἑστὶν ἐρρωμένος καὶ 9 ὅπισθεν οἰκέτης ἐπεταί οἱ πυράγραν ἔχουν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Κένταυρον ὡς Χίρων, ἀπηλλαγμένος ἢδη παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡξιωμένος εἶναι σύνοικοι θεῶν, ῥαστώνην τινὰ ἦκοι τοῦ πένθους Ἀχιλλεῖ παρασκευάζων. παρθένους δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμιόνων τὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν τὰς ἑκάστι, τὴν δὲ ἐπικειμένην κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, Ναυσικάῳ τε νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν Ἀλκινοῦ καὶ τὴν θεράπαιν, ἐλαυνούσας ἐπὶ τοὺς πλυνούς. τοξεύοντα δὲ ἀνδρα Κένταυρος, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτοῦσά τις αὐτῶν, δῆλα Ἡρακλεᾶ τε τὸν τοξεύοντα καὶ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι τὸ ἔργον.

10 Ὁ τῶν μὲν δὴ τὴν λάρνακα εἰργασμένον ὅστις ἢν, οὐδαμῶς ἢμῖν δυνατὰ ἢν συμβαλέσθαι τὰ ἐπιγράμματα δὲ τὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τάχα μὲν ποι καὶ ἄλλος τις ἂν εἶ νεποιηκώς, τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Ἐμύλην τὸν Κορίνθιον εἶχεν ἢμῖν, ἄλλων τε ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα ὁ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δήλου.

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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. 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 Nereids, 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 Nausicææ, 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. My main reason for this view is the processional hymn he wrote for Delos.

1 Odyssey X. 348 foll.
2 An Epic poet of the eighth century B.C. See Pausanias II. 1.
XX. "Εστί δὲ ἑνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, κλίνη τε μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, τὰ πολλὰ ἐλέφαντι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος καὶ τράπεζα ἐφ’ ἣς προτίθενται τοῖς νικῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι. τῆν μὲν δὴ Ἰπποδαμείας λέγοντοι εἴναι παγνιον ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἕν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὁλυμπίων ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἡλείοι, ταύτην οὕκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἄλλα ἐς κύκλον σχῆμα περίεισιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τα ἡγαίμονα.  
2 ἡ τράπεζα δὲ ἐλέφαντος μὲν πεποίηται καὶ χρυσόν, Κωλώτου δὲ ἔστιν ἔργον; εἴναι δὲ φασίν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τὸν Κωλώτην, οἱ δὲ πολυπραγμονήσαντες σπουδὴ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πλάστας Πάριον ἀποφαίνοντων ὅταν αὐτόν, μαθητὴν Πασιτέλους, Πασιτέλῃ δὲ αὐτὸν διδαχθῆναι *. καὶ Ἡρα τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ θεῶν μῆτηρ καὶ Ἐρμῆς καὶ Ἀπόλλων μετὰ Ἀρτέμιδος πεποίηται ὁ πυρὸς.  
3 δὲ ἡ διάθεσις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἀγώνος. κατὰ δὲ ἐκατέραν πλευρὰν τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπίος καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπίοιο θυγατέρους Τηγεία ἐστίν, ἔτη δὲ καὶ Ἀρης καὶ Ἀγών παρ’ αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Πλοῦτων καὶ Δίουνος Περσεφόνη τε καὶ Νύμφαι, σφαιρὰν αὐτὸν ἡ ἐτέρα φέρουσα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κλεῖδὶ—ἔχει γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλοῦτων κλεῖν—, λέγοντος ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν καλούμενον "Αἰδην κεκλείσθαι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐπάνεισιν οὐδεὶς αὐθίς ἐξ αὐτοῦ.  
4 Λόγον δὲ, ὃν Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεγεν ο ὁ τῶν Ὁλυμπίασιν ἐξηγητής, οὐ μὲ εἰκός ἢν παριδεῖν ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐφ’ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὀροφον τοῦ Ἡραίου πεποιηκότα ἑπανορθομένων Ἡλείων ὀπλίτου νεκρὸν τραύματα ἔχοντα μεταξὺ ἀμ. 496
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. 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

1 A pupil of Pheidias.
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5 prós Δακεδαιμονίους Ἡλείων. καὶ γαρ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐσ πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ὤψηλα ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἡμύνουτο οἱ Ἡλεῖοι. ο CircularProgressIndicator

6 Ὅψιν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου κίονα οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δίου ἱόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ· τέσσαρες δὲ εἰς ὁν ἅριστερὰ κίονες καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὄροφος, πεποῖηται δὲ ἐρυμα εἶναι ἕνεκι τοῦ κίονος καὶ τὰ τολλά ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένω. ο CircularProgressIndicator

7 δὲ τῶν κίονον εὔ ἀπάσης μόνων. πικάκιον δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ξαλκοῦν ἑλεγείᾳ ἔχει γεγραμμένα·

καὶ γαρ ἐγὼ κλεινὼν εἰμ’, ὃ ξένε, λείψανον οἴκων, στυλῖς ἐν Οἰνομάου πρὶν ποτ’ ἐσόσα δόμοις· νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κεῖμαι ταῖ’ ἐχουσα τὰ δεσμα

tίμιος· οὔτ’ ὀλοθ δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός.

8 συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο κατ’ ἐμὲ τοιώνδε. ἰνὴρ βου-
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.

What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaïs 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 Oenomaïs. 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 Oenomaïs;
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
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λῆς τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην· ἐθέλων δὲ ὑπολιπέσθαι τῆς νίκης ύπόμνημα χαλκῆς εἰκόνα σὺν ἔπιγράμματι, ἄριστον ἔστειλεν ἐς ποίησιν βαύθρου· καὶ ὥς ἐγένετο ἐγγύτατα τὸ ὅρνημα αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Ὀινομάδον κίονος, ἑνταῦθα εὐρίσκον οἱ ὀρύσσοντες καὶ ὁπλῶν καὶ χαλινῶν καὶ ψαλίων θραύματα.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτῶς ἐώρων ὀρυσσόμενα· ναὸν δὲ μεγέθει οὐ ὑπὸ μέγαν καὶ ἐργασία Δώριον Μητρώον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ καλοῦσιν ἔτι, τὸ ὅνομα αὐτῶ διασφάζεσται τὸ ἄρχαῖον κεῖται δὲ οὐκ ἀγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεῶν μητρός, βασιλέων δὲ ἐστίκασιν ἀνδριάντες Ῥωμαιῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως τὸ τε Μητρώον καὶ οἴκημα περιφερές ὁνομαζόμενον Φιλιππείου ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Φιλιππείου μήκων χαλκῆ σύνδεσμος ταῖς δοκοῖς.

10 τούτῳ τὸ οἴκημα ἔστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἄριστερά, πεποίηται δὲ ὅπτὴς πλάθου, κίονες δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστίκασιν Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐποιήθη μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρονείᾳ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ὁλίσθεν. κεῖται δὲ αὐτόθι Φιλίππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτῶς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατὴρ ἔργα δὲ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρου ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες.

XXI. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεσθων ὁ λόγος ἐς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. ἀναμικεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἀρεστὰ ἦν μοί τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῇ 'Αθήνῃσιν οἱ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὁπόσα ἄλλα, τα

1 οὐ is not in the MSS., but was added by Flasch.

2 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 Metroïm,¹ 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 Metroïm 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

¹ "Temple of the Mother."
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πάντα ἐστίν ὡμαίως ἀναθήματα· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλτεί τὰ μὲν τιμῆ τῇ ἐς τὸ θείον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικῶντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ ὑπότοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἀνδριάντων ποιήσομεθα καὶ ὑστερον μνήμην· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἄξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις.

2 Ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τῆν ὁδὸν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μητρίου, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερὰ κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὀροῦς τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὀρει κρητὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς· πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπίδι ἀγάλματα Δίως ἀνάκειται χαλκᾶ. ταύτα ἐπούριθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθληταῖς ἔμμιας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἄγωνα, καλοῦνται

3 δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζάνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἐξ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁγόνης ἔστησαν καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. Εὐπώλος γὰρ Θεσσαλὸς χρήμασι δι- ἐφθειρε τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν πυκτῶν, Ἀγήτωρ Ἀρκάδα καὶ Πρύτανις Κυζικήνων, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φορμίωνα Ἀλικαρνασσέα μὲν γένος, ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ τῷ πρὸ ταύτης κρατήσαντα. τούτῳ ἐξ ἀθλητῶν ἄδικημα ἐς τὸν ἄγωνα πρῶτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ πρῶτοι χρήμασιν ἐξημιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων Εὐπώλου καὶ οἱ δεξάμενοι δώρα παρὰ Εὐπώλου. δύο μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔργα Κλέωνος Σικυώνων· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξής τέσσαρα ὅστις ἐποίησεν

4 οὐκ ἵσμεν. τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τούτων παρέντυ τρίτον τε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τέταρτον, γεγραμμένα ἐλεγεῖα ἐστίν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις. ἐθέλησε δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεγείων δηλοῦν ὡς οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ ἀκύτητι τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἱσχύος σώματος Ὀλυμπικῆς ἐστίν εὑρέσθαι νίκην, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ

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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 Metroöüm, 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 Thessaly 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
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5 Ἐνυπώλου δὲ ύστερον φασιν Ἀθηναίον Κάλλιπτ-πον ἀθλήσαντα πένταθλον ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνισμένους χρήμασι, δευτέραν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα τε καὶ ἐκατόν ὀλυμπιάδα εἶναι ταύτην. ἐπιβληθείσης δὲ τῷ Καλλίπτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνταγω-
νισαμένοις ξημίας ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ἄπερείδην Ἀθηναίοι πείσοντα Ἡλείους ἀφεῖναι
σφισι τὴν ξημίαν ἀπειπότων δὲ Ἡλείων τὴν
χάριν, ἐχρόντο ύπεροψία τοιάδε ἐς αὐτοὺς ὧν Ἀθηναίοι, οὕτε ἀποδιδόντες τὰ χρήματα καὶ
Ὀλυμπιόν εἰργόμενοι, πρὶν ἢ σφισιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ἐν Δελφοῖς οὐ πρότερον ἐφήσειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς
χρίσειν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ξημίαν ἀποδοίην Ἡλείους.
6 οὕτω δὴ ἀποδόντων ἐποιήθη τῷ Διῷ ἀγάλματα,
ἐξ μὲν καὶ τάκτα, γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς
ἐλεγεία οὐδέν τι δεξιώτερα ἐς ποίησιν ἢ τὰ ἔχοντα
tὴν ξημίαν τὴν Εὐπώλου. γρῶμαι δὲ εἰσὶ τῶν
ἐπιγραμμάτων, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀνατεθῆναι τὰ ἀγάλ-
ματα μαντεία τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσαντος τὰ ἐς τοὺς
πεντάθλους δόξαντα Ἡλείοις, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ
dευτέρῳ καὶ ὁσαύτως ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ Ἡλείους
7 ἐπαινοῦντα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν πεντάθλων τῇ ξημίᾳ· τὸ
tέταρτον δὲ ἔθελε λέγειν τὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἄγωνα
504.
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 pentathlum, bought off his fellow-competitors by bribes, and that this offence occurred at the hundred and twelfth Festival. 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 pentathlum. The fourth purports to say that the contest at

\[1 \delta \text{ was added by Dindorf.}\]
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ἀρετῆς εἰναι καὶ οὗ χρημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ 1 ἐπὶ τῶν πέμπτων καὶ ἕκτω, τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν δήλοι καθ᾽ ἦντινα αἰτίαι ἀνετέθη τὰ ἀγάλματα, τὸ δὲ ἀναμμηνήσκει τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν.

8 Τῶν δὲ κατειλησμένων τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν ἐστὶν ἄριθμον, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐπιτεθείσης παλαισταίς ἀνδράσι ζημίας ὡστε ἐκαλοῦντο, ἐμὲ γε ἢ τοὺς Ἡλείον Ἰεληθέν ἐξηγητάς. ἐπιγράμματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἐπεστὶ, λέγει δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὡς τὸ Ὁλυμπίων Διὸς χρήματα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας ἐκτίσαιεν παλαιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δόροις παλαισάντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβλη-

9 θέντων χρημάτων αὐτοῖς γένοιτο τὸ ἀγαλμα. τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα ἐς τοὺς ἄθλητας τούτους οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἡλείοι, ὡγδόνη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ὀλυμπιάδα εἰναι, λαβεῖν δὲ Ἐὔδηλον παρὰ Φιλοστράτου χρήματα, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν Φιλοστράτον Ῥόδιον. τοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ διάφορα ὡς εὐρίσκον τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα: ἐστὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τούτοις Ἀπράτων Ἀλέξανδρα ὀλυμπιάδι ὡγδόνη μετὰ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατον ἐπὶ ἤμερας ἀνελέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης νίκην. Ἀλέξανδρείας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Κανωβικῷ τοῦ Νεῖλου στόματι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο ὅ Φιλίππου, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐτὶ πόλισμα Αἰγυπτίων ἑνταῦθα ὡς μέγα εἶναι Ῥακότιν. Ἀπράτων δὲ τοῦτον τρεῖς μὲν ἴλλικα πρῶτον, τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἄλλοι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰσὶ δὴλοι τῶν κότινον παγκρατίου τε ἀθλα 506
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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1 τὰ added by Bekker.
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eἰληφότες καὶ πάλης, Κάπρος μὲν ἔξ αὐτῆς Ἡλίδος, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν πέραν Αἰγαίου Ῥόδιος τε Ἀριστομένης καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐπὶ Λησθαῖο Πρωτοφάνης. οί δὲ ύστερον τοῦ Στράτωνος Μαρίων τε πόλεως ἐκείνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ Στρατονικέως Ἀριστέας—τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἢ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσαορίς,—ἐβδομος δὲ Νικόστρατος ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση Κιλίκων, οὐδὲν τοῖς Κίλιξιν αὐτοῦ μετὸν εἰ μὴ ὡσα τῷ ὕλοι. τούτων τὸν Νικόστρατον νήπιον παῖδα ἔτι ἐκ Πρυμνησσοῦ λησταὶ τῆς Φρυγῶν ἠρπασαν, οἰκίας οὖν ἀφανοῦς κομμισθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ ἔσταν Ἀιγέας ὀνήσατο ὅστις δὴ. χρόνω δὲ ύστερον τῷ ἀνδρί τούτῳ ἄνειρον γίνεται· λέοντος δὲ ἐδοξεῖν ὑπὸ τῷ σκίμποδι κατακεῖσαι σκύμνων, ἐφ᾽ ὃ ἐκάθευδεν ὁ Νικόστρατος. Νικόστράτῳ μὲν δή, ὡς ηὐξήθη, καὶ ἀλλαὶ νῖκαι καὶ Ὁλυμπίασιν ἐγένοντο παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης.

12 Χρήμασι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἐτεροί τε ύστερον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐξημώθη πῦκτης ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς διακοσίας ὄγδοι τε καὶ δεκάτη. ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ἐξημωθέντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἡν Ῥάντης καὶ πῶς καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρευσίν ἑστιν. οὕτος ο ἀνήρ ὑδικεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων κατεγώσθη πρῶτος Ἀιγυπτιῶν κατεγώσθη δὲ οὐ δοῦναι χρήματα ἡ λαβεῖν αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτε ἄλλο ἐς τὸν ἄγωνα ἐξυβρίσαι. ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων πειθομένον τὸ νόμῳ ἑλείπετο τοῦ ἄγωνος εἰργεσθαι· τὴν γὰρ 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 Le-thaeus, 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 Prymnessus 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 un-truth by Heracleides, himself an Alexandrian by

1 kal added by Siebelis.
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dreus ἰλεγχεν ἀπάτην οὔσαν· ὑστερήσαι γὰρ χρῆματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτὸν ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἔν

14 Ἰωνία. οὗτω δὴ τὸν τε Ἀπολλόνιον καὶ εἰ δὴ
tις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν τῶν πυκτῶν,
tούτους μὲν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῦ ἀγώνος ἀπελαύνουσιν,
tῷ Ἡρακλείδη δὲ τὸν στέφανον παριάσιν ἀκονίτι·

ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλόνιος κατεσκευάσατο τε τοῖς

ἰμάσιν ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρα-
κλείδην ἦπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἦδη τὸν κόπινον

καὶ καταπεφευγότος ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλανοδίκας. τούτῳ
μὲν δὴ ἐμέλλε τὸ κούφον τοῦ νοῦ βλάβος μέγα

15 ἐσεσθαί, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δύο τέχνης τῆς ἐφ’

ἡμῶν ἀγάλματα· ἔκτη γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκόσι καὶ
dιακοσίαις ὀλυμπιάδι πύκται ἄνδρας, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς

μαχομένους τῆς νίκης, ἐφοράσαν συνθεμένους

ὑπὲρ λήμματος. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν ἑγένετο ζημία·

ποιηθέντων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων Δίὸς τὸ μὲν ἐν ἄρι-

στερᾷ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἑσόδου, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον

αὐτῶν ἐστηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ. τοὺς δὲ πύκτας τούτους

Δίδας τε ὁνόμα ἦν καὶ τῷ τὰ χρῆματα δόντι

αὐτῶν Σαραπάμμου· νομοῦ δὲ ἦσαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ,

νεωτάτου τῶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, καλουμένου δὲ Ἄρσι-

νοῦτον. θαῦμα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλος ἐν οὐδενός

λόγῳ τὸν θεὸν θέσθαι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ

dέξασθαι τινα ἢ δοῦναι δώρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄγωνι· μεi

ξονος δὲ ἔτι θαύματος, εἰ γε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησεν

ἡδη τις Ἡλείων. λέγεται δὲ ὁς Δαμόνικος

tολμήσειν Ἡλεῖος δευτέρα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ

ἐνενήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι· συνεστηκέναι μὲν γὰρ

παλαίοντας ἐπὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τὸν τε τοῦ Δαμονίκου

παίδα Πολύκτορα καὶ Σώσανδρου γένος Σμυρ-

ναίον, ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρὶ Δαμόνικον δὲ, ἀτε
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 himself 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 Polyctor 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
17 ὥς δὲ ἔγενονι τὰ πραχθέντα ἐκπυστα, ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι ζημίαν, ἐπιβάλλουσι δὲ οὐ τοῖς παισίν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τοὺς πατέρας ἔτρεψαν τὴν ὀργήν' οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡδίκιον. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ζημίας ἀγάλματα ἐποίηθη καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἀνάκειται γυμνασίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλτεώς πρὸ τῆς Ποικίλης στοάς καλουμένης, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γραφαὶ τὸ ἄρχαιον. εἰσὶ δ' οὗ τὴν στοὰν ταύτην καὶ Ἡχοὺς ὁνομάζουσιν. βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἐπτάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ἡχοῦς ἡ φωνή, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐτί ἀποδίδοται.

18 Παγκρατιαστὴν δὲ φασιν Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὅνομα δὲ εἶναι οἱ Σαραπίωνα, τούτου ἐν ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ τὰς διακοσίας ἐς τοσοῦτο δώσαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὡστε ἥμερα μιὰ πρότερον ἡ ἐσκληθήσεσθαι τὸ παγκράτιον ἐμελλεν ἀποδράντα οὐχεσθαι. τούτου ζημιωθέντα ἐπὶ δείλα μόνον τὸν τε ἀλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν μημονεύσων Ἀιγυπτίων.
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 pancratist 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
2 Παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἰπποδάμιον καλούμενον λίθου τε βάθρου ἐστὶ κύκλος ἡμισυς καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς καὶ Θετίς τε καὶ Ἡμέρα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἱκετεύουσαι. ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῷ βάθρῳ. οἱ δὲ ἴδικοι σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένοι οὐ τὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς παρέχεται καὶ ὁ Μέμιων ἐπὶ ἑκατέρῳ τοῦ βάθρου τῷ πέρατι ἑκάτερος. ἀνθετικάσι δὲ καὶ ἀλλος ἀλλω κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀνήρ βάρβαρος ἀνδρὶ Ἔλληνι, Ὄδυσσευς μὲν Ἐλένη, ὁτι οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφία δόξαν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατευματι εἰλήφεσαν, Μενελάω δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐξός τὸ ἔργα μὲν Δυκίον τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιάται δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλεγείον γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίδος τοῖς ποσί.

μνάματ’ Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακειμέθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ Ἰονίῳ Φοίβος ὁκισ’ ἀκερσεκόμαις:
οἱ γὰς τέρμαθ’ ἐλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα ἑστασαν σὺν θεώς ἐκ Ἐρόνιον δεκάταν.

ἡ δὲ Ἀβαντίς καλομενή χώρα καὶ πόλισμα ἐν αὐτῇ Ἐρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἤσαν ἤπείρου κατὰ ὅρη τὰ Κεραύνια. σκέδασθεισοῦν γὰρ Ἔλλησιν, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο εἰς Ἰλίου, τῶν νεὼν, Λοκροὶ τε ἐκ Ἐρόνιον τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ Ἀβαντες ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας ναυσίν ὄκτω συναμφότεροι 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 Deiphobus 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 dedicated, 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-
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ορη κατημέχθησαν τὰ Κεραύνια. οἰκίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαντες Θρόνιον, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ὦσον ἐνέμοντο Ἀβαντίδος ὄνομα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου θέμενοι, ἐκπίπτοσιν ύστερον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνιστῶν ὁμόρων κρατηθέντες πολέμω, ἀποκισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναι φασιν ἀποκισάν,1 οἱ δὲ Κορινθίως αὐτοῖς μετέιναι λαφύρων.

5 Προελθόντι δὲ ὁλόγον Ζεύς ἔστι πρὸς ἀνίσχυτα τετραμμένος τὸν ἤλιον, ἤετον ἔχων τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ τῇ ἐτέρα τῶν χειρῶν κεραυνῶν· ἐπίκειται δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἀνθη τὰ ἴρμα.2 Μεταποντιών δὲ ἔστιν ἀνάθημα, Λιγυνήτου δὲ ἔργον Ἀριστόνου τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόνου τοῦτον διδάσκαλον, ἰ κάθω ὄντινα χρόνον ἐγένετο, οὐκ ὅσπερ. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Φλιάσσιοι Δία καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς Ἀσωποῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀσωπῶν, διακεκόσμηται δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὰ ἀγάλματα. Νεμέα μὲν τῶν ἄδειλφῶν πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ζεύς λαμβανόμενός ἐστιν Λιγυνής, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Λιγυναν ἐστικεν Ἀρπίνα—ταύτῃ τῷ Ἡλείῳ καὶ Φλιάσσιου λόγῳ συνεγένετο Ἀρης, καὶ Οἰνομάῳ δὲ μήτηρ τῷ περὶ τὴν Πισαίαν βασιλεύσαντι ἐστιν Ἀρπίνα—, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Κόρκυρα τε καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν Θήβην, τελευταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀσωπός. λέγεται δὲ ἐς μὲν Κόρκυραν ὡς μιχθεὶς Ποσείδῶν αὐτῇ- τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐτέρα ἢς Πύδαρος ἐς Θήβην τε καὶ ἐς Δία.

6 Ἡδίᾳ δὲ ἄνδρες Λεωντῖνοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Δία ἀνέστησαν· μέγεθος μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος πήχεις

1 τὴν δὲ ... ἀποκισάν, added by Spiro.
2 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 Corecyra, they say, and Corecyra 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.¹ 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 Oenomaïs, king around Pisa; after her is Corecyra, with Thebe next; last of all comes Aesopus. There is a legend about Corecyra that she mated with Poseidon, and the same thing is said by Pindar of Thebe and Zeus.²

Men of Leontini have set up a Zeus, not at public expense but out of their private purse. The

¹ 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.

² Fr. 290.
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ei'sin 'etpå, én de tais xerstín aetós té èstiv autò kai tò bélos tòv Ðious kata toûs tòv poiht-tòv lógyous. ánèthesan dé 'Ippagýras te kai Phrúnon kai Línnesidhmos, ðn álloin toû tina Línnesidhmon dôkô kai ou tòv turaínhsanta èinaí Leontínon.

XXIII. Pareaíonti de parà tûn ès to boulenv-tíron èsodon Ævûs te èstíkeun èptígramma èçwv ouèn kai áthìs ós ðpòs árktoun èpistrepínta ágarlmá èstì Ðíos' toûto têtrappai mév ðpòs áníschnota ýlìon, ánèthesan dé 'Ellhýnon ósou Platamísiv èmakhéstanto ènántia Mardonión te kai Mýhoun. èisi dé kai èggýegramménavi katà toû báðroû tâ dézià aì metaсхôusai póleis toû èrgou, Lakedaimónion mév pròtoi, méta dé autòus 'Aðnádoi, trîtoi dé garýegramménavi kai têhtaroi 2 Koríntoî te kai Síkunónioi, pèmppto dé Aignýtai, metà dé Aignýtasa Megareís kai 'Epídaúrioí, 'Arkádôn dé Tegewáte te kai 'Orhoímenoí, èpì dé autòis ósoi Filioúnta kai Troízýnna kai 'Ermióna oíkouví, èk dé ðýoras tûs 'Argeías Tírnúthioí, Plataíneís dé ménoi Bouwtôv, kai 'Argeíon oi Mûkínas èçontes, nêuíotai dé Kéoi kai Mýhion, 'Ammbrakíotai dé èî ðpèírou tûs 'Thesprotídos, Tímiou te kai Léptreátei, Léptreátei mév tòn èk tûs Tírnúthia mönoi, èk dé Ðignáio kai tôn Kuklándon ou Tímiou mönoi allà kai Náxioi kai Kúðnion, àpò dé Eýbôias Sturéís, metà dé toûtous 'Hlêíou kai Pouidaiátai kai 'Anaktóroi, telev-

3 taíoi dé Xalkideís oi èpî tòv Eýrítph. toûtov tòn póleon tosaíde ÷sán èpî ðmòv èrîmou Mûkínaíoi mév kai Tírnúthioi tôv Mýhikôn ðstet e-518
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 Mardonius. 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 Hermione, 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 Cylades 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 479 B.C.
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...
the Argives after the Persian wars. The Ambraciots and Anactorians, colonists of Corinth, were taken away by the Roman emperor 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 Cassandrieia 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

1 Augustus.

1 πλάστας (sculptors) has been suggested.
2 τρίτης . . . ὅγανοντα added by Wesseling.
6 δάχθησαν, οὐκ ἔχω δηλώσαι. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἄρματι τῷ Γέλωνος Ζεὺς ἔστηκεν ἀρχαῖος ἔχων σκῆπτρον, Ὁβλαίων δὲ φασιν εἶναι ἀνάθημα· αἰ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ "Ἡβλαι, ἢ μὲν Γερεάτις ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν δὲ—ὡσπερ γε καὶ ἦν—ἐκάλουν Μείξωνα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἑμὲ ἐτὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ δὲ ἢ μὲν ἔρημος ἐς ἅπαν, ἢ δὲ κόμη τε Καταναίων ἢ Γερεάτις καὶ ίερόν σφίσιν Ὁβλαίαις ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμάς. παρὰ τοῦτω δὲ κομισθήμα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἡγούμαι τεράτων γὰρ σφαῖς καὶ ἐνυπνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησίν ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβεία τῶν ἐν 7 Σικελίᾳ βαρβάρων προσκείσθαι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ὁβλαίων ἀναθήματος βάθρον τε πεποίηται χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς· τοῦτο ὅκτῳ μάλιστα εἶναι ποδὸν καὶ δέκα εἰκάζομεν. οὕτως δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὄντων ἔστιν ἔργον, ἐλεγεῖον γεγραμμένον σημαίνει:

Κλειτόριοι τὸδ' ἄγαλμα θεῷ δεκάταν ἀνέβηκαν, πολλὰν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.
καὶ μετρεῖτ Ἀρίστων ἢδὲ Τελέστας ¹
αὐτοκασίγνητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν.

τούτως οὐκ ἔς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἑπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἣν τέ καὶ Ἡλείοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, καὶ πλέονα ἐτὶ Δακεδαμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε ὄντων.

¹ 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 tithe
From many cities that they had reduced by force.
The sculptors were Aristo and Telestas,
Own brothers and Laconians.¹

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.

¹ 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.
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XXIV. ...
XXIV. By the side of the altar of Zeus Laoetan 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.

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 Lacedaemonians.

We know of no Roman, either commoner or senator, who gave a votive offering to a Greek

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1 Καράχφ to Φωνεία is not in the MSS.
2 ὅ γε (not in the MSS.) was added by Bekker.
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"Ελληνικῶν, Μόμμιος δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῶν ἐξ 'Αλχαίας Δία ἐς Ὁλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν' οὗτος ἐστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναθήματος, παρὰ τῶν πρῶτων ταύτη τοῦ ναοῦ κίονα. δὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ἄλτει μέγιστον τῶν χαλκῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Διὸς, ἀνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἡλεύων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς 'Ἀρκάδας πολέμου, μέγεθος δὲ 5 ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι ποδῶν ἐστὶ. παρὰ δὲ τῷ Πελοπίῳ κιών τε ὑψηλοῖς καὶ ἀγαλμα Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶ μικρόν, τῇ ἐτέραν τῶν χειρῶν προτείνουν. τούτοι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς Διὸς καὶ Γαυμήδους ἀγάλματα: ἐστὶ δὲ Ὄμηρῳ πεποιημένα ὡς ἀρπασθεὶς τε ὑπὸ θεῶν οἰνοχοεῖν Διὸς καὶ ὦς Ταρώ δώρα ὑποί δοθεῖν ἀντί αὐτῶν. τούτῳ ἀνέθηκε μὲν Γναθίς Θεσσαλὸς, ἐποίησε δὲ 'Ἀριστοκλῆς μαθήτης τε καὶ νίδος

6 Κλεοίτα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πιὸ γένεια, κεῖται δὲ εἰν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῖς Μικύθου. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μικύθου, γένοις τε ὑποίοι  ἦν αὐτῶ καὶ ἀνθ' ὑπὸ νάπτον τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐς Ὁλυμπίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν, ὁ ἐφεξῆς μοι λόγος δηλώσει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ εἰρημένου προελθόντι ὅλιγον κατ' εὐθείαν ἀγαλμά ἐστι Διὸς οὐκ ἔχον γένεια οὐδὲ αὐτὸ, Ἕλαίτων δὲ ἀνάθημα, οὔ καταβαίνει ἐκ Καϊκου πεδίου ἐς θάλασσαν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ Λιολίδι 7 οἰκούσι. τούτου δὲ αὐθίς ἄλλο ἀγαλμά ἔχεται Διὸς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῶ τοὺς ἐν Κυίδῳ Χερσονησίους ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀναθείναι πολεμίου φησίν: ἀνέθεσαν δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὸν Δία Πέλοπᾶ τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφείδον ποταμον. 526
sanctuary before Mummius, and he dedicated at 146 B.C. 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 ¹ 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.² 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.³ 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

¹ Iliad V. 265 foll. and XX. 231 foll.
² Cleoetas probably flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C.
³ See ch. xxvi. § 2 of this book.
Κυδίοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἐν τῇ ἑπείρῳ πεπόλυσται τῇ Καρικῇ, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ καλουμένη Χερσόνησος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑπείρῳ κειμένη.

8 νῆσος γεφύρα διαβατός ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Διί οἱ ἐνταῦθα οἰκούντες, ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως οἱ ἔχοντες τὸν ὅνωμαζόμενον Κόρησον ἀνάθημα φαίνει ἵδια τί ἀναθείναι τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινοῦ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῆς Ἀλτεως Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἡλίου τετραμμένος δυσμάς, ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν παρεχόμενον ἑλέγετο δὲ καὶ οὗτος Μομμίου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαϊῶν εἶναι πολέμου, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὁπόσα ἄγαλματα Δίδω μάλιστα ἐς ἐκπληξίαν ἁδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποίηται· ἐπίκλησις μὲν Ὁρκίος ἐστιν αὐτῷ, ἐχεὶ δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρα κεραινοῦ χειρί. παρὰ τούτῳ καθέστηκε τοῖς ἀθληταῖς καὶ πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄδελφοῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ γυμνασταῖς ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμυνσι βασιλό· ἡμῖν ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπίων ἁγώνα ἐσεθαί παρ' αὐτῶν κακούργημα. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀθληται καὶ τόδε ἐτί προσκατόμυνται, δέκα ἐφεξῆς μηνῶν ἀτηριβροδόθαι σφίς τὰ πάντα ἐς ἄστιν. ὁμούσιοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς παῖδας ἡ 1 τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πόλους κρίνουσιν, ἐπὶ δικαιῷ καὶ ἀνεῳ ὁφόρων ποιεῖσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενον τε καὶ μῆ, φυλάξει καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. τῷ κάπρῳ δὲ ὁ τι χρήσθαι σφίς μετὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸν ὀρκὸν καθεστηκεν, οὐκ ἐμνημονεύσα ἐπερέσθαι, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις ἐπὶ ἱερεία ἤν καθεστηκός, ἐφ' ὧν τις ὀρκὸν ἐποιήσατο, μηδὲ ἐδώδιμον εἶναι 528
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 Chersonesus 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 Coreus 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 Achaean 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

^1 Frazer suggests καλ for ἦ.

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11 τούτο ἐτὶ ἀνθρώπῳ. δῆλοι δὲ οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ Ὁμηρος: τὸν γοῦν κάπρον καθ’ ὤτου τῶν τομίων Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπώμοσεν ἡ μῆν εἶναι τῆν Βρισηίδα ἑαυτοῦ τῆς εὐνής ἀπείρατον, τούτον τὸν κάπρον ἀφιέμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐποίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν.

ἡ, καὶ ἀπὸ σφάραγον κάπρον τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ. τὸν μὲν Ταλθύβιος πολιής ἀλὸς ἐς μέγα λαῖτμα ῥῆψ’ ἐπιδινήσας, βῶσιν ἱχθύσιν.

οὔτω μὲν τὸ ἄρχαιον τὰ τοιοῦτα ἐνόμιζον ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Ὁρκίου πινάκιον χαλκοῦ, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεῖα ἐπ’ ἀυτοῦ, δείμα ἐθέλοντα τοῖς ἐπιορκοῦσι παριστάναι.

XXV. Τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεώς ἀγάλματα εἶναι Δίὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβεστάτον. τὸ ἀνάθημα γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὸ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρός Κορινθίου τεθέν, Κορινθίων δὲ οὐ τῶν ἄρχαιων ἀλλ’ οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν εἰλη-φότες τὴν πόλιν, τούτο τὸ ἀνάθημα Ἀλέξαιδρος ἐστὶν ο Φιλίππου, Διὶ εἰκασμένος δήθεν. ὁπόσα δὲ ἀλλοίᾳ καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Δίος, ἐπιμνησάμεθα καὶ τούτων: εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τὴν τῇ πρὸς τὸ θείον, τῇ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάρτην ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώ-πους, λόγῳ σφάς τῷ ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν.

2 Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κατὰ έθος δή τι ἄρχαιον πέμποντας ἐς Ρήγιον χορῶν παίδων πέντε ἄριθμόν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ διδάσκαλόν τε ὁμοῦ τῷ χορῷ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐλητῆς ἐς εὐρτῆς τινα ἐπιχώριου Ρήγιων, κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ποτε συμφορά, μηδένα ὅπισώ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων

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had been sworn. Homer proves this point clearly. For the boar, on the slices of which Agamemnon swore that verily Briseis 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.¹

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,² 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

¹ Iliad XIX. 266-268.
² I translate the articles in το θείον and τοὺς ἀνθρώπους as generic articles.
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σφίσιν ἀποσωθήναι· ἄλλα ἡ ναὸς ἡ ἀγούσα τοὺς παίδας ἡμαίνεται σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ.

3 ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τούτον θάλασσα τοῦ πορθμοῦ θαλάσσης χειμεριωτάτη πάσης· οἳ τε γὰρ ἀνε- μοι ταράσσουσιν αὐτὴν ἁμφοτέρωθεν τὸ κύμα ἐπάγοντες ἐκ τοῦ 'Αδρίων καὶ 'Εξ' ἐτέρου πελάγους ὁ καλεῖται Ὀυρωπόν, ἤν τε καὶ ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἐνεύ- ματα, ὁ δὲ καὶ τηρικαύτα ὁ πορθμὸς κίνησιν βιαστάτην αὐτός ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱσχυρὰς παρέχεται παλιρροίας· θηρία τε τοσαῦτα ἐς αὐτόν τὰ ἀθροιζομενα ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἄερα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς βαλίσσης ταύτης ἀνασπιμπλασθαί τὸν θηρίων τῆς ὕσμης, ὡς σωτηρίας γε ἐκ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μηδὲ ἐλπίδος τε ὑπολείπεσθαι ναυαγόν. ἐι δὲ ἐνταῦθα συνέπεσε καὶ 'Οδυσσεῖ διαφθαρήναι τὴν ναῦν, ἀλλος μὲν οὐκ ἄν τις πείθοιτο ἐκνιξάσθαι ἥντα ἐς τὴν 'Ιταλίαν αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς

4 ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐργάζεται βαστώνην. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν παίδων ὁ Μεσσηνιοὶ πένθος ἦγον, καὶ ἄλλα τε σφισιν ἐς τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἔξευρέθη καὶ εἰκόνας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν χαλκᾶς, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ τὸν αὐλητήν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδίηλου τὸ ἀρχαίον ἀναθή- ματα εἶναι τὸν ἐν πορθμῷ Μεσσηνῖοις χρόνῳ δε ὑστερον Ἰππίας ὁ ληγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἡλλήνων γενέ- σθαι σοφὸς τὰ ἐλεγεῖα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν. ἐργα δὲ εἰσὶν Ἡλείου Κάλλωνος αἰ εἰκόνες.

5 Ὅστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμ- μένην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ Νήσου, καλουμένην δὲ Πάχυννον, Μοτῦν πόλις· οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβνες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοῖνκες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτυθῆς βαρ- βάροις Ἀκραγαντίνοι 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 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

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1 This artist seems to have flourished between 494 and 436 B.C.
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λείαντε καὶ λάφυρα ὀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παιδας ἐς Ὄλυμπιάν τοὺς χαλκοὺς, προτεινοντας τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ. κεῖνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἀλτεως. Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφάς ἔργα ἐγὼ τε εἶκαζον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

6 Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσάδε οἶκει, Σικανοὶ τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἔξ Ἰταλίας διαβεβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρφάδος· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καὶ Δίββες στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν νῆσον κοινῷ καὶ ἀποικοὶ Καρχηδονίων εἰσί. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελία ἔθνῃ βύρβαρα Ἐλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἐχουσίν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἰωνεῖς καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἐκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλῇ.

7 Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τείχους τά τε Ἀκραγαντῖνων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, παιδὸς ἥλικιαν· τοῦ δὲ ἐν Νεμέα τοξεύοντι ἐστὶ λέοντα. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ ὁμοίο τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ τῶν λέοντα Ταραντίνων ἀνέθηκεν Ἡπιοτίων, Νικοδάμου δὲ ἐστὶ Μαιναλίου τέχνη· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἔτερον Ἀναξίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Μειδαίου, μετεκομίσθη δὲ εὐταύθα ὑπὸ Ἡλείων· τᾶ πρὸ τοῦτο δὲ ἐκείτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι, ἦ ἀγεί μὲν ἔξ Ἡλίδος ἐς Ὄλυμπιάν, καλεῖται δὲ Ἰερώ. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἐθνος, ὁσοὶ προκαλεσμένου τοῦ Ἕκτορος ἐς μυομαχίαν ἄνδρα Ἐλληνα τὸν κλήρον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπέμειναν. οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐστήκασε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πλησίου, δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὀπλισμένοι· ἀπαν−534
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 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 Agrigentines 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.
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τικρύ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐπέρου βάθρου πεποίηται Νέστωρ, τὸν ἐκάστου κλήρου ἐσβεβληκὼς ἐς τὴν κυρήν, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐκτορὶ κληρομένων ἀριθμὸν ὄντων ὀκτῶ—τὸν γὰρ ἐνατον αὐτῶν, τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως εἰκόνα, Νέρωνα κομίσαι λέγουσιν ἐς Ἑρμῆν—, τῶν δὲ ὀκτώ τούτων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ γεγραμμένοι γεγραπται δὲ καὶ τούτο ἐπὶ τὰ λαία ἐκ δεξιῶν. ὁτου δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρυῶν ἐστὶν ἐπίθεμα τῇ ἀσπίδε, Ἰδομενεὺς ἐστιν ὁ ἀτόγονος Μίνως τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεῖ γένος ἀπὸ Ἡλίου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάς, Ἡλίου δὲ ιερὸν φασιν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀγγελλεῖν ἀνιεῖαι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ.

τῷ Διὶ τάχαιοι τάγαλματα ταυτ' ἀνέθηκαν, ἐγγονοὶ ἀντιθέου Ταυταλίδα Πέλοπος.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ γεγραμμένοι ὁ δὲ ἀγαλματοποῖος ὦστις ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδομενέως γέγραπται τῇ ἀσπίδε;

πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τὸν ὸνάτα, Ἀιγινήτεω, τὸν γείνατο παίδα Μίκων.

Ὁύ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναθήματος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἥκον ὡςτὶρος μαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἄμαξαν ἐφιππον γυναίκα· τοῦτον Ἑναγόρας μὲν γένος Ζαγκλαῖος ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησε δὲ Κυδωνίας Ἀριστοκλῆς. ἐν δὲ τούς μάλιστα ἀρχαῖος καταριθμίσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα ἐστί· καὶ σαφῶς μὲν ἕλκιαν οὐκ ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν αὐτῶν, δήλα δὲ ὦς πρῶτον ἐτὶ 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 Zanclaean by descent, and made by Aristocles of Cydonia. Aristocles should be included amongst the most ancient sculptors, and though his

1 Frazer suggests ἐπίσημα for ἐπισήμα.
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πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλη τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσήνην.

12 Θάσιοι δὲ, Φοίνικες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες καὶ ἐκ Τύρου καὶ Φοινίκης τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοῦ Θάσῳ τῷ Ἀγήρορος κατὰ γῆς ἐκπλεύσαντες τὴν Ἑὐρώπην, ἀνέθεσαν Ἡρακλέα ἐς Ὄλυμπιάν, τὸ βάθρον χαλκοῦν ὁμοίως τῷ ἁγάλματι· μέγεθος μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἁγάλματος ἐστὶ πῆχεις δέκα, ῥόπαλον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἔχει τόξον.

ηκούσα δὲ ἐν Θάσῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σφᾶς Ἡρακλέα ὑν καὶ Τύρων σέβεσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἠδὲ τελοῦντας ὑς Ἔλληνας νομίσαε καὶ Ἡρακλῆ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύώνος νέμειν τιμάς. τῷ δὲ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐς Ὅλυμπιάν Θασίων ἐπεστίν ἔλεγεῖον

νιὸς μὲν μὲ Μίλκωνος Ὅλυμπας ἔξετέλεσεν αὐτὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δώματα ναιετάων.

τὸν δὲ Ὅλυμπαν τοῦτον ὄμος, καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἁγάλματα ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίως, οὐδὲνς ὕστερον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδαλοῦ τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

XXVI. Μεσσήνων δὲ τῶν Δωρίων οἱ Ναὐπακτῶν ποτε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἁγαλμα ἐν Ὅλυμπία Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν· τοῦτο ἐστίν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίον Παιωνίον, πεποίηται δὲ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων, ὡς Ἀκαρνάσι καὶ Οἰνώδαις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπολέμησαν. Μεσσήνων δὲ αὐτοί λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημα σφῶς ἐν τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρία νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων πρασικέντος εἶναι,1 καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράφατο τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολεμίων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Δακεδαμοῦνων 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.

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,

1 πραγθέντος εἶναι added by Spiro.
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ματι, ἐπεὶ Ὀἰνιάδών γε καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον.

2 Τὰ δὲ ἀναθῆματα Μικύθου πολλά τε ἄρισταν καὶ οὐκ ἐφεξῆς οὕτα εὐρίσκουν, ἀλλὰ Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ Ἡλείου καὶ Ἐκεχειρίας στεφανοῦσι τὸν Ἰφίτον, τούτων μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων ἔχεται τοσάδε ἀναθήματα τοῖς Μικύθου, Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσείδών τε καὶ Ἑστία. Γλαύκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργείος. παρά δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλεύραν ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα, Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Γανυμήδην τε καὶ Ἀρτεμιν, ποιητῶν δὲ Ὄμηρον καὶ Ησίοδον, καὶ 3 θεοὺς αὖθις Ἀσκληπιίδν καὶ Τυχείαν. Ἀγῶν τε ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Μικύθου φέρον άλτήρας, οἱ δὲ ἀλτήρες οὕτω παρεχοῦνται σχῆμα τοιώντε: κύκλου παραμηκεστέρου καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιφεροῦσ εἰσὶν ἤμισυ, πεποίηται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν διέναι καθάπερ δι᾽ ὅχλων ἀσπίδος. τούτων μὲν δὴ σχῆμα ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένου. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγῶνος τὴν εἰκόνα Διόνυσος καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἀγαλμα Δίος, οὐ δὴ καὶ ὁλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. ταῦτα ἔργα ἐστὶν Ἀργείου Διονυσίου τεθύμαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μικύθου καὶ ἄλλα ὀμοῦ τούτως λέγουσι, Νέρωνα δὲ ἀφελέσθαι φασὶ καὶ ταύτα. τοὺς δὲ ἑργασμένους αὐτά, γένος οὕσιν Ἀργείος, Διονυσίῳ τε καὶ Γλαύκῳ, διδάσκαλον σφιστὶν οὐδένα ἐπιλέγουσιν ἤλικιαν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰ ἔργα ἐς Ὁλυμπίαν ἀναθεῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Μικύθος. τὸν γὰρ δὴ Μικύθου τούτον Ἡρώδοτος ἐφη ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ὁρήμῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενοι δούλοις 540
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. 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 - 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 says that this Micythus, when Anaxilas was despot of Rhegium, became his slave and

1 Ch. xxiv. § 6 of this book.  
2 Herodotus VII. 170.
καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων ὑστερον τούτων ἄπιων οὖχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος
5 Ἀναξίλα. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ πατέρα Μικύθων Χοίρον καὶ Ἐλληνίδας
 αὐτῶ πόλεις Ὡηγίον τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέα φησιν αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὅλυμπίαν εὐχῆς τινα ἐκτελοῦν ἐπὶ σωτηρία παιδὸς νοσήσαυτος νόσον φθινάδα.
6 Ηλησίον δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀναθημάτων Μικύθου, τέχνης δὲ τοῦ Ἀργείου Γλαύκου, Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλμα ἐστήκε κράνος ἐπικειμένη καὶ αὐγίδα ἐνδεδυκτιά. Νικόδαμος μὲν εἰργάσατο ὁ Μαυ-
 νάλιος, Ἡλεῖον δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν πεποίηται Νίκη ταύτην Μαντινεῖς ἀνέθεσαν, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δηλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι. Κάλαμις δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσαν πτερὰ ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομομούμενος τῷ Αθηναῖ τῆς
7 Ἀπτέρον καλομένης ξόανοι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐλάσσοσιν ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Μικύθου, ποιηθέσι τῷ Ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, πρὸς τούτοις Ὡρακλέους ἐστὶ τὸν ἔργων τὸ ἐς τῶν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέα καὶ ὑδραν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ἀιδοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ὡρμαμάθῳ ποταμῷ κάπτρων ἑκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐς Ὅλυμπίαν Ὁρακλείαται Μαριανδυνῶν ὁμόρων ἑμβαρβάρων καταδραμόντες τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ Ὡρακλεία πεπολίσταται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀνοφοκίσθη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βωιστῶν Ταναγραίοι τοῦ οἴκισμοι.
XXVII. Τούτων δὲ ἀντικρὺ τῶν κατελεγμέ-
νων ἐστὶν ἀλλα ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ σταῖχοι, τετραμ-
μένα μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, τοῦ τεμένους δὲ 542
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 Glauclus, 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
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ἔγγυτατα ὁ τῷ Πέλοπτὶ ἀνέιται, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιναλίου Φόρμιδος, ὃς ἐκ Μαινάλου διαβᾶς ἐς Σικελίαν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένου καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰέρων ὑστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀποδεικνύμενος λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐς τοσοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐδαιμονίας, ὡς ἀναθείναι μὲν ταῦτα ἐς 'Ολυμπίαν, ἀναθείναι δὲ καὶ τῷ

2 Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα ἐς Δελφοὺς. τὰ δὲ ἐς 'Ολυμπίαν δύο τε εἰσὶν ὑπ' οἷον καὶ ἦνόχοι δύο, ἐκατέρω τῶν ὑπ' οἷον παρεστῶς ἄνὴρ ἦνόχος· ὁ μὲν δὴ πρότερος τῶν ὑπ' οἷον καὶ ὁ ἄνηρ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀργείου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἔργα ἐστὶν Λαγινήτου Σίμωνος. τῷ πρότερῳ δὲ τῶν ὑπ' οἷον ἐπιγραμμα ἐπεστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ, τὰ πρώτα οὐ σὺν μέτρῳ λέγει γὰρ δὴ ὦτῳ.

Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν Ἅρκας Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

3 οὖτος ἐστὶν ὁ ὑπὸν ὄμω καὶ τὸ ὑπομανόμενον λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείων ἐγκείται δήλα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἀνδρός μάγου σοφία γενέσθαι τα συμβαίνοντα τῷ ὑπὸς. μέγεθος μὲν ἡ εἴδος ὑπὸς ἀποδείξει πολλῶς, ὡσοι τῆς Ἀλτεώς ἐντὸς ἐστήκασι, πρὸς δὲ ἀποκέκοπται τε τὴν οὐραν καὶ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιῷδε ἐτὶ αἰσχρῶν οἱ δὲ ὑπὸς οἱ ἄρσενες οὕτω που τοῦ ἦρος μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἀνὰ πάσαν ἐπ',

4 αὐτῶν ὀργῶσιν ἡμέραν. καὶ γὰρ ἐσθέουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀλτιν ἀπορρηγμύνοντες τὰ δεσμὰ ἦ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντες τοὺς ἀγνοτας καὶ ἐπιτηθῶσιν αὐτοὶ πολλῶ δή τι ἐμμανεστερον ἦ ἐπὶ τὴν καλλιστὴν ὑπὸν ξῶσάν τε καὶ ἡθάδα ἀναβαίνεσθαι· ἀπ—544
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:—

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 αυτοῖς αἰ ὄπλαὶ καὶ ὀμῶς οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσι χρημετίζοντες τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπι-
πηδώντες μετὰ βιαστέρας τῆς ὁρμῆς, πρὸν ἀν ὑπὸ μαστίγων καὶ ἀνάγκης ἱσχυρᾶς ἀφελκυ-
σθῶσι πρῶτον δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγή σφισιν
5 οὐδεμία ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. καὶ ἀλλο ἐν Λυδίᾳ
θεασάμενοι οἴδα διάφορον μὲν θαῦμα ἢ κατὰ τῶν
ἵπτων τῶν Φόρμιδος, μάγων μέντοι σοφίας οὐδὲ
αὐτὸ ἀπηλλαγμένον. ἔστι γὰρ Λυδίως ἐπίκλησιν
Περσικοῖς ἴερὰ ἐν τῇ Ἱεροκαίσαρείᾳ καλουμένη
πόλει καὶ ἐν Ἣπαινοις, ἐν ἐκατέρω δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν
οἰκημά τε καὶ ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι ἑστιν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τέ-
φρα. χρόα δὲ οὐ κατὰ τέφραν ἑστιν αὐτῇ τήν ἄλλην.
6 ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα
ἐπιφορήσας αὖ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν πρῶτα μὲν τία-
ραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπίκλησιν
ἀτοῦ δὴ θεῶν ἐπάδει βάρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ
Ἑλλησίων ἐπάδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου
ἀνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθήναι τὰ ξύλα
καὶ περιφάνη φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι.
7 Τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω· ἔστι δὲ
ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φόρμις
αἰνεῖ ἀνθιστικῶς πολεμώ, καὶ ἐφέξῃς ἐτέρῳ καὶ
τρίτῳ γε αὐθίς μάχεται. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ-
τοις τὸν στρατιώτην μὲν τὸν μαχόμενον Φόρμιν
εἶναι τὸν Μαυράλιον, τὸν δὲ ἀναθέντα Συρακοσίον
Ἀυκόρταν. δὴ λα δὲ ὡς οὕτως ὁ Ἀυκόρτας κατὰ
φιλίαι ἀναθείη τοῦ Φόρμιδος. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα
τοῦ Ἀυκόρτας καλεῖται Φόρμιδος καὶ ταύτα ὑπὸ
8 Ἑλληνῶν. ο ὐ τῆς Ἐρμῆς ὁ τῶν κριῶν φέρων ὑπὸ
τῇ μασχάλῃ καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ κυψῆν
καὶ χιτώνα τε καὶ χλαμύδα ἐνδεδυκὼς οὐ τῶν
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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
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Φόρμιδος ἐτὶ ἀναθημάτων ἔστιν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἐκ Φενεώδι δέδοται τῷ θεῷ Ἡμέραταν δὲ τῶν Αἰγινήτην, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ Καλλιτέλην ἐργάσασθαι λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, δοκεῖν δὲ μοι τοῦ Ὀνάτα μαθητής ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν. οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φενεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἀγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἐρμῆς ἔχον ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ἀθηνᾶν, ποιήσαι δὲ

9 Κάλλωνα Ἡλείων. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραῖων, ὁ δὲ ἀναθήμα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριέως ἐστὶν Φιλησίου· καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτον μὲν οἱ Κορκυραιοὶ τὸν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἔτερου βοῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν αὐτῶν ἀναθήματι συμβῆναι τοιόνδε ἥκονσα. παῖς μικρὸς ὑπὸ τούτων καθήμενος τῷ βοῶν ἐς τὸ κάτω νενευκός ἐπαιξεν ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἕξαφνης τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεύρη τε αὕτην πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέρας ὑπερυθυμεί πολλάκις. Ἡλείου μὲν δὴ τὸν βοῦν ἄτε αἰματε ἐνοχὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσασα τῆς Ἀλτέως ὁ δὲ σφᾶς θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατὰ χώραν εἶν ἧ τὸ ἀναθήμα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ποιησαμένους, ὁπόσα Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ ἄκουσόν εἴνων νομίζοντιν.

10 Ἐστὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀλτεῖ πλατάνων κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα που τῶν περίβολον τρόπαιον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίον τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἡλείους ἀπὸ Δακεδαίμονιῶν ἀναστῆσαι. ἐν ταύτης τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἄνδρα ἐπέλαβεν ἐκείνων ἀφεῖναι τῆς ψυχῆς, δὲ τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς ὀροφῆς κατ' ἐμὲ ἀνασκευασμένης ἐνταῦθα ὁμοί τοῖς

1 χώ, α'/ εἶν 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 Corecyraeans and the other by the Eretrians. Philesius of Eretria was the artist. Why the Corecyraeans dedicated the ox at Olympia and another at Delphi will be explained in my account of Phocis. 1 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

1 Book X, ch. IX, § 3.
12 ὀπλοὶς εὑρέθη κείμενος. τῶν δὲ ἐν Ὑπάρκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατήσαι με ὡς ἀνδρὸς εἰκῶν εἷς πεντάθλου καὶ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἡλεῖων Ἀναυχίδαν, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτήρας ἀρχαίος. ἐλεγεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ.

Ζητὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μὴ ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ᾽ θηκαί Μενδαίοι, Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασσάμενοι.

τὸ μὲν δὴ Ὑπάρκιον τι εἶναι τεῖχος καὶ πόλις ἔοικεν ἢ Σίπτη Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος Ἕλληνικόν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνοι 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 pentathlum. 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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